ROLE OF MEDIA FRAMING ON THE FORMATION OF OPINION CONCERNING EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN QUESTION

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ABSTRACT

ROLE OF MEDIA FRAMING ON THE FORMATION OF OPINION CONCERNING EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN QUESTION

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Turkey is located in a strategic geographic position in the center of political, economic and military balances. Considering foreign policy, international developments in Eastern Mediterranean is among the most important issues that attracts the attention of public and media. Due to recent oil and natural gas discoveries, Eastern Mediterranean, whose geopolitical importance extends from past to present, has become even a more important location, especially for the countries of region. In connection with the issue of Cyprus and international energy politics, recent developments in this region have a great importance for Turkey.

This study analyzes the effect of a news text on the Agreement on Maritime Boundary Delimitation signed between Turkey and Libya within the scope of opinion formation through different frames. Theoretical basis of the study is 'Framing Theory' based on the social constructivism approach of media effects. It examines whether the conflict and economic consequences frames are effective in forming audiences' opinions or not. For this purpose, a survey study consisting of 119 participants was conducted. Two different news texts on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis in two different newspapers were reconstructed and represented in terms of conflict and economic consequences

frames. After reading texts, participants were asked to indicate their participation in the statements given on the subject.

The data do not support the hypothesis that the conflict frame form conflict-related opinions on audiences, but the hypothesis that the economic consequences frame generates economy contexed opinions in audiences is supported.

Keywords: Framing Theory, Media Effects, Framing Effect, Eastern Mediterranean Crisis, Public Opinion

ÖZ

DOĞU AKDENİZ SORUNU İLE İLGİLİ KAMUOYU
OLUŞUMUNDA MEDYA ÇERÇEVELEMESİNİN ROLÜ

TÜRKİLİ, Cansın
Yüksek Lisans, Medya ve Kültürel Çalışmalar Bölümü
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Türkiye, siyasi, ekonomik ve askeri dengelerin merkezinde stratejik bir coğrafi konumda yer almaktadır. Dış politika ele alındığında, Doğu Akdeniz'de yaşanan uluslararası gelişmeler kamuoyunun ve medyanın ilgisini çeken konuların başında gelmektedir. Doğu Akdeniz'in jeopolitik önemi geçmişten günümüze dek uzanmakta olup son dönemdeki petrol ve doğalgaz keşifleri nedeniyle bölge ülkeleri için daha da önemli bir hal almıştır. Ayrıca, Kıbrıs sorunu ve uluslararası enerji politikaları kapsamında bölgede yaşanan gelişmeler Türkiye için özellikle dikkate çekicidir.

Bu tez, Türkiye ile Libya arasında imzalanan "Deniz Yetki Alanlarının Sınırlandırılmasına İlişkin Mutabakat Muhtırası" ile ilgili haber metninin etkisini farklı çerçeveler üzerinden incelemektedir. Çalışmanın kuramsal temeli, medya etkilerinin toplumsal yapısalcılık yaklaşımına dayanan 'Çerçeveleme Teorisi'dir. Çatışma ve ekonomik sonuçlar çerçevelerinin okuyucuların düşüncelerini oluşturmada etkili olup olmadığını incelemek amacıyla 119 katılımcıdan oluşan bir anket çalışması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda, iki farklı ideolojiye sahip gazetede (Sabah ve Cumhuriyet) yer alan Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili iki farklı haber metni çatışma ve ekonomik sonuçlar çerçeveleriyle yeniden yapılandırılarak sunulmuştur. Bu metinleri

okuduktan sonra katılımcılardan konuyla ilgili verilen bazı ifadelere katılım durumlarını belirtmeleri istenmiştir.

Elde edilen veriler, çatışma çerçevesinin okuyucularda çatışma bağlamlı düşünce oluşumunda etkili olduğu hipotezini desteklememiş; ancak ekonomik sonuçlar çerçevesinin okuyucuda ekonomi bağlamlı düşünce oluşumunda etkili olduğu hipotezini desteklemiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çerçeveleme Teorisi, Medya Etkileri, Çerçeveleme Etkisi, Doğu Akdeniz Krizi, Kamuoyu

To the lovely memory of my grandmother, Ferhan Öktem
You were my best friend and I'll love you forever…

To my daughter, Derin
You are my life and I love you more than anything…

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My sincere gratitude goes to my grandparents, Ferhan and İzzet. I'm grateful to my grandmother Ferhan who raised me and loved me the most. She was the best grandmother. I miss her every single day and dedicate this thesis to her lovely memory. I also express my deepest thanks to my parents, Sevilay and Zeki. I thank my father for always being a modern and understanding father and never sparing to show his love. I would especially like to thank my mother for being my biggest supporter for all my life. She has never stop supporting and loving me. After becoming a mother, I understood her better. She is the best mother a daughter could have and I owe her so much.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As a result of technological developments and modern life, consumption has increased, and in parallel with that the need for energy resources has increased. Especially in recent years, resources have been consumed rapidly and the need for energy by this means has become critical. Therefore, the hydrocarbon discoveries found in Eastern Mediterranean region are accepted as quite significant. (Hava, 2020:677) The Eastern Mediterranean Crisis, in its simplest terms, refers to the disagreements between countries as a result of hydrocarbon exploration activities conducted in the region. While these disagreements have economic, legal and political dimensions, also have an ideological meaning in line with the interests of regional powers.

The international crisis, which emerged within the scope of oil and gas exploration activities conducted in Eastern Mediterranean region, has been one of the issues that attracted the attention of media recently. This thesis examines the framed and reconstructed of two existing news texts on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis and explores whether these frames have an effect on forming individuals' opinion. In this respect, while trying to examine the effect of frames on audiences, it also aspires to bring critical perspective to the forefront in theoretical context. In the light of the information stated above, this study aims to contribute to literature by considering the framing theory in media and cultural studies field specific to Eastern Mediterranean Crisis. The method chosen for examining the effect of framing, within the scope of framing theory, is conducting a survey.

This thesis is designed to include seven chapters. The first chapter of the thesis is the introduction chapter you are currently reading. After the introduction, the thesis begins its content with theoretical approaches. In literature review, this thesis, in its most general scope, addresses the approaches of media effects and includes framing theory based on media effects, and correlatively the effects of framing.

Chapter Two, titles as media effects, begins with a quote of McQuail's: "The entire study of mass communication is based on the premise that media have significant effects" (McQuail). This chapter focuses on two main paradigms, as critical and mainstream, in media studies and their approaches on media effects. While these two paradigms are included, the main focus is on their approaches on how media reflects the reality. These two paradigms are first discussed separately, then compared with each other in terms of their approach of media's presentation of events. The fact that the media can reach wider masses due to globalization has brought along discussions in the academic field. A sharp distinction has occurred at the point of whether media reflects the reality as it is. As a consequence, while mainstream approaches argue that media reflects the reality as it is, the critical approaches argue that media present the events and facts by reconstructing them for ideological purposes. (Curran et al., 1982) The effects of media, and theories within this scope, are also presented in a chronological order that McQuail addressed in four stages such as strong media effects, limited media effects, rediscovery of strong media effects and social constructivism. In other words, the preponderant perspectives on media effects divided into stages as a historical process is examined in this chapter. At the end of this chapter, the adopted approach of this thesis as its theoretical basis is mentioned.

The third chapter is devoted to framing theory, which is one of the theories discussed within the scope of media effects. Firstly, different theories of media effects, such as agenda setting, priming and framing theory, are briefly mentioned. Afterwards, proceeded to framing theory which the thesis is mainly concerned with. In this context, framing is first considered as a concept and its psychological and sociological roots are mentioned. Following the handling of framing in communication studies, this chapter discusses the process models on framing theory and various framing categorizations. In addition, since the main purpose of the thesis is to examine the effect of framing, starting from framing theory, the effect of presenting the reality as reconstructed by framing is discussed. Framing, in its simplest form, represents a process that includes patterns of selection, emphasis, and exclusion. (Gitlin, 1980: 17)

Framing theory based on social constructivism approach addresses in this scope that the reality is restructured within dominant powers' ideological interests. To express in other words, framing theory is one of the theories applied to examine the effect of messages conveyed by media on the audience. (Tuchman, 1978) As critical approach indicates, media reconstructs the reality of an event and phenomenon with ideological purposes of dominant powers and then presents it to audiences. One of the ways to do this is by framing news texts. Framing can be arranged by selecting certain aspects of the reality, highlighting or ignoring some aspects of the reality of an event or a subject. In this chapter, framing theory is discussed within the scope of the explanations mentioned above.

Fourth chapter focuses on the literature reviews on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis. In the scope of this chapter, main topics addressed are as follows: "History of Hydrocarbon Discoveries in East Mediterranean", "The beginning of the Crisis in Eastern Mediterranean", "Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and License Map" and "Turkey's Claims". Recently, hydrocarbon exploration activities conducted in Eastern Mediterranean Region have been subjected to many discussions, both in media and in academic field. Related studies on this region, where there are disagreements between countries, are generally handled with their economic, political and legal dimensions. There are a few reasons for choosing the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis as the subject of the thesis. Primarily, the crisis in question receives wide coverage in media as it is a very current issue. In addition, as a result of a personal observation (explained within the following chapters of the thesis), the idea that the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis in media does not fully reflect the reality emerged, and thereby, it is aimed to contribute to literature by examining the subject in terms of framing theory.

Chapter five includes the aim, scope and methodology of the thesis. In this direction, subjects such as the hypotheses, aim, scope, research question, method, sample and limitations of the research are mentioned. This thesis aims to examine the effects of frames on the formation of individuals' opinion. The starting point of this thesis is to analyze whether the frames used in Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News have an effect on audiences. While doing so, this thesis accepts the view that reality is reconstructed by media to serve status quo. In fifth chapter, the research question and hypotheses of

the study will also be discussed. Hypotheses of the thesis will be based on the research question that is “Does framing and restructuring of a news text about Eastern Mediterranean Crisis have an effect on individuals' opinion?”. Under methodology section of this chapter, detail of sampling, survey design and reconstruction of the news text will be addressed as well as the limitations. In such researches, the news texts are involved in two ways: by creating a news text experimentally (e.g. Price et.al, 1997) or by experimentally reconstructing an existing news text (e.g. Valdenburg et al., 1999). As in the study of Valdenburg et al. (1999), the news texts in this thesis will be also selected from existing news texts. Moreover, in literature, conflict, economic consequences, human interest, attribution of responsibility and morality frames are generally accepted and have been found as the most frequently used frames in news. In this scope, the selected news texts will be reedited within the scope of economic consequences and conflict frames, and the details of this reconstructing will be presented. In most common definition, while the conflict frame describes the conflict of interest between two or more social forces, the economic consequences frame, focuses on the economic aspects, gain or losses. (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000)

Next chapter, which is the sixth chapter, will be titled as findings. In this chapter, evaluations of the findings will be included. In the empirical part, a survey study will be conducted and it is planned to collect the data through online survey platform called SurveyMonkey. In this context, survey links will be sent to the sampling determined in the methodology section via e-mail. Due to the pandemic conditions, it will not be possible to conduct the survey face-to-face. In this chapter, statistical analysis of the data obtained through the survey will be carried out. Since the sampling method is planned to be as convenience sampling, the analyzes will be conducted through crosstabs over percentage values. In the sub-title of demographic information, the general characteristics of the participants will be included with tables and graphs. Afterwards, participants' opinions on media effects and characteristics of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News will be indicated. The most important part of the findings chapter will be the distribution of findings section, which will be evaluated within the scope of framing effect. In this part, hypotheses will be evaluated in terms of the findings and this thesis' research question. In other words, I will try to find an answer

to the question of whether the framed and reconstructed news have an impact on participants.

The seventh chapter will be the conclusion part of the thesis. In this direction, general evaluations such as what this thesis aims at and what results have been achieved will be conducted. This chapter will also include the challenges and limitations faced during the study and the suggestions for future studies.

If summarizing what mentioned in introduction, the ideology transmitted through media and its effect on the audience are among the topics discussed within the scope of media effects. (Kaya, 2009:31) In this context, framing theory, which firstly emerged in sociology field, has started to attract attention in communication studies since the middle of 20th century and has become an interdisciplinary paradigm. In this study, the effects of framing of the news about Eastern Mediterranean Crisis on participants will be examined. In addition, it is aimed to examine the general interests and opinions about the crisis in question and media. Accordingly, a survey will be conducted to examine the effect of frames. An answer will be sought whether the news frames have an effect on the formation of participants' opinion, especially on the issue of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.

This thesis examines framing theory in the paradigm of "social structuralism" with a critical perspective. The starting point of the study, from a perspective that accepts the reality is usually constructed by media, is to analyze the effects of frames used in Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News on participants. The theoretical basis adopted by the thesis will be the theory of "social construction of reality" and correlatively the "framing theory", which makes it possible to adapt social constructivism theory to the field of communication. There are quite a number of studies carried out within framing theory, however, this thesis aims to contribute to literature as it includes the subject of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis and examines the effects of framing through conducting a survey and adopts the critical perspective in its theoretical basis. In the next section, the issue of media effects will be discussed.

CHAPTER 2

MEDIA EFFECTS

"The entire study of mass communication is based on the premise that media have significant effects" (McQuail)

2.1. Introduction

The main means of communication in modern societies is mass media. All studies in the field of mass communication are based on the premise that media has effects. The debates about media studies include how media transmit the facts and the effects of this transmission on political and social life. (McQuail, 1993: 175)

Media, which was under the absolute control of the state at the time when capitalism first appeared, played an important role in the struggle for freedom and democracy due to the social developments in 18th and 19th centuries. For this reason, besides the legislative, executive and judiciary powers, it has been called as a fourth power that supervises political regimes on behalf of the public. (Kaya, 2009: 18) The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was also the period when mass communication became widespread. Newspapers became to reach the large masses; also, in the light of technological developments such as the invention of radio and TV, the effects of media have started to be discussed. Thereby, some of the research carried out within the scope of media studies in academic field has focused on the effects of mass media tools and their effects' consequences. (Laughey, 2010: 21)

According to Kaya and Çakmur; in all contemporary societies, people get information of the events and facts outside of their daily life practices as much as and in the way that media convey to them. Media, with the metaphorical name "watchdog", is considered as a dominant force that is involved in the supervision and maintenance of

social life and in the realization of social change. One of the questions that mass communication studies seek to answer intensively is that how media reflects the events and facts and what are the effects of this transmission. (Kaya & Çakmur: 2010:517-518)

There is sheer amount of theories in communication literature. These theories divide into two paradigms in their most general scope. The first of these paradigms is the "mainstream approaches" that aim to legitimize and maintain the existing social order. The second paradigm is “critical approaches" that question the existing social order and forms of communication. (Yaylagül, 2013:29)

Mainstream/liberal-pluralist approaches examine the effect of the media on individuals and on society with empirical methods. Critical approaches, on the other hand, criticize the mainstream approaches by arguing that they ignore the ideological and economic contexts. To critical view, media redesigns/reconstructs reality by consciously conveying the dominant ideology, and the question of media effects should be examined from this perspective. (Yurdakul, 2018:74)

To sum up, although there are many questions that studies in the field of mass communication seek to answer; foremost among these questions is whether the messages of media have an effect on the individuals in interaction or not. In literature, these studies are called as “media effects” and theoretically discussed on the basis of two main paradigms mentioned above. In other words; approaches to media effects have been studied at two levels in general: the "all mighty effects" understanding of the critical paradigm and the "limited effects" understanding of the liberal approach. Theoretical statements are also shaped around these two paradigms.

This chapter aims to focus on two main paradigms that are fundamental in media studies and their views on media effects. In addition, the preponderant perspectives on the effects of media divided into stages as a historical process will be examined. Finally, a review of which theoretical approach is adopted in this thesis will be presented.

2.2. Mainstream (Liberal-Pluralist) Approaches

Mainstream approaches assume that mass communication, and therefore its scope, is measurable. The interest in examining the effects of media on individuals and societies emerged from this assumption. When examining media messages, mainstream approaches do not address its historical context; besides ignores ideological and economic elements. It focuses only on the empirical consequences of media effects. (Yurdakul, 2018:75)

Media is accepted as a mirror that reflects the reality to the society as it is. Just as the mirror shows the thing as it is, media also conveys the social reality and events exactly as they are. For this reason, media is considered as a "watchdog" that controls the government for the public good in democratic regimes. To put it another way, media ensures the continuity of the public interest and due to this function, it is referred to as the fourth power after the legislative, executive and judicial powers. (Kaya & Çakmur: 2010:518-520) The reason why media is defined as the fourth power lies in the acceptance of the news are objective, neutral and balanced. In other words, according to mainstream approaches, freedom of the press is an indispensable condition of pluralism. Journalists are also rational individuals who can grasp the social reality as it is and can convey it to public objectively. (Curran, 2002: 186)

Media contributes to the public interest while reflecting the events, facts and phenomena occurred in the society. Under the existence of democracy, the basis of mainstream approach lies in free expression of every thought and in free communication. To put it another words, there is freedom of expression and correlatively media is free so the messages presented by media are examined with a pluralistic approach. Media is an indispensable tool of a pluralistic democratic system. It is considered as an autonomous power in society and in this scope media studies have focused on the effects of content on individuals. (Adıyaman, 2021:61-62).

With reference to mainstream paradigm (also known as traditional or liberal-pluralist paradigm), mass media reflect the facts as they are. The famous motto "Media is the mirror of the society" explains the point of view of traditional approaches in the most crucial way. This means that, by considering the public interest, the events conveyed to the masses through media are reflected as much as and in the way that they are.

2.3. Critical Approaches

Critical approaches in the field of mass communication were born mainly as a reaction to traditional theories. Critical approaches argue that media is "keeper of order" and object the mainstream approaches' definition of media as a "watchdog". Contrary to liberal-pluralists, critical views define mass media tools as a means of conveying the ideologies of those who hold economic and political power to the society. According to critical assumption, the ownership and control of the means of communication is under the control of the ruling class. For this reason, media is a tool that reflects the ideology of ruling class. In class society, it reports the news by considering the interests of the ruling class. In other words, instead of reflecting reality as it is, media reflects the facts by reconstructing and distorting it. (Kaya&Çakmur: 2010:520-521)

In the framework of critical perspective, media and cultural studies have focused on the globalization of communication, political economy of communication and cultural and sociological scope of communication. Within this concentration, the effects of media are discussed in their social, historical, economical and ideological contexts. Although it is divided into various perspectives within itself, the researches are based on the ground of Marxist ideology. (Tokgöz, 2015: 332; Adıyaman, 2021: 67)

Alongside of critical paradigm originate from Marxist ideology, studies approach media as cultural and ideological tools and criticize neoliberal policies. In this context, critical paradigm is divided into three paradigms such as structuralism, cultural studies and political economy. The common emphasis of all paradigms is that mass media is a tool for the reproduction of "status quo". Frankfurt School, British Cultural Studies and Structural Linguistic Analysis, which are among the approaches that determine media as cultural and ideological tool, interpret media contents ideologically. To put

it another way, the researches of Gramsci, Althusser, Adorno, Horkheimer, Marcuse and Habermas become prominent in critical paradigm of communication studies. (Yaylagül, 2013)

Cultural approaches are discussed within the scope of structuralism and political economy. The British tradition focuses on structuralism and criticizes economic reductionism. As Hall pointed out, cultural studies examine the historical context of subjects, while encompassing practices and traditions shaped in the basis of social classes. (Hall, 1980; quoted in Curran et al., 1982: 22) The theoretical foundation of Cultural Studies is based on Althusser's "Ideological State Apparatuses" and Gramsci's conceptualizations of "Hegemony". Researches emphasizes, in this scope, the ideological dimensions of the media effects. According to cultural studies, mass communication does not convey the existing reality, on the contrary, it reconstructs the reality in line with the ideology of ruling class and then reflects the reconstructed facts to the society. (Yurdakul, 2018: 68; Yaylagül, 2013:131)

Cultural Studies emerged in the post-war period in England. The tradition of critical examination of media contents developed with the emergence of cultural studies in England. It is a tradition that examines subjects such as relations between classes, culture and media content in the context of ideology. The critical paradigm of media effects studies is encountered in cultural studies. While the starting point of cultural studies that developed since the 1960s was Althusser's structuralist Marxist ideology, in progress of time it was shaped around Gramsci's conceptualization of hegemony. The pioneers of the tradition are Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall. For instance, Hall examined the ideological structuring of media contents and left the economic-political approach of the Marxist tradition. He focused on the meaning produced by media. (Hall, cited in Yaylagül, 2013).

In the structuralist approach of critical paradigm, mass media is defined as cultural and ideological apparatus. According to this point of view, which is also known as neo-Marxist, media restructures the events and facts in line with a certain meaning. The reason for this configuration is to ensure the continuation of status quo by making the

ideology of ruling class dominant in the society. To do so, media firstly selects the events/facts to be conveyed and then frames the news content for transmitting to the masses. Facts are ideologically reconstructed in accordance with daily journalistic practices such as selection, highlighting, exclusion or framing. (Yaylagül, 2013: 94)

To conclude, critical approaches accept the view that media has both individual and social effects. According to Althusser, the mass communication is an apparatus that enables the ideological reconstruction of societies. Because of media being the ideological apparatus of the state, its content is framed in order to maintain status quo. (Kaya, 2009:58)

2.4. Differences Between Mainstream and Critical Perspectives on the Transmission of Reality

Within the scope of the mainstream and critical paradigm, the most distinctive distinction between the views on the content conveyed by media is occurred regarding how the "reality" is reflected. While the liberal-pluralist approaches claim that reality is reflected as it already is with the motto of "media is the mirror of society", critical approaches assert that reality is reconstructed by dominant political and economic interest groups. (Curran et al., 1982: 17)

The critical paradigm emerged as a reaction to mainstream paradigm and re-questioned media's role in society. Despite the view that the events and facts are conveyed by media as they are, critical viewpoint argue that the reality is reconstructed and reproduced. Moreover, mass media is defined as powerful tools in the reproduction of the dominant ideology. Marxist view also criticizes the empirical studies of traditional approaches for following a theoretical foundation devoid of ideology. According to Curran, although some studies have been conducted empirically in critical tradition, such as the studies of Hartman and Morley, have shown a theoretical approach from critical viewpoint without breaking away from its historical context. (Curran et al., 1982:11)

In terms of their scope and methodology, media and cultural studies can be classified into two paradigms as general. Mainstream and critical paradigm present fundamentally opposing views. Liberal-pluralist theories, which are referred as mainstream in literature, emerged and developed in the USA. One of the first questions that mainstream approaches seek answers is about the effects of media. Focusing on the effect dimension of mass communication, studies are conducted with empirical methods. In this direction, the critical approaches have accused the mainstream studies of being superficial by examining the issues without in their historical, ideological and social contexts. According to critical view, mainstream approaches to media effect studies address only the measurable levels of impact by ignoring the contexts underlying these effects. (Yurdakul,2018:62-65)

To sum up, the critical view, associated with emerging as a critique of mainstream views, has evolved in progress of time in a quite different way from liberal approach. Critical media studies review the ideological context of communication and form the theoretical structure regarding to social processes. While mainstream approaches describe media as a watchdog, critical approaches emphasize the media's role as an ideological tool. One of the main differences arise in media effect studies is that, although mainstream studies provide empirical data in dimension of measuring the impact, critical studies emphasize the ideological dimensions of the effects.

2.5. Four Phase of Media Effects

Denis McQuail is one of the first names that come to mind in studies on media effects. As McQuail stated, researches related to mass communication began with the expectation of finding remarkable effects from mass media on public opinion. (McQuail, 2010: 378)

According to McQuail, researches on media effects can be classified in four phases:

1. Strong Effects Paradigm
2. Limited Effects Paradigm
3. Rediscovery of Strong Effects Paradigm
4. Social Constructivism Paradigm

Below, a chronology of stages of media effects can be seen in the figure.

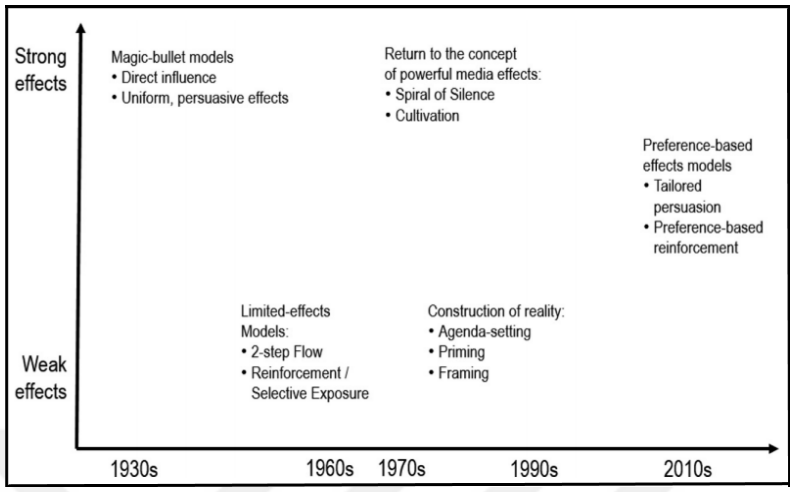


Figure 1. Chronology of stages of media effects
(Source: McQuail, 2005)

In thesis, views and approaches on media effects will be discussed in the stages expressed by McQuail and will be examined chronologically in the same manner. The paradigm of strong effects, which is the starting point of the question of media effects, is the next subject.

2.5.1. Strong Effects Paradigm

First phase is called strong effects paradigm, also known as "all powerful media". From 1900s to 1930s, both in Europe and in US, media was seen as an absolute and effective power that could shape opinions and behaviors on an individual and/or social basis. However, this was not a conclusion of any scientific research, this was related to the increasing popularity of media and its effect of persuasion. (McQuail, 2010: 379) In this theoretical gap, media effects studies were emerged in the basis of studies examining formation of opinion. The oldest accepted view in the scope of media effects was that the media had a strong influence on passive audiences. (Kaya, 2009:49-50; Moy&Bosch, 2013:292)

The main question of media effects research is how content and messages shape the opinions of people. To be more specific, does media have an impact on people's thoughts? If so, how and to what extent does media have an impact? The answers to all these questions began to be sought in the period when the effects of mass communication are considered powerful. Moreover, the basis of these researches is based on the mainstream paradigm.

Especially in the period after the First World War, discussions on the effects of mass media emerged and the common view of strong effects prevailed. More specifically, related to propaganda that intensified during the war, media contents were defined as stimulants with immediate effects. One of the most well-known models in this stage is the stimulus-response model. According to the stimulus-response model, media affects individuals immediately and directly. Results may not always be in the desired direction; however, under any circumstance media stimulus creates a reaction and an effect on audience. The stimulus-response model is one of the most criticized approaches in literature. (Curran et al., 1982; Laughey, 2010:40) Harold Laswell adapted the stimulus-response model into mass communication. Laswell is one of the prominent names in studies of mainstream paradigm. He pioneered in content analysis method with the contribution of his well-known formula "who, says what, to whom, in which channel, with what effect". In strong media effect studies, there is a common believe that communication is one-way and the audience is passive.

Walter Lippmann, in his book "Public Opinion", defined media as a tool that enable to shape people's opinion. He argues that people's thoughts on events outside of their daily life are mainly shaped by the messages they receive from the world outside themselves. Media, in this context, is the most fundamental tool in the formation and transmission of these messages. Inspired by this view, Laswell developed the "Hypodermic Needle" model, which is also known as "Hypodermic-Syringe Model" or "Magic Bullet Theory", within the scope of this model he conceptualized media content as having a very strong effect on audiences. Hypodermic needle theory focuses on the transmission of content without questioning its ideological context. The message transmitted by the "sender" has an immediate and direct impact on opinion

and on behavior of the "receiver". (Yaylagül, 2013:47-55) The criticism of this theory is that it simply focuses on the transmission of a message without questioning both ideological and other contexts.

To briefly evaluate, the effects of media and the questions of how these effects occur are among the primary subjects of researches in strong effects stage and these researches were first shaped around the mainstream paradigm. However, it should be added here, there was a common view that media effects were strong in both right and left perspectives. Although the contents and methods of researches distinguish due to the contrast of the perspectives, the common view in this stage is that the mass media have strong effects. (Curran et al., 1982:6)

2.5.2. Limited Effects Paradigm

The strong effect paradigm has started to lose its effectiveness at the end of 1930s. In the period between 1930 and 1960, the transition to the second stage of media effects was occurred. At this stage, the media effects paradigm was reconsidered and the view that the media had limited effects emerged. The limited effects paradigm accepts the view that individuals in interaction to communication process are active. For this reason, individuals are characterized as more sensitive to media effects. (Curran et al., 1982:7; McQuail, 2010: 382)

Within this stage, where media effects are considered "limited", the studies of Katz, Berelson and Lazarsfeld come to the fore. As a common result of their studies, the effects occurred from interpersonal communication were found to be stronger than the media effects. Klapper compiled researches on "minimal effect" in his book "The Effect of Mass Communication". As he argues, mass communication does not have the effect of directing opinions and behaviors; media contents may have only indirect effects on people. (cited in Yaylagül, 2013:52)

One of the most important models that emerged within this stage is the "Two-Step Flow" model. The model was developed as a part of Cantril Research and conducted by Lazersfeld and his colleagues. According to two-step flow assumption, facts and

events are transferred in two stages. Since the information is transferred in two stages, the effects of media were evaluated indirectly and so, the foundations of the transition to "limited effects paradigm" were laid. (Kaya, 2009:55) In two-step flow model, the phenomenon of “public opinion leader” is also conceptualized. The messages conveyed by media are firstly received by public opinion leaders and then transferred to the society with their discourses. in a two-flow process, people's opinions are shaped by the transfer of public opinion leaders, not directly by media. Therefore, media effects are indirect and limited. In addition, the effects have also been limited regarding to the uses of individuals, and "Uses and Gratifications" theory has been shaped mainly on this view. (Laughey, 2010: 57)

Limited Media Effects Paradigm has been criticized frequently by Marxists and Neo-Marxists. According to critical thinkers, media is in a crucial position to maintain class domination. Since it is an apparatus that reflects the ideology of sovereigns to the society, its influence should not and cannot be denied. Therefore, media has strong effects according to general acceptance of critical approach, media effects should not be considered as limited and/or indirect. (Curran et al., 1982:8)

2.5.3. Rediscovery of Strong Effects Paradigm

The third phase, defined as rediscovery of strong media effects, began 1960s related to the invention and arrival of TV. In the 1970s, the debates on media effects came to light again. In this era, especially Elisabeth Noelle-Neuman has scrutinized media effect studies and criticized limited effect paradigm. Moreover, she strictly advocated a return to strong media effect paradigm. (McQuail, 2010: 382)

Technological developments in communication field have led to a re-questioning of views on media effects on individuals and society. These inquiries also provided a basis for the emergence of new approaches that can be evaluated within the scope of media effect studies. In this context, approaches such as "Spiral of Silence", "Dependency Model" and "Agenda Setting" have been developed.

Moreover, it can be added in here that critical and cultural approaches also emerged in this era. Media effects in Europe, where the critical approaches are dominant, and in US, where the mainstream approaches are dominant, are discussed with different dimensions in the third stage. According to "Spiral of Silence" model developed by Elisabeth Noelle-Neuman, when media reflects certain views as the dominant opinion of public, individuals who fear exclusion from society adopt these dominant views. "Agenda Setting" theory, on the other hand, integrated with the researches of Mccombs and Shaw, argues that media determine what people to think about. In the research conducted by Mccombs and Shaw on media agenda and the opinions of undecided voters in Chapel Hill, USA, it was concluded that the agenda of media is effective on undecided voters. As final, "Dependency Theory", puts forward the view that individuals are dependent on media in their level of knowledge. (cited in Özarslan, 2008:6-7)

If we're going to sum up the approaches in this phase, we can say that studies have once more again focused on the strong effects of mass communication tools regarding to the call for returning to strong effects. However, media effects were not considered as direct effects on opinions. Instead, researches mostly examined that what audiences "receive" from mass media tools and its effects. (McQuail, 2010: 382)

2.5.4. Social Constructivism Paradigm

The fourth phase that we are in has started in early 1980s and is considered within the scope of "Social Constructivism" (or Social Structuralism) approach. It is accepted that media have both strong and limited effects on the audience. On one hand, media has strong effects on the construction of reality, in other words it frames the reality. On the other hand, the effects are limited by the interaction between media and audience. (Scheufele, 1999: 105).

In today's modern world, people can access information such as internal and external incidents through media. Events and facts are conveyed to people as media reflect them and through 'construction'. (Kaya, 1999: 24) Within this context, the concept of "Social Construction" was firstly introduced in a study by Berger and Luckmann in

1966 and they stated in their study the reality as "socially constructed." (Narin, 2008: 46; Karabıyık, 2016:9)

During the emergence of framing theory, the one-way media effects model was losing its effectiveness. The influence of media on audiences has started to be addressed to more holistic approach. So, the "social constructionism" approach started to gain importance since the late 1970s. From then on, framing theory is studied within the scope of media effects research and on the basis of "social constructionism" in a considerable part of literature. (McQuail, 2006: 461; Scheufele, 1999: 105). Theories such as framing and priming, which are considered within the scope of social constructivist paradigm, also state that media has strong effects, but these effects depend on the circumstances and phenomenon that shape the audience's interpretation of messages. In other words, in order to media effects on audiences being strong depends on individuals' knowledge level, cultural and ideological characteristics. (Scheuffele and Tewksbury, 2007) According to Van Gorp, constructivism deals with the interaction between the structural features of the content of a media item (e.g. frames) and the audiences' formation their opinions in compliance with these features. (Van Gorp, B., 2007:73)

The media's presentation of a news within certain frames affects people's opinion by reproducing the social reality. In other words, news framing in construction of the reality emerges as a process that shapes the perceptions and preferences of audiences. (Entman, 2007: 164) It is argued that media has strong effects in social constructionist approach, but these effects are shaped by the cognitive schemas and personal characteristics of the audience. (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007: 11). To put it another way, according to social construction approach on reality, the level of influence on individuals, exposed to media frames from transmitted messages, is determined by their cognitive schemas. (Özarslan 2007: 10-11).

Media has strong effects that constructs social reality by framing events, on the other hand, this effect is limited by the interaction between media and its audiences. That is to say, based on the social construction, objectification and dissemination of reality, the structuralist paradigm argues that media has both strong and limited effects. The constructivist paradigm first emerged from Sassure's approach to linguistics. However, in progress of time, the scope of the studies has expanded and approaches that cover the ideological and cultural contexts of critical paradigm have been adopted. For instance, Althusser advocates a structuralist cultural Marxism. This structuralist ideological perspective formed the basis of Althusser's conceptualization of mass communication tools as "ideological state apparatus". Social constructivist studies in communication literature consider the content of a news as constructed message in order to convey the dominant ideology to the society. (Yaylagül, 2013:124)

Within the critical paradigm, the view that reality is socially constructed has been studied in cultural studies. Cultural studies, which occupy an important place in Anglo-Saxon thought, query media as "fourth power" and criticize the representation of reality. According to these approaches, media reproduces the meanings and correlatively news texts are reconstructed in line with the dominant discourses. (Hall, 1978:340)

The early periods of British Cultural Studies are based on Althusser's constructivist Marxist view on ideology. The later periods' researches, however, are based on Gramsci's conceptualization of hegemony. (Yaylagül, 2013: 126) According to Gramsci, media is a tool that conveys the values of ruling classes to audience. The news and facts to be presented in media are reflected from the viewpoint of ruling class. In other words, media reproduces hegemony by transmitting the ideology of the ruling class. Gramsci's views form the cornerstone of British cultural approaches. (Yaylagül, 2013:114)

The biggest criticism of critical paradigm to mainstream paradigm is that traditional approach examines the contexts and effects of messages conveyed by mass communication by abstracting them from their social processes. In liberal-pluralist approaches, the masses are positioned outside of the historical and social relations.

The studies are considered within a linear process by detaching them from their ideological and historical contexts. (Yaylagül, 2013:36-53) To say it another words, the effects of media do not simply represent a linear process between the sender and the receiver. As critical approach advocates, it covers a complex process with more components. At this point, we can state that critical approaches in the communication literature appear as a paradigm that questions and criticizes mainstream approaches. The reason for adopting the constructivist approach in this thesis is the acceptance that media contents have both strong and limited effects, and the view that contents are ideologically reconstructed in order to maintain the status quo. News texts are "framed" and reconstructed to convey the dominant ideology and thus reconstructed reality is transferred to societies. One of the theories of this constructivist view is framing theory. To be clearer, the theoretical approach adopted as the basis of thesis is "framing" generated under social constructivist approach. In line with above-mentioned explanations, social constructivism paradigm has been examined with particular importance.

2.6. Theoretical Approach of Thesis

In chapter two, theories on media effects existed in literature are discussed. The approaches examined in two paradigms, as critical and mainstream, are also presented in a chronological order that McQuail discussed in 4 stages. In this study, in the footsteps of critical thinkers, the view that "media does not reflect the truth exactly, on the contrary, it reconstructs the truth" is adopted. The basis of this approach called as constructivism, there is a common acceptance that media presents reality by framing it. The construction of reality emerges as a whole of social processes and media is an ideological apparatus that plays an active role in these processes. (Althusser, 1970)

The mainstream paradigm accepts the assumption that news is presented in an objective way. The critical view, on the other hand, rejects this assumption and argues that the truth is constructed and transferred as so. (Narin,2008: 43) That is to say, to liberal pluralists, media is a mirror that reflects the facts and events as they are. To critical approach's argument, however, reality is reconstructed by dominant powers to transmit their ideology. The equivalent of this expression in literature is the theory of

'social constructivism'. This thesis assumes that the messages conveyed by media are reconstructed and presented in line with the ideology of ruling class. In this context, media contents are considered as messages which have been redesigned to ensure the continuation of status quo, and they purposefully convey the dominant ideologies. They do not reflect the facts as they are; on the contrary, present the facts and events by being ideologically restructured. According to social constructivism approach, which started in the early 1980s and is still valid today, media has both strong and limited effects. While it creates strong ideological effects by framing the reality, the power of these effects is considered to be limited with the interaction between media and its audiences. (Narin,2008:53)

To conclude, media ensures the continuation of status quo by conveying the ideology and discourse of the ruling class. Media, in order to do so, reproduces and "frames" the reality; and then transmits it to the society. In this direction, the constructivist view argues that the concept of framing gathers the factors that form and limit strong media effects. (McQuail, 2005)

This thesis argues with an interrogative approach that studies on media content should be considered critically without ignoring social processes. In the light of the above-mentioned considerations, the theoretical basis of this thesis is social constructivist paradigm of critical approach. Today, media is seen as a tool that affects the perceptions and opinions of masses and ideologically constructs social meanings. This ideological role of media is reflected in the assumptions of social constructivism. (Hall, 2002: 118). In this context, one of the emerging theories in social constructivist approach is the framing theory. The theoretical approach of the thesis is expressed in the previous part; however, it would be useful to mention it respectably once again. The reason why the framing theory was chosen as the theoretical basis of the thesis is that the news presented in media within the scope of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis do not reflect the reality as it is, on the contrary, it is observed that it is reconstructed in order to ensure the continuation of the dominant ideology. To express the reason of adopted theory in other words, the most fundamental problematic of the thesis emerged from the assumption that the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis are represented as

restructured and "framed". For this reason, the theoretical basis is adopted as well-known "framing theory", which is considered within the scope of the social structuralism approach of the critical paradigm. Therefore, the next chapter is devoted entirely to framing theory and the effects of framing.

CHAPTER 3

FRAMING THEORY AND FRAMING EFFECTS

3.1. Introduction

Since the 80s, the view that media conveys the contents by structuring has begun to attract attention, and as a result, framing theory has gained an important place in media studies. In this thesis, framing theory is discussed within the social constructivism approach, which adopts the reproduction of reality in a social context. In order to reveal the relationship of framing with communication literature, effect paradigms were mentioned in the previous chapter of thesis. The reason for mentioning the approaches of media effects is to put the position of framing theory in communication literature into a processual context.

There is a wide range of definitions and views of framing theory in literature. In connection with that, framing was approached from different perspectives in mainstream and critical paradigm, so a common definition could not be made due to this diversity. For instance, a group of scholars consider framing theory on the basis of constructivist approach based on Goffman, while other scholars (especially McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver) discuss framing as an extension of agenda setting, which is considered within the scope of traditional approach. (Narin, 2008: 76)

This thesis, as stated above, evaluates framing theory within the social constructivist approach and accepts the view that reality is reflected to society by reconstructing it. In a critical context, this thesis assumes that framing from a structuralist perspective has both strong and limited effects. This means that; while mass communication tools have a power that can affect individuals, this power is limited to individuals' reception of messages and their interaction with media. (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007: 11).

Media effect studies have a history that evolves in the progress of time and circumstances. When media effects on masses are examined, three theories gain importance in literature: 'priming', 'framing' and 'agenda setting'. (Narin, 2008: 75) This chapter will be considerably focus on framing theory under the social constructivism paradigm. As the author of this thesis, I will try briefly to define framing as a concept from scholars' view and include their various evaluations on the theory. Then, I will review the literature on framing theory and will give wide coverage to framing related studies and their conclusions. Final section of this chapter will be comprised of the effects of framing, which constitute the main area of interest of the empirical part of the study. But first, it would be more useful to briefly touch upon the differences between priming, agenda setting and framing theories because of they are considered within the scope of media effects. After making an evaluation on these three theories, the focus will be proceeded into the main subject of this chapter which is framing theory.

3.2. Different Theories on Media Effects

When we search media effect studies in communication literature, we see that three theories become prominent: priming, agenda setting and framing. There isn't any consensus among theorists in relation to the basis of these three theories, whether they are from different theoretical paradigms or derived from each other or not. (Edy&Meirick, 2007:120) Two approaches emerge at this point. According to the first approach, agenda setting theory involves the "priming" and "framing" theories. According to the second approach, these three theories should be considered differently from each other. Bertram Scheufele rejects the view that agenda setting theory includes "priming" and "framing" theories. According to him, while agenda setting determines on which subject to think; framing identifies “how” individuals to think. (Scheufele, 2004: 405).

3.2.1. Agenda Setting

In 1970s, there was a return to strong media effects viewpoint. The same period also witnessed the emergence of agenda-setting studies and attracted the attention of those who advocated a return to strong media effects as an alternative to the view of limited media effects. (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007: 10-11)

According to agenda setting theory, while media highlights some events more and ignores others. As so, media determines the agenda of the public. The idea of agenda setting first appeared in Walter Lippmann's Public Opinion (1922) book. Lipmann presented that media is a powerful dominant with the potential of setting the agenda. In years many related views have been occurred in his path. In this direction, agenda setting emerged as a theory within a result of a study conducted by McCombs and Shaw on the 1968 presidential elections in the USA. They questioned in this study how the decisions of undecided voters were affected. As a conclusion, they have found that media determines what people to think about, instead of how they would think. By giving more space to certain issues, media enables individuals to see these issues as more important. In other words, according to agenda setting theory, media determines how people will be interested in which subjects. The more media puts an issue on its agenda, the more important it becomes for people. (McCombs and Shaw, 1972) Irvan considers agenda setting theory as an effort to prove the power of media within the mainstream paradigm. (Irvan, 2001:69; cited in Kaleder, 2014:24)

3.2.2. Priming

Priming, in the simplest terms, is a theory that deals with criteria to affect the political evaluations of individuals. Media draws attention to some issues and ignores others, especially on political issues and this situation affects people's political evaluations. Priming, in this scope, describes the process of influencing people's thoughts, depending on the order in which the issues appear in media. (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987: 63).

3.2.3. Framing

Framing is a definition that includes the evaluation of both encoding and decoding process of a media message. When looking at academic researches, it would possible to see that framing theory has been studied by various fields such as psychology, sociology, political science, anthropology and communication. (Huang, 2010:47; Cacciatore et.al., 2016:7) The foundations of framing go back to Goffman. Goffman (1974) describes the depiction of reality in construction process as "frameworks". Framing is a theory that focuses on media's presentation of events and facts. While the theory covers that media has an effect on individuals, it also argues this effect to be limited to the interaction between individuals and media. (Price & Tewksbury, 1997:184)

On the contrary, McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver (1997) defended that framing should be defined as second-level agenda setting, mentioning that it is an extension of agenda setting theory. Accordingly, they use the term of framing as second level agenda setting to define the power of featured characteristics in media messages. Agenda setting theory has appeared as a result of a tradition that examines media effects from a liberal pluralist perspective. It is claimed that media has power to determine the subject individuals shall think about. Researches on this theory are examined from different perspectives such as the first level agenda setting and the second level agenda setting. (Erdoğan, 2011: 52). The process of structuring the media agenda is not addressed in the first level agenda setting researches; instead, it is important to examine what the public thinks about. On the other hand, the second level agenda setting researches have emerged as an alternative approach that includes framing analysis. According to Price and Tewksbury (1997), while the selection of a subject in certain aspects is important in the first level agenda setting researches, the second level agenda setting researches focus on the presentation style, not the selection of the topics. (Erdoğan, 2011: 55) As mentioned before, McCombs, Shaw and Weaver argued that framing emerged from the agenda setting theory. (McCombs, Shaw and Weaver, 1997; cited in Narin, 2008: 77) Scheufele (2004), Kosicki (1993) and Tewksbury (2007), on the contrary, argued that framing is not a continuation of agenda setting. (cited in Özarslan & Güran, 2015: 38)

Agenda setting researches are included in mainstream paradigm of media effects and has emerged in parallel with the media's rediscovery to strong effects. On the other hand, framing studies emerged from Goffman's sociology-based 'Framing Analysis' and developed with Tuchman and Gitlin's studies covering ideology by positioning in social constructivist approach. (Özarslan: 2008:90) At this point, we should add here, the view that framing and priming are extensions of agenda setting, in other words the view that they are second-level agenda setting, may cause to ignore the main differences between these theories. Priming and framing theories are analyzed within the social constructivism approach by accepting the assumption that media have both strong and limited effects. Agenda setting, on the other hand, has been the subject of mainstream approach's studies, mostly since the rediscovery to strong effects. (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007: 11). Even revealing these radical differences shows that we should examine all three theories separately from each other. In conclusion, this thesis rejects the view that framing is an extension of agenda-setting theory, and originally positions framing theory within critical paradigm's social constructivism approach. The following parts of this chapter will focus only on framing theory, so narratives on agenda setting and priming theories are limited within this part.

3.3. Framing Theory

One of the methods used by media to form public opinion and influence the masses is to frame the news in certain ways. (de Vreese, 2005: 51) To be more specific, texts and images are presented in certain frames of meaning. Framing theory within the scope of media effects focuses on how subjects, images and news are presented to public. Moreover, predictable models emerge in the analysis of the news. The reasons for this inference have been discussed in studies examining the production stage of the news, and thus the question of how 'framing' the news has drawn attention. According to McQuail, news is framed for easier understanding. Audiences process the messages with the frames included in the content of the news. (McQuail, 2010: 318-421)

Framing is a multifaceted concept with multiple approaches. In particular, it is frequently discussed in fields such as psychology, sociology and communication, thus each approach has its own definition. But this diversity has various consequences. On

the one hand, there is an inconsistency over the fundamentals of framing. On the other hand, framing is often compared to various approaches such as priming and agenda setting. As a result, framing as a concept of one of the media effects has gained an interdisciplinary dimension in the light of these abovementioned reasons. (Cacciatore et.al., 2016:8-9)

3.3.1. Framing as A Concept

Although framing theory has an interdisciplinary origin, its foundations extend to sociology and psychology. There are many definitions of 'framing' and 'framing theory' in literature. (D'Angelo & Shaw, 2018:209) Framing as a concept means the patterns used to organize the content verbally or visually so that a message can be understood and conveyed more easily. In other words, framing in news media, by definition, represents a process that includes patterns of selection, emphasis, and exclusion. (Gitlin, 1980: 17)

Framing is the whole of activities such as prominent word or sentence patterns, emphasizing, sequencing or creating a visual perception in a content. It refers to the creation of perception, for the purpose of conveying certain thoughts (ideologies). The purpose of the framing consists of a meaning to be noticed, to be remembered and to convey the desired meaning to others. For example, in a news text, it is aimed to make the supported opinion more visible through frames, to be considered and kept in mind by receiver. According to Entman, who examines the role of frames on perception, framing includes the processes of defining the problem, specifying its causes, making judgments and proposing solutions. (Entman, 1993: 154). Gaye Tuchman, additionally, describes framing concept as: “A subject turns into an event, and then this event turns into a news. At this point, frames appear as patterns that reconstruct the reality with the feature of being the context of news. Framing is both part and whole of our everyday reality. (Tuchman, 1978:193)

Framing represents a structure used to shape the perceptions and thoughts of individuals by constructing reality and has a hegemonic function on society. While media frames are constructed by mass communication tools (hence the dominant

powers); individual frames appear as an area where the constructed reality is interpreted. (Chong & Druckman, 2007: 112; Gitlin, 1980: 17) As for the studies on framing, researches in the fields of sociology and psychology have started to affect the researches done in communication over time. The headlines and words used in the construction of the news and the presentation of images constitute the starting point of the researches. (Özarslan & Güran, 2015: 34-35)

3.3.1.1. Psychological Roots

When one examines the framing theory in literature, one can see that it is first discussed in the field of psychology. Gregory Bateson is the first theorist who study the term frames in the psychological field. According to Bateson, frames can direct individuals' perception of reality by emphasizing certain messages and/or excluding certain messages. In its psychological origin, it is stated that the most basic function of frames is to select meaningful messages and exclude others. Therefore, frames are likened to picture frames that direct the viewer. The most important and significant psychological effects of frames are discussed in the subjects of perception and referral of perception. (Bateson, 1972: 187-188; cited in Özarslan, 2008:24)

3.3.1.2. Sociological Roots

Erving Goffman was the first to use the concept of framing in sociology. Frames, according to him, are the interpretation schemes that contribute to perception, identification and labeling of a topic. Goffman evaluates framing as a process in which meaning is reproduced and examines the structuring of reality in his essay "Frame Analysis" published in 1974. Moreover, he defines "primary frameworks" by considering the portrayal of reality in the construction process. According to this definition, individuals simultaneously form a framework for their ideas while interpreting events. Primary frameworks are a set of socially constructed concepts and are divided into two as natural and social. While natural frames are frames that arise naturally in the interpretation stage of events, social frames deliberately built on top of natural frames. They both interact with each other and are a determining factor in individuals' interpretation of events. In this way, individuals' interpretation can be understood in a broader social context. (Goffman, 1974: 21-22).

The adaptation of Goffman's "Framing Analysis" into news analysis was an important milestone for involving media effects studies into social construction theory related to reality. (İnce, 2014:46) Although Goffman's research on framing remains very general and temporally old compared to today's studies, it is attributed as quite important in this thesis because of being the first among others that examines framing in the scope of social constructivism. Therefore, the theoretical foundations of the study are parallel to Goffman's approach on the reconstruction of reality. In the next part, conceptualizations and approaches of framing in communication studies will be discussed.

3.3.1.3. Framing in Communication Studies

If one examines how the concept is handled in terms of media studies, one can see that the process of producing and presenting the news and perceiving it by masses indicates the essence of 'framing'. In this context, the starting point of the theory in communication studies is how the news are presented or how they are framed. (McQuail, 2006: 378) The researches of Tuchman and Gitlin are quite significant in terms of addressing framing theory in media studies for the first time.

As stated, after Goffman, Tuchman (1978) and Gitlin (1980) were the pioneers of handling framing theory within the scope of communication studies. They conceptualized framing as tool used to understand news in the process of social construction. News is, for them, a means of reconstructing the reality and frames are used for this construction. Journalists, while doing so, reconstruct discourse through methods such as selection, emphasis or exclusion in their daily routines. Tuchman stated in her study that frames attribute specific meanings to the facts and events through certain patterns and interpretations, and this situation reconstructs reality. (Tuchman, 1978: 193). Gitlin, likewise, investigated the news on political radical groups in late 1960s, as a conclusion he argued that media is a social force in shaping opinions to transmit the dominant ideology. (Özarslan & Güran, 2015: 35).

After Tuchman and Gitlin, Robert Entman showed an interest in framing. Entman is one of the first names that come to mind when talking about "framing theory" in media studies. Entman has developed a definition of framing that has been referred to by most researchers and is now accepted as classical in literature. (Özarslan, 2007: 24) According to Entman, "framing" means "selecting certain aspects of a perceived reality; to define the problem by highlighting these aspects in the news text; to reveal the cause-effect relationship; moral evaluation and/or providing feasible solutions". (Entman: 1993: 52) Entman also stated that framing includes 'selection' and 'salience' elements. To do this, he emphasized that certain words or sentences were used, and certain pictures were selected. (McQuail, 2010: 318) In other words, "selection" and "construction" are the basis elements of framing. (Van Gorp, B., 2007: 67) Entman performed a study in 1991 on how two different plane crash reports were framed in US media. In this study, he compared the news of a Korean Airlines plane crashed by a Soviet warplane in 1983 with the news of an Iranian Airlines plane crashed by an American naval ship in 1988. In that period of time, these two events attracted great attention from public, but media presented the contents of these events in different frames. While American press presented the news of the crash of a Korean plane as a "premeditated murder", the crash of an Iranian plane was appeared on headlines as a "tragic accident". (Entman, 1991) This study crucially shows us that frames are shaped in line with the discourse of ruling class in ideological context. In USA, the image of Iran and the image of Korea are contrary to each other, so the result of Entman's research shows us how reality is constructed in its social and ideological context.

The study of Entman has drawn attention to framing in communication. After Entman, researches on framing theory in communication gained momentum with the study of Scheufele. Scheufele has adapted framing to all stages of mass communication, including media effects. (Özarslan, 2007: 24) He claims that frames have specific schemes for the presentation and perception of news. He divides frames into media frames and individual frames; also makes a classification in terms of dependent and independent variables. (Scheufele, 1999) Scheufele's research will be discussed in more detail under the framing process subtitle.

Continuing with Pan and Kosicki's research, they describe framing theory as an approach that has psychological and sociological dimensions and focuses on specific forms of presentation of news in the media. (Pan & Kosicki, 1993: 56) On the other hand, D'Angelo states that there are three different framing paradigms in literature. The first is the cognitive model. According to the cognitive model, the frames in the news texts become concrete in the perceptions of the masses affected by them. Secondly, journalists are interpreters of resources in the structuralist model. And finally, it is the critical paradigm that sees frames as a result of the news production process and the dominant ideology. This gives a hegemonic meaning to framing theory. (D'Angelo, 2002; McQuail, 2010: 426)

Frames have been classified in different ways by different researchers in communication literature. For instance, Iyengar, in a study he conducted in 1991, investigates the effect of frames on attributing responsibility by dividing the frames into two as thematic and episodic. Episodic frames have elements such as specific events and personal experiences and the news text is explained from a more specific angle. In contrast, thematic frames provide information on general tendency; take the subject as a whole in a wider scope. (Iyengar, 1991:2) According to the results, he founded that if a text about poverty is framed as episodic, people attribute responsibility to individuals. If the same text is framed as thematic, on the other hand, people attribute responsibility to the society. To put it another way, he concluded that diversity in the presentation of 'poverty' theme used in news cause also to differences in attributing responsibility and when poverty is presented in an episodic frame, responsibility is attributed to individuals, while responsibility is attributed to society when the same issue of poverty is framed thematically. (Iyengar, 1991; cited in Elsamni, 2016: 46) In a similar approach, de Vreese discriminates between issue-specific frames and generic frames. Issue-specific frames are the frames with specific events and allows to deal with certain subjects with all their features in detail. However, this creates a barrier to the generalization of the study, that is to say the results cannot be generalized. Generic frames, as the name suggests, present a more general perspective and can maintain its validity even in different time and cultural contexts. While generic frames allow the generalization of results, they also can

include different topics in different cultures in different time periods. (de Vreese et al., 2001:108; De Vreese, 2005:54)

D'Angelo and Shaw categorized in their “Journalism as Framing” article frames as journalist frames, issue frames, audience frames and news frames. Journalist frames are a tool for interpreting the reality, meanwhile, audience frames are considered as the "frames in thought". (D’Angelo & Shaw, 2018:210) Similarly, with the abovementioned information, James Druckman (2001) distinguish frames into two as “frames in communication” and “frames in thought”. Frames in communication together with frames in thought constitute the concept of “framing effect”. Frames in communication is also defined as media frames and covers the features of a text, whereas frames in thought, also known as audience frames, concentrate on people's opinion. Frames in communication are effective on the formation of frames in thought. This situation is usually defined as framing effect. (Entman et. al, 2009:181) In addition, Scheufele conceptualizes frames as "media frames" and "audience frames" and categorizes researches as dependent and independent frames. In this context, he classifies the researches examining the effect of media frames on audience frames depending on whether they are handled as dependent or independent variables. Studies that consider frames as independent variables examine the effects of framing. (Scheufele, 1999:108) In this direction, this thesis considers media frames as independent and investigates the effect of media frames, which are rearranged in Eastern Mediterranean Crisis news, on audience frames. In other words, it focuses on the effect of economic and conflict frames on participants.

At this stage, this thesis intended to mention of framing as a concept in communication studies. In the following sections, framing studies conducted by various researchers will be discussed in more detail.

3.3.2. Framing Process

The role of news in the construction of reality is considered as a process that shapes the perceptions and preferences of individuals. (Entman, 2007: 164). In 1999, Scheufele developed a process model for framing theory in his article “Framing as

Theory of Media Effects". In the model, he describes a complex structure, in which the results in a particular process are addressed as inputs for subsequent processes, for framing. Accordingly, he defines this process in four-stage as frame building, frame setting, individual-level effects and journalists as audiences. (Scheufele, 1999:103-118)

As to Scheufele's model in Figure below, framing includes four processes:

1. Frame building
2. Frame setting
3. Individual-level effects of framing
4. The relationship between individual frames and media frames (McQuail, 2010: 425-426)

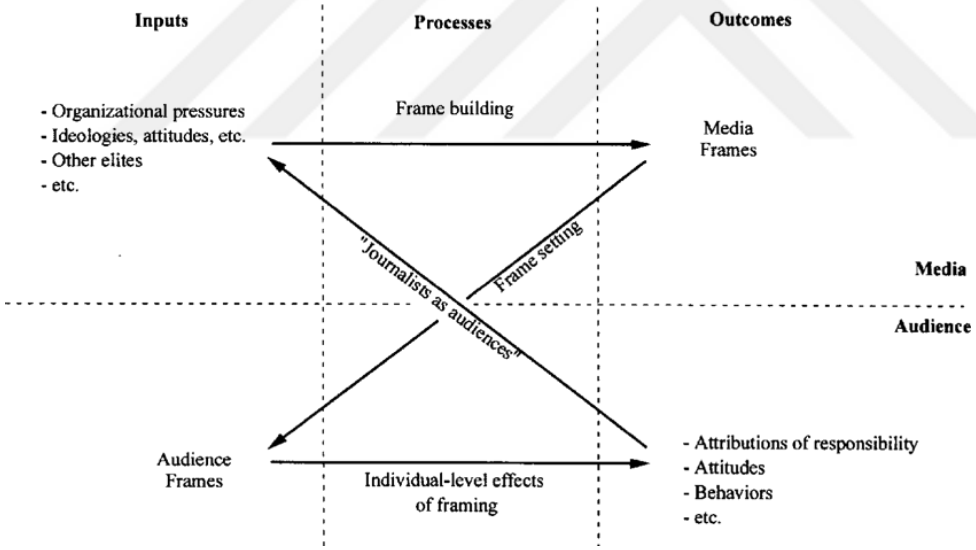


Figure 2. A process model of framing research. (Scheufele, 1999: 115)

Framing refers to a continuous process in which one phase's outcomes can be considered as inputs in the next phase. "Frame building", "frame setting"; "individual-level effects of framing"; and "the relationship between individual frames and media frames" are the phases of framing process. (Scheufele, 1999) "Frame building" covers the elements that is effective on the structural characteristics of a news frame. For

instance, journalists' media frame preference while forming a news text is examined in frame building process. The output of frame building process is defined as the frames itself included in news text. (D'Angelo & Shaw, 2018:211) "Frame setting" refers to a dynamic process involving the interaction between media frames and audience trends. Its process covers the relationship between frames in communication and frames in thoughts. (Scheufele, 1999:116; de Vreese, 2005, 52-53) "Individual-level effects of framing" deals with the effects of frames on people's attitudes following formation of their opinions. Researches related to this phase concentrate on both inputs and outputs, and relatively the relation between media and individual frames outcomes. (Scheufele, 1999: 117) The last phase, which is "journalists as audiences" assumes that journalists are responsive to the news frames as well as audiences. In other words, organizational features of media institutions and journalists' cognitive characteristics can be effective of framing a news. (Chong & Druckman, 2007:101)

When we evaluate this process model, it is possible for us to interpret the effects of framing in a detailed way. This means that in the production stage of a media message (reconstruction of the reality by elites), a very complex process emerges due to the reasons arising from its historical and social context (including ideological context as well). Ideological factors, economic context of media organizations and etc. variables have an interaction with the effects of the inputs and outputs of framing process. Last but not least, Scheufele's framing process model provides us with a beneficial viewpoint of which factors have influence on the effectiveness of framing.

3.4. Framing Effects

Reconstructed reality for ideological purposes is transmitted to masses through media. The equivalent of the effect of restructuring a meaning in news media is the "framing effect". Therefore, framing effects emerge as an important issue in the context of constructing the reality. Framing effect, in its most general definition, describes the effect of framing an event in news on audience's perception. In other words, media determines not only "what" to think, but also "how" to think. Furthermore, frames emphasizing these reconstructed ideological meanings have strong effects on masses.

According to social constructivist approach, the effect of framing has both strong and limited features. On the one hand, frames have strong effects on masses, on the other hand, this effect is limited by certain factors. (Scheufele & Tewskbury, 2007).

As Scheufele remarked, frames are examined in two categories: media frames and individual frames. Media frame researches are interested in the presentation of news, while individual frame researches focus on its effects, that is to say framing effects. In addition, framing has four types of effects such as activation, transformation, formation and attitudinal effects. (Scheufele, 2004; cited in Özarslan & Güran, 2015: 38) As to Entman (1993), he argues that individuals make use of existing frames in their minds while making sense of media frames. Druckmann (2001), in other respects, states that frames are divided into two as “frames in communication” and “frames in thought”. He also stated that framing effects are the process of "frames in communication" affecting on "frames in thought". (Kaledere, 2014: 6)

To sum up, framing effects can be defined as the effects of a reconstructed narrative on individuals. It includes the perception and interpretation processes of the structured reality conveyed through media. (Entman, 1991: 7). The framed form of a reality (or an issue, a fact, an event) may probably create an effect on the perception of this reality.

3.5. Researches on Framing and Framing Effects in Literature

In scope of this sub-title of the thesis, studies conducted on framing and the effects of framing in literature will be included, and so an evaluation will be carried out in the matter of whose path among the related researches this thesis followed.

Researches on framing theory were first included in communication literature thanks to the articles "Making News a Study in the Construction of Reality" by Gaye Tuchman (1978) and "The Whole World is Watching" by Todd Gitlin (1980). In the ongoing process after these two pioneering studies, a great interest in framing (thus framing effects) in communication field has started and the number of researches has increased day by day. (Adıyaman, 2021:155)

Framing researches can mainly be divided into two categories. The first one addresses the studies examining the content of frames and called as media frames. The second category, individual frames, however covers the studies examining the effects of framing on individuals. In this regard, there are many studies on "framing theory" and "framing effect" since 1980s: Graber, 1987; Iyengar and Kinder, 1988; Iyengar, 1991; Entman, 1991, 1993; Edelman, 1993; Price et al. 1997; Valkenburg et al 1999; Scheufele, 1999; D'Angelo, 2002; de Vreese, 2002; Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007; Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000; Scheufele, 2004. (cited in Özarslan 2007: 1) While content studies were at the forefront when framing theory first emerged, framing effects researches have gained importance especially in recent years. (Özarslan & Güran, 2015: 38) There are two different approaches in researches carried out within the scope of framing theory: "framing as the dependent variable" and "framing as the independent variable". The researches examining frames as dependent variable are commonly interested in "frame building", while the researches examining frames as independent variable focus on "frame setting", especially and associatively on framing effects (Tewksbury&Scheufele, 2009:22)

In the light of above-mentioned classifications, Scheufele determined a typology which can be figured as below. According to this typology, framing researches can be classified as being four dimensional including media frames as independent variables, media frames as dependent variables, audience frames as independent variables and audience frames as dependent variables. (Scheufele, 1999: 104)

	Studies Examining Frames as . . .	
	Dependent Variables	Independent Variables
Studies Examining Frames as . . .		
Media Frames	Tuchman (1978) Bennett (1991) Edelman (1993)	Pan and Kosicki (1993) Entman (1993) Huang (1996)
Individual Frames	Iyengar (1987, 1989, 1991) Gamson (1992b) Price et al. (1995, 1996, 1997) Huang (1996)	Snow et al. (1986) Snow and Bedford (1988, 1992) Entman and Rojecki (1993) Nelson et al. (1997)

Figure 3. Framing Researches Typology
(Source: Scheufele)

Scheufele's typology is significance for studies on framing theory because of three reason. First of all, it categorizes existing studies in communication literature in terms of the relationship between frames and other variables. So that, researches can compare the studies in an easiest way. Second of all, it provides a classification on how studies should be designated by making it easier to compile the literature. Finally, it provides a general approach and a general scope to the studies conducted /to be conducted on framing theory. (Özarslan, 2008: 72)

Even though Scheufele's typology provides quite beneficial information in terms of framing studies, it is a disadvantage that it is no longer up to date. Since the creation of typology, many more studies have been conducted out and have taken place in communication literature. The reason why this thesis includes Scheufele's typology here is only to present a part of classification of previous framing studies.

Proceeding on the searches conducted within framing theory; it is seen that some studies, which discuss framing from a social constructivist approach in critical paradigm, focus on the ideological context of news' presentation. These studies combined Gramsci's concept of hegemony with framing and conducted in an ideological context. For instance, Gitlin, in his research on the media coverage of the 1960s student movements, concluded that the news was framed and reflected ideologically to construct the perception about the protests. The hegemonic context here appears in the use of trivializing opposing discourses, polarizing groups, trying to reduce the size and effectiveness of protests, presenting the protesters as enemies and only giving place to the discourses of state officials in order to silence all voices other than the sovereigns, in this case, the activists. (Özarslan; 2008:70) Here, the element that unites the concepts of ideology, hegemony and framing is media's role of restructuring the news as an ideological device in order to make the discourses of the dominant powers visible.

Entman's study is covered in more detail under the subtitle 'Framing in Communication Studies' of this chapter, therefore, it won't be discussed in here. However, in order to present the studies as a whole, to briefly mention again, Entman conducted a study on the news of two crashed planes in 1991 belonging to Iranian and Korean airlines in 1991. The plane belonging to Iranian Airlines was shot down by the USA, and the plane belonging to South Korean Airlines was shot down by the Soviets. Entman's aim was to explore how these two events are framed in media and how this framing creates a meaning. According to the findings, he concluded that by American media the news on Korean Plane's crash was framed as a "deliberate murder"; the news on Iranian Plane's crash on the other hand was framed as a "tragic accident". (Entman, 1991) Here again, it is possible to see the connection between framing and the underlying ideologies.

Some of the studies conducted within the scope of framing theory have focused on the effect of frames. These studies emerged from the assumption that presenting a fact or an event in different frames has an effect on people's opinions. The basis of the studies carried out within the scope of framing effects goes back to the Asian Disease Experiment conducted by Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky in 1981. Kahneman and Tversky investigated how the presentation of texts in different ways affects people's perceptions and preferences. They concluded that different presentations of the same subject caused differences in individuals' perceptions. This experimental research was a milestone for framing and media effects studies and played an important role in diversification of relevant studies. (Özarslan & Güran, 2015: 37)

The Asian Disease experiment is one of the most cited examples within the scope of framing effects. The below mentioned proposition was asked to experimental group: “America is preparing for an Asian disease epidemic that is expected to kill 600 people. Two programs are recommended to combat the disease. If Program A is adopted, 200 people will be saved. If Program B is adopted, there is 1/3 probability that 600 people will be saved and 2/3 probability that no people will be saved. Which of these two programs would you prefer? ". While 72% of partaking people in this experiment chose the program A; only 28% of them chose the program B. In their next experiment, same scenario was framed differently. For the same epidemic, the below mentioned proposition was asked to a different experimental group: "If Program C is adopted 400 people will die. If Program D is adopted there is 1/3 probability that nobody will die, and 2/3 probability that 600 people will die." This time the results were exact opposite than the first results. Only 22% of partaking people in this experiment chose the program C; on the other hand, the rate of those who preferred the program D was 78%. (Tversky and Kahneman, 1981: 453).

There are many studies conducted following the Asian Disease experiment. (e.g. Iyengar 1991; Nelson et al. 1997; Park and Kosicki 1995; Cappella and Jamieson, 1997; Price et al. 1997; Rhee 1997; Valkenburg et al. 1999; Tewksbury et al., 2000; Shah et al. 2001; Edy and Meirick, 2007) In most of these studies, media frames were considered as 'independent' and individual frames as 'dependent' variables. Plus, the effects of generally accepted media frames in literature on audiences were analyzed. (Özarslan & Güran, 2015: 33) Researches on the effects of framing are often analyzed with experimental designs in which specific media frames are read by the sample group included. Various methods such as opinion listing method and survey studies are applied in this direction. (Scheufele, 1999: 116). For example, in Iyengar's study it was concluded that framing the issue of poverty in different ways creates different effects on audience. When the issue of poverty was framed thematically, responsibility is attributed to society and government by the audience. When the issue of poverty was framed episodically, on the other hand, the audience attributed the responsibility to individuals. (Iyengar, 1991) Conjunction with his study, Iyengar investigated whether framing a subject in different ways creates different opinion at the point of attribution of responsibility. That means, if the subject of poverty conveys from a more specific point of view, then the responsibility of it will be attributed to individuals, and relatively, if the subject of poverty conveys from a more general point of view, then the responsibility of the poverty will be attributed to society. Within the scope of Iyengar's study, frames have been handled in the widest scope as thematic and episodic; so, this reduction may serve to literature in categorizing the researches in a simpler way.

Another point about the researches on framing is that, they are usually conducted by deductive method. In this direction, the effects of existing frames on audience are examined. There are some commonly accepted frames in literature. According to Dahiden, the five most frequently used frame are economic consequences, progress, morality, human interest and conflict. (Dahinden, 2005: 7) Furthermore, Valkenburg et al. concluded in parallel with Dahiden's findings except 'progress frame'. They found the most common frames as responsibility, conflict, human concern, morality, and economic consequences."Responsibility" frame includes attributing responsibility

to government, institutions and individuals to cause or solve a problem. "Conflict" frame describes the conflict of interest, tension between two or more social forces. While “human interest” frame highlights the unique stories of individuals, “morality” frame presents a subject in terms of religious and moral beliefs. In “economic consequences” frame, events are handled in terms of economic benefits and losses. (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000: 95).

In a study conducted by Price and his colleagues in 1997, the effect of three news frames (conflict, human interest and consequences) was examined. They presented designed news texts to a sample group consisted university students. To be more specific, an experimental survey was conducted by framing a news text in various ways and presenting it to four different sample groups. In questionnaire, fictionally constituted news text was presented to students about the possibility of deduction in university's allowance. The news was created experimentally to be presented to four different groups within four different news frames. The core part of the news located in the middle paragraph same in all three groups; the titles, first and last paragraphs of the news have been edited to reflect its frame. They present to control group only the core part of the news. After reading the news, students who were randomly assigned to the groups wrote their thoughts and feelings about the subject down. The subject of the news is about reducing the allowances allocated to universities is chosen because of the aim of attracting the attention of students. Along with the conflict frame, the disagreement between two non-governmental organizations on related subject was conveyed. With the human-interest frame, the story of a person who struggles to provide equal resources to universities is emphasized. The consequences frame remarked that the situation in question can put students in trouble. According to findings, Price et al. concluded that media frames have an effect on participants' opinion and yet the existing knowledge in individuals' cognitive schemes can determine the level of effect by appearing as an important criterion at this point. (Price et al., 1997: 481-504)

In a similar vein, Valkenburg et al. researched in their study in 1999 the effects of two different news stories containing “conflict”, “human interest”, responsibility” and “economic consequences” frames on participants’ opinion. They investigated the subject of how news frames affect the thoughts and recalls of the readers. The frames selected for their research were determined from a detailed content analysis in Semetko and Valkenburg's previous study. So, they involved their previous findings in this study and investigated the effects of the frames they've already determined. They defined four frame groups and a control group. As an important criterion, the most distinctive point that distinguishes this study from the study of Price et al is that two news were selected from actual news. That is to say, two actual news texts were included in the study and reconstructed with frames. The subject of the first selected news is about increasing crime rates and the subject of the second news is about euro being the common currency. In study, the inclusion and structuring of the frames in news text was conducted in the same way as Price et al., but additionally "responsibility frame" was added. After the participants' listed thoughts were coded, they concluded that the frames were effective in forming the opinions. To paraphrase, they found that participants reading the news text based on human interest frame expressed emotional and individual thoughts and participants in conflict group produced conflict-based thoughts. In the same direction, while a participant reading the news text framed with economic consequences interprets his/her opinions economically, the attribution of crimes and responsibilities within the scope of responsibility frame has been parallel with participants' thoughts. (Valkenburg et al., 1999)

Once the literature related to the framing effect in Turkey is reviewed, a PhD thesis written by Hüseyin Özarslan in 2007 becomes prominent. The thesis named “Çerçeveleme Yaklaşımı Açısından Haber Çerçevelerinin İzler Kitle Düşünceleri Üzerindeki Etkisi” is also important because of being the first study related to framing effects in Turkey. He created two different news texts in the purpose of examining framing effects, the middle paragraph of the texts remained the same and the first and last paragraphs and the titles were reconstructed in terms of “conflict”, “human interest”, “responsibility” and “economic consequences” frames. Participants were

randomly assigned to different frame groups, and each participant read two framed news texts of the group they belonged to. Immediately after, they wrote their thoughts on the subjects. The thought lists collected at the end of the questionnaire were analyzed with a coding method created by previous studies in literature. According to the results, he found that frames have an effect on readers, thus emphasized the power of individual schemas in parallel with the findings and evaluations of Price et al. (Özarslan, 2008)

Another research conducted in Turkey within the scope of framing effects is Ahmet Can Kaledere's master's thesis titled "Yazılı Basında Yer Alan Haberlerin Okuyucu Tarafından Algılanışının Çerçeveleme Yaklaşımıyla Analizi: Bedelli Askerlik Örneği". The subject of military service was reported within the frames of "conflict", "economic consequences" and "human interest", chosen with a holistic approach. In findings phase, he ended up with each news presented in the scope of research had effects on participants parallel to news' framed patterns. In other words, as a result of the study, the participant who read a news structured with a conflict frame produced conflict-related thoughts. When the thought lists were coded and analyzed, the same findings were found in terms of other frames; participants produced thoughts within the context of the news frame they were exposed to. In addition, he made the assessment that the issue of paid military service has internal dynamics in Turkey and therefore some frames interact more intensely with its receiver than other frames.

As in above-mentioned examples in Turkey, in this thesis the existing frames (conflict and economic consequences) were selected within literature and with a deductive approach. Differently from Özarslan and Kaledere's study, the questions were not open-ended in the form of thought listing, but closed-ended on a Likert scale. Explanations on methodology of the thesis will not be included in here as it is the subject of next chapter. All methodological information such as selected news, features of news frames, how the content of the news was reconstructed, survey questions and sampling were illuminatingly explained in the fourth chapter.

As a result of this chapter, framing is one of the most well-known definitions of restructuring and presenting a subject for social and ideological purposes. According to the framing theory, which is considered within the scope of critical approaches' social constructivism, media presents to the masses by restructuring the reality in line with the interests of dominant powers. Mass communication also has a complex structure that combines strong and limited effects. Frames also serve this structure and cover features such as what a news contains or does not contain, from which perspectives and how the reality are presented. (Narin,2008:61)

Framing the reality in the context of sovereigns' ideologies and the construction of social discourse are both an indicator of the strong media effects. On the other hand, this effect is limited with the interaction between mass media and its audience. According to critical paradigm, media's framing of reality and the effects occurred from this situation should be addressed in four aspects: the structural features of media institutions, the political economy of media institutions, professional ideologies within the scope of daily work routines, and the socio-political interactions of media institutions. According to Curran, the results obtained by combining these four points are critical to illuminate the production and effects of media messages. (Curran et al., 1982:12) To interpret this view in terms of framing theory, in the analysis of a framed news text or in a study investigating how a subject is framed in the news media, the power and effect of media and therefore the frame could be understood more accurately if the above-mentioned aspects are taken into consideration. In other words, when making an analysis on media frames, analyzing them from these perspectives is necessary and important to make sense of the frames without leaving a missing point.

Additionally, it is important to add the path followed by this thesis in terms of the frames included as well as the theoretical approach. In de Vreese's opinion, especially in crisis times media usually use "attribution of responsibility", "conflict", "economic consequences", "human interest" and "morality" frames. 'Conflict' and 'economic consequences' are the most preferred frames in terms of the news on political, economic, and international matters. (de Vreese, 2003:44) Conflict frames involve disagreement between individuals, groups, or institutions about an issue. Economic

consequences frames, on the other hand, focus on the economic advantages and disadvantages of the subject. (Valentini and Romenti, 2011:361). Modelling the studies of Price et al. (1997), Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), Neuman et al. (1992), de Vreese (2003) and etc., in this thesis, the frames using to reconstruct the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis are 'conflict' and 'economic consequences' and defined as independent variables. All methodological features will be explained in more detail in the next phase.

To summarize, in the light of the explanations mentioned in previous paragraphs, the theoretical basis of the thesis has been adopted as the framing theory of social constructivist approach. In addition, this thesis accepts that framing of the news by media should be examined from a critical point of view without ignoring its social and ideological contexts. However, the scope of the thesis is to analyze the framing effect regarding to Eastern Mediterranean Crisis news, and the discussions about the ideological and other contexts are limited to theoretical narratives. So, the next chapter only covers the methodology of the thesis.

CHAPTER 4

EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN CRISIS

The Mediterranean Sea combines the continents of Asia, Europe and Africa and correlatively defined as a gate to reaching Black sea. Through the history, it has always been an important region in terms of its geopolitical and geostrategic features. Nowadays, the region of Eastern Mediterranean is started to be remembered with its high potential hydrocarbon reserves, as well. The problems related to petroleum activities in Eastern Mediterranean have its own political, legal and economical dimensions. (Şafak, 2019:44)

This chapter will include literature reviews and evaluations on the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis, which is thesis' selected subject in terms of news texts. In addition, the stages of the crisis in question will be discussed in the sub-headings such as "History of Hydrocarbon Discoveries in East Mediterranean", "The beginning of the Crisis in Eastern Mediterranean", "Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and License Map" and "Turkey's Claims".

4.1. History of Hydrocarbon Discoveries in East Mediterranean

Gas under Eastern Mediterranean Sea, was first discovered in the 1970s by Egypt, however, these explorations were quite small and border on Egypt's shores. After a decade of silence in Eastern Mediterranean region related to petroleum activities, in 1990’s and early 2000’s, Israel found offshore gas reservoirs close to Haifa port. In this context, hydrocarbon potential became more interesting and significant for domestic region as well as international oil and gas domains. (Hava, 2020:695) By 2009, large pockets of gas were found in an Israeli offshore gas field, called as "Tamar". This discovery of enormous hydrocarbon reservoir became a crucial point regarding hydrocarbon potential of East Mediterranean area. More major hydrocarbon discoveries are found in 2010, which was in "Leviathan" field next to "Tamar".

Moreover, in 2011, Israel National Oil Company Noble have found another great discovery of gas existence in "Aphrodite" field in Cyprus. On the coast of Egypt, however, greatest gas discovery has been performed in 2015 by ENI and ROSNEFT companies. In 2018, oil and gas exploration activities related to "Glaucus" field in Cyprus has been practiced by Exxon Mobil and Qatar Petroleum, and hence, at a voluminous rate of gas existence has been proved. (Burdeau, 2020; Şafak, 2019:5)

Therewith all discoveries mentioned above, Eastern Mediterranean Region has proven reserves of more than 60 trillion cubic feet of gas. Furthermore, the U.S. Geological Survey estimated a mean of 1.7 billion barrels of recoverable oil and a mean of 122 trillion cubic feet of recoverable gas in the Levant Basin Province. (Schenk et.al, 2010:4) Recent gas discoveries, partner companies and resources is shown in the following table. As seen below, Eastern Mediterranean region was witnessed major discoveries starting from 2009, while offshore reserves started to be explored in Israel and proceeded in Egypt and in Cyprus. (Okumuş, 2020:8)

Table 1. Recent gas discoveries in East Med (Source: Okumuş, 2020:8)

Table : Recent gas discoveries in East Med

Gas field	Resources (Bcm)	Discovery	Partner companies
Tamar, Israel	280	2009	Delek Drilling (Israel, 22 percent), Noble Energy (US, 25 percent), Isramco (US, 28.75 percent), Tamar Petroleum (Israel, 16.75 percent), Dor Gas (Israel, 4 percent), Everest (Israel, 3.5 percent).
Leviathan, Israel	620	2010	Delek (45 percent), Noble (39.66 percent), Ratio (15 percent)
Aphrodite, Cyprus	140	2011	Delek (30 percent), Noble Energy (35 percent), British Gas (35 percent).
Zohr, Egypt	850	2015	Eni (60 percent), Rosneft (Russia, 30 percent), Belayim Petroleum (Egypt Public, 10 percent)
Glaucus, Cyprus	142–227	2018	ExxonMobil (60 percent), Qatar Petroleum (40 percent)

Importance of Eastern Mediterranean and major oil and gas discoveries in the region has been briefly discussed in this chapter in connection with literature. Following sections will explain how the crisis in Eastern Mediterranean started and when Turkey has involved in this crisis.

4.2. The Beginning of the Crisis in Eastern Mediterranean

Starting point of the crisis in Eastern Mediterranean is associate with “One Minute” discussion occurred in Davos between Presidents of Turkey and Israel in 2009, in World Economic Forum. Subsequently, relations between Israel and Turkey was deteriorated. The day at 17 December 2010, Greek Cypriot and Israel signed a Hydrocarbon Exploration Agreement and a year later, Israel hosted President of Greek Cypriot Dimitris Hristofyas. In this meeting, Cyprus requested to expedited the drilling activities process in East Mediterranean. (Şafak,2019:9)

Against Israel attempts, Turkey and Turkish Cypriot have signed a “Continental Shelf Agreement” in 21 September 2011 where Israel national oil company “Noble” start to drill in Cyprus Economic Zone (EZ) in 15 September 2011, in Aphrodite field. (Resmi Gazete,2012; Delek Drilling, 2021)

Both Continental Shelf Agreement signed between Turkey and Turkish Cypriot and start of drilling in Cyprus Economic Zone are solid steps taken by Turkey and Israel on hydrocarbon claims in Eastern Mediterranean. After that moment, tension between countries has reached top point in history.

4.3. Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and License Map

Exclusive Economic Zone discussions in Eastern Mediterranean region emerged with the discoveries of hydrocarbon sources. The first EEZ delimitation agreement was signed, in 2003, between Egypt and Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus. Thereafter, Greek Cypriot Administration has assigned an agreement concerning EEZ with Lebanon in 2007 and with Israel in 2010. Even though the agreement signed with Lebanon did not become valid because of not approving by the Lebanese Assembly, Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus has divided the EEZ boundaries into 13 parcels. (Kökyay, 2019: 147-177).

As noted earlier, in 2004, Greek Cypriot has proclaimed an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and has submitted the relevant information and documents to the Secretary-General of the UN, without consultation or approval of Turkish Cypriot. As shown in the map below, Greek Cypriot had limited Turkey's potential EEZ which can be 200 miles far from the shore. Instead, they draw a median line between Turkey and Turkish Cypriot and claimed rest of south, east and west part. (Tzionis, 2019:4)

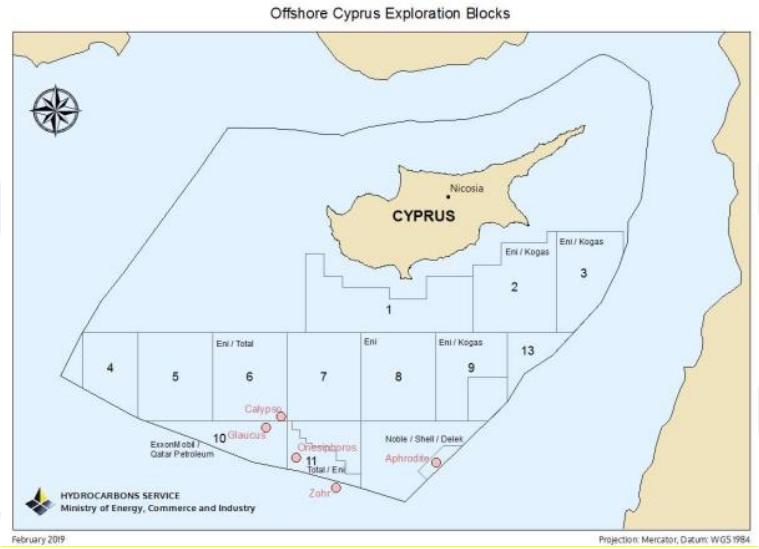


Figure 4. Cyprus EEZ and License Map

(Source: Tzionis, 2019:4)

South part of claimed EEZ has been divided into 13 exploration licenses illustrated in the figure as follows. Greek Cypriot has granted subjected licenses to ENI (Italian Oil and Gas Company), Exxon Mobil (US Oil and Gas Company), NOBLE (Israel Oil and Gas Company) and TOTAL (French Oil and Gas Company) companies.

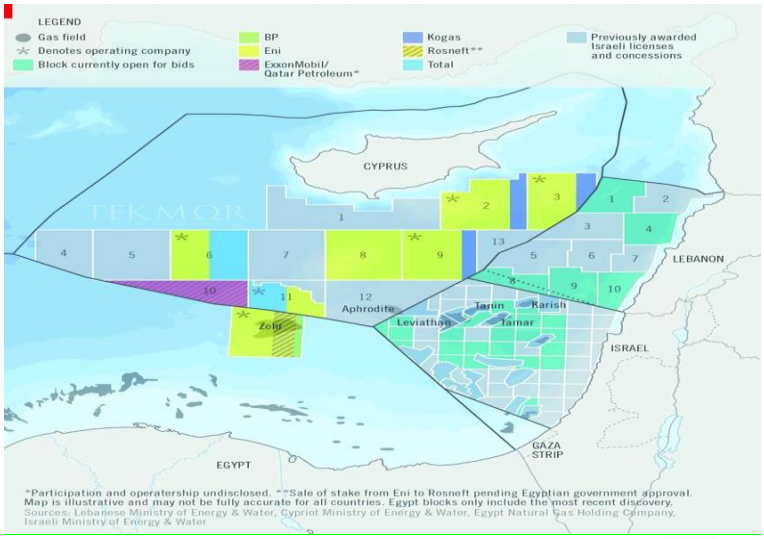


Figure 5. East-Med EEZ and Distributed Licenses without Turkey's Involvement (Source: Boustros, 2018:8)

4.4. Turkey's Claims

Turkey claimed its exclusive economic zone after "Continental Shelf Agreement" signed between Turkish Cypriot, in 21 September 2011. (Erciyes,2012:23)

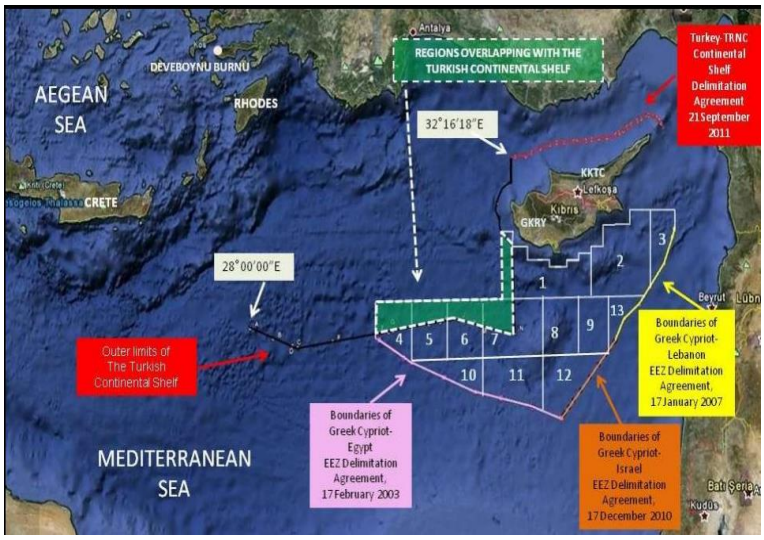


Figure 6. Turkey's EEZ Claim and Overlapped Licenses (Source: Erciyes,2012:23)

However, previously distributed licenses by Greek Cypriot overlapped with Turkey's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) claims. Thus, distributed licenses by Greek Cypriot, as mentioned earlier, created a conflict in the region due to this overlapped area as shown above.

In 2017, TPAO (Turkish National Oil Company) purchased its first drill ship to increase its ability to drill exploration wells independently in East Mediterranean. Following that, in 2018, TPAO located its drillship to Alanya-1 well and immediately start to drill its first deep-water exploration well. (TPAO, 2021)

Alanya-1 well is located in Turkey's continental shelf as shown in the following map. Cyprus and Israel were not able to challenge this drilling activities even though it was highly created a concern in the region. (Agenor Energy,2018)

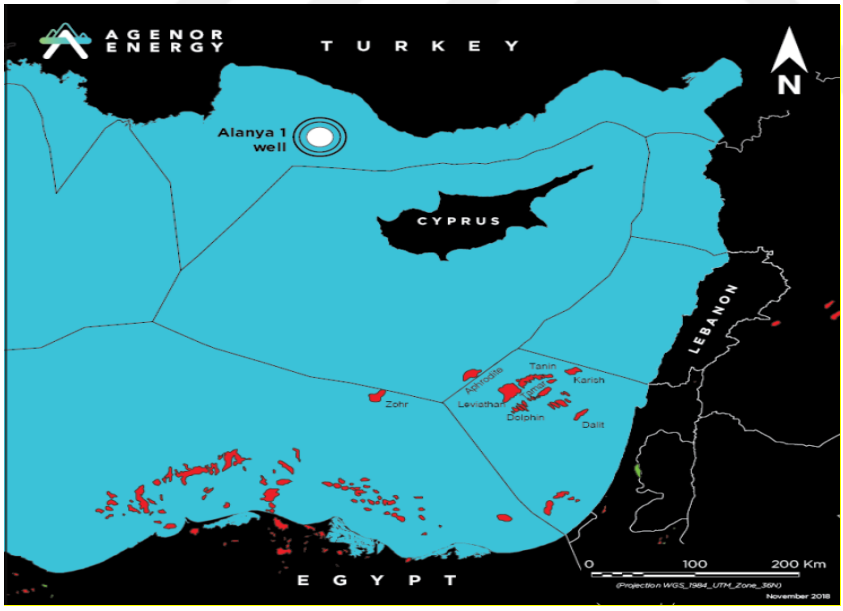


Figure 7. Alanya-1 Location
(Source: Agenor Energy:2018)

Once the Alanya-1 well completed, the state-owned Turkish Petroleum company's (TPAO) drilling vessel 'Fatih', was departed in 4th May 2019 to drill Finike-1 well within the continental shelf/EEZ claimed by Greek Cypriot. (OGJ, 2019) Below map demonstrates where the second Deepwater exploration well called Finike-1 of Turkish Petroleum is located. (Tzionis, 2019:5)

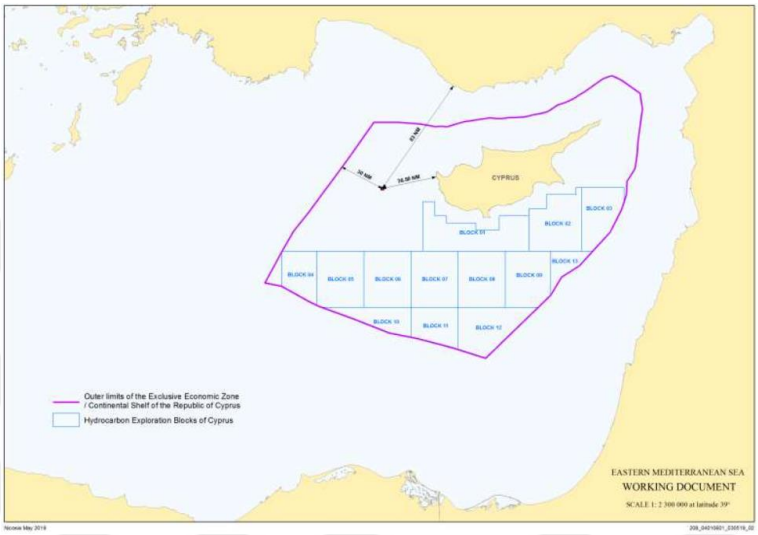


Figure 8. Greek Cyprus' EEZ Licenses and Finike-1 Location
(Source: Tzionis, 2019:5)

Once Finike-1 operation starts, Greek Cypriot and European Union announced that any drilling operations to be conducted on behalf or for the benefit of the Turkish Cypriot considered as illegal. (Tzionis, 2019:8)

Additionally, in 2019, The European Union released a legal framework to apply sanctions against certain designated natural and/or legal persons, due to drilling activities of Turkey in Greek Cypriot EEZ. Immediately afterwards EU sanctions, Turkey has signed a Maritime Agreement with Libya's recognized government. (Reuters,2019) This agreement became a cornerstone for Turkey's claims on the drilling hydrocarbon reserves of Eastern Mediterranean. Previously, exclusive economic zone claimed by Turkey after "Continental Shelf Agreement" in 21 September 2011 with Turkish Cypriot has been denied by European Union and Greek

Cypriot due to status of Cyprus. Internationally, Turkish Cypriot has not been recognized as a legitimate state entity, the agreement was not considered as legal based. (Ioannidis, 2014) However, above mentioned agreement has been signed with an internationally recognized government (Libya's) and therefore Turkey's claims on hydrocarbon sources in East-Med are partially legalized as per below map. (cited in Okumuş, 2020:6)

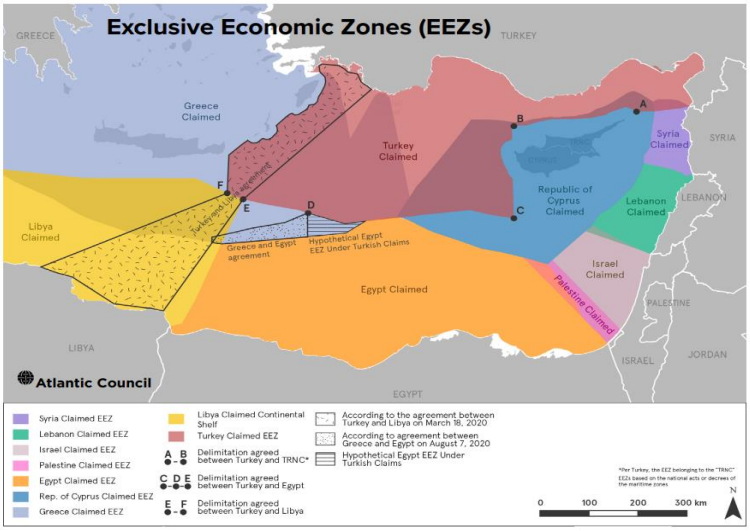


Figure 9. Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs) Claims

(Source: Okumuş, 2020:6)

This thesis aims to study effects of the frames on the subject of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis limited within the Agreement on Maritime Boundary Delimitation signed between Turkey and Libya in terms of media and formation audiences' opinion.

In line with this, without deviating too much from the purpose of the thesis, the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis and the agreement signed with Libya are included in this chapter. In the next chapter, the aim, scope and methodology of the thesis will be discussed.

CHAPTER 5

AIM, SCOPE AND METHODOLGY

In this chapter, the issues that are decisive in the design of the thesis will be discussed. Details of the aim, scope and methodological path of the thesis will be given. In this direction, subjects such as sampling, application of survey, reconstructing of news texts, hypotheses, research questions and limitations will form the subsections of this section.

5.1. Aims and Scope of the Thesis

This thesis aims to examine the effects of frames on the formation of individuals' opinion. Framing theory, which is considered on the basis of social constructivist approach, is the adopted theoretical basis of this thesis. In other words, this thesis adopts its theoretical fundamental as the framing theory of social constructivism approach, in a critical view. In this direction, the theoretical view advocated by the thesis is that 'reality' is reconstructed by media and presented as a content emphasizing the ideology of the dominant powers.

According to Stuart Hall, media produces meanings by selecting and structuring events and conveys these meanings to audiences from certain viewpoints. (Hall, 1982:64) This view of Hall's is the view that conveys the theoretical perspective of the thesis in its simplest form. To put it another way, the theoretical approach accepted in the thesis is that mass communication tools frame the events and reproduce the reality ideologically. With the acceptance of this constructivist approach, the theoretical framework of the thesis is determined, and in empirical part, a survey study was conducted on the effect of the frames on forming audiences' opinion.

Researching something without an idea is pointless. First, an idea is occurred, and then issues such as aim, scope and methodology of the research are shaped. Treiman states that the ideas are determinative on the hypotheses to be tested and on the structured stages. (Treiman, 2009:2) In this case, the starting point of this research is based on an idea stemming from a personal observation which will be detailed afterwards. That is to say, the main factor in the selection of the research topic is the observation that the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis does not reflect the reality as it is.

In literature, there are many researches conducted within the scope of framing theory. Thus, there are many resources referenced in this thesis regarding both the framing analysis and the examination of the effect of framing. This study has focused on the framed and reconstructed aspect of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis, which has recently attracted the attention of media, and investigated whether these frames have an effect on individuals' opinion. In the light of the information explained above, it is aimed to contribute to the existing literature by examining the framing effect in the field of media and cultural studies and specifically on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.

The starting point of this thesis is to analyze whether the frames used in the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis have an impact on audiences, from a perspective that accepts that reality is reconstructed by media. The theoretical basis of the study, therefore, is the theory of social construction of reality and the theory of framing, which makes it possible to adapt this theory into communication literature. To describe it in another way, a survey study was conducted to reveal the effect of frames, with the aim of examining the interaction between the framing of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News and the opinion formation of its audiences. This thesis is conducted with a perspective that adopts the framing stemming from the social constructivist approach. Moreover, it seeks to answer whether the news frames analyzed within the context of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis have an effect on individuals.

As stated above, the theoretical acceptance of the thesis is that reality, in a critical point of view, is reconstructed by media to serve dominant ideology. One option for reconstructing reality is to frame the news text. Therefore, framing theory has been chosen in this thesis as a theoretical point of view, and as methodological this thesis aims to explain the effect of frames by conducting a survey study. The method of the thesis is not framing analysis. It is not attempted to analyze how media make sense of the reality, which frames highlighted in the news, what topics covered and how they are ideologically positioned. The main aim here is to examine the effect of news, which are considered to be framed by above-mentioned theoretical perspective, on individuals. In addition, there are various reasons for the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis being chosen as the subject of the news texts and correlatively of the content of survey, as well. First of all, the crisis in question is accepted as quite current. Secondly, the subject of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis has a wide media coverage due to its geopolitical and economic importance. Thirdly, as a personal observation, it is because of the idea that the news of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis is not identically and completely represented in media.

In literature, the news texts are included in two ways in such studies: by creating a news text experimentally (e.g. Price et.al, 1997) or by experimentally reconstructing an existing news text (e.g. Valdenburg et al., 1999). As in the study of Valdenburg et al. (1999), the news texts in this thesis were also selected from existing news texts. The subject of the news texts is determined as the Agreement on Maritime Boundary Delimitation signed between Turkey and Libya, which is one of the most important milestones of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis. There is more than one milestone on the subject of Eastern Mediterranean underground resources since 1980s. However, the agreement signed with Libya has allowed Turkey's claims for underground hydrocarbon resources in Eastern Mediterranean to be officialized in international area. Therefore, it has been considered both economically important and one of the events that increased the tension between the countries of the region.

According to above mentioned information, the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis has been limited by the agreement signed between Turkey and Libya. Online archives of the newspapers have been scanned with the keywords 'Libya', 'Doğu Akdeniz'[1], 'Doğu Akdeniz Krizi'[2] and 'Doğu Akdeniz ve Libya Antlaşması'[3] for 2 months since 27 November 2019, when the agreement was signed.

The first selected news item is the text titled "Libya ile tarihi anlaşma imzalandı! Akdeniz'de oyun bozuldu…"[4] and published in Sabah on November 29, 2019.[5] There are three reasons for choosing this news. Firstly, Sabah was the first newspaper in circulation on the date in question, so this allows us to assume that the news reached a wider audience.[6] Secondly, the selected news text contains frames of both conflict and economic consequences. Thirdly, Sabah is in a progovernment position and this might give us interesting outcomes comparing with the results related to second newspaper chosen in an opposite position to Sabah. In this context, the second selected news item is the text titled "Libya'ya EastMed yanıtı"[7] and published in Cumhuriyet newspaper on January, 3 2020.[8] The reason for choosing this news is that it is aimed to analyze the frame effect of a news made within the scope of the same subject in an opposing newspaper to Sabah as well as it contains frames of both conflict and economic consequences.

[1] Eastern Mediterranean (keyword in English)

[2] Eastern Mediterranean Crisis (keyword in English)

[3] Eastern Mediterranean and Libya Agreement (keyword in English)

[4] "A historical agreement was signed with Libya! Everything will change in Eastern Mediterranean now..." (the title of first news text in English)

[5] https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2019/11/29/libya-ile-tarihi-anlasma-imzalandi-akdenizde-oyun-bozuldu

[6] http://gazetetirajlari.com/HaftalikTirajlar.aspx

[7] "EastMed response to Libya" (the title of second news text in English)

[8] https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/libyaya-eastmed-yaniti-1712253

However, it should be added here that even though Sabah and Cumhuriyet are accepted as being with different ideologies and different perspectives, the possibility that they reconstruct the reality in a same manner in terms of national interest in case of international crisis cannot be denied. Due to the scope of the thesis, no analysis or assumptions are conducted in terms of the ideologies of newspapers in question. The aim here is to only increase the diversity by selecting the news texts from two different newspapers. So, in this study, the coverage of the aforementioned news by media is not analyzed, on the contrary, it is merely examined whether audiences are affected by the news frames. For this reason, although it is stated that there is a difference in terms of the political/ideological situation of newspapers, no definite assumptions have been made in this regard.

5.1.1. Research Question and Hypotheses

Research question of thesis is "Does framing and restructuring of a news text about Eastern Mediterranean Crisis have an effect on individuals' opinion?"

Furthermore, two hypotheses were developed in order to answer research question:

First hypothesis: A news text written within conflict frame has a predominantly conflict-based effect on the reader.

Second hypothesis: A news text written within economic consequences frame has a predominantly economy-related impact on the reader.

5.2. Methodology of the Thesis

Under this section, detail of sampling, survey design and reconstruction of the news text will be addressed as well as the limitations.

5.2.1. Sampling

As for the survey and details of the sample, because of pandemic, there could not be any chance to conduct the surveys face to face. Therefore, the survey questions were transferred to the online site called "SurveyMonkey" and the link was sent to e-mail addresses of the participants. In total the survey link was sent to 195 people, 105 of whom were from public sector and 90 from private sector. Due to both the limited

number of engineers working in oil and natural gas sector and the pandemic conditions, the maximum number that could be reached was tried to be reached. The sampling method chosen for this study is convenience sampling. In survey-based studies, two sampling methods such as probability sampling and nonprobability sampling are used to determine sample. Convenience sampling is one of the nonprobability sampling methods. (Skowronek & Duerr; 2009:412) It is usually preferred when there are populations that are difficult to reach or when a study on a specific subject is desired for a specific audience. (Newcomer & Triplett, 2015: 276)

According to social constructivist approach media has both strong and limited effects on forming the opinion of individuals. The effect of the messages conveyed to audiences through media may vary depending on audiences' daily experience on the subject, their level of interest and knowledge. (Shah, 1999: 11). The reason for including only the engineers working in oil and gas industry in sample was the assumption that their daily experiences, interest and knowledge levels could be a determining factor in the context of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis, both technically and geopolitically. Because, while receiving media messages, the effect may be limited depending on individual and social conditions. The level of pre-existing knowledge and experience on a topic in particular can be accepted as a distinguishing criterion when examining the effect of frames. Thereby, in this thesis, the concept of knowledge has been considered as 'technical knowledge' and has been a decisive criterion in limiting the sample. What is meant by “technical knowledge” is “to know the geological structure of Eastern Mediterranean within the scope of oil and natural gas exploration activities conducted in the region and to have the competence to evaluate the hydrocarbon potential in the region in the most accurate way according to engineering data”.

The sample of the study, in line with the above explanations, is determined as engineers who are assumed to have technical knowledge and working in oil and natural gas sector. Because of it is one of the greatest hydrocarbons searching activities for Turkey up to present, the majority of the sample in question is involved in the Eastern Mediterranean hydrocarbon exploration activities as part of their daily work routine,

either in person or through media. Therefore, it is assumed that they are more interested in and knowledgeable than anyone in terms of technical and geopolitical issues related to Eastern Mediterranean crisis. If elaborate on this assumption, I have stated in previous paragraphs that the starting point of this is based on a personal observation. In my immediate surroundings, there are many petroleum engineers who work in oil and gas sector and they are closely involved in the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis as a part of their job. As I observed, they follow the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis frequently because they work in this region and related hydrocarbon researching fields. Knowing the actual data and circumstances of the event enables them to be qualified for evaluating what is presented in media on the subject. As an assumption I deduced from the statements of the engineers in my immediate surroundings was that media did not completely reflect the reality regarding Eastern Mediterranean Crisis. This assumption has been the starting point and the main idea of the thesis. Therefore, it is predicted that the participants' level of interest in the related news and their knowledge of hydrocarbon searching activities in the region, by equipping them technically and geopolitically, will be a supporting feature to examine the effect of frames on opinion formation. In other words, based on above-mentioned assumptions, it was a determining factor on the sample that these engineers frequently follow geopolitical issues on the region as well as technical issues as part of their work.

In line with this direction, after determining sampling by convenience method, a list of the participants was prepared thanks to the connections working in the oil and gas sector. The participants' list was determined with the goal of reaching in maximum number. Through this contact list, people were equally and randomly assigned into 3 news frame groups. Finally, a SurveyMonkey link was sent to participants via e-mail. There were three survey links distinguishing in terms of only news frame questions. Each participant received the link related to which survey group they were assigned to. Additionally, name and contact information on the list is randomly ordered and the links were randomly sent to e-mail addresses in the list. The way followed here was to respectively sent the survey links of the conflict, economic consequences and control groups, starting from the first row of the participation list. So, the survey link of the conflict group sent to the first person on the list, the survey link of the economic

consequences group was sent to the second person, and the survey link of the control group was sent to the third person. The survey link of the conflict group was then sent to the fourth person in the list, and the links were sent to the entire list following the same logic.

In this context, out of 195 people, 105 of the sample is in public sector and 90 of the sample is in private sector. In other words, the link of the survey was sent to 35 people in public sector and 30 people in private sector for each group.

Conflict Group: Public Sector:35; Private Sector:30
Economic Consequences Group: Public Sektor:35; Private Sector:30
Control Group: Public Sector:35; Private Sector: 30

However, the total number of respondents was 121 but two of them was invalid. The total number of valid questionnaires is 119 and 38 of them belong to conflict group; 39 of them belong to economic consequences group and as a final 42 of them belong to control group. Moreover, 22 public sector and 16 private sector employees have replied the conflict group questions. While 20 public sector and 19 private sector employees have replied the economic consequences group questions, 18 public sector and 24 private sector employees have answered the control group questions.

To evaluate the hypotheses, SPSS 21.0 (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) program was used for analyses. All of the questions were analyzed with percentages via crosstabs. The reason why only crosstabs were implemented is that there was no opportunity to choose sampling as randomly. Because of pandemic and seeing knowledge as a determining criterion when examining the effect of frames, the sample was determined by convenience sampling and then the questionnaire was applied. Participants were randomly and equally assigned into three survey groups, as noted earlier. These groups are the conflict group containing the news texts with the conflict frame; the economic consequences group, which includes news texts related to economy and finally the control group, which reconstructed for control purposes and has only a common main paragraph in news texts. While the news texts in the conflict

and economic consequences survey groups remained the same in the core paragraph, the introduction and conclusion paragraphs were rearranged according to frames. On the other hand, the news texts belong to control group only consist of the same core paragraph. The details of this reconstruction will be discussed widely in the next section.

The independent variable is usually considered as news frames in framing effects studies. (de Vreese, 2003:122) Accordingly, in this research, the independent variables are the news frame groups, and the dependent variables are the statements in the questions. As noted earlier, because of the sampling method, only crosstabs were conducted and there could be no chance to apply advanced analyses. As to conducting survey part, the questionnaire included in this thesis begins with an informational text that involves the aim and scope of the study and the confidentiality of the participants' personal details. This information text is also an approval to be part in the study. By providing the contact information of researcher as well, it is stated that the researcher can be contacted for any questions and suggestions. After the respondent's approval, the survey begins. Survey questions consist of open-ended and closed-ended questions. Some of the demographic questions, such as age and gender, are open-ended, while others are closed-ended. All of the questions related to media effects, Eastern Mediterranean and framing effects were designed on a Likert scale. There are 25 questions in total for each group. All questions and choices are the same for all three groups, excepts for the last two questions. They only vary from each other according to the frame of news texts included into questionnaires. In survey, firstly the demographic questions were asked to the participants. Afterwards, the questions varied as respondent's political views, the political party they would vote for, reading habit of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis news, general thoughts of respondents on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis, participation to the statements related to media effects and relatively Eastern Mediterranean Crisis news. The purpose of asking these questions is to determine both the characteristics of respondents and their participation status to those variables. In this way, it is possible to measure whether news frames effect the participations' opinion on the subject or not with/without these variables' relation.

5.2.2. Reconstructing the News

According to Entman, news frames form the texts through certain keywords, concepts, emphases and images. Moreover, news frames, by making make some parts of an event or a subject more visible and some parts less visible or invisible, serve for conveying the intended views. (Entman, 1991:7)

When similar studies in literature are examined, various frames appear such as conflict, economic consequences, human interest, attribution of responsibility and morality. According to previous researches, these frames have been generally accepted in literature and have found to be the most frequently used in news texts. (Brants & Neijens, 1998: 162; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000: 95; cited in Özarslan, 2007:104) The frames included within the scope of the thesis and discussed for reconstructing the news texts are conflict and economic consequences. There are two reasons for choosing conflict and economic consequences frames. First of all, these two news frames are found as among the most frequently used frames in news according to frame analysis studies in literature. Second of all, since the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis has an international dimension, it is observed and assumed that the issue is generally addressed by media in terms of conflict and economic dimensions between the parties. Thereby, in parallel with similar studies, the definition of conflict and economic frames is discussed as follows. In most common definition, the conflict frame describes the conflict of interest and tension between two or more social forces while the economic consequences frame highlights the positive or negative effects of the crisis on the country's economy. (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000) To put it another way, conflict frame includes conflict of interest between two or more national, communal or international forces. Power is a critical attribution in conflict frames. The frame of economic consequences, on the other hand, focuses on a subject or an event in terms of its economic situation, gains or losses with numerical or verbal narratives. It encompasses the economic aspects that must be addressed in order to achieve a particular goal or it involves economical outcomes of an issue. (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000: 95-96).

As mentioned briefly in the previous sections, two news texts in Sabah and Cumhuriyet newspapers were reconstructed via frames with a focus on economic consequences of hydrocarbon activities and conflict between countries in region. What is meant by reconstructing here is to change the paragraph and sentence syntax of a published/existing news text for a specific purpose. The reason for following this path is to examine the effect of frames in parallel with thesis' theoretical point of view, which assumes that the reality is presented in media by reconstructing. The explanations on how the framing/reconstructing was made, which criteria were considered and which assumptions were accepted are discussed in more detail below, specific to the news texts. (The original versions of news texts are also added in appendix.)

In scope of survey, there are common questions in all groups where the participants are randomly assigned, the difference only emerges in the news texts that are framed and reconstructed. In this context, two news texts belong to Cumhuriyet and Sabah newspapers were reconstructed in three different ways. Certain parts of both news texts were included, and in this context, the first and last paragraphs were reedited to involve the news frame in question. The middle paragraph of all three groups' news text is exactly the same, while the news text of the control group consists only of this middle paragraph. The middle paragraph (core paragraph) may contain a news frame in nature, but it was not seen as a distinguishing point as it was presented in the same way for all three groups. While the conflict version of the news texts focused on the conflict between the countries of the region related to Eastern Mediterranean Crisis, the economic consequences version emphasized with the economic dimension of the issue. The control version, on the other hand, contains only the main text without highlighting any features. All the versions in question were obtained from the original news texts and no additional thoughts and information were added. In this context, two of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis news were reconstructed and framed as follows.

5.2.2.1. Reconstructed and Framed News Text of Sabah

The news text is published in Sabah and titled as "Libya ile tarihi anlaşma imzalandı! Akdeniz'de oyun bozuldu…" (A historical agreement was signed with Libya! Everything will change in Eastern Mediterranean now...) While the middle paragraph is remaining unchanged, the main news text was reconstructed by editing the introductory and concluding paragraphs to include the conflict frame for the conflict group and the economical frame for the economic consequences group. On the other hand, only the middle paragraph which is remaining unchanged has been represented to the respondents of the control group. What is meant by reconstruction here is to take certain paragraphs of a news text and re-present it in a way that highlights the relevant frame instead of presenting the original news text to the readers.

Different versions of the news text in Sabah for each group were presented as follows. In addition; common paragraphs of all three groups' news texts were written in italics for highlighting the explanation of reconstruction way of news. The first and last paragraphs were arranged to include expressions related to conflict and economy, and only the middle paragraph was included in the control group.

News Text of Sabah, Reconstructed by Conflict Frame:

“LİBYA İLE TARİHİ ANLAŞMA İMZALANDI! AKDENİZ'DE OYUN BOZULDU...”

İki ülkenin Akdeniz'deki münhasır ekonomik bölgelerini (MEB) tanımlayan anlaşmada Türkiye ile Libya arasına 'deniz yetki alanı şeridi' çekildi ve bu şerit Yunanistan, Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi ve Mısır arasında kalkan oluşturdu. Ayrıca Yunanistan'ın Girit, Kaşot, Kerpe, Rodos ve Meis adaları hattını esas alarak Kıbrıs Rum Kesimi ve Mısır ile sınırlandırma anlaşması yapması girişimi önlenerek oldu-bitti cabalarının önü kesildi. Adeta Sevr niteliğindeki sözde Seville Haritası ile Türkiye’yi Akdeniz'de 41 bin kilometrekarelik bir deniz alanına hapsetme oyunu da bozulmuş oldu.

Türkiye ile Libya arasında, Deniz Yetki Alanlarının Sınırlandırılmasına İlişkin Mutabakat Muhtırası imzalandı. Anlaşma ile Türkiye, Akdeniz'in batısındaki meşru sınırlarını tüm dünyaya ilan etmiş oldu. İki ülke deniz sınır koordinatlarının ayrıntısını da içeren anlaşmanın hayata geçirilmesinde Libya tüm hukuki işlemleri tamamlarken, Türkiye ise tarihi sözleşmeyi TBMM'de onaylanmasının ardından Birleşmiş Milletlere bildirecek. Muhtıra böylece resmen yürürlüğe girecek.

Libya'da iç karışıklıklar devam etse de anlaşmanın BM nezdinde meşru bir hükümetle yapılmış olması, mutabakat üzerindeki meşruiyet tartışmalarını bertaraf ediyor.

Ayrıca, mutabakatla birlikte Türkiye, enerji kaynaklarını paylaşma amaçlı kurulan şer ittifaklarına karşı sahada üstünlük kazandı. Enerji jeopolitiğine doğrudan etki ederek deniz yetki alanlarının sınırlandırılmasında kritik kazanımlar elde etti. Libya ise Yunanistan'ın gasp ederek hidrokarbon ihaleleri açtığı 39 bin kilometrekarelik bölgede hakimiyetini ilan etmiş oldu.

The version obtained by reconstructing the news text published in Sabah by framing it with conflict statements is as above. The middle paragraph highlighted in italics and remained exactly the same in all three news frame groups. However, this middle paragraph may inherently contain a news frame, but is ignored as this situation is identical in terms of each group. The first and last paragraphs are reconstructed to emphasize the conflict statements within the original news text.

News Text of Sabah, Reconstructed by Economic Consequences Frame:

"LİBYA İLE TARİHİ ANLAŞMA İMZALANDI! AKDENİZ'DE OYUN BOZULDU..."

Uzmanlar tarafından yapılan tespitler, Doğu Akdeniz'de toplam değeri 3 trilyon doları bulan doğalgaz rezervi bulunduğunu gösteriyor. ABD Jeolojik Araştırmalar Merkezi tahminlerine göre Kıbrıs, Lübnan, Suriye ve İsrail arasında kalan bölge olan Levant havzasında 3,45 trilyon metreküp doğalgaz ve 1,7 milyar varil petrol bulunuyor. Yine Nil Delta Havzasında yaklaşık 1,8 milyar varil petrol, 6,3 trilyon metreküp doğalgaz ve 6 milyar varil doğalgaz rezervi olduğu tahmin ediliyor. Kıbrıs adası çevresinde olduğu düşünülen 8 milyar varil petrol rezervinin dışında Heredot olarak adlandırılan Girit'in güney ve güneydoğusundaki alanda ise toplam 3,5 trilyon metreküplük doğalgaz bulunduğu sanılıyor.

Yakın zamanda Türkiye ile Libya arasında "Deniz Yetki Alanlarının Sınırlandırılmasına İlişkin Mutabakat Muhtırası" imzalandı. Anlaşma ile Türkiye, Akdeniz'in batısındaki meşru sınırlarını tüm dünyaya ilan etmiş oldu. İki ülke deniz sınır koordinatlarının ayrıntısını da içeren anlaşmanın hayata geçirilmesinde Libya tüm hukuki işlemleri tamamlarken, Türkiye ise tarihi sözleşmeyi TBMM'de onaylanmasının ardından Birleşmiş Milletlere bildirecek. Muhtıra böylece resmen yürürlüğe girecek.

Libya'da iç karışıklıklar devam etse de anlaşmanın BM nezdinde meşru bir hükümetle yapılmış olması, mutabakat üzerindeki meşruiyet tartışmalarını bertaraf ediyor.

Doğu Akdeniz'deki toplam hidrokarbon yatakları Türkiye'nin 572 yıllık doğalgaz ihtiyacını karşılayabilecek seviyede. Bu rezervlerin büyük kısmı da Türkiye ve KKTC deniz yetki alanlarında bulunuyor.

The news text of Sabah was also reconstructed by economic consequences frame in the same way as in conflict frame. The first and last paragraphs are reconstructed to emphasize the economy related statements within the original news text, while the middle paragraph is added to be identical as with the other groups.

News Text of Sabah, Reconstructed by Control Purposes:

"LİBYA İLE TARİHİ ANLAŞMA İMZALANDI! AKDENİZ'DE OYUN BOZULDU..."

Türkiye ile Libya arasında "Deniz Yetki Alanlarının Sınırlandırılmasına İlişkin Mutabakat Muhtırası" imzalandı. Anlaşma ile Türkiye, Akdeniz'in batısındaki meşru sınırlarını tüm dünyaya ilan etmiş oldu. İki ülke deniz sınır koordinatlarının ayrıntısını da içeren anlaşmanın hayata geçirilmesinde Libya tüm hukuki işlemleri tamamlarken, Türkiye ise tarihi sözleşmeyi TBMM'de onaylanmasının ardından Birleşmiş Milletlere bildirecek. Muhtıra böylece resmen yürürlüğe girecek.

Libya'da iç karışıklıklar devam etse de anlaşmanın BM nezdinde meşru bir hükümetle yapılmış olması, mutabakat üzerindeki meşruiyet tartışmalarını bertaraf ediyor.

In control groups' news text, only the common middle paragraph is added.

5.2.2.2. Reconstructed and Framed News Text of Cumhuriyet

The second news text is the text titled "Libya'ya EastMed yanıtı" (EastMed response to Libya) and published in Cumhuriyet. In the same manner as the first news text, while the middle paragraph remains unchanged, the main news text was reconstructed by editing the introductory and concluding paragraphs to include the conflict frame for the conflict group and the economical frame for the economic consequences group. Furthermore, only the middle paragraph that remains unchanged has been represented to the respondents of the control group as in the first news text. Here, the news text was reconstructed with the same method described before. Reconstruction means to take certain paragraphs of a news text to highlight the relevant frame instead of presenting the original news text to the readers.

For all three news frame groups, different versions of the news text in Cumhuriyet were presented as follows. In addition; common paragraphs of each groups' news texts were written in italics for pointing out the descriptions of reconstruction way of news. The first and last paragraphs were arranged to include keywords, evaluations and

statements related to conflict and economy, while control group's second news text has only the middle paragraph likewise.

News Text of Cumhuriyet, Reconstructed by Conflict Frame:

"LİBYA'YA EASTMED YANITI "

İsrail-Yunanistan-GKRY liderleri, Doğu Akdeniz'de boru hattı projesini imzalamak için buluştu. Üç ülkenin geçen yıl üzerinde mutabakata vardığı projede, boru hattının Levant gaz havzasından başlayarak Akdeniz boyunca ilerlemesi, Girit Adası ve Yunanistan anakarası üzerinden İtalya'ya kadar uzanması öngörülüyor. Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti (KKTC) Cumhurbaşkanı Mustafa Akıncı, konunun uzmanlarının karşı görüşlerine rağmen gündemde tutulmaya çalışılan bu projenin, "tıpkı GKRY'nin tek başına AB'ye üye yapılmış olması gibi, Kıbrıs sorununun çözümüne yardımcı olmayacağını" vurguladı.

Doğu Akdeniz'deki hidrokarbon kaynakları üzerinde egemenlik mücadelesinin kızıştığı günlerde, İsrail, Yunanistan ve Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi (GKRY) bölge gazını Avrupa'ya taşıyacak yeni bir projenin imzası için harekete geçti. Yunanistan Başbakanı Kyriakos Miçotakis, GKRY Cumhurbaşkanı Nikos Anastasiadis ve İsrail Başbakanı Binyamin Netanyahu, Doğu Akdeniz'in (East Mediterranean) kısaltması EastMed olarak adlandırılan boru hattı antlaşması için dün Atina'da bir araya geldi. Projede yıllık 9 ila 12 milyar metreküp doğalgazın taşınması hedefleniyor.

Projenin önünü açacak imzaların, Türkiye'nin Libya'da Birleşmiş, Milletler tarafından meşru görülen Trablus'taki Ulusal Uzlaşı Hükümeti'yle (UUH) yaptığı deniz yetki sahası anlaşmasının hemen ardından gelmesi dikkat çekti.

İmzaların atıldığı gün TBMM'de de Libya'ya asker gönderilmesine ilişkin tasarı onaylandı. Ankara, EastMed'in paydaş ülkelerinin karşı çıktığı anlaşmayla, Doğu Akdeniz'de yeni münhasır ekonomik bölge ilan etmeyi hedefliyor. Cumhurbaşkanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan da EastMed ile ilgili daha önce yaptığı açıklamada, "Bölgede Türkiye'yi dışlayan herhangi bir planın başarı şansı yoktur" ifadelerini kullanmıştı.

The framed text above was constituted by reconstructing the news text published in Cumhuriyet by reconstructing its reality with expressions including conflict. The middle paragraph highlighted in italics and remained exactly the same in all three news frame groups. However, as with the previous news text, it is accepted that this middle paragraph may inherently contain a news frame, but is ignored as this situation is same with all three groups. Plus, the first and last paragraphs are reconstructed to emphasize the conflict statements within the original news text.

News Text of Cumhuriyet, Reconstructed by Economic Consequences Frame:

"LİBYA'YA EASTMED YANITI "

İsrail-Yunanistan-GKRY liderleri, Doğu Akdeniz'de boru hattı projesini imzalamak için buluştu. Doğu Akdeniz'den İtalya'ya kadar inşa edilecek yaklaşık 2 bin kilometrelik hattın maliyetinin 6 milyar Avro civarında olması bekleniyor.

Doğu Akdeniz'deki hidrokarbon kaynakları üzerinde egemenlik mücadelesinin kızıştığı günlerde, İsrail, Yunanistan ve Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi (GKRY) bölge gazını Avrupa'ya taşıyacak yeni bir projenin imzası için harekete geçti. Yunanistan Başbakanı Kyriakos Miçotakis, GKRY Cumhurbaşkanı Nikos Anastasiadis ve İsrail Başbakanı Binyamin Netanyahu, Doğu Akdeniz'in (East Mediterranean) kısaltması EastMed olarak adlandırılan boru hattı antlaşması için dün Atina'da bir araya geldi. Projede yıllık 9 ila 12 milyar metreküp doğalgazın taşınması hedefleniyor.

Projenin önünü açacak imzaların, Türkiye'nin Libya'da Birleşmiş Milletler tarafından meşru görülen Trablus'taki Ulusal Uzlaşı Hükümeti'yle (UUH) yaptığı deniz yetki sahası anlaşmasının hemen ardından gelmesi dikkat çekti.

Öte yandan, Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti (KKTC) Cumhurbaşkanı Mustafa Akıncı, dün bir yazılı açıklamayla anlaşmanın "coğrafi gerçeklere aykırı ve ekonomik akla uygun olmayan" bir karar olduğunu belirtti. Boru hattının, başka alternatiflere göre çok daha uzun ve masraflı bir güzergâh olduğunu hatırlattı.

The news text of Cumhuriyet was edited by economic consequences frame. The first and last paragraphs are reconstructed to emphasize the economy related statements within the original news text, while the middle paragraph is added to be identical as with the other groups.

News Text of Cumhuriyet, Reconstructed by Control Purposes:

"LİBYA'YA EASTMED YANITI "

Doğu Akdeniz'deki hidrokarbon kaynakları üzerinde egemenlik mücadelesinin kızıştığı günlerde, İsrail, Yunanistan ve Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi (GKRY) bölge gazını Avrupa'ya taşıyacak yeni bir projenin imzası için harekete geçti. Yunanistan Başbakanı Kyriakos Miçotakis, GKRY Cumhurbaşkanı Nikos Anastasiadis ve İsrail Başbakanı Binyamin Netanyahu, Doğu Akdeniz'in (East Mediterranean) kısaltması EastMed olarak adlandırılan boru hattı antlaşması için dün Atina'da bir araya geldi. Projede yıllık 9 ila 12 milyar metreküp doğalgazın taşınması hedefleniyor.

Projenin önünü açacak imzaların, Türkiye'nin Libya'da Birleşmiş Milletler tarafından meşru görülen Trablus'taki Ulusal Uzlaşı Hükümeti'yle (UUH) yaptığı deniz yetki sahası anlaşmasının hemen ardından gelmesi dikkat çekti.

In control groups' news text, only the common middle paragraph is added.

5.2.3. Limitations

The limitation made in determining the sample due to both pandemic conditions and the characteristics of the targeted population is also the most fundamental limitation of this study. Since the sampling method is determined as convenience sampling, this study have not any desire to claim any generalization. In addition, although it is the theoretical view that the ideological perspective of the newspapers is an effective factor in presenting and framing of a news, the study does not aim to analyze this ideological aspect. This is also a limitation even though the thesis does not aim to prove that newspapers with different ideologies can reconstruct different realities on a same event. The aim is to examine framing effects by reconstructing selected news

texts of two newspapers (in order to increase diversity) from different ideologies and news organizations.

As a result, in this chapter, the aim, scope and methodological information of the thesis are given. This thesis is not a framing analysis study moreover, it is a study that aims to examine the effect of certain frames on individuals within certain limitations and through a survey. The question of how the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis is framed in newspapers belonging to different ideologies has not been discussed. This may be one of the issues that can be focused on in future researches. Since this study only aims to examine the effect of the frames of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News on the audience, the ideological status of Sabah and Cumhuriyet was not discussed in line with the limitations and scope of the thesis. In the next chapter, the effect of the reconstructed and framed news texts on participants will be examined. The data obtained will be analyzed as percentages by means of cross tables and the meaning of the findings in terms of hypotheses will be discussed. In other words, within the scope of theoretical approaches, analyzes will be performed and the findings will be evaluated in order to seek an answer to the research question and to the hypotheses of the thesis.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS

Previous chapter covers topics such as how the study was conducted and how the methodological aspects were designed in order analyze the data and correlatively how the news texts and survey were constructed. In this chapter, the statistical analyses of the obtained data will be shown and what the findings mean in terms of thesis' hypotheses will be evaluated. Before conveying the analysis results and the findings regarding the effects of framing within the scope of the hypotheses, presenting a general knowledge about the participants and their demographic characteristics will make this chapter more meaningful. For this reason, before distribution of findings part, the analysis of survey's general questions that will allow evaluation are included. The analysis of entire data was made with cross-tabulations and graphics for the tables were added.

In the analyzes under "demographic information" sub-title, general characteristics of participants constituting the sample are included, thus in order to provide secondary information and convenience when making statistical evaluations, these findings are included. Thereafter, the questions on the representation of events and more specifically Eastern Mediterranean Crisis in news are examined under the sub-title of "evaluations of participants' responds on media and other subjects". However, the most crucial and important part of the findings chapter is devoted to the last two questions of the survey, which provide us with the necessary data for evaluating the hypotheses. So, the "distribution of findings" sub-title involves the results related to thesis' two hypotheses. (Hypothesis 1: "A news text written within conflict frame has a predominantly conflict-based effect on the reader" and Hypothesis 2: "A news text written within economic consequences frame has a predominantly economy-related effect on the reader".)

Before moving on to the demographic characteristics of participants, it would be more significant to present the distribution of the groups separated regarding to news frames. Based on this, the distribution of the respondents according to the groups is as follows.

Table 2. The Distribution of the Respondents Among News Frame Groups

		n	**%**
Group	Conflict	38	31,9
	Economic Consequences	39	32,8
	Control	42	35,3
TOTAL		119	100

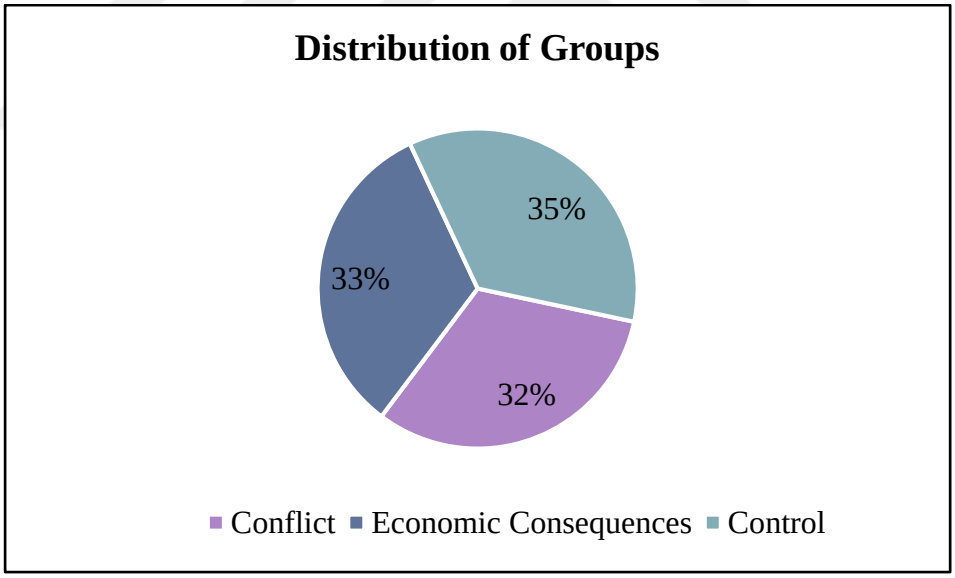


Figure 10. The Distribution of the Respondents Among News Frame Groups

As the methodology section includes the details of how the sample is determined and how the questionnaires are delivered, it will not be mentioned again here. However, as a brief explanation, the entire sample, to whom the survey link will be sent and determined by convenience sampling, was divided into three groups related to the news frame and the individuals were randomly assigned to those groups. Accordingly, the difference in the number of people among groups is explained by the differences in participation level. The highest rate of respondents is control group (%35) and followed by economic consequences group with the rate of %33. The lowest rate of respondents is conflict group with %32. If presenting the participation level numerically rather than proportionally, 38 people from the conflict group, 39 people from the economic consequences group and 42 people from the control group were in attendance throughout survey.

6.1. Demographic Information

The questionnaire began with an explanation about the scope and aim of thesis. Plus, it was underlined that the participants can always contact with the author of thesis and their answers and personal information will never be shared with third parties. After participants accepted to be part of the survey, the demographic questions were presented in following page.

Gender and age questions are open-ended, while the question of working sector is close-ended. Demographic questions were asked to examine whether people in different groups differ in terms of variables such as gender, age, etc. To findings, the participants are quite similar regarding to groups, which is important to argue that any difference in their responses to news texts can't be attributed to demographic factors. Though, there are a few little differences in terms of some characteristics. To illustrate, the cross table between news frame groups and gender is as below.

Table 3. Cross-Table of Gender Between News Frame Groups

GENDER	***Conflict Group***	***Economic Consequences Group***	***Control Group***	***TOTAL***
Male	87% (33)	92,3% (36)	95% (40)	100 % (109)
Female	13 % (5)	8% (3)	5% (2)	100% (10)
TOTAL	100% (38)	100% (39)	100% (42)	100% (119)

Out of 119 people, 38 participants are in conflict group, 39 participants are in economic consequences group, and 42 participants are in control group. If we detail this distribution according to gender one of the demographic characteristics, out of 119 participants, 109 people are men and 10 people are female. Moreover, out of 109 male participants, 33 of them are from conflict group, 36 of them are from economic consequences group, and 40 of them are from control group. Likewise, out of 10 female participants, 5 are in conflict group, 3 are in economic results and 2 are in control group. If we paraphrase data as a percentage form, 87% of the participants in the conflict group are male; 13% are women. 92% of the participants in the economic consequences group are men and 8% are women. Finally, 95% of the participants in the control group were male and 5% were female.

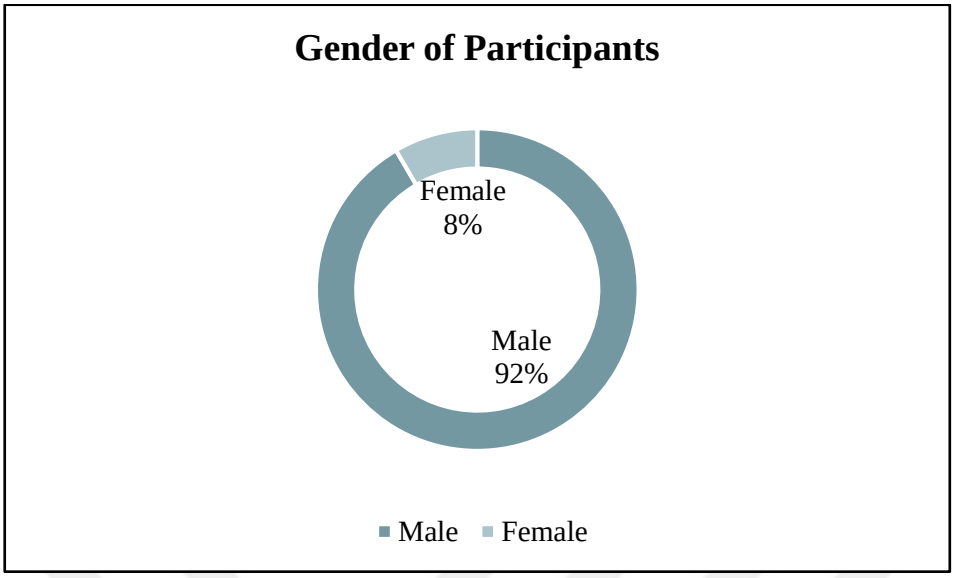


Figure 11. Gender Distribution of Participants

When examining the attendance for per gender, it is seen that %92 of participant is male and in return only %8 of them is female. One of the biggest challenges experienced during the survey, that caused to not ensure diversity, is the inability to reach enough female engineers. There are two reasons for this. First, the oil and gas sector are male-dominated and the number of females working in the sector is considerably less than men. The second is that female engineers showed less participation than men.

As to age distribution among participants, the cross table present us the percentages and frequencies as follows.

Table 4. Cross Table of Participants' Age

AGE	***Conflict Group***	***Economic Consequences Group***	***Control Group***	***TOTAL***
Under 30	26% (10)	13% (5)	26% (11)	22% (26)
30-39	61% (23)	67% (26)	60% (25)	62% (74)
Over 40	13% (5)	20% (8)	14% (6)	16% (19)
TOTAL	100% (38)	100% (39)	100% (42)	100% (119)

Looking the majority of participants, 61% of the conflict group, 67% of the economic consequences group and 60% of the control group are between the ages of 30-39. In total, out of all participants, %22 are under age 30, %62 are between age 30 and 39 and %16 are over age 40. This means that according to both between groups and general data, the majority of participants are between 30 and 39 years old.

Deducing from the cross table, although the age distributions of the groups are mostly similar, the conflict and control groups are more similar, while participants' age of the economic consequences group differs by a small amount compared to the other two groups. This means, while participants under the age of 30 are in low rate in economic consequences group in comparison with the other two groups, this situation is quite the opposite for the distribution of age over 40.

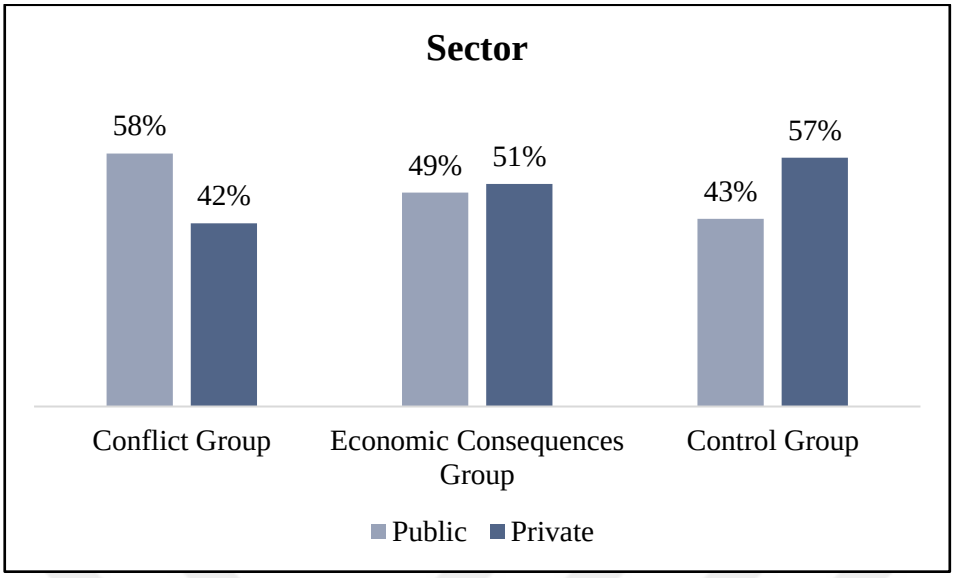


Figure 12. The Sector in which Participants Working in

Evaluating the findings of majority, 58% of the conflict group work in public sector, on the other hand, 51% of the economic consequences group and 57 % of the control group work in private sector. In reference to previous examinations, while the conflict and control groups were similar in age distribution, the economic results group differed. However, when the sector in which the participant works is taken as a basis, a different result has emerged. According to the findings, while the sector in which the participants work is similar in the economic consequences and control group, it differs in the conflict group compared to the other two groups. That is to say, the majority of conflict group works in the public sector, while the majority of the economic consequences and control group works in the private sector.

The question of "Which of the following categories do you feel closest to politically?" has been asked to the participants in the scope of survey. The question is close-ended and the categories are "radical right", "right", "neutral", "left", "radical left" and "no idea". However, in order to eliminate the problem of insufficient sample size per cell, the data of "radical right" and "right" are combined as "right"; "left" and "radical left" as "left"; "neutral" and "no idea" as "neutral". By doing so, it is aimed to reduce the

responses of political tendency question to three categories for more reliable interpretation.

Table 5. Cross Table of Participants' Political Tendency

POLITICAL TENDENCY	***Conflict Group***	***Economic Consequences Group***	***Control Group***	***TOTAL***
Right	24% (9)	44% (17)	10% (4)	25% (30)
Neutral	39% (15)	18% (7)	48% (20)	35% (42)
Left	37% (14)	38% (15)	43% (18)	40% (47)
TOTAL	100% (38)	100% (39)	100% (42)	100% (119)

From the perspective of groups, it has been found that the relative majority of conflict group with a rate of 39% and the relative majority of control group with a rate of 48% are politically neutral. On the contrary, 44% of the economic consequences group are politically right-winged as majority. While 37% of the conflict group, 38% of the economic consequences group and 43% of the control group declared that they felt close to the left politically; 24% of the conflict group, 44% of the economic results group and 10% of the control group chose their political tendency as "right".

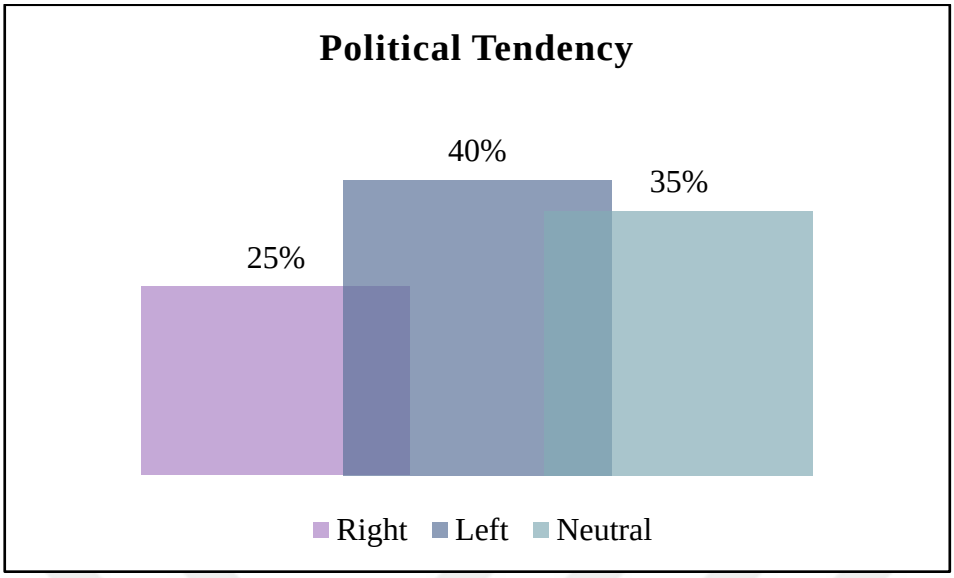


Figure 13. Participants' Political Tendency

Irrespective of groups, the results are shown in the figure above. While 25% of the participants define their political tendency as "right", 40% of them define as "left". 35% of participants, on the other hand, feel "neutral" politically. The majority of the respondents are politically left-winged. The reason why the participants were asked about their political tendency was to make cross-evaluation between analyses. In critical approach, the view that the media content is ideologically reconstructed by dominants is common. In previous chapters, I stated that the theoretical basis of the thesis, in simplest definition, is based on this view. In this context, the tendency of individuals to the dominant ideology appears as an important connection in the process of making sense of media messages. In Stuart Hall's Encoding-Decoding article, he describes the social and ideological conditions of individuals as a distinguishing factor in their self-evaluation of a media content. (Yaylagül, 2013: 130) If interpreting this view in terms of framing theory, the messages that are framed and restructured through media include dominants' ideology and the political and ideological position of audiences is an important criterion in terms of measuring the effect of the frames.

For the analysis of “If there was an election tomorrow, which party would participants vote for?” question, the answer options were combined into three categories such as "will vote for ruling alliance", "will vote for opposition alliance" and "undecided". The data were combined in accordance with the alliances in the last elections. The reason why this combination was made to eliminate the problem of insufficient sample per cell.

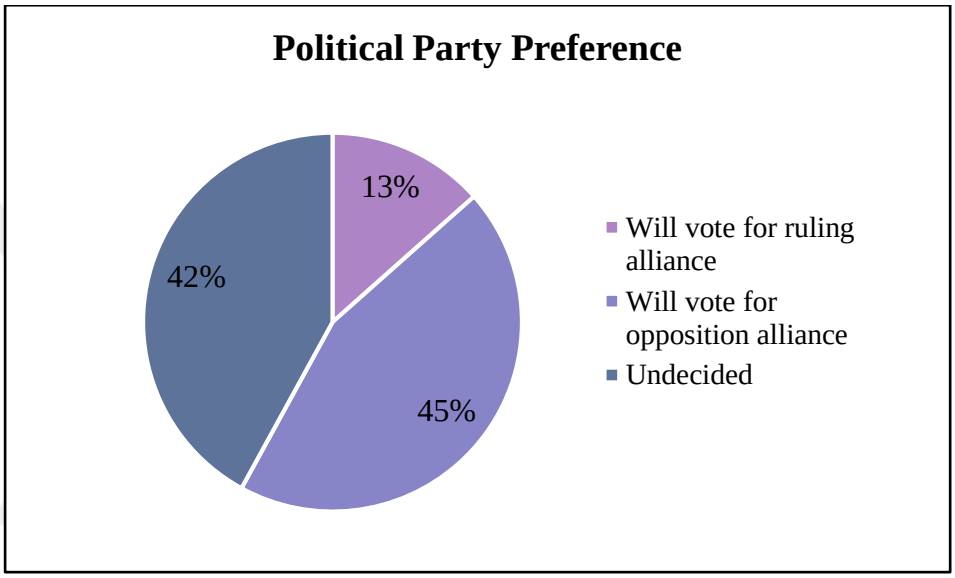


Figure 14. Political Party Preference

Considering the percentage differences in terms of groups; 13% of conflict group will vote for ruling alliance, 45% of conflict group will vote for opposition alliance and 42% of conflict group is undecided. 18% of economic consequences group will vote for ruling alliance, 54% of economic consequences group will vote for opposition alliance and 28% of economic consequences group is undecided. 9% of control group will vote for ruling alliance, 36% of control group will vote for opposition alliance and 55% of control group is undecided. Moreover, irrespective of groups, with a rate of 45% the majority of respondents are undecided for their voting preference. 42% of respondents declared that they will vote for opposition alliance, and in return only 13% of respondents said that they will vote for ruling alliance.

Political tendency for this research is concluded as a variable to be considered. As de Vreese stated, the findings can be complicated when examining the effect of political related variables. (de Vreese, 2003:49) As an evaluation, in conflict group the rate of undecided participants and the rate of those who will vote for the opposition alliance is quite similar to each other, while the rate of those who will vote for the ruling alliance differs by being lower. In economic consequences group, the majority stated that they would vote for the opposition alliance, but regarding to their political tendency, the same majority stated that they are politically right-winged. This outcome allows us to interpret that the majority of the economic consequences group is against the government, but is also on the right side of the opposition wing. As for the control group, the majority stated that they were undecided, while remaining majority's declaration is to vote for the opposition alliance. While these findings are largely in parallel with the findings of political tendency, they also yielded critical results in terms of economic consequences group. The cross-table related to these results has been added to the annex section.

6.2. Evaluations of Participants' Responds on Media and Other Subjects

Under this subtitle, which is the last stage before evaluating this thesis' hypotheses, various data obtained within the scope of the survey is examined. Accordingly, the frequency of participants' exposure to media, the media platform they follow the news most frequently, whether the participants have technical knowledge on hydrocarbon activities of Eastern Mediterranean, the frequency of following the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis, participants' view on the scope and representation of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis in media, the news categories participants follow most frequently and participants' views on media effects are included in this part.

As to media platform participants follow the news most frequently, findings show us that 18% of those in the conflict group; 27% of those in the economic consequences group and 25% of those in the control group follow the news from visual media. Additionally, 82% of the conflict group, 73% of the economic consequences group and 75% of the control group follow the news from online news sites, social media or print media. Irrespective of groups, the majority of respondents follow the news from

online news sites. This is respectively followed by social media and visual media. According to participants responses, print media is majority's least preferred platform to follow the news. Moreover, participants answered the question that related to their habit of newspaper reading. The question is close-ended with one choice and the choices are never, once a week, 2-3 times a week, every other day and every day. In the content of question, it was emphasized that the definition meant by newspaper includes online news sites. The majority of all three groups, that is to say 47% of conflict group, 59% of economic consequences group and 38% of control group, reads newspaper every day whether its printed or online.

Having technical knowledge on oil and natural gas exploration activities in the Eastern Mediterranean region is distinctive criteria for thesis scope. What is meant by the concept of "technical knowledge" is to know the geological structure of the Eastern Mediterranean and to have the competence to evaluate the hydrocarbon potential in the region in the most accurate way according to engineering data.

Table 6. Having Technical Knowledge on Oil and Natural Gas Exploration Activities in the Eastern Mediterranean Region

TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE	***Conflict Group***	***Economic Consequences Group***	***Control Group***	***TOTAL***
Yes	63% (24)	67% (26)	57% (24)	62% (74)
No	37% (14)	33% (13)	43% (18)	38% (45)
TOTAL	100% (38)	100% (39)	100% (42)	100% (119)

In order to be more understandable, it is possible to interpret the crosstab data by way of the graph below.

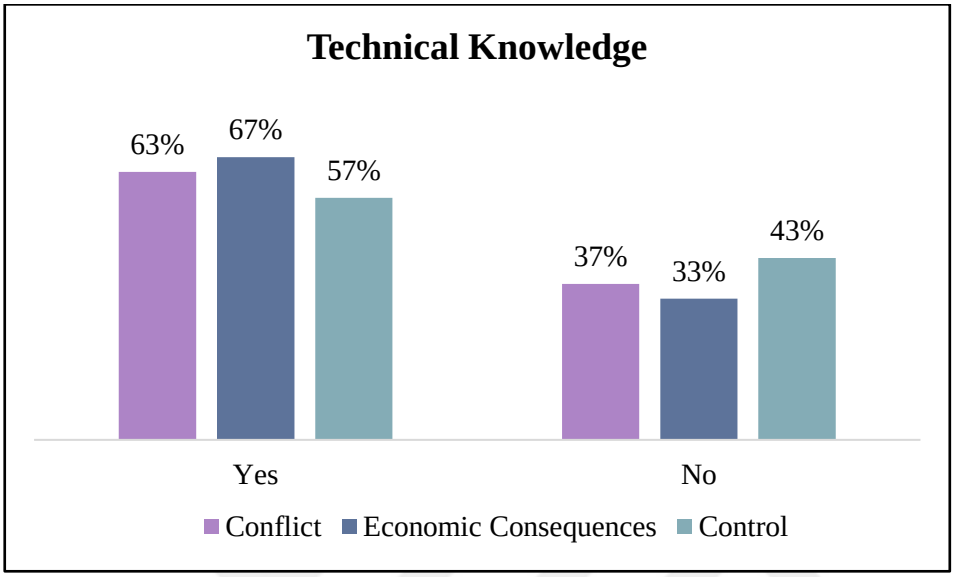


Figure 15. Having Technical Knowledge on Oil and Natural Gas Exploration Activities in the Eastern Mediterranean Region

24 out of 38 in the conflict group, 26 out of 39 in the economic consequences group and 24 out of 42 in the control group consider themselves as they have technical knowledge on oil and natural gas exploration activities in the Eastern Mediterranean Region. If we reintroduce the findings as percentages, 63% of conflict group, 67% of economic consequences group and 57% of control group have technical knowledge on oil and natural gas exploration activities in the Eastern Mediterranean Region. Correlatively, 62% of all participants stated that they have technical knowledge on oil and natural gas exploration activities in the Eastern Mediterranean Region. Findings as percental are quite similar to each other in terms of both between groups rates and general rate. This provides the opportunity to state that having technical knowledge does not differ regarding to news frame groups in terms of percentages, and therefore, the participants are homogeneously distributed within the groups in respect to technical knowledge.

Knowledge is a significant criterion to clarify the factors determining the framing effects. Since how much and what kind of information individuals have on a subject can be a determining factor for their level of effect when they are exposed to a framed news. (Iyengar, 1991) In thesis, technical knowledge criterion aimed to find an answer to this assumption. The level of knowledge and interest of individuals on a subject is approached as a determining criterion when explaining the effect of frames. News convey some messages to the masses by reconstructing reality ideologically and therefore by framing. The level of individuals being affected by these messages may have an inversely proportional interaction with the knowledge they have on the subject. Therefore, it is assumed that news frames within the scope of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis would have less of an effect on people closely related to the issue.

In addition, the frequency of participants to follow the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis is a distinguishing criterion in terms of their technical knowledge as well as they can be geopolitically (or in a general aspect) equipped on the matter. Cross table data to be presented below aims to evaluate the level of following the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis together with the status of having technical knowledge. Based on this, the findings are as follows.

Table 7. Percentages of the Following Frequency of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News

The level of following Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News	***Conflict Group***	***Economic Consequences Group***	***Control Group***	***TOTAL***
Never	8% (3)	5% (2)	5% (2)	6% (7)
Rarely	16% (6)	21% (8)	24% (10)	20% (24)
Often	63% (24)	53% (21)	57% (24)	58% (69)
Always	13% (5)	21% (8)	14% (6)	16% (19)
TOTAL	100% (38)	100% (39)	100% (42)	100% (119)

For all three news frame groups, the majority stated that they "often" follow the news related Eastern Mediterranean Crisis. To be more precise, %63 (24 out of 38) of conflict group, %54 (21 out of 39) of economic consequences group and %57 (24 out of 42) frequently follow the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News. In terms of percentages, the results are very similar to technical knowledge status. This means, participants who have technical knowledge also follows the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis very often. If we cross-examine the percentages with previous analysis, then we see that while 63% of conflict group have technical knowledge, 63% of conflict group follow the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis very often. Likewise, while 57% of control group have technical knowledge, 57% of control group follow the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis very often. As seen, percentages are equal to each other in terms of conflict and control groups. On the other hand, even though findings are similar, the percentages of economic consequences group differ in a small amount. While 67% of economic consequences group have technical knowledge, in return 54% of economic consequences group follow the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis very often. These findings provide us an additional perspective for the phase of analyzing hypotheses and evaluating its results. Moreover, in terms of all groups, it is seen that the majority of participants both have technical knowledge and frequently follow the news in question. This also contributes to confirming the assumption that the targeted audience, which is determined by convenience sampling, has both technical and therefore geopolitical knowledge.

Next question was “Which of the following statements would the respondent agree with regarding the representation of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News in media?”. The results were completely neutral, partially neutral, undecided, partially biased, completely biased and no idea. Yet, the results were reduced to three categories by combining relevant dependent variables for ease of interpretation.

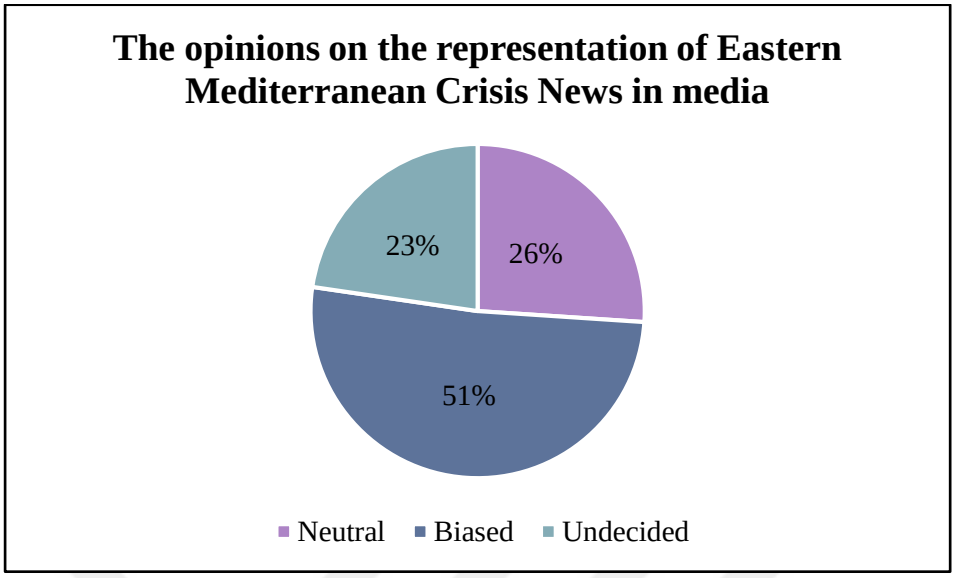


Figure 16. The Opinions on the Representation of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News

Irrespective of groups, 51% of the respondents in total evaluate the representation of the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis as biased; 26% of the respondents in total evaluate as neutral and 23% of the respondents are undecided. In terms of groups, 47% of conflict group, 56% of economic consequences group and 50% of control group think that Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News is biased. On the other hand, %29 of conflict group, %23 of economic consequences group and %26 of control group think that Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News are represented as partially neutral. Besides, 23% of all participants are undecided. These findings are important because they may allow us to cross-evaluation depending on the responses to specific judgments in the following questions of survey. For instance, it will be more meaningful to evaluate this together with the answers given to "Presenting certain aspects of a news story by emphasizing it can affect my thoughts on the subject." 68% of conflict group, 54% of economic consequences group and 57% of control group agree with the judgement "Presenting certain aspects of a news story by emphasizing it can affect my thoughts on the subject.". While the majority of respondents think that the news related Eastern Mediterranean Crisis are biased, they also agree with framing a subject can affect their

thoughts. That means, if the news they received from media are biasedly framed, they can be affected from those frames in a biased way.

Table 8. Percentages of the level of confidence in the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis

The level of confidence in the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis	***Conflict Group***	***Economic Consequences Group***	***Control Group***	***TOTAL***
Reliable	39% (15)	41% (16)	52% (22)	44% (53)
Unreliable	29% (11)	28% (11)	26% (11)	28% (33)
Undecided	32% (12)	31% (12)	22% (9)	28% (33)
TOTAL	100% (38)	100% (39)	100% (42)	100% (119)

With the same purpose of previous analysis, the results were reduced to three categories such as "reliable", "unreliable" and "undecided". In this context, the majority of the participants (45%) stated that the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis are reliable and the rate of unreliable and undecided responses are equal with 28%. To be more specific, 39% of the conflict group, 41% of the economic consequences group and 52% of the control group stated that they define the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis news as reliable. The participants who find the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis most reliable include in the control group. Besides, participants in the control group with a rate of 29%, participants in the economic consequences group with a rate of 28%, and participants in the control group with a rate of 26% evaluate the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis as unreliable. The rate of undecided people is also undeniably high. In terms of conflict group, for instance, with a rate of 32% participants are undecided instead of thinking news as reliable or unreliable. Likewise, 31% of the participants in economic consequences group are undecided about the news in question. In control group, the rate of undecided people is lower than the other two

groups and was calculated as 22%. Meanwhile, there is an inconsistency between the results of this question and the results of the previous question. While the majority of participants think Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News as biased, the same majority evaluate Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News as reliable.

This thesis also examines the relationship between the news frame and the opinion on the scope of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News whether the events are covered in every aspect for respondents' opinions or not.

Table 9. Percentages of participants' opinion on the scope of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News

The Scope of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News	***Conflict Group***	***Economic Consequences Group***	***Control Group***	***TOTAL***
In Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News, the events are covered in every aspect	11% (4)	5% (2)	14% (6)	10% (12)
Undecided	18% (7)	31% (12)	31% (13)	27% (32)
In Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News, the events are not covered in every aspect	71% (27)	64% (25)	55% (23)	63% (75)
TOTAL	100% (38)	100% (39)	100% (42)	100% (119)

71% of conflict group, 64% of economic consequences group and 55% of control group 71% of conflict group, 64% of economic consequences group and 55% of control group express that in Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News the events are not covered in every aspect. On the contrary, 11% of conflict group, 5% of economic consequences group and 14% of control group express that in Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News the events are covered in every aspect. 18% of conflict group, 31% of economic consequences group and 31% of control group is undecided whether in Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News the events are covered in every aspect or not. Irrespective of groups, %63 of participants express that in Eastern Mediterranean

Crisis News the events are not covered in every aspect, 27% of participants is undecided and only 10% of participants think that in Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News the events are covered in every aspect. Those in the conflict group, with a greatest rate, think that the news does not cover in every aspect and those in control group thinks likewise with lowest rate. The majority, who think Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News are not covered in all aspects, also thinks that Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News are biased as well as they are reliable. In other words, the responses to the scope and objectivity of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis news are compromised with each other. On the other hand, the results of reliability of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News in media creates inconsistency.

In the succeeding stage, respondents also answered another closed-ended ranking question. It aims to determine the level of interest of the participants related to news categories. These categories are agenda, political, economy, sports, magazine, travel, health and technology. They were determined according to the most common tabs on websites of newspapers. Here, I will only include the analysis of political, agenda and economic news categories, which are more relevant for this thesis' subject, as narratively. Cross table of the findings regarding news categories will be added to the appendix.

Respondents' level of interest to agenda news are quite similar compared with conflict and economic consequences groups. More than half of the respondents in the control group, on the other hand, follow the agenda news as their first choice. 35% of the conflict group, 39% of economic consequences group and 51% of control group stated that they found agenda related news the most interesting. When examining majority as percental, 21% of conflict group and 28% of economic consequences group found political news in second place interesting. 24% of control group declared that they found political news in fourth place interesting. Having looking at all three groups, there is not any apparent numerical difference in terms of the level of interest in news categories. This means that interest in political news does not vary greatly depending on groups. For 26% of conflict group, economy news is most interesting in the scope of category sorting. On the other hand, 31% of economic consequences group and 37%

of control group specify the news related economy in third place interesting. In conclusion, the respondents of all three groups follow agenda news as their first choice. The important point here is none of the respondents of conflict group rated the political news as the most interesting, moreover the results are similar in terms of economic consequences group and control group. While the participants in economic consequences group do not show primarily interest in economic news, those in conflict group are more interested in news related economy than economic consequences group. Also, the interest shown in Agenda, Political, Economy, Sports, Magazine, Travel, Health and Technology news is similar in all 3 groups. This can be evaluated as, the interest level of respondents to various news categories, thus its sorting, will not be determinative on the effects of news frames which they exposed to.

Following analyses under this subtitle are conducted to examine participants' opinion of the effects of media and the effects of representation of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News. Related questions were prepared as closed-ended with six answer choices consist of 5-likert scale (From "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree") and additionally "no idea" option. However, to eliminate the problem of small sample size per cell, 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' categories combined as 'agree'; 'strongly agree' and 'agree' as 'agree'; and finally, 'no idea' and 'undecided' categories were combined as 'undecided'. In this way, answer choices eliminated to 3-likert scale and percentages shown in cross tables below are calculated according to this combining data.

Table 10. Cross Table on the Relationship Between Groups and Levels of Participation in Statements

Levels of Participation in Statements		*Conflict Group*	*Economic Consequences Group*	*Control Group*	*TOTAL*
Presenting certain aspects of a news story by emphasizing it can affect my thoughts on the subject.	Agree	68% (26)	54% (21)	57% (24)	60% (71)
	Undecided	11% (4)	8% (3)	10% (4)	9% (11)
	Disagree	21% (8)	38% (15)	33% (14)	31% (37)
The language used in a news text, the graphics or the quality of the photograph can affect my thoughts on the subject.	Agree	76% (29)	74% (29)	71% (30)	74% (88)
	Undecided	13% (5)	5% (2)	5% (2)	8% (9)
	Disagree	11% (4)	21% (8)	24% (10)	18% (22)
In a news on a subject that I have previous knowledge of, the way the subject is conveyed can affect my thoughts.	Agree	37% (14)	23% (9)	24% (10)	28% (33)
	Undecided	16% (6)	15% (6)	17% (7)	16% (19)
	Disagree	47% (18)	62% (24)	59% (25)	56% (67)
When it comes to international crises, different presentations of the same event in media with different ideologies can affect my thoughts.	Agree	45% (17)	28% (11)	33% (14)	35% (42)
	Undecided	16% (6)	15% (6)	17% (7)	16% (19)
	Disagree	39% (15)	57% (22)	50% (21)	49% (58)
Which of the following judgments about the view that "Media determines not only what we think but also how we think" represents the closest to your opinion?	Agree	66% (25)	56% (22)	55% (23)	59% (7)
	Undecided	21% (8)	13% (5)	17% (7)	17% (20)
	Disagree	13% (5)	31% (12)	28% (12)	24% (29)
Which of the following judgments about the view that "Media is the voice of public opinion" represents the closest to your opinion?	Agree	26% (10)	39% (15)	36% (15)	33% (40)
	Undecided	13% (5)	5% (2)	4% (2)	8% (9)
	Disagree	61% (23)	56% (22)	60% (25)	59% (70)
TOTAL		100% (38)	100% (39)	100% (42)	100% (119)

In the table above, the responses given for the statements by participants are shown in detail with their frequencies and percentages per groups. These statements were included in the survey to examine the opinions of respondents on media effects and news framing. 68% of conflict group, 54% of economic consequences group and 57% of control group stated that they agreed with "Presenting certain aspects of a news story by emphasizing it can affect my thoughts on the subject." Plus, irrespective of groups, 60% of all participants agreed with the statements as well. If we evaluate these findings within the scope of media effects and framing theory, the majority of respondents for all three groups think that framing a news text can affect their thoughts. As to next statement, which is *"The language used in a news text, the graphics or the quality of the photograph can affect my thoughts on the subject."*, 76% of conflict group, 74% of economic consequences group and 71% of control group, moreover %74% of all participants, agreed with this statement with a higher rate. In this question, similar to the previous statement, it is aimed to analyze from participant's view that whether a news' structural characteristics affect their opinion or not. It is clear from results that the majority of participants for all three news frame groups agree with this statement.

The next statement, *"In a news on a subject that I have previous knowledge of, the way the subject is conveyed can affect my thoughts.",* is closely related to the technical knowledge assumptions and will enrich interpretations of the results. 47% of conflict group, 62% of economic consequences group and 59% of control group stated that they did not agree with this statement. Regardless of which news frame group participants belong to, the majority disagree the statement "In a news on a subject that I have previous knowledge of, the way the subject is conveyed can affect my thoughts". Accordingly, 56% of all participants disagree the statement while 28% of them agree and 16% of them are undecide. This means, participants' opinion on being affected by the news on a subject they know about is in line with the previous findings and assumptions discussed within the scope of technical knowledge related parts.

The next statement was asked to determine participants' opinion on the effect of a news presentation taking part in media with different ideologies. When it comes to national crisis, 45% of conflict group agree that different presentations of a same event in media with different ideologies can affect their thoughts. On the other hand, 57% of economic consequences group and 50% of control group were opposition to this statement. It would be appropriate to interpret these results in terms of Sabah and Cumhuriyet newspapers, where the news texts of thesis are located. According to respondents in conflict group, different presentations of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis news on a same subject in Sabah and Cumhuriyet would affect their opinions. However, for the respondents in economic consequences and control groups these different presentations would be ineffective on the formation of their thoughts on the subject. If looking irrespective of groups, percentages of "agree" and "disagree" responses are similar with the findings of economic consequences and control groups. When it comes to conflict group's responses on the statement it differs with these findings. To be more specific, 49% of all participants disagree *"When it comes to international crises, different presentations of the same event in media with different ideologies can affect my thoughts"* statement, while 35% of all participants agree and 16% of all participants are undecide.

The last two statements aim to determine respondents' opinion on media's function of reflecting public opinion and media's influence on the thoughts of audience. 66% of conflict group, 56% of economic consequences group and 55% of control group agreed with *"Media determines not only what we think but also how we think"* statement. More generally, 59% of all participants agreed with this statement, while 24% of all participants disagree and 17% of all participants are undecided. 61% of conflict group, 56% of economic consequences group and 59% of control disagree with *"Media is the voice of public opinion"* statement. The results are quite similar to each other in terms of both the comparison of groups and the general results, as a consequence no difference was found.

In terms of ease of interpretation, related to “agree” responses the levels of participation in the statements are given below.

Table 11. Percentages of "Agree" Responses

Statements	***Conflict Group***	***Economic Consequences Group***	***Control Group***
Presenting certain aspects of a news story by emphasizing it can affect my thoughts on the subject.	68,4	53,8	57,1
The language used in a news text, the graphics or the quality of the photograph can affect my thoughts on the subject.	76,3	74,4	71,4
In a news on a subject that I have previous knowledge of, the way the subject is conveyed can affect my thoughts.	36,8	23,1	23,8
When it comes to international crises, different presentations of the same event in media with different ideologies can affect my thoughts.	44,7	28,2	33,3
Which of the following judgments about the view that "Media determines not only what we think but also how we think" represents the closest to your opinion?	65,8	56,4	54,8
Which of the following judgments about the view that "Media is the voice of public opinion" represents the closest to your opinion?	26,3	38,5	35,7

The statements of which the participation level of the conflict group is higher than the other groups:

- Presenting certain aspects of a news story by emphasizing it can affect my thoughts on the subject.
- The language used in a news text, the graphics or the quality of the photograph can affect my thoughts on the subject.

- In a news on a subject that I have previous knowledge of, the way the subject is conveyed can affect my thoughts.
- When it comes to international crises, different presentations of the same event in media with different ideologies can affect my thoughts.
- Which of the following judgments about the view that "Media determines not only what we think but also how we think" represents the closest to your opinion?

The statement of which the participation level of the economic consequences group is higher than the other groups:

- Which of the following judgments about the view that "Media is the voice of public opinion" represents the closest to your opinion?

There isn't any statement in which the participation level of control group is higher compared to other groups. The highest participation belongs to "The language used in a news text, the graphics or the quality of the photograph can affect my thoughts on the subject" statement for all three groups. Even though this evaluation involves all three group, the participation level to this statement of the conflict group is higher than the other groups.

To sum up, the purpose of determining participation levels was not to reveal the frame effect. It was simply to reveal the participants' view on media effects and on some descriptive statements within the scope of framing theory. This is important in terms of contributing to evaluation of analysis' results. In this context, the majority of all three groups agree with the statements related to media effects and framing. They generally agreed with the view that media has potential to affect the audience. On the other hand, they stated that media is not quite effective on audiences regarding to a news which they have previous knowledge on it. Also, majority of participants do not agree with the view that media reflects public opinion. The reason for this can be interpreted as, based on the fact that majority of participants are left-wing, the pressure exerted by the political power on media and the lack of media independence.

The final analyses under this subtitle are conducted to examine participants' opinion on the effects of representation of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News. Percentages and frequencies of participants responses is in cross table as follows.

Table 12. Cross Table on the Relationship Between Groups and Levels of Participation in Statements

Levels of Participation in Statements		***Conflict Group***	***Economic Consequences Group***	***Control Group***	***TOTAL***
The news presented in media about the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis attracts my attention.	Agree	82% (31)	90% (35)	81% (34)	84% (100)
	Undecided	10% (4)	2% (1)	17% (7)	10% (12)
	Disagree	8% (3)	8% (3)	2% (1)	6% (7)
I primarily follow the news related the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis from printed media.	Agree	42% (16)	59% (23)	40% (17)	47% (56)
	Undecided	21% (8)	13% (5)	20% (8)	18% (21)
	Disagree	37% (14)	28% (11)	40% (17)	35% (42)
I think that the news texts about the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis contain sufficient information.	Agree	11% (4)	13% (5)	24% (10)	16% (19)
	Undecided	21% (8)	23% (9)	24% (10)	23% (27)
	Disagree	68% (26)	64% (25)	52% (22)	61% (73)
I follow the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News from newspapers that is parallel with my political view.	Agree	24% (9)	26% (10)	26% (11)	25% (30)
	Undecided	29% (11)	20% (8)	31% (13)	27% (32)
	Disagree	47% (18)	54% (21)	43% (18)	48% (57)
I follow the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News from the newspapers with different views as well.	Agree	82% (31)	74% (29)	78% (33)	78% (93)
	Undecided	13% (5)	10% (4)	10% (4)	11% (13)
	Disagree	5% (2)	16% (6)	12% (5)	11% (13)

Table 12. (cont'd)

When it comes to international crises, I also follow the foreign press.	Agree	76% (29)	72% (28)	86% (36)	78% (93)
	Undecided	13% (5)	18% (7)	7% (3)	13% (15)
	Disagree	11% (4)	10% (4)	7% (3)	9% (11)
I only follow the national press for the news of the international crises that Turkey is a party to.	Agree	16% (6)	18% (7)	19% (8)	18% (21)
	Undecided	21% (8)	13% (5)	10% (4)	14% (17)
	Disagree	63% (24)	69% (27)	71% (30)	68% (81)
TOTAL		100% (38)	100% (39)	100% (42)	100% (119)

These findings cover some certain statements which aim to examine the opinions of participants regarding followed newspapers and Eastern Mediterranean News. In the table above, the answers given to those statements are shown in detail with their frequencies and percentages per groups.

82% of conflict group, 90% of economic consequences group and 81% of control group agreed that the news presented in media about the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis attracts their attention. In terms of all three news frame groups, the level of participation in the statement is quite high and similar each other, moreover irrespectively of groups 84% of all participants response is parallel with the findings as well. In one of the previous questions, the majority stated that they "often" follow the news related Eastern Mediterranean Crisis. The result here is also similar with previous one. The Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News attracts participants' attention due to the fact that they work in oil and gas sector and the subject is part of their everyday life. This means that they constantly encounter with the news presented through different frames on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis by newspapers with various ideologies.

In one of the previous questions, participants answered the media platform which they follow the news most frequently. According to the results, they frequently follow online news sites. As to this question, 42% of conflict group and 59% of economic consequences group agreed with "I primarily follow the news related the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis from printed media" statement. The results of control group are equal in terms of agree and disagree options with the rate of 40%. As a consequence, the majority of respondents follow the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis from online news sites of printed media. For instance, if the majority of respondents would follow the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis in Sabah or Cumhuriyet, they probably followed from https://www.sabah.com.tr/ or in https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/. This result is important in terms of being a light for future studies related to thesis' subject. Researchers can examine what are the most frequently used frames in online news sites on the subject of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis. Thus, the assumption of this thesis, that is 'economic consequences' and 'conflict' frames are the most common used frames related to Eastern Mediterranean Crisis, will be tested.

The next question was asked to make an advanced evaluation with the results of previous question related to the scope of Eastern Mediterranean News texts. It is aim to determine according to respondents' opinion whether Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News present in all aspects or in selected certain aspects of its reality (Entman,1993). Previous result was the majority of all three groups think that in Eastern Mediterranean Crisis news, the events are not covered in every aspect. In parallel with this, the majority of respondents here disagree with *"The news texts about the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis contain sufficient information"* statement. 68% of conflict group, 64% of economic consequences group and 52% of control group stated that they did not agree with this statement. 61% of all participants think that the news texts about the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis do not contain sufficient information. When the percentages are examined both in terms of groups and in general, the findings are quite similar to each other. The importance of this analysis is to reveal that an audience with accurate and comprehensive knowledge on the subject thinks that the subject is

not fully covered in news. In other words, according to technical experts' opinion, media covers a narrow framework in presenting Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.

The next four statements aim to determine the respondents' preference of following Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News. To be more specific, do they follow this news only from media institutions which is suitable for their ideology or from opposite media for their political view as well? Moreover, do they follow this news from only national media or from both national and international media when it comes to international crises in which Turkey is taking part?

47% of conflict group, 54% of economic consequences group and 43% of control group disagree with *"I follow the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News from newspapers that is parallel with my political view"* statement. 82% of conflict group, 74% of economic consequences group and 78% of control group agree with *"I follow the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News from the newspapers with different views as well"* statement. 76% of conflict group, 72% of economic consequences group and 86% of control group agree *with "When it comes to international crises, I also follow the foreign press"* statement. 63% of conflict group, 69% of economic consequences group and 71 % of control group agree with *"I only follow the national press for the news of the international crises that Turkey is a party to"* statement.

The above stated data show us the frequencies and percentages of responses given for the statements by participants and per groups. Starting from this point, as conducted one of the previous tables, "Agree" response rates are submitted here as well to ease the interpretation and consequently the levels of participation in the statements are given below.

Table 13. Percentages of "Agree" Responses

Statements	**Conflict Group**	**Economic Consequences Group**	**Control Group**
The news presented in media about the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis attracts my attention.	82%	90%	81%
I primarily follow the news related the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis from printed media.	42%	59%	40%
I think that the news texts about the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis contain sufficient information.	11%	13%	24%
I follow the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News from the newspapers that are parallel with my political view.	24%	26%	26%
I follow the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News from the newspapers with different views as well.	82%	74%	78%
When it comes to international crises, I also follow the foreign press.	76%	72%	86%
I only follow the national press for the news of the international crises that Turkey is a party to.	16%	18%	19%

The statements of which the participation level of the conflict group is higher than the other groups:

- I follow the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News from the newspapers with different views as well.

The statement of which the participation level of the economic consequences group is higher than the other groups:

- The news presented in media about the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis attracts my attention.
- I primarily follow the news related the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis from printed media.

The statements of which the participation level of the control group is higher than the other groups:

- I think that the news texts about the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis contain sufficient information.
- I follow the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News from the newspapers that are parallel with my political view.
- When it comes to international crises, I also follow the foreign press.
- I only follow the national press for the news of the international crises that Turkey is a party to.

6.3. Distribution of Findings

The analyzes before this sub-title were conducted in order to have knowledge of participants' general characteristics and to determine participants' opinion within certain topics. In this way, a comprehensive knowledge of the relevant audience was obtained, which is quite beneficial in terms of analyzing hypotheses and interpreting the results in accordance with the theoretical framework of the thesis. Under this sub-title, therefore, hypotheses will be analyzed and what the findings mean in terms of hypotheses will be evaluated.

The last two questions of the survey are designed to determine whether news frames have an effect on formation of respondents' opinion. This means, when we consider the overall questionnaire, these questions are the most determinative ones for analyzing thesis' hypotheses and the effect of news frames. Participants in each group encountered two different news texts, which are reconstructed in terms of news frames, in the scope of the questionnaire. After they read the news, the statements related to Eastern Mediterranean Crisis for each question appeared. From the answers on the Likert scale, the respondents were asked to choose the most appropriate one for them and for each statement within the scope of the question. Comprehensive details about the reconstructed news texts and the hypotheses are given in the methodology chapter and will not be mentioned again here. Based on this, remaining analyzes will be conducted in parallel with two main hypotheses of the thesis.

6.3.1. Analyses of the Statements Related to News on Sabah

In the following results, the percental analyses and narrative evaluations of participants' responses on framing related question, which involves reconstructed news text according to frames from the news published in Sabah, are indicated.

Table 14. Cross Table Results on the Relationship Between Groups and Levels of Participation in Statements by News Frames

Statements Related to News on Sabah		*Conflict Group*	*Economic Consequences Group*	*Control Group*	*TOTAL*
Political tension is the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.	Agree	74% (28)	69% (27)	71% (30)	71% (85)
	Undecided	10% (4)	10% (4)	12% (5)	11% (13)
	Disagree	16% (6)	21% (8)	17% (7)	18% (21)
The legal elements are the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.	Agree	53% (20)	51% (20)	67% (28)	57% (68)
	Undecided	21% (8)	23% (9)	19% (8)	21% (25)
	Disagree	26% (10)	26% (10)	14% (6)	22% (26)
Economic factors are the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.	Agree	84% (32)	95% (37)	88% (37)	89% (106)
	Undecided	13% (5)	5% (2)	7% (3)	8% (10)
	Disagree	3% (1)	0% (0)	5% (2)	3% (3)
No obvious reason is the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.	Agree	5% (2)	2% (1)	12% (5)	7% (8)
	Undecided	21% (8)	13% (5)	17% (7)	17% (20)
	Disagree	74% (28)	85% (33)	71% (30)	76% (91)
I think that the agreement signed with Libya caused tension between the countries.	Agree	68% (26)	69% (27)	74% (31)	70% (84)
	Undecided	16% (6)	10% (4)	12% (5)	13% (15)
	Disagree	16% (6)	21% (8)	14% (6)	17% (20)

Table 14. (cont'd)

I think that the agreement signed with Libya will contribute economically.	Agree	63% (24)	84% (33)	62% (26)	70% (83)
	Undecided	34% (13)	8% (3)	17% (7)	19% (23)
	Disagree	3% (1)	8% (3)	21% (9)	11% (13)
The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its legal elements.	Agree	53% (20)	54% (21)	55% (23)	54% (64)
	Undecided	34% (13)	33% (13)	26% (11)	31% (37)
	Disagree	13% (5)	13% (5)	19% (8)	15% (18)
The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its economic elements.	Agree	63% (24)	77% (30)	62% (26)	67% (80)
	Undecided	24% (9)	13% (5)	14% (6)	17% (20)
	Disagree	13% (5)	10% (4)	24% (10)	16% (19)
The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its cause of the tension between the countries.	Agree	47% (18)	51% (20)	45% (19)	48% (57)
	Undecided	24% (9)	18% (7)	24% (10)	22% (26)
	Disagree	29% (11)	31% (12)	31% (13)	30% (36)
The agreement signed with Libya does not have a prominent dimension	Agree	11% (4)	10% (4)	17% (7)	13% (15)
	Undecided	18% (7)	23% (9)	19% (8)	20% (24)
	Disagree	71% (27)	67% (26)	64% (27)	67% (80)
TOTAL		100% (38)	100% (39)	100% (42)	100% (119)

The frequencies and percentages of responses are shown in the table above. After reading the news text published in Sabah and reconstructed via frames for the purpose of thesis, the participants were asked to give the most appropriate response to below-mentioned statements. The statements related to Eastern Mediterranean Crisis has been given within the scope of first news text are as follows: "Political tension is the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis", "The legal elements are the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis", "Economic factors are the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis", "No obvious reason is the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis", "I think that the agreement signed with Libya caused tension between the countries", "I think that the agreement signed with Libya will contribute economically", "The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its legal elements", "The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its economic elements", "The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its cause of the tension between the countries" and finally "The agreement signed with Libya does not have a prominent dimension. According to the content of the statements, the analyzes will be examined in three scopes.

- **Conflict related statements:**

"Political tension is the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis": 74% of conflict group, 69% of economic consequences group and 71% of the control group agree that political tension is the fundamental of the crisis in question. On the other hand, 16% of conflict group, 21% of economic consequences group and 17% of the control group disagree with this statement. By looking irrespective of groups, while 71% of all participants agree, 17% of all participants disagree with this thought. Findings show us that there is not any difference between groups and the overall percentages for this statement related to conflict also are in parallel with the percentages by group. However, those in the conflict group showed the highest participation, even though with a small margin.

"I think that the agreement signed with Libya caused tension between the countries": 68% of conflict group, 69% of economic consequences group and 74% of control group agree that entering into an agreement between Turkey and Libya caused tension between the countries of region. Conversely, 16% of conflict group, 21% of economic consequences group and 14% of control group disagree. At this point, where we aim to observe the effect of the conflict frame, we cannot state that there is a meaningful conclusion in terms of the opinions of those in the conflict group. In contrast, participants in economic consequences group were most likely to agree with a conflict-related thought, at 69%. Findings regarding general percentages are also in harmony with the news frame groups' findings and as percental that there is no difference between the groups in terms of conflict frame.

"The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its cause of the tension between the countries": 47% of conflict group, 51% of economic consequences group and 45% of control group agree with this statement. On the other hand,*"*: 29% of conflict group, 31% of economic consequences group and 31% of control group disagree with this statement. When one compares the percentages within groups and overall percentages irrespective of groups, one can observe that the findings are quite similar under any circumstances. In other words, there is no difference between the groups in terms of participation in this sentence, which includes expressions related to conflict. Moreover, the highest participation in this statement is not those in the conflict group, but the ones in the economic consequences group with 51%.

- **Economic consequences related statements:**

"Economic factors are the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis": 84% of conflict group, 95% of economic consequences group and 88% of control group stated that they agree with this statement. Plus, 3% of conflict group, 0% of economic consequences group and 5% of control group stated that they disagree with this statement. The striking point here is, none of the participants in economic consequences group stated that they did not agree with this statement. In fact, the

majority of economic consequences group, with a higher percentage than the other two group, stated that economic factors are the fundamental of the crisis.

"I think that the agreement signed with Libya will contribute economically": While 63% of conflict group, 84% of economic consequences group and 62% of control group agree with this statement; 3% of conflict group, 8% of economic consequences group and 21% of control group do not agree. If examining "agree" percentages, the percentages of conflict and control groups are similar, while the findings of economic consequences group differs. That is to say, participants who read a news text framed by economic consequences perspective showed a higher level of participation than the other groups in an economy related statement on the subject.

"The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its economic elements": 63% of conflict group, 77% of economic consequences group and 62% of control group agree that the most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its economic elements. Conversely, 13% of conflict group, 10% of economic consequences group and 24% of control group do not agree. As percental, the group of economic consequences has the highest level of participation with an economic related statement on the agreement signed with Libya. Findings are similar with the findings above. Furthermore, percentages are quite similar in terms of conflict and control groups, while economic consequences groups' percentages differ.

- **Other statements for control:**

"The legal elements are the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis": While 53% of conflict group, 51% of economic consequences group and 67% of control group agree with this statement, 26% of conflict group, 26% of economic consequences group and 14% of control group disagree. While the findings of conflict and economic consequences group are closer to each other, the participants in control group agreed with this statement at a higher rate.

“No obvious reason is the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis”: While 5% of conflict group, 2% of economic consequences group and 12% of control group agree with this statement, 74% of conflict group, 85% of economic consequences group and 71% of control group stated that they did not agree with this statement. It can also be seen here that the percentage of control group in terms of "agree" responses differ from the other two groups. That means, participants who read a reconstructed news text without the addition of a frame agreed with the statement at a higher rate than those who read in conflict or economy context framed news text.

“The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its legal elements”: 53% of conflict group, 54% of economic consequences group and 55% of control group agree with this statement. On the other hand, 13% of conflict group, 13% of economic consequences group and 19% of control group do not agree. Moreover, 54%of all participants agreed, while 15% disagreed. When we look at the results here, we see that the findings are not different from each other, both between groups and regardless of groups.

"The agreement signed with Libya does not have a prominent dimension": 11% of conflict group, 10% of economic consequences group and 17% of control group stated that agree with this statement, besides 71% of conflict group, 67% of economic consequences group and 64% of control group did not agree with this statement. Irrespective of groups, 13% of all participants supported that the agreement signed with Libya does not have a prominent dimension while 67% disagreed with this statement. Findings show us, whether regardless of groups or between groups, percentages are in parallel with each other. That means, no obvious difference has been found in terms of this statement. However, the highest participation in the statement belongs to control group, albeit with a small difference.

Furthermore, the percentage of participants who "agree" with the aforementioned statements is tabulated separately as below. In this manner, participation levels in statements can be seen more concretely and majority' opinions as percentages can be revealed more clearly.

Table 15. Percentages of "Agree" Responses related to the News on Sabah

Statements Related to News on Sabah	**Conflict Group**	**Economic Consequences Group**	**Control Group**
Political tension is the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.	74%	69%	71%
The legal elements are the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.	53%	51%	67%
Economic factors are the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.	84%	95%	88%
No obvious reason is the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.	5%	2%	12%
I think that the agreement signed with Libya caused tension between the countries.	68%	69%	74%
I think that the agreement signed with Libya will contribute economically.	63%	85%	62%
The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its legal elements.	53%	54%	55%
The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its economic elements.	63%	77%	62%
The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its cause of the tension between the countries.	47%	51%	45%
The agreement signed with Libya does not have a prominent dimension	11%	10%	17%

The statement of which the participation level of the conflict group is higher than the other groups:

- Political tension is the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.

The statement of which the participation level of the economic consequences group is higher than the other groups:

- Economic factors are the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.
- I think that the agreement signed with Libya will contribute economically.
- The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its economic elements.
- The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its cause of the tension between the countries.

The statements of which the participation level of the control group is higher than the other groups:

- The legal elements are the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.
- No obvious reason is the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.
- I think that the agreement signed with Libya caused tension between the countries.
- The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its legal elements.
- The agreement signed with Libya does not have a prominent dimension.

After the news in Sabah was framed with conflict and economic consequences frames and restructured in three ways including control condition, participants' opinion regarding these texts were analyzed in line with the data obtained. According to the findings, with regards to conflict-related statements, the levels of participation did not differ greatly in terms of groups. While there were three conflict-related statements in the scope of first framed news text question, economic consequences group showed the highest participation in one. In another statement, the highest participation was shown by those in the conflict group with a small margin, but the percentages for the third statement were similar both in terms of between groups and general rates. As to economic contextual expressions, the results revealed more distinctive differences. There were three economic-related statements and participants reading the news framed by economic consequences frame showed the highest agreement with all these statements. Particularly, while the level of agreement and the difference between

percentages in one statement were quite high, there was no participant from the economic consequences group of 39 people who did not agree with the statement. It was also determined that control group participants generally agreed with the control statements, that do not contain economic or conflict-related meanings, at a higher rate. However, although the percentage differences are not very clear, these findings are beneficial to support the assumptions of the thesis on framing.

6.3.2. Analyses of the Statements Related to News on Cumhuriyet

In the undermentioned findings, the percental analyses and narrative evaluations of participants' responses on framing related question, which involves reconstructed news text according to frames from the news published in Cumhuriyet, are remarked.

Table 16. Cross Table Result on the Relationship Between Groups and Levels of Participation in Statements by News Frames

Statements Related to News on Cumhuriyet		***Conflict Group***	***Economic Consequences Group***	***Control Group***	***TOTAL***
Political conflicts play a major part in the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.	Agree	76% (29)	82% (32)	74% (31)	77% (92)
	Undecided	13% (5)	10% (4)	19% (8)	14% (17)
	Disagree	11% (4)	8% (3)	7% (3)	9% (10)
Legal issues contribute a major part behind the crisis in Eastern Mediterranean.	Agree	58% (22)	54% (21)	69% (29)	60% (72)
	Undecided	26% (10)	20% (8)	21% (9)	23% (27)
	Disagree	16% (6)	26% (10)	10% (4)	17% (20)
Economic factors play a major role in the crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean.	Agree	82% (31)	85% (33)	79% (33)	82% (97)
	Undecided	18% (7)	10% (4)	17% (7)	15% (18)
	Disagree	0% (0)	5% (2)	4% (2)	3% (4)

Table 16. (cont'd)

It is difficult to talk about a specific reason behind the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.	Agree	11% (4)	13% (5)	24% (10)	16% (19)
	Undecided	26% (10)	13% (5)	19% (8)	19% (23)
	Disagree	63% (24)	74% (29)	57% (24)	65% (77)
There is tension between the countries of the region due to the agreement signed between Turkey and Libya.	Agree	66% (25)	64% (25)	72% (30)	67% (80)
	Undecided	26% (10)	18% (7)	14% (6)	19% (23)
	Disagree	8% (3)	18% (7)	14% (6)	14% (16)
Economical contribution has been made due to the agreement signed with Libya.	Agree	37% (14)	64% (25)	36% (15)	45% (54)
	Undecided	47% (18)	18% (7)	38% (16)	35% (41)
	Disagree	16% (6)	18% (7)	26% (11)	20% (24)
Legal factors are the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya.	Agree	53% (20)	49% (19)	64% (27)	56% (66)
	Undecided	31% (12)	33% (13)	26% (11)	30% (36)
	Disagree	16% (6)	18% (7)	10% (4)	14% (17)
Economic factors are the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya.	Agree	47% (18)	79% (31)	52% (22)	60% (71)
	Undecided	42% (16)	13% (5)	24% (10)	26% (31)
	Disagree	11% (4)	8% (3)	24% (10)	14% (17)
The tension between the countries is the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya.	Agree	66% (25)	54% (21)	57% (24)	59% (70)
	Undecided	18% (7)	18% (7)	19% (8)	18% (22)
	Disagree	16% (6)	28% (11)	24% (10)	23% (27)
The agreement signed with Libya has no obvious result.	Agree	10% (4)	15% (6)	24% (10)	17% (20)
	Undecided	37% (14)	13% (5)	21% (9)	23% (28)
	Disagree	53% (20)	72% (28)	55% (23)	60% (71)
TOTAL		100% (38)	100% (39)	100% (42)	100% (119)

As in the same manner as previous findings regarding the effect of the frames, here, the percentages and the frequencies of responses are given in the cross table above. Where after reading the news text, published in Cumhuriyet and reconstructed via frames for the purpose of thesis, choosing the most appropriate response to below-mentioned statements were asked from the participants. The statements related to Eastern Mediterranean Crisis has been given within the scope of second news text are as follows: "Political conflicts play a major part in the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis", "Legal issues contribute a major part behind the crisis in Eastern Mediterranean", "Economic factors play a major role in the crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean", "It is difficult to talk about a specific reason behind the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis", "There is tension between the countries of the region due to the agreement signed between Turkey and Libya", "Economical contribution has been made due to the agreement signed with Libya", "Legal factors are the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya", "Economic factors are the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya", "The tension between the countries is the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya" and "The agreement signed with Libya has no obvious result". The findings will be evaluated in three stages according to their content.

- **Conflict related statements:**

"Political conflicts play a major part in the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis": 76% of conflict group, 82% of economic consequences group and 74% of control group agree with this statement, while 11% of conflict group, 8% of economic consequences group and 7% of control group disagree. Plus, 77% of all participants thinks that political conflicts play a major part in the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis and in return 9% of all participants disagree with this. In terms of findings, no difference has been found while examining the obtained data.

"There is tension between the countries of the region due to the agreement signed between Turkey and Libya": 66% of conflict group, 64% of economic consequences group and 72% of control group agree with this statement. 8% of conflict group, 18% of economic consequences group and 14% of control group agree with this statement. Participants in the control group showed the highest agreement with this statement. However, it should be added here as an evaluation that, as percentages there is no difference between or irrespective of the groups in terms of participation in the expression.

"The tension between the countries is the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya": 66% of conflict group, 54% of economic consequences group and 57% of control group agree with this statement. Conversely, 16% of conflict group, 28% of economic consequences group and 24% of control group disagree with this statement. The conflict group showed the highest participation in the statement, and thus, while the findings of economic consequences group and the findings of control group were quite similar to each other, the conflict group differed from them in terms of participation in the conflict-related statement.

- **Economic consequences related statements:**

"Economic factors play a major role in the crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean": 82% of conflict group, 85% of economic consequences group and 79% of control group agree with this statement. Besides, 0% of conflict group, 5% of economic consequences group and 4% of control group disagree with this statement. It is obvious in findings that the highest participation rate belongs to economic consequences group. Furthermore, percentages are close to each other in terms of groups and regardless of groups.

"Economical contribution has been made due to the agreement signed with Libya": 37% of conflict group, 64% of economic consequences group and 36% of control group agree with this statement. Thus, 16% of conflict group, 18% of economic consequences group and 26% of control group disagree the view that economical contribution has been made due to the agreement signed with Libya. Group differences in terms of participation levels are considerably important for the results of the thesis. The participation in an economy thematic statement is quite similar by conflict and control groups, on the other hand, there is a great percentage difference in participation in terms of economic results group.

"Economic factors are the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya": 47% of conflict group, 79% of economic consequences group and 52% of control group agree with this statement. Conversely, 11% of conflict group, 8% of economic consequences group and 24% of control group stated that economic factors are not the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya. It can be evaluated as the participation in the statement related to economy is considerably higher in economic consequences group than other groups. In other words, the news frame group with the highest participation for this statement is economic consequences group while the findings of conflict and control groups are similar to each other and differ from the findings of economic consequences group.

- **Other statements for control:**

"Legal issues contribute a major part behind the crisis in Eastern Mediterranean": While 58% of conflict group, 54% of economic consequences group and 69% of control group agree, 16% of conflict group, 26% of economic consequences group and 10% of control group disagree with this statement. While the findings of conflict and economic consequences group in terms of "agree" responses are closer to each other, the participants in control group agreed with this statement at a higher rate.

"It is difficult to talk about a specific reason behind the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis": On one hand, 63% of conflict group, 74% of economic consequences group and 57% of control group disagree with this statement. On the other hand, 11% of conflict group, 13% of economic consequences group and 24% of control group agree with this statement. The highest participation belongs to control group with a rate of 24%.

"Legal factors are the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya": While 53% of conflict group, 49% of economic consequences group and 64% of control group agree, *16*% of conflict group, 18% of economic consequences group and 10% of control group disagree with this statement. Moreover, 56% of all participants agree while 14% of all participants disagree that legal factors are the most important results of the agreement signed with Libya. To interpreting the results in terms of the control group, it should be added here that the highest participation was shown with a percentage of 64%, and the results are similar among the other groups.

"The agreement signed with Libya has no obvious result": 53% of conflict group, 72% of economic consequences group and 55% of control group disagree with this statement. Yet, 10% of conflict group, 15% of economic consequences group and 24% of control group agree the view of there is no obvious result of the agreement signed with Libya. Looking at the results, it is apparent that as percentages highest agreement level with the statement belongs to the control group, while the percentages differ in the absence of agreement with the statement in terms of all three groups.

Additionally, as can be seen in the table below, the rate of participants who "agree" with the statements in question is tabulated separately. The reason why is to see the participation levels into statements more concretely and to demonstrate the opinions of the majority as percentages in a more understandable way.

Table 17. Percentages of "Agree" Responses related to the News on Cumhuriyet

Statements Related to News on Cumhuriyet	**Conflict Group**	**Economic Consequences Group**	**Control Group**
Political conflicts play a major part in the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.	76%	82%	74%
Legal issues contribute a major part behind the crisis in Eastern Mediterranean.	58%	54%	69%
Economic factors play a major role in the crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean.	82%	85%	79%
It is difficult to talk about a specific reason behind the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.	11%	13%	24%
There is tension between the countries of the region due to the agreement signed between Turkey and Libya.	66%	64%	72%
Economical contribution has been made due to the agreement signed with Libya.	37%	64%	36%
Legal factors are the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya.	53%	49%	64%
Economic factors are the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya.	47%	79%	52%
The tension between the countries is the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya.	66%	54%	57%
The agreement signed with Libya has no obvious result.	10%	15%	24%

The statement of which the participation level of the conflict group is higher than the other groups:

- Economic factors play a major role in the crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean.
- There is tension between the countries of the region due to the agreement signed between Turkey and Libya.
- The tension between the countries is the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya.

The statement of which the participation level of the economic consequences group is higher than the other groups:

- Political conflicts play a major part in the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.
- Economical contribution has been made due to the agreement signed with Libya.
- Economic factors are the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya.

The statements of which the participation level of the control group is higher than the other groups:

- Legal issues contribute a major part behind the crisis in Eastern Mediterranean.
- It is difficult to talk about a specific reason behind the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.
- Legal factors are the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya.
- The agreement signed with Libya has no obvious result.

After Cumhuriyet's news text was framed (with conflict and economic consequences frames) and reconstructed in three ways including control stage, participants' opinion regarding these texts were examined due to the data obtained. To conclusion, it can be said that with regards to conflict-related statements, the levels of participation did not differ greatly in terms of groups. In fact, in general, the conflict group participants did not show a high level of participation compared to other groups and this situation is considerable interesting in terms of the results of the thesis. However, the findings are more promising for the group of economic consequences. In all three economic contextual expressions, the results revealed more distinctive differences. That is to say, the participants of economic consequences group showed the highest participation,

two of them by a great margin. As to final evaluation, although the findings vary in the statements added for control purposes, the highest participation was generally in the control group. These findings are remarkable to provide secondary data to this thesis' assumptions on framing.

In order to evaluate the hypotheses, analyzes are presented under the sub-title called “distribution of findings”. The next part of this section (6.3.1 and 6.3.2.) reveals separately what these analyzes mean and what the results are in terms of hypotheses.

6.3.3. Hypothesis 1

The null and alternative hypotheses regarding the first hypothesis of the thesis are as follows.

H0: *A news text written within conflict frame has a predominantly conflict-based effect on the reader"*
H1: *A news text written within conflict frame has not a predominantly conflict-based effect on the reader"*

To evaluate hypothesis, the findings were presented in percentages in the previous sections and analyzed by means of crosstabs. In order to reveal the meaning of the findings in terms of hypothesis, a summary table is created as follows. The participants' agreement level in all conflict statements, based on both reconstructed news texts, are combined and so percentage data is handled in a single table.

Table 18. Percentages of Participation Level for All Conflict-Related Statements in terms of News Frames Groups

Conflict Thematic Statements Related to News on Sabah and Cumhuriyet	**Conflict Group**	**Economic Consequences Group**	**Control Group**
Political tension is the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.	74%	69%	71%
I think that the agreement signed with Libya caused tension between the countries.	68%	69%	74%
The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its cause of the tension between the countries.	47%	51%	45%
Political conflicts play a major part in the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.	76%	82%	74%
There is tension between the countries of the region due to the agreement signed between Turkey and Libya.	66%	64%	72%
The tension between the countries is the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya.	66%	54%	57%

As seen above, although the percentage results vary by news frame groups, conflict group's respondents showed the highest participation in only two of all conflict-related statements.

These statements are “Political tension is the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis” and “The tension between the countries is the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya”. According to these findings null hypothesis cannot be accepted, thus alternative hypothesis is accepted. That means, in terms of our thesis and theoretical fundamental of the thesis, the conflict frame has no

effect on forming the reader's opinions. The theoretical fundamental of the thesis is based on the approach that media reconstructs reality through frames, and this creates an effect on audiences' opinions. According to the social constructivism approach, media, and therefore the frames, can have both strong and limited effects, and it is argued that the strong effects of media may be limited to its interaction with audiences. As stated previous chapters on literature, this view is the adopted theoretical approach of this study. If we evaluate above-mentioned information in terms of the results of the hypothesis, the ineffectiveness of the conflict frame might depend on the knowledge levels, ideologies or political views, etc. of participants. Hereby, this can be explained by the limited interaction between the conflict frame and the majority of conflict group.

6.3.4. Hypothesis 2

The null and alternative hypotheses regarding the second hypothesis of the thesis are as follows.

H0: *"A news text written within economic consequences frame has a predominantly economy-related effect on the reader"*
H1: *"A news text written within economic consequences frame has not a predominantly economy-related effect on the reader"*

As with the first hypothesis, to evaluate the second hypothesis, the related findings were also presented in crosstabs as percental. Furthermore, to reveal the meaning of the findings in terms of hypothesis, a summary table is also represented as follows.

Table 19. Percentages of Participation Level for All Economy-Related Statements in terms of News Frames Groups

Economy Thematic Statements Related to News on Sabah and Cumhuriyet	**Conflict Group**	**Economic Consequences Group**	**Control Group**
Economic factors are the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.	84%	95%	88%
I think that the agreement signed with Libya will contribute economically.	63%	85%	62%
The most important dimension of the agreement signed with Libya is its economic elements.	63%	77%	62%
Economic factors play a major role in the crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean.	82%	85%	79%
Economical contribution has been made due to the agreement signed with Libya.	37%	64%	36%
Economic factors are the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya.	47%	79%	52%

It is quite possible to determine the result of the hypothesis by looking at both the analyzes in the previous sections and the summary table above. The participants in economic consequences group were in higher attendance to agree with the economic statements presented after reading the news framed, compared to other two groups. In other words, those in the economic consequences group showed the highest participation in all statements related to economy. Moreover, the difference between groups' percentages is quite high, especially in terms of three expressions. These statements are "I think that the agreement signed with Libya will contribute economically", "Economical contribution has been made due to the agreement signed with Libya" and "Economic factors are the most important result of the agreement

signed with Libya". This means that null hypothesis is accepted in terms of economic consequences frame. If we interpret in terms of the theoretical basis of the thesis, reconstructing the reality about the agreement signed with Libya within the scope of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis and its presentation with economic consequences frame were effective in forming the participants' opinions. To put it another way, this result theoretically supports the view advocated by the thesis, and in this context, the respondents of the economic consequences group participated in expressions related to the economy at a higher rate than the respondents in the other two groups. To sum up, the second hypothesis of "A news text written within economic consequences frame has a predominantly economy-related effect on the reader" is accepted, both in terms of theoretical approach and the hypothesis of the thesis.

6.4. General Evaluations

In this chapter, analyses of data obtained through the survey was conducted and the findings are presented in percentages and in crosstabs. In addition, a step-by-step evaluation of the findings were presented. This study is not a framing analysis, it has been a study aiming to examine the effect of certain frames on the audience through a survey and within certain limitations. Besides, this thesis adopted the view as a theoretical basis that framing the news is a way that is used to serve the status quo by reconstructing the reality for ideological purposes. One of the limitations of the study, however, was the inability to adapt the theoretical basis mentioned in literature chapters to the empirical study. In other words, it was not possible to examine the ideological dimension of framing. Yet, to reiterating, under the current conditions this thesis only aimed to examine the effect of framing on forming individuals' opinion.

While evaluating the hypothesis, only percentage values were able to evaluated in line with the limitations of the thesis. The findings were discussed in the two-following way. Firstly, higher percentages of strongly agree-agree responses of conflict groups' participants, who read a news text framed by conflict frame, on the conflict related statements, allowing us to assume that the participants were affected by the conflict frame. Likewise, secondly, higher percentages of strongly agree-agree responses of economic consequences groups' participants, who read a news text framed by

economic consequences frame, on the economy related statements, allowing us to assume that the participants were affected by the economic consequences frame. In this direction, while the first hypothesis related to the conflict frame cannot be accepted within the scope of the findings, the second hypothesis related to the economic consequences frame is accepted. In other words, economic consequences frame has an effect on formation of respondents' opinion, on the other hand, conflict frame hasn’t any effect on participants. These results are partially similar to the findings of Price et al. Although Price et al. concluded that media frames were effective, they found that reconstructing reality did not have a holistic effect on individuals.

The next chapter will be "conclusion", which is the last chapter of the thesis...

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this thesis was to examine the role of media framing on the formation of participants' opinion concerning Eastern Mediterranean Question. Whether the news, reconstructed through framing, about Eastern Mediterranean Crisis have an impact of audiences' thoughts was tried to be explored. The subject of the news texts was determined as the Agreement on Maritime Boundary Delimitation signed between Turkey and Libya, which is one of the most important milestones of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis. Moreover, news texts were selected from two different newspapers, one from Sabah and one from Cumhuriyet.

Within the scope of thesis' content, the approaches of media effects were handled through two main paradigms of communication studies, mainstream and critical. A discussion was conducted on the views of mainstream and critical approaches on how media present the reality. Also, the historical process stages of media effects were addressed. In framing theory chapter, framing was primarily considered as a concept and its psychological and sociological roots were briefly discussed. This chapter also included the process models on framing theory and various framing categorizations. In addition, starting from framing theory, the effect of presenting the reality as reconstructed by framing was discussed. While fourth chapter focused on the subject of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis, in methodology chapter, the aim, scope and method of the thesis, including research question, sample and limitations of the research, were indicated. Research question of the thesis was "Does framing and restructuring of a news text about Eastern Mediterranean Crisis have an effect on individuals' opinion?" and within this regard, hypotheses were defined as:

First hypothesis: A news text written within conflict frame has a predominantly conflict-based effect on the reader.

Second hypothesis: A news text written within economic consequences frame has a predominantly economy-related impact on the reader.

In order to find an answer to research question and analyze the hypotheses, a survey study was conducted with 119 participants. Sampling method was convenience sampling, due to a number of reasons that was mentioned in methodology chapter. Convenience sampling is a non-probabilistic sampling method. That means, sample was not randomly identified and therefore generalization cannot be made during the evaluation of the findings. (Erdoğan, 2003) In this context, there is not any purpose of generalization the findings other than the sample group represented within this thesis.

After determining sampling by convenience method, participants were randomly and equally assigned into three survey groups. These groups are the conflict group containing the news texts with the conflict frame; the economic consequences group, which includes news texts related to economy and finally the control group, which has only a common main paragraph in news texts. While the news texts in the conflict and economic consequences survey groups remained the same in the core paragraph, the introduction and conclusion paragraphs were rearranged according to frames. On the other hand, the news texts belong to control group only consist of the same core paragraph. When it comes to political and economic related issues in especially international scope, "conflict" and "economic consequences" frames are the most commonly used news frames. (de Vreese, 2003:122) This study took "conflict" and "economic consequences" dimensions in hand which are most frequently encountered in the news related on hydrocarbon discoveries in Eastern Mediterranean. In this context, two news texts about the Eastern Mediterranean crisis text has been reconstructed due to conflict or economic consequences frame.

The SurveyMonkey link was sent to 195 people in total, 105 out of 195 are from public sector and 90 out of 195 are from private sector. Due to both the limited number of engineers working in the oil and natural gas sector in Turkey and the pandemic conditions, the maximum number that could be reached was tried to be reached. Yet, only 119 engineers have returned. Moreover, respondents were randomly and equally divided into three groups and asked to reply a questionnaire. In this scope, besides of other questions, the news of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis reconstructed via conflict frame was presented to first group, the news of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis reconstructed via economic consequences frame was presented to second group, and as final the news of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis reconstructed for control purposes was presented to control group. The questions of the survey were consisted of demographic information, media effect questions, Eastern Mediterranean related questions and the questions that contained news text and correlatively aimed to examine framing effect. The data obtained from the survey was statistically analyzed via crosstabs and research questions of the thesis was tried to get answered.

Stuart Hall states that, in line with Althusser's views, media pretends to reflect the reality as it is although it reconstructs it. (Yaylagül, 2013: 129) The idea that the news on Eastern Mediterranean Crisis does not fully reflect the reality has paved the way for the emergence of this research. In this context, thanks to this idea that emerged from a personal observation, this thesis was shaped and tried to be completed. To evaluating hypothesis, the findings were presented in percentages and analyzed due to crosstabs. While participants' agreement level in all conflict related expressions varied by news frame groups, the respondents of conflict group attended the highest participation in only two of all conflict-related statements. Moreover, these statements were as follows: “Political tension is the fundamental of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis” and “The tension between the countries is the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya”. According to these findings the first hypothesis could not be accepted, which means in terms of our thesis, it can be stated that the conflict frame has no effect on forming the participants' opinions. The theoretical perspective of this study was the view that media reconstructs reality through frames, and this creates an effect on audiences' opinions. With regard to social constructivism

approach, media, and correlatively frames, might have both strong and limited effects. The effects of media, therefore, may be limited to its interaction with audiences. In terms of the results of the hypothesis, the inefficacy of the conflict frame might depend on the knowledge levels, ideologies or political views, etc. of participants regarding above-mentioned explanations of theoretical aspect. To evaluating the second hypothesis of thesis, the findings were remarked in crosstabs as percental. According to analyses, it was concluded that the participants in economic consequences group showed higher agreement with all economic related statements presented after reading the news framed, compared to other two groups. Furthermore, the percental difference between news frame groups was quite high, especially in terms of three expressions, which are "I think that the agreement signed with Libya will contribute economically", "Economical contribution has been made due to the agreement signed with Libya" and "Economic factors are the most important result of the agreement signed with Libya". In this regard, the second hypothesis of "A news text written within economic consequences frame has a predominantly economy-related effect on the reader" was accepted and if we interpret this result in terms of the theoretical basis of the thesis, reconstructing the reality with economic consequences frame were effective in forming the participants' opinions.

In conclusion, it was resulted as the conflict frame does not have any effect on forming participants' opinion, while this status was the contrary from the point of economic consequences frame. In parallel with these, the first hypothesis “A news text written within conflict frame has a predominantly conflict-based effect on the reader” cannot be accepted while the second hypothesis “A news text written within economic consequences frame has a predominantly economy-related impact on the reader” is accepted. In their study, Price et al. indicated as media frames were effective, even though they found that reconstructing reality did not have any holistic effect on individuals due to interaction between media and its audiences. In these terms, the findings of this thesis are partially similar with Price et al.'s findings.

As to challenges and limitations, some challenges were encountered during the study. These difficulties also caused various limitations in the scope and analysis of the survey. The first challenge encountered is that the survey could not be conducted face-to-face because of pandemic conditions. It caused an extension in time, and attendance to be less than expected. The second challenge encountered was occurred in sampling and analyzing stage. The targeted sample, within the scope of the hypotheses and the circumstances, has been determined as only engineers working in oil and natural gas sector. However, because of the sample size remained low and determined via convenience sampling, this caused limitations in the analysis. Under these circumstances, the Likert scale, which was considered as 5 points in the beginning of survey, was combined in the analysis and reduced to a three-scale Likert scale. Secondly, the evaluations could only be made on percentage values through crosstabs. Plus, due to the limitations specified in methodology chapter, the social and ideological context of the reconstructed Eastern Mediterranean Crisis News in media could not be examined, only the effects of frames on participants were evaluated.

To sum up, random sampling could not be done both due to pandemic conditions and in line with the explanations stated in methodology chapter. The sample was determined via convenience sampling, and thus, it created a limitation on the analysis of the study and only percentages and cross tables were included. In other words, advanced and cross-sectional analyzes could not be performed because the sample was chosen by convenience sampling. For future studies, it would be more comprehensive to analyze how media ideologically reconstruct and frame the reality of Eastern Mediterranean Crisis, in addition to its effects on the formation of individuals' opinion. Besides, in order to be able to develop more comprehensive and more scientific evaluations, it is recommended to conduct a larger survey study by determining via random sampling in the future. This thesis has been a study that took steps within the limitations in order to enable this proposal.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

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Sayı: 28620816 /

14 NİSAN 2021

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Dr.Öğretim Üyesi Özgür AVCI

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Cansın EREN'in "Doğu Akdeniz Sorunu ile İlgili Kamuoyu Oluşumunda Medya Çerçevelemesinin Rolü" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **111-ODTU-2021** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Dr.Öğretim Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ
İAEK Başkan Vekili

B. SPSS OUTPUTS

Table. The Level of Interest due to News Categories

Variable		Conflict Group		Economic Consequences Group		Control Group	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
Agenda	Most interesting	13	35,14	14	38,89	21	51,22
	2nd place interesting	6	16,22	7	19,44	5	12,2
	3rd place interesting	5	13,51	6	16,67	5	12,2
	4th place interesting	6	16,22	4	11,11	5	12,2
	5th place interesting	4	10,81	1	2,78	2	4,88
	6th place interesting	1	2,7	2	5,56	2	4,88
	7th place interesting	0	0	2	5,56	1	2,44
	Least interesting	2	5,41	0	0	0	0
Political	Most interesting	0	0	5	13,89	1	2,44
	2nd place interesting	8	21,05	10	27,78	9	21,95
	3rd place interesting	7	18,42	7	19,44	7	17,07
	4th place interesting	5	13,16	3	8,33	10	24,39
	5th place interesting	5	13,16	4	11,11	5	12,2
	6th place interesting	5	13,16	2	5,56	2	4,88
	7th place interesting	5	13,16	2	5,56	3	7,32
	Least interesting	3	7,89	3	8,33	4	9,76
Economy	Most interesting	10	26,32	5	13,89	9	21,95
	2nd place interesting	7	18,42	10	27,78	9	21,95
	3rd place interesting	7	18,42	11	30,56	15	36,59
	4th place interesting	6	15,79	5	13,89	2	4,88
	5th place interesting	4	10,53	2	5,56	1	2,44
	6th place interesting	2	5,26	2	5,56	2	4,88
	7th place interesting	2	5,26	0	0	2	4,88
	Least interesting	0	0	1	2,78	1	2,44
Sports	Most interesting	3	7,89	6	16,22	2	4,88
	2nd place interesting	6	15,79	3	8,11	6	14,63
	3rd place interesting	2	5,26	5	13,51	2	4,88
	4th place interesting	5	13,16	7	18,92	9	21,95
	5th place interesting	4	10,53	5	13,51	6	14,63
	6th place interesting	6	15,79	1	2,7	6	14,63
	7th place interesting	8	21,05	6	16,22	8	19,51
	Least interesting	4	10,53	4	10,81	2	4,88

Table. (cont'd)

Magazine	Most interesting	2	5,41	2	5,71	1	2,38
	2nd place interesting	3	8,11	0	0	1	2,38
	3rd place interesting	2	5,41	1	2,86	2	4,76
	4th place interesting	1	2,7	3	8,57	2	4,76
	5th place interesting	2	5,41	2	5,71	3	7,14
	6th place interesting	3	8,11	5	14,29	3	7,14
	7th place interesting	5	13,51	6	17,14	4	9,52
	Least interesting	19	51,35	16	45,71	26	61,9
Travel	Most interesting	1	2,63	1	2,63	1	2,38
	2nd place interesting	1	2,63	4	10,53	2	4,76
	3rd place interesting	9	23,68	1	2,63	3	7,14
	4th place interesting	1	2,63	2	5,26	5	11,9
	5th place interesting	5	13,16	7	18,42	3	7,14
	6th place interesting	8	21,05	12	31,58	15	35,71
	7th place interesting	10	26,32	8	21,05	9	21,43
	Least interesting	3	7,89	3	7,89	4	9,52
Health	Most interesting	3	8,11	2	5,71	4	9,76
	2nd place interesting	3	8,11	1	2,86	2	4,88
	3rd place interesting	1	2,7	3	8,57	1	2,44
	4th place interesting	9	24,32	8	22,86	2	4,88
	5th place interesting	7	18,92	7	20	12	29,27
	6th place interesting	5	13,51	5	14,29	6	14,63
	7th place interesting	7	18,92	6	17,14	11	26,83
	Least interesting	2	5,41	3	8,57	3	7,32
Technology	Most interesting	5	13,16	1	2,63	3	7,14
	2nd place interesting	4	10,53	3	7,89	7	16,67
	3rd place interesting	5	13,16	5	13,16	6	14,29
	4th place interesting	4	10,53	4	10,53	7	16,67
	5th place interesting	7	18,42	8	21,05	9	21,43
	6th place interesting	8	21,05	6	15,79	5	11,9
	7th place interesting	1	2,63	4	10,53	3	7,14
	Least interesting	4	10,53	7	18,42	2	4,76

Table: *Media Platforms Following the Most Frequently*

Variable		Conflict Group		Economic Consequences Group		Control Group	
		n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
What are the 3 media platform the participant follows the news most frequently?	Print Media (Newspaper, etc.)	6	7,69	9	9,38	6	5,71
	Visual media (TV, etc.)	14	17,95	26	27,08	26	24,76
	Online News Sites	31	39,74	35	36,46	37	35,24
	Social Media	27	34,62	26	27,08	36	34,29

C. ORIGINAL NEWS TEXTS

1) SABAH:

Giriş Tarihi: 29.11.2019 10:13 Son Güncelleme: 3.12.2019

LİBYA İLE TARİHİ ANLAŞMA İMZALANDI! AKDENİZ'DE OYUN BOZULDU…

Suriye'de üç ayrı harekâtla terör kuşağını dağıtan Türkiye, Doğu Akdeniz'de uygulamaya konan kuşatma plânını da çökertti. Enerji paylaşımındaki 'dışlanma' tezgâhına karşı Türkiye ile Libya, güç birliği yapıp Akdeniz'in batısındaki meşru sınırlarını ilân etti. Karar, Birleşmiş Milletlere bildirilerek yürürlüğe girecek. Suriye'ye düzenlediği 3 ayrı harekâtla bölücü planları akamete uğratan Türkiye, Doğu Akdeniz'de yeni oyun kurdu. Türkiye ile Libya arasında, Deniz Yetki Alanlarının Sınırlandırılmasına İlişkin Mutabakat Muhtırası imzalandı.

TÜRKİYE MEŞRU SINIRLARINI TÜM DÜNYAYA İLAN ETMİŞ OLDU!

Anlaşma ile Türkiye, Akdeniz'in batısındaki meşru sınırlarını tüm dünyaya ilan etmiş oldu. İki ülke deniz sınır koordinatlarının ayrıntısını da içeren anlaşmanın hayata geçirilmesinde Libya tüm hukuki işlemleri tamamlarken, Türkiye ise tarihi sözleşmeyi TBMM'de onaylanmasının ardından Birleşmiş Milletlere bildirecek. Muhtıra böylece resmen yürürlüğe girecek.

TARTIŞMALAR BİTTİ

Akdeniz'deki dev mutabakat Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'ın talimatıyla yürütüldü. Son olarak Libya Kara ve Deniz Hudut Komitesi'nin 18-19 Kasım'da Türkiye'yi ziyaretinde teknik çalışmalar tamamlandı. Hazır hale gelen anlaşma Libya Ulusal Mutabakat Hükümeti Başkanlık Konseyi Başkanı Fayez el-Sarraj'ın önceki gün Erdoğan'la buluşmasında imzalandı. Libya'da iç karışıklıklar devam etse de anlaşmanın BM nezdinde meşru bir hükümetle yapılmış olması, mutabakat üzerindeki meşruiyet tartışmalarını bertaraf ediyor.

DENİZDEKİ SEVR ÇÖPE

İki ülkenin Akdeniz'deki münhasır ekonomik bölgelerini (MEB) tanımlayan anlaşmada Türkiye ile Libya arasına 'deniz yetki alanı şeridi' çekildi ve bu şerit Yunanistan, Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi ve Mısır arasında kalkan oluşturdu. Ayrıca Yunanistan'ın Girit, Kaşot, Kerpe, Rodos ve Meis adaları hattını esas alarak Kıbrıs Rum Kesimi ve Mısır ile sınırlandırma anlaşması yapması girişimi önlenerek oldu-bitti çabalarının önü kesildi. Adeta Sevr niteliğindeki sözde Seville Haritası ile Türkiye'yi Akdeniz'de 41 bin kilometrekarelik bir deniz alanına hapsetme oyunu da bozulmuş oldu. Dolmabahçe Anlaşmasıyla birlikte Yunanistan ne Kıbrıs Rumlarıyla ne de Mısır'la MEB anlaşması yapamayacak.

MAVİ VATAN ÜZERİNDE TAM HAKİMİYET

Mutabakatla birlikte Türkiye, enerji kaynaklarını paylaşma amaçlı kurulan şer ittifaklarına karşı sahada üstünlük kazandı. Ayrıca enerji jeopolitiğine doğrudan etki ederek deniz yetki alanlarının sınırlandırılmasında kritik kazanımlar elde etti. Libya ise Yunanistan'ın gasp ederek hidrokarbon ihaleleri açtığı 39 bin kilometrekarelik bölgede hakimiyetini ilan etmiş oldu.

Libya bu anlaşmayı Yunanistan ile imzalasaydı neredeyse Kıbrıs adası büyüklüğünde bir bölgedeki haklarından vazgeçmiş olacaktı. Dolmabahçe'deki mutabakat, Türkiye'nin Akdeniz'de bir kıyıdaş devletle imzaladığı ilk münhasır ekonomik bölge (MEB) anlaşması oldu. Anlaşmayla Türkiye, Mavi Vatan topraklarının yaklaşık 4'te 1'i büyüklüğünde bir alanda meşru hakimiyetini resmen ilan etmiş oldu. Bugüne kadar

donanma gücüyle izlenen Gambot diplomasisiyle bu bölgedeki hak ve menfaatlerini koruyan Ankara, meşru hakları için hukuki altyapı oluşturdu.

Türkiye ve Libya, deniz yetki alanları sınırlandırma anlaşması için çalışmaları bundan 9 yıl önce başlatmıştı. Libya, 27 Mayıs 2009'da münhasır ekonomik bölge (MEB) ilan edip sınır ülkelerle anlaşmaya hazır olduğunu duyurunca dönemin Deniz Kuvvetleri Komutanı emekli Oramiral Eşref Uğur Yiğit'in talimatıyla yapılan araştırmalarda, Türkiye ve Libya'nın karşılıklı kıyılarının olduğu ve iki ülke arasında bir sınırlandırma anlaşması yapılabileceği haritalarla ortaya konuldu.

ERDOĞAN ÇALIŞMALARI 29 KASIM 2010'DA BAŞLATTI

29 Kasım 2010'da dönemin başbakanı Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan Libya'ya, beraberinde haritalarla gitti. İki ülke, anlaşma için çalışmaları başlattı. Henüz birkaç ay geçmişti ki Libya'da düğmeye basıldı. 2011 yılı başında patlak veren iç savaş, tüm çalışmaların rafa kaldırılmasına neden oldu. Libya ile yarıda kesilen görüşmeler Milli Savunma Bakanı Hulusi Akar'ın 5 Kasım 2018'deki Libya ziyaretiyle yeniden hız kazandı. Ancak bu girişimin üzerinden daha bir ay geçmeden, 2019 başında CIA destekli darbeci General Halife Hafter harekete geçirildi ve Ulusal Mutabakat Hükümeti'ni devirmeyi amaçlayan Trablus saldırısı başladı.

TÜRKİYE İLE LİBYA YAKINLAŞTIĞINDA ÜLKEDE KARIŞIKLIK ARTIYOR!

Türkiye ile Libya ne zaman bir MEB anlaşmasına yaklaşsa ülkedeki karışıklığın artması dikkat çekiyor. Dolmabahçe'deki tarihi mutabakat, Libya'daki meşru hükümet güçlerinin darbeci Hafter'e bağlı militanları Türkiye'nin desteğiyle püskürtmesi sonrasında gerçekleşti.

TÜRKİYE'NİN TEKLİFİ HERKESİN YARARINA

Akdeniz'de anakara ülkesi olarak en büyük söz sahibi ülkeler arasında bulunan Türkiye, Libya'nın yansıra İsrail ve Mısır başta olmak üzere kıyısı bulunan diğer ülkelere de sınırlandırma anlaşması çağrısı yapıyor. Dr. Cihat Yaycı, yaptığı çalışmalarda, Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi'nin deniz yetki alanı sınırlandırma

anlaşması imzaladığı İsrail'e ait 4 bin 600 kilometrekare, Lübnan'a ait 3 bin 957 kilometrekare, Mısır'a ait ise 21 bin 500 kilometrekare büyüklüğünde bir deniz yetki alanını, bu ülkelerin aleyhine olacak şekilde sahiplendiğini ortaya koymuştu.

İSRAİL GKRY YERİNE TÜRKİYE İLE SINIRLANDIRMA ANLAŞMASI İMZALAMIŞ OLSAYDI...

İsrail GKRY yerine Türkiye ile sınırlandırma anlaşması imzalamış olsaydı, GKRY'nin ihaleye açtığı 13 ruhsat sahasından 12. Parselin tamamı, 8,9 ve 11. Parsellerin büyük kısmı ile 1, 7 ve 10. Parsellerin bir kısmı İsrail'in olacaktı. Eğer Mısır yetkisi tartışmalı olan GKRY yerine Türkiye ile bir sınırlandırma anlaşması yapmış olsaydı, 11 bin 500 kilometre kare daha fazla deniz alanına sahip olacak ve İtalyan ENİ tarafından yapılan sondaj sonucu 225 milyar metreküpe yakın gaz tespit edilen 6 no'lu parselin güney yarısı ile 4, 5, 7 ve 11 no'lu parsellerin bir kısmına sahip olacaktı. Bu ülkeler Türkiye değil KKTC ile bir sınırlandırma anlaşması yapmış olsalardı dahi enerji yataklarına ait parsellerden GKRY ile yaptıkları anlaşmalardan çok daha fazla pay alacaklardı.

YILLIK REZERV

Çatışmalar ve krizlerle anılan 'Verimli Hilal' bölgesindeki Doğu Akdeniz, stratejik ve ticari öneminin yanısıra enerji bakımından zengin kaynaklara sahip. Uzmanlar tarafından yapılan tespitler, Doğu Akdeniz'de toplam değeri 3 trilyon doları bulan doğalgaz rezervi bulunduğunu gösteriyor. ABD Jeolojik Araştırmalar Merkezi tahminlerine göre Kıbrıs, Lübnan, Suriye ve İsrail arasında kalan bölge olan Levant havzasında 3,45 trilyon metreküp doğalgaz ve 1,7 milyar varil petrol bulunuyor. Yine Nil Delta Havzasında yaklaşık 1,8 milyar varil petrol, 6,3 trilyon metreküp doğalgaz ve 6 milyar varil doğalgaz rezervi olduğu tahmin ediliyor. Kıbrıs adası çevresinde olduğu düşünülen 8 milyar varil petrol rezervinin dışında Heredot olarak adlandırılan Girit'in güney ve güneydoğusundaki alanda ise toplam 3,5 trilyon metreküplük doğalgaz bulunduğu sanılıyor. Doğu Akdeniz'deki toplam hidrokarbon yatakları Türkiye'nin 572 yıllık doğalgaz ihtiyacını karşılayabilecek seviyede. Bu rezervlerin büyük kısmı da Türkiye ve KKTC deniz yetki alanlarında bulunuyor.

ORADA SAVAŞ SÜRÜYOR

BM nezdinde meşru Ulusal Mutabakat Hükümeti (UMH) bir yandan ülkenin haklarına sahip çıkarken bir yandan da halen terör örgütü lideri General Hafter güçlerine karşı mücadele veriyor. UMH'yi devirmeyi amaçlayan Hafter güçlerine BM üyesi ülkeler de açık destek veriyor. Libya'da iç savaşı doğuran nedenlerin başında bölgesel güç oyunları, Libya'nın yurtdışındaki 150 milyar dolarlık kayıp parası, ülkedeki petrol ve doğalgaz kaynaklarının paylaşılması mücadelesi geliyor. Türkiye ile Libya arasında bir MEB anlaşması imzalanmasının engellenmesi de bölgedeki karışıklığı doğuran güçlerin hedefleri arasındaydı.

YUNAN PANİĞİ

Türkiye ile Libya arasında yapılan MEB anlaşması haberi Yunan medyasına bomba gibi düştü. Yunan medyası, gelişmeleri Yeni Şafak'ta dün yayınlanan 'Akdeniz haritası masada' haberiyle duyurdu. Haberlerde, iki ülkenin bu adımının Doğu Akdeniz'de yeni gelişmeleri de beraberinde getireceği kaydedildi. Pronews internet sitesinde "Libya-Türkiye Girit'i haritada yok sayarak münhasır ekonomik bölge anlaşması imzaladı" denirken, Pentapostagma adlı internet sitesinde de anlaşmanın direkt Doğu Akdeniz'de Yunanistan'ı etkileyeceği belirtilerek "Krize doğru yüksek adımlarla ilerliyoruz" yorumu yapıldı.

2) CUMHURİYET:

03 Ocak 2020 Cuma, 02:00

Cumhuriyet

LİBYA'YA EASTMED YANITI

İsrail-Yunanistan-GKRY liderleri, Doğu Akdeniz'de boru hattı projesini imzalamak için buluştu

Doğu Akdeniz'deki hidrokarbon kaynakları üzerinde egemenlik mücadelesinin kızıştığı günlerde, İsrail, Yunanistan ve Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi (GKRY) bölge gazını Avrupa'ya taşıyacak yeni bir projenin imzası için harekete geçti. Yunanistan Başbakanı Kyriakos Miçotakis, GKRY Cumhurbaşkanı Nikos Anastasiadis ve İsrail Başbakanı Binyamin Netanyahu, Doğu Akdeniz'in (East Mediterranean) kısaltması EastMed olarak adlandırılan boru hattı anlaşması için dün Atina'da bir araya geldi. Projede yıllık 9 ila 12 milyar metreküp doğalgazın taşınması hedefleniyor.

İTALYA'YA UZANACAK

Üç ülkenin geçen yıl üzerinde mutabakata vardığı projede, boru hattının Levant gaz havzasından başlayarak Akdeniz boyunca ilerlemesi, Girit Adası ve Yunanistan anakarası üzerinden İtalya'ya kadar uzanması öngörülüyor. Yunanistan'dan yapılan açıklamada, İtalya Başbakanı Giuseppe Conte'nin de anlaşmayı daha sonra imzalayacağı belirtildi. Mısır ise fizibilite sorunları nedeniyle projeye sıcak bakmadığını duyurmuştu. Projenin yaşama geçmesi öncesinde fizibilite çalışmalarının tamamlanması için şirketlerin onayı gerekiyor. Bunun ise zaman alacağına dikkat çekiliyor.

Doğu Akdeniz'den İtalya'ya kadar inşa edilecek yaklaşık 2 bin kilometrelik hattın maliyetinin 6 milyar Avro civarında olması bekleniyor.

Proje, Avrupa için Rus doğalgazına alternatif olarak değerlendiriliyor. ABD Dışişleri Bakanı Mike Pompeo daha önce EastMed boru hattını desteklediklerini söylemişti. Kimi Avrupa ülkelerinden de projeye destek açıklamaları yapılmıştı. Projenin önünü açacak imzaların, Türkiye'nin Libya'da Birleşmiş Milletler tarafından meşru görülen Trablus'taki Ulusal Uzlaşı Hükümeti'yle (UUH) yaptığı deniz yetki sahası anlaşmasının hemen ardından gelmesi dikkat çekti. İmzaların atıldığı gün TBMM'de de Libya'ya asker gönderilmesine ilişkin tasarı onaylandı. Ankara, EastMed'in paydaş ülkelerinin karşı çıktığı anlaşmayla, Doğu Akdeniz'de yeni münhasır ekonomik bölge ilan etmeyi hedefliyor.

Cumhurbaşkanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan EastMed ile ilgili daha önce yaptığı açıklamada, "Bölgede Türkiye'yi dışlayan herhangi bir planın başarı şansı yoktur" ifadelerini kullanmıştı.

KKTC'DEN TEPKİ

Öte yandan, Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti (KKTC) Cumhurbaşkanı Mustafa Akıncı, dün bir yazılı açıklamayla anlaşmanın "coğrafi gerçeklere aykırı, ekonomik akla uygun olmayan ve tamamen politik kaygılarla" verilmiş bir karar olduğunu belirtti. Boru hattının, başka alternatiflere göre çok daha uzun ve masraflı bir güzergâh olduğunu hatırlatan Akıncı, konunun uzmanlarının karşı görüşlerine rağmen gündemde tutulmaya çalışılan bu projenin, "tıpkı GKRY'nin tek başına AB'ye üye yapılmış olması gibi, Kıbrıs sorununun çözümüne yardımcı olmayacağını" vurguladı.

İSRAİL, ÜRDÜN'E GAZ SATIŞINA BAŞLADI

Leviathan adı verilen gaz sahasını geçen hafta faaliyete geçiren İsrail'in, Ürdün'e doğalgaz satışını başlattığı bildirildi. Sahanın ruhsatını alan Teksas merkezli Noble Enerji şirketi, doğalgazı dün Ürdün devletine ait Ulusal Elektrik Şirketi'ne (NEPCO) satmaya başladığını duyurdu. NEPCO'dan yapılan açıklamada "Deneme niteliğindeki pompalama işlemi, teknik ve işletim şartlarına bağlı olarak 3 ay sürecek" ifadeleri yer aldı. Anlaşmaya göre, Leviathan sahasındaki ABD-İsrail konsorsiyumu, Ürdün'e 15 yıl boyunca doğalgaz satışı yapacak. Öte yandan, Ürdün'de ana muhalefetteki İslami

Hareket Cephesi, “Bu Ürdün tarihinde kara bir gün. Hem egemenliğimiz hem enerji sektörü Siyonist işgalcilerin ellerine rehin verildi” açıklaması yaptı.

D. SURVEY QUESTIONS

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
Medya ve Kültürel Çalışmalar Ana Bilim Dalı

Doğu Akdeniz Yer Altı Kaynakları Krizi'nin Medyada Temsiline Dair Bir Tez Çalışması

Sayın Katılımcı,

Bu tez çalışmasının amacı "Doğu Akdeniz Yer Altı Kaynakları Krizi" kapsamında Libya ile imzalanan "Deniz Yetki Alanlarının Sınırlandırılmasına İlişkin Mutabakat"ın medyada temsilinin etkilerini ölçmektir. Konu hakkında sahip olduğunuz bilgi birikimi bu tez çalışması için çok değerlidir. Sağlayacağınız katkı konunun medya alanında ilk kez inceleniyor olması nedeniyle akademik açıdan oldukça önem taşımaktadır. Anket sonucunda elde edilecek veriler **yalnızca** bilimsel amaçla kullanılacak olup, başka kişi veya kurumlarla **kesinlikle** paylaşılmayacaktır. Sizden "isminiz", "çalıştığınız kurumun adı" gibi kimliğinizi belirten bilgileri vermeniz istenmemektedir. Kimliğiniz ve yanıtlarınız **tamamen** gizli tutulacaktır. Yanıt vermek istemediğiniz soruyu boş bırakabilirsiniz; ancak düşüncenizi veya durumunuzu yansıtacak her bir bilginin bizim için çok değerli olduğunu bilmenizi isteriz.

Herhangi bir sorunuz olursa veya görüş bildirmek isterseniz tezin araştırmacısı Cansın Türkili ile iletişime geçebilirsiniz.

Cansın Türkili

Çalışmaya katılımınız ve yardımlarınız için teşekkür ederiz.

ÇATIŞMA ÇERÇEVESİ GRUBU ANKET SORULARI

1. Cinsiyetiniz nedir?

.....

2. Kaç yaşındasınız?

.....

3. Mesleğiniz nedir?

.....

4. Çalıştığınız kurum hangi sektördedir?

□ Kamu

□ Özel

5. Kurumunuzda hangi biriminde çalışıyorsunuz?

.....

6. Kendinizi siyasal anlamda aşağıdaki kategorilerden hangisine daha yakın hissediyorsunuz?

□ Radikal Sağ

□ Sağ

□ Kararsızım

□ Sol

□ Radikal Sol

□ Fikrim yok

7. Yarın bir seçim olsa hangi partiye oy verirsiniz?

□ Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi

□ Bağımsız Türkiye Partisi

□ Büyük Birlik Partisi

□ Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi

□ Demokrat Parti

□ Demokratik Sol Parti

□ Halkların Demokratik Partisi

□ Hür Dava Partisi

□ İyi Parti

□ Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi

□ Saadet Partisi

□ Türkiye Komünist Partisi

□ Vatan Partisi

□ Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz) …….

□ Kararsızım

□ Fikrim yok

8. Haberleri en sık takip ettiğiniz 3 mecra hangileridir?

(Lütfen en sık takip ettiğiniz kaynağın yanındaki kutucuğa "1" yazıp, diğer ikisini de sırasıyla "2" ve "3" olarak numaralandırınız.)

□ Yazılı basın (Gazete vb.)

□ Görsel basın (Televizyon vb.)

□ Online Haber Siteleri

□ Sosyal Medya

□ Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz.) ……..

9. Ne sıklıkla gazete okursunuz?

□ Hiçbir zaman

□ Haftada bir

□ Haftada iki-üç kez

□ İki günde bir

□ Her gün

10. En sık okuduğunuz/takip ettiğiniz gazete/gazeteler hangileridir?
(Lütfen en fazla üç tane yazınız ve yanıtınız birden fazla ise en sık okuduğunuzdan en az okuduğunuza doğru sıralayınız.)

……
……
……

11. Aşağıdaki haber kategorilerini sizin için en ilgi çekici olandan en az ilgi çekici olana doğru 1'den 8'e kadar sıralayınız.
1-En ilgi çekici 8-En az ilgi çekici
(Numaralandırmanızı boş bırakılan kutucuğa yazabilirsiniz.)

□ Gündem
□ Siyasi
□ Ekonomi
□ Spor
□ Magazin
□ Seyahat
□ Sağlık
□ Teknoloji

12. Doğu Akdeniz Bölgesinde yürütülen petrol ve doğalgaz arama faaliyetleri hakkında teknik bilgiye sahip misiniz?
***(Not:** Burada "teknik bilgi" kavramı ile kastedilen Doğu Akdeniz'in jeolojik yapısını bilip, bölgedeki hidrokarbon potansiyelini mühendislik verilerine göre en doğru şekilde değerlendirebilme yetkinliğine sahip olmaktır.)*

□ Evet
□ Hayır

13. Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberleri ne düzeyde takip ediyorsunuz?

□ Hiçbir zaman
□ Nadiren
□ Sıklıkla
□ Her zaman

(Eğer yanıtınız hiçbir zaman ise 14.,15. ve 16.soruyu boş bırakarak, 17. soruya geçiniz.)

14. Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberlerin medyada temsili ile ilgili aşağıdaki yargılardan hangisine katılırsınız?

□ Tamamen Tarafsız
□ Kısmen Tarafsız
□ Kararsızım
□ Kısmen Taraflı
□ Tamamen Taraflı
□ Fikrim yok

15. Medyada yer alan Doğu Akdeniz Krizi haberlerine güven düzeyinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız?

□ Tamamen Güveniyorum
□ Kısmen Güveniyorum
□ Kararsızım
□ Kısmen Güvenmiyorum
□ Tamamen Güvenmiyorum
□ Fikrim yok

16. Doğu Akdeniz Krizi haberleri ile ilgili aşağıdaki yargılardan hangisi sizin düşüncesine en yakın olanını temsil etmektedir?

□ Medyada yer alan Doğu Akdeniz Krizi haberlerinde olaylar her yönüyle ele alınmaktadır.

□ Kararsızım

□ Medyada yer alan Doğu Akdeniz Krizi haberlerinde olaylar her yönüyle ele alınmamaktadır.

□ Fikrim yok

Önemli Not: *Aşağıdaki sorular belirli yargılar içermektedir. Lütfen bu soruları "Kesinlikle Katılıyorum-Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum" aralığında size en uygun cevabı düşünerek cevaplayınız.*

17. Bir haberin belirli yönlerinin vurgulanarak sunulması konu hakkındaki düşüncelerimi etkileyebilir.

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum

□ Katılıyorum

□ Kararsızım

□ Katılmıyorum

□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum

□ Fikrim yok

18. Bir haber metninde kullanılan dil, grafikler veya fotoğrafın niteliği konu hakkındaki düşüncelerimi etkileyebilir.

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum

□ Katılıyorum

□ Kararsızım

□ Katılmıyorum

□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum

□ Fikrim yok

19. Önceden bilgi sahibi olduğum bir konu üzerine yazılan bir haberde, konunun aktarılış biçimi düşüncelerimi etkileyebilir.

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
□ Katılıyorum
□ Kararsızım
□ Katılmıyorum
□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum
□ Fikrim yok

20. Uluslararası krizler söz konusu olduğunda aynı olayın farklı ideolojilere sahip medya kuruluşlarındaki farklı sunumları düşüncelerimi etkileyebilir.

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
□ Katılıyorum
□ Kararsızım
□ Katılmıyorum
□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum
□ Fikrim yok

21. "Medya sadece neyi düşüneceğimizi değil, aynı zamanda nasıl düşüneceğimizi de belirler" görüşü ile ilgili aşağıdaki yargılardan hangisi sizin düşüncesine en yakın olanını temsil etmektedir?

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
□ Katılıyorum
□ Kararsızım
□ Katılmıyorum
□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum
□ Fikrim yok

22. "Medya kamuoyunun sesidir" görüşü ile ilgili aşağıdaki yargılardan hangisi sizin düşüncesine en yakın olanını temsil etmektedir?

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum

□ Katılıyorum

□ Kararsızım

□ Katılmıyorum

□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum

□ Fikrim yok

23. Aşağıda verilen yargıları size uygun kategoriye göre işaretleyiniz.

	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Fikrim Yok
Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili medyada sunulan haberler ilgimi çeker.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberleri ilk olarak yazılı basından takip ederim.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haber metinlerinin yeterli bilgi içerdiğini düşünürüm.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberleri politik görüşüme uyan gazetelerden takip ederim.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberleri farklı görüşteki gazetelerden de takip ederim.						
Uluslararası krizler söz konusu olduğunda yabancı basını da takip ederim.						
Türkiye'nin taraf olduğu uluslararası krizlerin haberlerinde yalnızca ulusal basını takip ederim.						

Önemli Not: *Doğu Akdeniz bölgesinde petrol ve doğalgaz keşifleri nedeniyle son dönemlerde yaşanan uluslararası gelişmeler, kamuoyunun ve medyanın dikkatini çeken konuların başında gelmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Doğu Akdeniz Yer Altı Kaynakları Krizi kapsamında Libya ile imzalanan "Deniz Yetki Alanlarının Sınırlandırılmasına İlişkin Mutabakat"ın medyada yer almasını konu alan iki örnek olaya 24. ve 25. sorularda yer verilmiştir. Lütfen her bir örneği okuduktan sonra alt kısmında yer alan yargıları size göre en uygun cevabı düşünerek yanıtlayınız.*

"LİBYA İLE TARİHİ ANLAŞMA İMZALANDI! AKDENİZ'DE OYUN BOZULDU..."

İki ülkenin Akdeniz'deki münhasır ekonomik bölgelerini (MEB) tanımlayan anlaşmada Türkiye ile Libya arasına 'deniz yetki alanı şeridi' çekildi ve bu şerit Yunanistan, Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi ve Mısır arasında kalkan oluşturdu. Ayrıca Yunanistan'ın Girit, Kaşot, Kerpe, Rodos ve Meis adaları hattını esas alarak Kıbrıs Rum Kesimi ve Mısır ile sınırlandırma anlaşması yapması girişimi önlenerek oldu-bitti cabalarının önü kesildi. Adeta Sevr niteliğindeki sözde Seville Haritası ile Türkiye'yi Akdeniz'de 41 bin kilometrekarelik bir deniz alanına hapsetme oyunu da bozulmuş oldu.

Türkiye ile Libya arasında, Deniz Yetki Alanlarının Sınırlandırılmasına İlişkin Mutabakat Muhtırası imzalandı. Anlaşma ile Türkiye, Akdeniz'in batısındaki meşru sınırlarını tüm dünyaya ilan etmiş oldu. İki ülke deniz sınır koordinatlarının ayrıntısını da içeren anlaşmanın hayata geçirilmesinde Libya tüm hukuki işlemleri tamamlarken, Türkiye ise tarihi sözleşmeyi TBMM'de onaylanmasının ardından Birleşmiş Milletlere bildirecek. Muhtıra böylece resmen yürürlüğe girecek.

Libya'da iç karışıklıklar devam etse de anlaşmanın BM nezdinde meşru bir hükümetle yapılmış olması, mutabakat üzerindeki meşruiyet tartışmalarını bertaraf ediyor.

Ayrıca, mutabakatla birlikte Türkiye, enerji kaynaklarını paylaşma amaçlı kurulan şer ittifaklarına karşı sahada üstünlük kazandı. Enerji jeopolitiğine doğrudan etki ederek deniz yetki alanlarının sınırlandırılmasında kritik kazanımlar elde etti. Libya ise

Yunanistan'ın gasp ederek hidrokarbon ihaleleri açtığı 39 bin kilometrekarelik bölgede hakimiyetini ilan etmiş oldu.

24. Lütfen, aşağıdaki yargıları size göre en uygun cevabı düşünerek yanıtlayınız.

	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Fikrim Yok
Doğu Akdeniz Krizinin temelinde siyasi gerilim vardır.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizinin temelinde hukuki unsurlar vardır.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizinin temelinde ekonomik faktörler vardır.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizinin temelinde belirgin bir neden yoktur.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın ülkeler arasında gerilime neden olduğunu düşünüyorum.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın ekonomik açıdan katkı sağlayacağını düşünüyorum.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli boyutu hukuki unsurlardır.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli boyutu ekonomik unsurlarıdır.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli boyutu ülkeler arasında neden olduğu gerilimdir.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın öne çıkan bir boyutu bulunmamaktadır.						

“LİBYA’YA EASTMED YANITI “

İsrail-Yunanistan-GKRY liderleri, Doğu Akdeniz’de boru hattı projesini imzalamak için buluştu. Üç ülkenin geçen yıl üzerinde mutabakata vardığı projede, boru hattının Levant gaz havzasından başlayarak Akdeniz boyunca ilerlemesi, Girit Adası ve Yunanistan anakarası üzerinden İtalya’ya kadar uzanması öngörülüyor. Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti (KKTC) Cumhurbaşkanı Mustafa Akıncı, konunun uzmanlarının karşı görüşlerine rağmen gündemde tutulmaya çalışılan bu projenin, “tıpkı GKRY’nin tek başına AB’ye üye yapılmış olması gibi, Kıbrıs sorununun çözümüne yardımcı olmayacağını” vurguladı.

Doğu Akdeniz’deki hidrokarbon kaynakları üzerinde egemenlik mücadelesinin kızıştığı günlerde, İsrail, Yunanistan ve Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi (GKRY) bölge gazını Avrupa’ya taşıyacak yeni bir projenin imzası için harekete geçti. Yunanistan Başbakanı Kyriakos Miçotakis, GKRY Cumhurbaşkanı Nikos Anastasiadis ve İsrail Başbakanı Binyamin Netanyahu, Doğu Akdeniz’in (East Mediterranean) kısaltması EastMed olarak adlandırılan boru hattı antlaşması için dün Atina’da bir araya geldi. Projede yıllık 9 ila 12 milyar metreküp doğalgazın taşınması hedefleniyor.

Projenin önünü açacak imzaların, Türkiye’nin Libya’da Birleşmiş Milletler tarafından meşru görülen Trablus’taki Ulusal Uzlaşı Hükümeti’yle (UUH) yaptığı deniz yetki sahası anlaşmasının hemen ardından gelmesi dikkat çekti.

İmzaların atıldığı gün TBMM’de de Libya’ya asker gönderilmesine ilişkin tasarı onaylandı. Ankara, EastMed’in paydaş ülkelerinin karşı çıktığı anlaşmayla, Doğu Akdeniz’de yeni münhasır ekonomik bölge ilan etmeyi hedefliyor. Cumhurbaşkanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan da EastMed ile ilgili daha önce yaptığı açıklamada, “Bölgede Türkiye’yi dışlayan herhangi bir planın başarı şansı yoktur” ifadelerini kullanmıştı.

25. Lütfen, aşağıdaki yargıları size göre en uygun cevabı düşünerek yanıtlayınız.

	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Fikrim Yok
Doğu Akdeniz'deki krizde siyasi çatışmaların büyük bir rolü vardır.						
Doğu Akdeniz'de yaşanan krizin arkasında hukuki meselelerin büyük bir payı vardır.						
Ekonomik etkenler Doğu Akdeniz'de yaşanan krizde büyük bir role sahiptir.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizinin arkasında yatan belli bir nedenden bahsetmek zordur.						
Bölge ülkeleri arasında Libya ile imzalanan anlaşma nedeniyle gerilim yaşanmaktadır.						
Ekonomik olarak Libya ile imzalanan anlaşma nedeniyle katkı sağlanmıştır.						
Hukuki etkenler Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli sonucudur.						
Ekonomik etkenler Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli sonucudur.						
Ülkeler arasında yaşanan gerilim Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli sonuçlarındandır.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın belirgin bir sonucu yoktur.						

Anket burada sona ermektedir. Katıldığınız için teşekkür ederiz.

EKONOMİK SONUÇLAR ÇERÇEVESİ GRUBU ANKET SORULARI

1. Cinsiyetiniz nedir?

.....

2. Kaç yaşındasınız?

.....

3. Mesleğiniz nedir?

.....

4. Çalıştığınız kurum hangi sektördedir?

□ Kamu

□ Özel

5. Kurumunuzda hangi biriminde çalışıyorsunuz?

.....

6. Kendinizi siyasal anlamda aşağıdaki kategorilerden hangisine daha yakın hissediyorsunuz?

□ Radikal Sağ

□ Sağ

□ Kararsızım

□ Sol

□ Radikal Sol

□ Fikrim yok

7. Yarın bir seçim olsa hangi partiye oy verirsiniz?

□ Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi

□ Bağımsız Türkiye Partisi

□ Büyük Birlik Partisi

□ Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi

□ Demokrat Parti

□ Demokratik Sol Parti

□ Halkların Demokratik Partisi

□ Hür Dava Partisi

□ İyi Parti

□ Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi

□ Saadet Partisi

□ Türkiye Komünist Partisi

□ Vatan Partisi

□ Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz) …….

□ Kararsızım

□ Fikrim yok

8. Haberleri en sık takip ettiğiniz 3 mecra hangileridir?

(Lütfen en sık takip ettiğiniz kaynağın yanındaki kutucuğa "1" yazıp, diğer ikisini de sırasıyla "2" ve "3" olarak numaralandırınız.)

□ Yazılı basın (Gazete vb.)

□ Görsel basın (Televizyon vb.)

□ Online Haber Siteleri

□ Sosyal Medya

□ Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz.) ……..

9. Ne sıklıkla gazete okursunuz?

□ Hiçbir zaman

□ Haftada bir

□ Haftada iki-üç kez

□ İki günde bir

□ Her gün

10. En sık okuduğunuz/takip ettiğiniz gazete/gazeteler hangileridir?
(Lütfen en fazla üç tane yazınız ve yanıtınız birden fazla ise en sık okuduğunuzdan en az okuduğunuza doğru sıralayınız.)

……
……
……

11. Aşağıdaki haber kategorilerini sizin için en ilgi çekici olandan en az ilgi çekici olana doğru 1'den 8'e kadar sıralayınız.
1-En ilgi çekici 8-En az ilgi çekici
(Numaralandırmanızı boş bırakılan kutucuğa yazabilirsiniz.)

□ Gündem
□ Siyasi
□ Ekonomi
□ Spor
□ Magazin
□ Seyahat
□ Sağlık
□ Teknoloji

12. Doğu Akdeniz Bölgesinde yürütülen petrol ve doğalgaz arama faaliyetleri hakkında teknik bilgiye sahip misiniz?
***(Not:** Burada "teknik bilgi" kavramı ile kastedilen Doğu Akdeniz'in jeolojik yapısını bilip, bölgedeki hidrokarbon potansiyelini mühendislik verilerine göre en doğru şekilde değerlendirebilme yetkinliğine sahip olmaktır.)*

□ Evet
□ Hayır

13. Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberleri ne düzeyde takip ediyorsunuz?

□ Hiçbir zaman
□ Nadiren
□ Sıklıkla
□ Her zaman

(Eğer yanıtınız hiçbir zaman ise 14.,15. ve 16.soruyu boş bırakarak, 17. soruya geçiniz.)

14. Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberlerin medyada temsili ile ilgili aşağıdaki yargılardan hangisine katılırsınız?

□ Tamamen Tarafsız
□ Kısmen Tarafsız
□ Kararsızım
□ Kısmen Taraflı
□ Tamamen Taraflı
□ Fikrim yok

15. Medyada yer alan Doğu Akdeniz Krizi haberlerine güven düzeyinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız?

□ Tamamen Güveniyorum
□ Kısmen Güveniyorum
□ Kararsızım
□ Kısmen Güvenmiyorum
□ Tamamen Güvenmiyorum
□ Fikrim yok

16. Doğu Akdeniz Krizi haberleri ile ilgili aşağıdaki yargılardan hangisi sizin düşüncesine en yakın olanını temsil etmektedir?

□ Medyada yer alan Doğu Akdeniz Krizi haberlerinde olaylar her yönüyle ele alınmaktadır.

□ Kararsızım

□ Medyada yer alan Doğu Akdeniz Krizi haberlerinde olaylar her yönüyle ele alınmamaktadır.

□ Fikrim yok

Önemli Not: *Aşağıdaki sorular belirli yargılar içermektedir. Lütfen bu soruları "Kesinlikle Katılıyorum-Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum" aralığında size en uygun cevabı düşünerek cevaplayınız.*

17. Bir haberin belirli yönlerinin vurgulanarak sunulması konu hakkındaki düşüncelerimi etkileyebilir.

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum

□ Katılıyorum

□ Kararsızım

□ Katılmıyorum

□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum

□ Fikrim yok

18. Bir haber metninde kullanılan dil, grafikler veya fotoğrafın niteliği konu hakkındaki düşüncelerimi etkileyebilir.

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum

□ Katılıyorum

□ Kararsızım

□ Katılmıyorum

□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum

□ Fikrim yok

19. Önceden bilgi sahibi olduğum bir konu üzerine yazılan bir haberde, konunun aktarılış biçimi düşüncelerimi etkileyebilir.

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
□ Katılıyorum
□ Kararsızım
□ Katılmıyorum
□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum
□ Fikrim yok

20. Uluslararası krizler söz konusu olduğunda aynı olayın farklı ideolojilere sahip medya kuruluşlarındaki farklı sunumları düşüncelerimi etkileyebilir.

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
□ Katılıyorum
□ Kararsızım
□ Katılmıyorum
□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum
□ Fikrim yok

21. "Medya sadece neyi düşüneceğimizi değil, aynı zamanda nasıl düşüneceğimizi de belirler" görüşü ile ilgili aşağıdaki yargılardan hangisi sizin düşüncesine en yakın olanını temsil etmektedir?

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
□ Katılıyorum
□ Kararsızım
□ Katılmıyorum
□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum
□ Fikrim yok

22. "Medya kamuoyunun sesidir" görüşü ile ilgili aşağıdaki yargılardan hangisi sizin düşüncesine en yakın olanını temsil etmektedir?

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum

□ Katılıyorum

□ Kararsızım

□ Katılmıyorum

□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum

□ Fikrim yok

23. Aşağıda verilen yargıları size uygun kategoriye göre işaretleyiniz.

	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Fikrim Yok
Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili medyada sunulan haberler ilgimi çeker.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberleri ilk olarak yazılı basından takip ederim.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haber metinlerinin yeterli bilgi içerdiğini düşünürüm.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberleri politik görüşüme uyan gazetelerden takip ederim.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberleri farklı görüşteki gazetelerden de takip ederim.						
Uluslararası krizler söz konusu olduğunda yabancı basını da takip ederim.						
Türkiye'nin taraf olduğu uluslararası krizlerin haberlerinde yalnızca ulusal basını takip ederim.						

Önemli Not: *Doğu Akdeniz bölgesinde petrol ve doğalgaz keşifleri nedeniyle son dönemlerde yaşanan uluslararası gelişmeler, kamuoyunun ve medyanın dikkatini çeken konuların başında gelmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Doğu Akdeniz Yer Altı Kaynakları Krizi kapsamında Libya ile imzalanan "Deniz Yetki Alanlarının Sınırlandırılmasına İlişkin Mutabakat"ın medyada yer almasını konu alan iki örnek olaya 24. ve 25. sorularda yer verilmiştir. Lütfen her bir örneği okuduktan sonra alt kısmında yer alan yargıları size göre en uygun cevabı düşünerek yanıtlayınız.*

"LİBYA İLE TARİHİ ANLAŞMA İMZALANDI! AKDENİZ'DE OYUN BOZULDU..."

Uzmanlar tarafından yapılan tespitler, Doğu Akdeniz'de toplam değeri 3 trilyon doları bulan doğalgaz rezervi bulunduğunu gösteriyor. ABD Jeolojik Araştırmalar Merkezi tahminlerine göre Kıbrıs, Lübnan, Suriye ve İsrail arasında kalan bölge olan Levant havzasında 3,45 trilyon metreküp doğalgaz ve 1,7 milyar varil petrol bulunuyor. Yine Nil Delta Havzasında yaklaşık 1,8 milyar varil petrol, 6,3 trilyon metreküp doğalgaz ve 6 milyar varil doğalgaz rezervi olduğu tahmin ediliyor. Kıbrıs adası çevresinde olduğu düşünülen 8 milyar varil petrol rezervinin dışında Heredot olarak adlandırılan Girit'in güney ve güneydoğusundaki alanda ise toplam 3,5 trilyon metreküplük doğalgaz bulunduğu sanılıyor.

Yakın zamanda Türkiye ile Libya arasında "Deniz Yetki Alanlarının Sınırlandırılmasına İlişkin Mutabakat Muhtırası" imzalandı. Anlaşma ile Türkiye, Akdeniz'in batısındaki meşru sınırlarını tüm dünyaya ilan etmiş oldu. İki ülke deniz sınır koordinatlarının ayrıntısını da içeren anlaşmanın hayata geçirilmesinde Libya tüm hukuki işlemleri tamamlarken, Türkiye ise tarihi sözleşmeyi TBMM'de onaylanmasının ardından Birleşmiş Milletlere bildirecek. Muhtıra böylece resmen yürürlüğe girecek.

Libya'da iç karışıklıklar devam etse de anlaşmanın BM nezdinde meşru bir hükümetle yapılmış olması, mutabakat üzerindeki meşruiyet tartışmalarını bertaraf ediyor.

Doğu Akdeniz'deki toplam hidrokarbon yatakları Türkiye'nin 572 yıllık doğalgaz ihtiyacını karşılayabilecek seviyede. Bu rezervlerin büyük kısmı da Türkiye ve KKTC deniz yetki alanlarında bulunuyor.

24. Lütfen, aşağıdaki yargıları size göre en uygun cevabı düşünerek yanıtlayınız.

	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Fikrim Yok
Doğu Akdeniz Krizinin temelinde siyasi gerilim vardır.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizinin temelinde hukuki unsurlar vardır.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizinin temelinde ekonomik faktörler vardır.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizinin temelinde belirgin bir neden yoktur.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın ülkeler arasında gerilime neden olduğunu düşünüyorum.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın ekonomik açıdan katkı sağlayacağını düşünüyorum.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli boyutu hukuki unsurlardır.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli boyutu ekonomik unsurlarıdır.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli boyutu ülkeler arasında neden olduğu gerilimdir.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın öne çıkan bir boyutu bulunmamaktadır.						

“LİBYA’YA EASTMED YANITI “

İsrail-Yunanistan-GKRY liderleri, Doğu Akdeniz’de boru hattı projesini imzalamak için buluştu. Doğu Akdeniz’den İtalya’ya kadar inşa edilecek yaklaşık 2 bin kilometrelik hattın maliyetinin 6 milyar Avro civarında olması bekleniyor.

Doğu Akdeniz’deki hidrokarbon kaynakları üzerinde egemenlik mücadelesinin kızıştığı günlerde, İsrail, Yunanistan ve Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi (GKRY) bölge gazını Avrupa’ya taşıyacak yeni bir projenin imzası için harekete geçti. Yunanistan Başbakanı Kyriakos Miçotakis, GKRY Cumhurbaşkanı Nikos Anastasiadis ve İsrail Başbakanı Binyamin Netanyahu, Doğu Akdeniz’in (East Mediterranean) kısaltması EastMed olarak adlandırılan boru hattı antlaşması için dün Atina’da bir araya geldi. Projede yıllık 9 ila 12 milyar metreküp doğalgazın taşınması hedefleniyor.

Projenin önünü açacak imzaların, Türkiye’nin Libya’da Birleşmiş Milletler tarafından meşru görülen Trablus’taki Ulusal Uzlaşı Hükümeti’yle (UUH) yaptığı deniz yetki sahası anlaşmasının hemen ardından gelmesi dikkat çekti.

Öte yandan, Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti (KKTC) Cumhurbaşkanı Mustafa Akıncı, dün bir yazılı açıklamayla anlaşmanın “coğrafi gerçeklere aykırı ve ekonomik akla uygun olmayan” bir karar olduğunu belirtti. Boru hattının, başka alternatiflere göre çok daha uzun ve masraflı bir güzergâh olduğunu hatırlattı.

25. Lütfen, aşağıdaki yargıları size göre en uygun cevabı düşünerek yanıtlayınız.

	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Fikrim Yok
Doğu Akdeniz'deki krizde siyasi çatışmaların büyük bir rolü vardır.						
Doğu Akdeniz'de yaşanan krizin arkasında hukuki meselelerin büyük bir payı vardır.						
Ekonomik etkenler Doğu Akdeniz'de yaşanan krizde büyük bir role sahiptir.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizinin arkasında yatan belli bir nedenden bahsetmek zordur.						
Bölge ülkeleri arasında Libya ile imzalanan anlaşma nedeniyle gerilim yaşanmaktadır.						
Ekonomik olarak Libya ile imzalanan anlaşma nedeniyle katkı sağlanmıştır.						
Hukuki etkenler Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli sonucudur.						
Ekonomik etkenler Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli sonucudur.						
Ülkeler arasında yaşanan gerilim Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli sonuçlarındandır.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın belirgin bir sonucu yoktur.						

Anket burada sona ermektedir. Katıldığınız için teşekkür ederiz.

KONTROL GRUBU ANKET SORULARI

1. Cinsiyetiniz nedir?

.....

2. Kaç yaşındasınız?

.....

3. Mesleğiniz nedir?

.....

4. Çalıştığınız kurum hangi sektördedir?

□ Kamu

□ Özel

5. Kurumunuzda hangi biriminde çalışıyorsunuz?

.....

6. Kendinizi siyasal anlamda aşağıdaki kategorilerden hangisine daha yakın hissediyorsunuz?

□ Radikal Sağ

□ Sağ

□ Kararsızım

□ Sol

□ Radikal Sol

□ Fikrim yok

7. Yarın bir seçim olsa hangi partiye oy verirsiniz?

□ Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi

□ Bağımsız Türkiye Partisi

□ Büyük Birlik Partisi

□ Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi

□ Demokrat Parti

□ Demokratik Sol Parti

□ Halkların Demokratik Partisi

□ Hür Dava Partisi

□ İyi Parti

□ Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi

□ Saadet Partisi

□ Türkiye Komünist Partisi

□ Vatan Partisi

□ Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz) …….

□ Kararsızım

□ Fikrim yok

8. Haberleri en sık takip ettiğiniz 3 mecra hangileridir?

(Lütfen en sık takip ettiğiniz kaynağın yanındaki kutucuğa "1" yazıp, diğer ikisini de sırasıyla "2" ve "3" olarak numaralandırınız.)

□ Yazılı basın (Gazete vb.)

□ Görsel basın (Televizyon vb.)

□ Online Haber Siteleri

□ Sosyal Medya

□ Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz.) ……..

9. Ne sıklıkla gazete okursunuz?

□ Hiçbir zaman

□ Haftada bir

□ Haftada iki-üç kez

□ İki günde bir

□ Her gün

10. En sık okuduğunuz/takip ettiğiniz gazete/gazeteler hangileridir?
(Lütfen en fazla üç tane yazınız ve yanıtınız birden fazla ise en sık okuduğunuzdan en az okuduğunuza doğru sıralayınız.)

……
……
……

11. Aşağıdaki haber kategorilerini sizin için en ilgi çekici olandan en az ilgi çekici olana doğru 1'den 8'e kadar sıralayınız.
1-En ilgi çekici 8-En az ilgi çekici
(Numaralandırmanızı boş bırakılan kutucuğa yazabilirsiniz.)

□ Gündem
□ Siyasi
□ Ekonomi
□ Spor
□ Magazin
□ Seyahat
□ Sağlık
□ Teknoloji

12. Doğu Akdeniz Bölgesinde yürütülen petrol ve doğalgaz arama faaliyetleri hakkında teknik bilgiye sahip misiniz?
***(Not:** Burada "teknik bilgi" kavramı ile kastedilen Doğu Akdeniz'in jeolojik yapısını bilip, bölgedeki hidrokarbon potansiyelini mühendislik verilerine göre en doğru şekilde değerlendirebilme yetkinliğine sahip olmaktır.)*

□ Evet
□ Hayır

13. Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberleri ne düzeyde takip ediyorsunuz?

□ Hiçbir zaman
□ Nadiren
□ Sıklıkla
□ Her zaman

(Eğer yanıtınız hiçbir zaman ise 14.,15. ve 16.soruyu boş bırakarak, 17. soruya geçiniz.)

14. Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberlerin medyada temsili ile ilgili aşağıdaki yargılardan hangisine katılırsınız?

□ Tamamen Tarafsız
□ Kısmen Tarafsız
□ Kararsızım
□ Kısmen Taraflı
□ Tamamen Taraflı
□ Fikrim yok

15. Medyada yer alan Doğu Akdeniz Krizi haberlerine güven düzeyinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız?

□ Tamamen Güveniyorum
□ Kısmen Güveniyorum
□ Kararsızım
□ Kısmen Güvenmiyorum
□ Tamamen Güvenmiyorum
□ Fikrim yok

16. Doğu Akdeniz Krizi haberleri ile ilgili aşağıdaki yargılardan hangisi sizin düşüncesine en yakın olanını temsil etmektedir?

□ Medyada yer alan Doğu Akdeniz Krizi haberlerinde olaylar her yönüyle ele alınmaktadır.

□ Kararsızım

□ Medyada yer alan Doğu Akdeniz Krizi haberlerinde olaylar her yönüyle ele alınmamaktadır.

□ Fikrim yok

Önemli Not: *Aşağıdaki sorular belirli yargılar içermektedir. Lütfen bu soruları "Kesinlikle Katılıyorum-Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum" aralığında size en uygun cevabı düşünerek cevaplayınız.*

17. Bir haberin belirli yönlerinin vurgulanarak sunulması konu hakkındaki düşüncelerimi etkileyebilir.

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum

□ Katılıyorum

□ Kararsızım

□ Katılmıyorum

□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum

□ Fikrim yok

18. Bir haber metninde kullanılan dil, grafikler veya fotoğrafın niteliği konu hakkındaki düşüncelerimi etkileyebilir.

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum

□ Katılıyorum

□ Kararsızım

□ Katılmıyorum

□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum

□ Fikrim yok

19. Önceden bilgi sahibi olduğum bir konu üzerine yazılan bir haberde, konunun aktarılış biçimi düşüncelerimi etkileyebilir.

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
□ Katılıyorum
□ Kararsızım
□ Katılmıyorum
□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum
□ Fikrim yok

20. Uluslararası krizler söz konusu olduğunda aynı olayın farklı ideolojilere sahip medya kuruluşlarındaki farklı sunumları düşüncelerimi etkileyebilir.

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
□ Katılıyorum
□ Kararsızım
□ Katılmıyorum
□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum
□ Fikrim yok

21. "Medya sadece neyi düşüneceğimizi değil, aynı zamanda nasıl düşüneceğimizi de belirler" görüşü ile ilgili aşağıdaki yargılardan hangisi sizin düşüncesine en yakın olanını temsil etmektedir?

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
□ Katılıyorum
□ Kararsızım
□ Katılmıyorum
□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum
□ Fikrim yok

22. "Medya kamuoyunun sesidir" görüşü ile ilgili aşağıdaki yargılardan hangisi sizin düşüncesine en yakın olanını temsil etmektedir?

□ Kesinlikle Katılıyorum

□ Katılıyorum

□ Kararsızım

□ Katılmıyorum

□ Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum

□ Fikrim yok

23. Aşağıda verilen yargıları size uygun kategoriye göre işaretleyiniz.

	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Fikrim Yok
Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili medyada sunulan haberler ilgimi çeker.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberleri ilk olarak yazılı basından takip ederim.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haber metinlerinin yeterli bilgi içerdiğini düşünürüm.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberleri politik görüşüme uyan gazetelerden takip ederim.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberleri farklı görüşteki gazetelerden de takip ederim.						
Uluslararası krizler söz konusu olduğunda yabancı basını da takip ederim.						
Türkiye'nin taraf olduğu uluslararası krizlerin haberlerinde yalnızca ulusal basını takip ederim.						

Önemli Not: *Doğu Akdeniz bölgesinde petrol ve doğalgaz keşifleri nedeniyle son dönemlerde yaşanan uluslararası gelişmeler, kamuoyunun ve medyanın dikkatini çeken konuların başında gelmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Doğu Akdeniz Yer Altı Kaynakları Krizi kapsamında Libya ile imzalanan "Deniz Yetki Alanlarının Sınırlandırılmasına İlişkin Mutabakat"ın medyada yer almasını konu alan iki örnek olaya 24. ve 25. sorularda yer verilmiştir. Lütfen her bir örneği okuduktan sonra alt kısmında yer alan yargıları size göre en uygun cevabı düşünerek yanıtlayınız.*

"LİBYA İLE TARİHİ ANLAŞMA İMZALANDI! AKDENİZ'DE OYUN BOZULDU..."

Türkiye ile Libya arasında "Deniz Yetki Alanlarının Sınırlandırılmasına İlişkin Mutabakat Muhtırası" imzalandı. Anlaşma ile Türkiye, Akdeniz'in batısındaki meşru sınırlarını tüm dünyaya ilan etmiş oldu. İki ülke deniz sınır koordinatlarının ayrıntısını da içeren anlaşmanın hayata geçirilmesinde Libya tüm hukuki işlemleri tamamlarken, Türkiye ise tarihi sözleşmeyi TBMM'de onaylanmasının ardından Birleşmiş Milletlere bildirecek. Muhtıra böylece resmen yürürlüğe girecek.

Libya'da iç karışıklıklar devam etse de anlaşmanın BM nezdinde meşru bir hükümetle yapılmış olması, mutabakat üzerindeki meşruiyet tartışmalarını bertaraf ediyor.

24. Lütfen, aşağıdaki yargıları size göre en uygun cevabı düşünerek yanıtlayınız.

	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Fikrim Yok
Doğu Akdeniz Krizinin temelinde siyasi gerilim vardır.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizinin temelinde hukuki unsurlar vardır.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizinin temelinde ekonomik faktörler vardır.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizinin temelinde belirgin bir neden yoktur.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın ülkeler arasında gerilime neden olduğunu düşünüyorum.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın ekonomik açıdan katkı sağlayacağını düşünüyorum.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli boyutu hukuki unsurlardır.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli boyutu ekonomik unsurlarıdır.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli boyutu ülkeler arasında neden olduğu gerilimdir.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın öne çıkan bir boyutu bulunmamaktadır.						

“LİBYA’YA EASTMED YANITI “

Doğu Akdeniz’deki hidrokarbon kaynakları üzerinde egemenlik mücadelesinin kızıştığı günlerde, İsrail, Yunanistan ve Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi (GKRY) bölge gazını Avrupa’ya taşıyacak yeni bir projenin imzası için harekete geçti. Yunanistan Başbakanı Kyriakos Miçotakis, GKRY Cumhurbaşkanı Nikos Anastasiadis ve İsrail Başbakanı Binyamin Netanyahu, Doğu Akdeniz’in (East Mediterranean) kısaltması EastMed olarak adlandırılan boru hattı antlaşması için dün Atina’da bir araya geldi. Projede yıllık 9 ila 12 milyar metreküp doğalgazın taşınması hedefleniyor.

Projenin önünü açacak imzaların, Türkiye’nin Libya’da Birleşmiş Milletler tarafından meşru görülen Trablus’taki Ulusal Uzlaşı Hükümeti’yle (UUH) yaptığı deniz yetki sahası anlaşmasının hemen ardından gelmesi dikkat çekti.

25. Lütfen, aşağıdaki yargıları size göre en uygun cevabı düşünerek yanıtlayınız.

	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Fikrim Yok
Doğu Akdeniz'deki krizde siyasi çatışmaların büyük bir rolü vardır.						
Doğu Akdeniz'de yaşanan krizin arkasında hukuki meselelerin büyük bir payı vardır.						
Ekonomik etkenler Doğu Akdeniz'de yaşanan krizde büyük bir role sahiptir.						
Doğu Akdeniz Krizinin arkasında yatan belli bir nedenden bahsetmek zordur.						
Bölge ülkeleri arasında Libya ile imzalanan anlaşma nedeniyle gerilim yaşanmaktadır.						
Ekonomik olarak Libya ile imzalanan anlaşma nedeniyle katkı sağlanmıştır.						
Hukuki etkenler Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli sonucudur.						
Ekonomik etkenler Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli sonucudur.						
Ülkeler arasında yaşanan gerilim Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli sonuçlarındandır.						
Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın belirgin bir sonucu yoktur.						

Anket burada sona ermektedir. Katıldığınız için teşekkür ederiz.

E. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Türkiye, siyasi, ekonomik ve askeri dengelerin birleşiminde stratejik bir coğrafi konumda yer almakta, aynı zamanda da bölgede yaşanan gelişmelerde söz sahibi önemli bir aktör olarak kabul edilmektedir. Bu doğrultuda, son zamanlarda Doğu Akdeniz bölgesinde yaşanan uluslararası gelişmeler kamuoyunun ve medyanın ilgisini çeken konuların başında gelmektedir. Doğu Akdeniz'in jeopolitik önemi geçmişten bugüne dek uzanmaktadır ancak özellikle son dönemdeki yeraltı hidrokarbon keşifleri nedeniyle bölge ülkeleri için daha da önemli bir hal almıştır. Ek olarak, Kıbrıs sorunu ve uluslararası enerji politikaları kapsamında bölgede son yıllarda yaşanan gelişmeler Türkiye için önem atfedilen konuların başında gelmektedir.

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Doğu Akdeniz Krizi kapsamında Türkiye ile Libya arasında imzalanan "Deniz Yetki Alanlarının Sınırlandırılmasına İlişkin Mutabakat Muhtırası" ile ilgili iki haber metnini yeniden yapılandırarak, bu yeniden yapılandırılmış versiyonların etkilerini farklı haber çerçeveleri üzerinden incelemektedir. Söz konusu amaç doğrultusunda yapılan literatür incelemesi sonucunda çalışmanın kuramsal temeli, medya etkilerinin toplumsal yapısalcılık yaklaşımına dayanan 'Çerçeveleme Teorisi' olarak ele alınmıştır.

Teknolojik gelişmeler, günümüz kültürel alışkanlıkları ve modern hayatın bir sonucu olarak tüketim artmış ve buna paralel olarak da enerji kaynaklarına olan ihtiyaç artarak kritik bir hal almıştır. Özellikle son yıllarda tüm kaynaklar hızla tüketilmeye başlanmış ve ülkelerin, dolayısıyla da dünyanın, enerji ihtiyacı yadsınamaz bir boyuta ulaşmıştır. Tüm bunların bir sonucu olarak Doğu Akdeniz bölgesinde bulunan hidrokarbon keşifleri bölge ülkelerinin enerji ihtiyacının bir bölümünü giderebilmek adına oldukça önemli bir keşif olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Ancak, söz konusu keşifler bölge ülkeleri arasında bir anlaşmazlık yaratmış, uluslararası güçlerin de dolaylı da olsa konuya dahil olması neticesinde bir krize dönüşmüştür. Bu bağlamda "Doğu Akdeniz Krizi" veya "Doğu Akdeniz Sorunu" olarak adlandırılan petrol krizi, en basit anlatımıyla bölgede yürütülen hidrokarbon arama faaliyetleri sonucunda ülkeler

arasında yaşanan anlaşmazlıkları ifade etmektedir. Bu anlaşmazlıkların ekonomik, hukuki ve siyasi boyutları olmakla birlikte bölgesel güçlerin çıkarları doğrultusunda ideolojik bir anlamı da bulunmaktadır.

Daha önceden de belirtildiği gibi bu tez, Doğu Akdeniz bölgesinde yürütülen petrol ve doğalgaz arama faaliyetleri kapsamında ortaya çıkan hidrokarbon keşiflerinin ve uluslararası krizin aşamalarından biri olan, Türkiye ile Libya arasında imzalanan "Deniz Yetki Alanlarının Sınırlandırılmasına İlişkin Mutabakat Muhtırası" konusu özelinde incelenmiştir. Haber metinlerine konu olarak seçilen bu incelemenin söz konusu anlaşma ile sınırlandırılmasının nedeni Türkiye açısından kritik bir dönüm noktası olarak nitelendirilmesidir. "Deniz Yetki Alanlarının Sınırlandırılmasına İlişkin Mutabakat Muhtırası"nı konu alan, medyada yer almış iki haber metni çatışma ve ekonomik sonuçlar çerçeveleri kapsamında yeniden yapılandırılarak katılımcılara sunulmuştur. Haber metnini okuduktan sonra katılımcılardan konu ile ilgili kendilerine sunulan çeşitli ve belirli ifadelere yönelik düşüncelerini kategorize etmeleri istenmiştir. Bir başka deyişle, katılımcılar haber metinlerine istinaden sunulan belirli ifadelere katılım düzeylerini belirtmişlerdir. Bu doğrultuda, haber çerçevelerinin bir konu üzerine okuyucuların düşüncelerini oluşturmada etkili olup olmadığı sorusuna yanıt bulunmaya çalışılmıştır.

Tezin literatür araştırması kapsamında ele alınan başlıkları ilerleyen paragraflarda daha detaylı olarak açıklanacaktır. Ancak kısaca belirtmek istersek, tezin kuramsal dayanağı toplumsal yapısalcılık yaklaşımında ele alınan çerçeveleme teorisi olarak belirlenmiş ve eleştirel bir bakış açısı ön planda tutulmuştur. Yukarıda belirtilen bilgiler ışığında bu çalışma, Doğu Akdeniz Krizi özelinde, çerçeveleme teorisini medya ve kültürel çalışmalar alanında ele alarak var olan literatüre katkı sağlamayı planlamaktadır.

Çalışmanın çerçevesi yedi ana bölümden ve alt başlıklardan oluşacak şekilde tasarlanmıştır. Tezin ilk bölümü giriş bölümü olup, söz konusu çalışmanın içeriği, kapsamı, bölümleri gibi konular kısa ve öz bir şekilde açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Giriş bölümünden sonra kuramsal olarak temel alınan ve referans gösterilen teorik yaklaşımlara yer verilmiştir. Bu tez, literatür taramasında en genel kapsamıyla medya etkileri yaklaşımlarını ele almakta ve medya etkilerine dayalı çerçeveleme teorisini ve buna bağlı olarak da çerçevelemenin etkilerini incelemektedir.

Giriş bölümünden sonra ele alınan ve "Medya Etkileri" olarak adlandırılan ikinci bölüm, Denis McQuail'in söz konusu konuya dair oldukça vurgulayıcı bir sözünü alıntılayarak başlar: "Kitle iletişim çalışmalarının tümü, medyanın önemli etkileri olduğu koşuluna dayanmaktadır" (McQuail). Çalışmada medya etkileri olarak ele alınan yaklaşımlar ve kuramlar en temel haliyle eleştirel ve ana akım olmak üzere iki ana paradigmaya indirgenmiş ve bu paradigmaların medya etkilerine ilişkin farklı yaklaşımlarına odaklanılmıştır. Eleştirel ve ana akım paradigmalar ele alınırken genel bir çerçeve sunulmakla birlikte, asıl ilgilenilen nokta söz konusu yaklaşımların medyanın gerçeği nasıl yansıttığı konusundaki tutumları olmuştur. Bu iki paradigma önce ayrı ayrı ele alınmakta, ardından ise medyanın olayları ve gerçekleri sunumuna ilişkin yaklaşımları açısından birbirleriyle karşılaştırılmaktadır. Küreselleşme ile birlikte medyanın daha geniş kitlelere ulaşabilmesi akademik alanda tartışmaları da beraberinde getirmiştir ve bu bağlamda medyanın gerçeği olduğu gibi yansıtıp yansıtmadığı noktasında ana akım ve eleştirel paradigmalarda keskin bir ayrım oluşmuştur. Ana akım yaklaşımlar medyanın gerçeği olduğu gibi yansıttığını savunurken medyayı yasama yürütme ve yargı erklerinin yanında bir dördüncü güç olarak atfeder. Öte yandan eleştirel yaklaşımlar ise medyanın olayları ve gerçekleri ideolojik amaçlarla yeniden yapılandırarak sunduğunu savunarak medyayı devletin ideolojik aygıtları olarak görmektedir. (Curran vd., 1982) Ayrıca, medyanın etkileri ve bu kapsamdaki teorileri güçlü medya etkileri, sınırlı medya etkileri, güçlü medya etkilerine yeniden dönüş ve toplumsal yapısalcılık olmak üzere dört aşamada ele alınarak kronolojik bir sırayla sunulmuştur. Başka bir şekilde ifade edecek olursak, tarihsel bir süreç olarak aşamalara ayrılan medya etkilerine ilişkin bakış açıları incelenmiş ve bu aşamaların ana akım ve eleştirel paradigmalar açısından bir

değerlendirilmesi yapılmıştır. Bu bölümün sonunda çalışmanın kuramsal olarak temelini dayandırdığı yaklaşımdan bahsedilerek literatürü hangi bakış açısıyla ele aldığı belirtilmiştir.

Çalışmanın üçüncü bölümü, medya etkileri kapsamında ele alınan kuramlardan biri olan çerçeveleme kuramına ayrılmış olup "Çerçeveleme Teorisi ve Çerçeveleme Etkileri" olarak adlandırılmıştır. İlk olarak, gündem belirleme, öne çıkarma ve çerçeveleme teorisi gibi farklı medya etkileri teorilerinden kısaca bahsedilmiştir. Daha sonra ise tezin esas olarak ilgi alanını oluşturan çerçeveleme teorisine geçiş yapılmıştır. Çerçeveleme önce bir kavram olarak ele alınmış, psikolojik ve sosyolojik kökenlerine değinilmiştir. Çıkış noktasının temellerine değindikten sonra çerçevelemenin iletişim çalışmalarına dahil oluşu konu alınarak, çerçeveleme teorisi ve çeşitli çerçeveleme kategorizasyonları üzerine literatürden ele alınan süreç modelleri tartışılmıştır. Ayrıca tezin temel amacı çerçevelemenin etkisini incelemek olduğundan, çerçeveleme kuramından yola çıkarak gerçekliği çerçeveleme yoluyla yeniden yapılandırarak yansıtmanın alıcı kitle üzerinde bir etkisi olup olmadığı üzerine literatürde yapılan çalışmalar irdelenmiştir. "Çerçeveleme", en yalın anlatımıyla, seçme, vurgulama ve dışlama kalıplarını içeren bir süreci temsil etmektedir. (Gitlin, 1980: 17) Toplumsal yapısalcılık yaklaşımına dayanan çerçeveleme kuramı da bu kapsamda gerçekliğin egemen güçlerin ideolojik çıkarları çerçevesinde yeniden yapılandırıldığını ele almaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle çerçeveleme kuramı, medyanın aktardığı mesajların izleyiciler/okuyucular üzerindeki etkisini incelemek için başvurulan en önemli kuramlardan biridir. Eleştirel yaklaşımın da belirttiği gibi medya, bir olay ve olgunun gerçekliğini egemen güçlerin ideolojik amaçlarıyla yeniden kurgular ve bu yapılandırılmış hali ile alıcılarına sunar. Bunu yapmanın yollarından biri de söz konusu haber metinlerini çerçevelemektir. Çerçeveleme, çeşitli amaçlarla bir olayın veya konunun gerçekliğinin belirli yönlerinin seçilip, belirli yönlerinin seçilmemesi veya bazı yönlerinin vurgulanarak bazı yönlerinin göz ardı edilmesi yollarıyla yeniden düzenlenmesidir. Çalışmanın bu bölümünde çerçeveleme teorisi yukarıda belirtilen açıklamalar kapsamında ele alınarak detaylı bir şekilde incelenmiştir.

Dördüncü bölüm, oldukça özet bir şekilde Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili literatür taramasına odaklanmaktadır. Bu bölüm kapsamında, "Doğu Akdeniz'deki Hidrokarbon Keşiflerinin Tarihi", "Doğu Akdeniz'de Krizin Başlangıcı", "Münhasır Ekonomik Bölge (MEB) ve Lisans Haritası" ve "Türkiye'nin Hak Talepleri" olmak üzere dört ana başlık temelinde ele alınmıştır. Giriş paragrafında da vurgulandığı üzere, son zamanlarda Doğu Akdeniz Bölgesi'nde yürütülen hidrokarbon arama faaliyetleri hem medyada hem de akademik alanda birçok tartışmaya konu olmuştur. Ülkeler arasında anlaşmazlıkların yaşandığı bu krize yönelik çalışmalar genel olarak ekonomik, siyasi ve hukuki boyutlarıyla ele alınmaktadır. Çalışmada haber metinlerine ve örneklemin belirlenmesine bir kriter olarak Doğu Akdeniz Krizi konusunun seçilmesinin de birçok nedeni bulunmaktadır. Öncelikle söz konusu kriz, oldukça güncel bir konu olduğu için medyada geniş yer bulmakta, bu durum da çalışmanın amacına uymaktadır. Ayrıca, tezin içeriğinde daha detaylı bir şekilde açıklanan kişisel bir gözlem sonucunda medyada yer alan Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberlerin gerçeği tam olarak yansıtmadığı düşüncesi ortaya çıkmış ve bu düşünce doğrultusunda konuyu çerçeveleme kuramı açısından inceleyen bir çalışma yürütülerek literatüre katkı sağlanması amaçlanmıştır.

Beşinci Bölüm, tezin amacını, kapsamını ve metodolojisini içeren, çalışmanın kemik bölümüdür. Bu doğrultuda araştırmanın hipotezleri, amacı, kapsamı, araştırma sorusu, yöntemi, örneklemi ve sınırlılıkları gibi konulara değinilmiştir. Çerçevelerin bireylerin fikirlerinin oluşumu üzerindeki etkilerini incelemeyi amaçlayan bu tezin çıkış noktası Doğu Akdeniz Krizi haberlerinde yer alan çerçevelerin izleyiciler üzerinde bir etkisinin olup olmadığını incelemektir. Bunu yaparken de eleştirel yaklaşımın bir konuya veya olaya ait gerçekliğin medya tarafından statükoya hizmet etmek için yeniden yapılandırılarak sunulduğu görüşünü kabul eder. Bölüm kapsamında çalışmanın araştırma sorusu ve hipotezleri de ele alınmıştır. Tezin hipotezleri, “Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili bir haber metninin çerçevelenmesi ve yeniden yapılandırılmasının bireylerin düşüncelerinin oluşumu üzerine bir etkisi var mıdır?” araştırma sorusuna dayandırılmıştır.

Hipotezler ise şu şekilde tanımlanmıştır:
Birinci hipotez: "Çatışma çerçevesi ile yazılan bir haber metni, okuyucu üzerinde ağırlıklı olarak çatışma temelli bir etkiye neden olmaktadır."
İkinci hipotez: "Ekonomik sonuçlar çerçevesinde yazılan bir haber metni, okuyucu üzerinde ağırlıklı olarak ekonomi ile ilgili bir etkiye neden olmaktadır."

Araştırma sorusuna yanıt aramak ve hipotezleri analiz edebilmek amacıyla bir anket çalışması gerçekleştirilmiştir. "Amaç, Kapsam ve Metodoloji" bölümü kapsamında ayrıca anketin yapılacağı örneklemenin detayları, anket tasarımı ve ankette yer alacak haber metninin yeniden yapılandırılması ve sınırlamaları ele alınmıştır. Literatürde incelenen benzer araştırmalarda haber metinlerinin iki şekilde yer aldığı gözlemlenmiştir. İlk yöntem Price ve diğerlerinin (1997) yaptığı gibi deneysel olarak bir haber metni oluşturmaktır. İkinci yöntem ise Valdenburg ve diğerlerinin (1999) yaptığı gibi mevcut bir haber metnini deneysel olarak yeniden yapılandırmaktır. Bu çalışmada anket kapsamında sunulacak haber metinleri Valdenburg ve arkadaşlarının yolunu izleyerek mevcut haber metinlerinin yeniden yapılandırılması yoluyla ele alınmıştır. Ayrıca literatürde çatışma, ekonomik sonuçlar, insani ilgi, sorumluluk atfetme ve ahlak çerçeveleri genel kabul görmüş ve haberlerde en sık kullanılan çerçeveler olarak yer almaktadır. Bu kapsamda seçilen haber metinleri ekonomik sonuçlar ve çatışma çerçeveleri kapsamında yeniden yapılandırılmış ve bu yeniden yapılandırılmanın detayları bölüm içeriğinde sunulmuştur. Kısaca değinecek olursak, en yaygın ve basit tanımıyla çatışma çerçevesi iki veya daha fazla güç arasındaki çıkar çatışmasını tanımlarken, ekonomik sonuçlar çerçevesi ekonomik yönlere, kazanç veya kayıplara odaklanmaktadır. (Semetko ve Valkenburg, 2000) Çatışma ve ekonomik sonuçlar çerçevelerinin okuyucuların düşüncelerini oluşturmada etkili olup olmadığını incelemek amacıyla 119 katılımcıdan oluşan bir anket çalışması gerçekleştirilmiştir. İki farklı ideolojiye sahip gazetede (Sabah ve Cumhuriyet) yer alan Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili iki farklı haber metni çatışma ve ekonomik sonuçlar çerçeveleriyle yeniden yapılandırılarak katılımcılara sunulmuştur. Bu metinleri okuduktan sonra katılımcılardan konuyla ilgili verilen bazı ifadelere katılım durumlarını belirtmeleri istenmiştir. Veriler, SurveyMonkey adlı çevrimiçi anket platformu üzerinden

katılımcılara anket linklerinin e-posta aracılığı ile iletilmesi yoluyla toplanmış olup pandemi koşulları nedeniyle anketlerin yüz yüze yapılması mümkün olmamıştır.

Bir sonraki bölüm ise bulgular olarak adlandırılırken, çalışmanın analiz ve yorumlamalarının ele alındığı bölümü oluşturmaktadır. Bu bölümde anket yoluyla elde edilen verilerin istatistiksel olarak analizleri ve bulguların değerlendirmeleri yapılmıştır. Metodoloji kapsamında belirtildiği üzere örnekleme yöntemi kolayda örnekleme olarak planlandığı için analizler yüzde değerleri üzerinden çapraz tablolar aracılığıyla yapılmıştır. Demografik bilgiler alt başlığında katılımcıların genel özelliklerine tablo ve grafiklerle yer verilmiştir. Ayrıca, Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberlere ve medya etkilerine ilişkin katılımcıların görüşleri incelenmiştir. Bulgular bölümünün en önemli kısmı, çerçeveleme etkisi kapsamında değerlendirilen "bulguların dağılımı" alt başlığıdır. Bu alt başlık kapsamında hipotezlerin elde edilen bulgular ve tezin araştırma sorusu açısından bir değerlendirilmesi yapılmıştır. Başka sözcüklerle ifade edecek olursak, çerçevelenen ve yeniden yapılandırılan haberlerin katılımcıların düşüncelerinin oluşumu üzerinde bir etkisi olup olmadığı sorusuna yanıt bulunmaya çalışılmıştır.

Yedinci bölüm tezin sonuç kısmına ayrılmış olup yürütülen çalışmanın neyi amaçladığı ve ne gibi sonuçlara ulaşıldığı gibi genel değerlendirmeler yapılmıştır. Bu bölümde ayrıca çalışma sırasında karşılaşılan zorluklar ve sınırlılıklar ile gelecek çalışmalar için öneriler de yer almaktadır.

İlk olarak sosyoloji alanında ortaya çıkan çerçeveleme kuramı, 20. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren iletişim çalışmalarında dikkat çekmeye başlamış ve disiplinler arası bir paradigma haline gelmiştir. Bu çalışmada Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberlerin çerçevelenmesinin katılımcılar üzerindeki etkileri incelenmiş olup, söz konusu krize ve medyaya ilişkin genel görüşlerin de ikincil bir veri sağlaması ve çapraz değerlendirmelere olanak sağlaması açısından da bir incelemesinin yapılması amaçlanmıştır. Bir başka anlatımla, haber çerçevelerinin özellikle Doğu Akdeniz Krizi konusunda katılımcıların görüşlerinin oluşmasında bir etkisinin olup olmadığı sorusuna cevap aranmıştır. Tez, çerçeveleme teorisini "toplumsal yapısalcılık"

yaklaşımı içinde eleştirel bir bakış açısıyla ele almaktadır. Gerçekliğin genellikle medya tarafından kurgulandığını kabul eden bu bakış açısıyla çalışmanın çıkış noktası, Doğu Akdeniz Krizi haberlerinde kullanılan çerçevelerin katılımcılar üzerindeki etkilerini incelemek olmuştur. Bu bilgiler doğrultusunda yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi tezin benimsediği kuramsal temel, "gerçekliğin sosyal inşası" görüşü ve buna bağlı olarak "toplumsal yapısalcılık" yaklaşımının iletişim alanına uyarlanmasını mümkün kılan "çerçeveleme teorisi" olmuştur. Çerçeveleme kuramı kapsamında yapılmış oldukça fazla sayıda çalışma olmakla birlikte, bu tez Doğu Akdeniz Krizi konusunu içermesi ve çerçevelemenin etkilerini anket yoluyla incelemesi ile birlikte kuramsal temelinde eleştirel bir bakış açısını benimsemesi nedeniyle literatüre ek bir katkı sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Katılımcıların Doğu Akdeniz Sorunu ile ilgili görüşlerinin oluşmasında medya çerçevelemesinin rolünü incelemek üzere ele alınan haber metinlerinin konusu da krizin en önemli kilometre taşlarından biri olan Türkiye ile Libya arasında imzalanan "Deniz Yetki Alanlarının Sınırlandırılmasına İlişkin Mutabakat Muhtırası" olarak belirlenmiştir. Haber metinleri Sabah ve Cumhuriyet olmak üzere iki farklı gazeteden seçilmiştir. Araştırma sorusuna cevap bulmak ve hipotezleri analiz etmek için 119 katılımcı ile anket çalışması yapılmıştır. Örnekleme yöntemi, metodoloji bölümünde bahsedilen bir dizi nedenden dolayı kolayda örneklemedir. Kolayda örnekleme, olasılıklı olmayan bir örnekleme yöntemidir. Yani örneklem rastgele belirlenmemiştir ve bu nedenle bulguların değerlendirilmesi sırasında genelleme yapılamaz. (Erdoğan, 2003) Bu bağlamda, tezin kapsamında temsil edilen örneklem grubu dışında bir kitle için bulgularının genellemesi gibi bir amacı bulunmamaktadır.

Uluslararası siyasi ve ekonomik konular söz konusu olduğunda, "çatışma" ve "ekonomik sonuçlar" çerçeveleri en sık kullanılan haber çerçeveleri olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. (de Vreese, 2003:122) Bu doğrultuda çalışmada, Doğu Akdeniz'deki hidrokarbon keşifleriyle ilgili haberlerde en sık rastlanan "çatışma" ve "ekonomik sonuçlar" boyutları ele alınmıştır. Dahası, Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili iki haber metni çatışma ve ekonomik sonuçlar çerçeveleri açısından yeniden yapılandırılmıştır. Kolayda örnekleme yöntemiyle örneklem belirlendikten sonra, katılımcılar rastgele ve

eşit olarak üç anket grubuna ayrılmıştır. Bu gruplar, çatışma çerçevesine sahip haber metinlerini içeren çatışma grubu; ekonomi ile ilgili haber metinlerinin yer aldığı ekonomik sonuçlar grubu ve son olarak da haber metinlerinde sadece ortak bir ana paragrafı bulunan ve herhangi bir çerçeve içermesi hedeflenmeyen metnin yer aldığı kontrol grubudur. Çatışma ve ekonomik sonuçlar araştırma gruplarında yer alan haber metinleri çekirdek paragrafta aynı kalırken, giriş ve sonuç paragrafları çerçevelere göre yeniden yapılandırılmıştır. Kontrol grubuna ait haber metinleri ise sadece aynı çekirdek paragraftan oluşmaktadır.

105'i kamu sektöründen ve 90'ı özel sektörden olmak üzere toplam 195 kişiye anket linki gönderilmiştir. Daha spesifik olmak gerekirse, her bir haber çerçevesi grubu için kamu sektöründen 35 kişiye özel sektörden de 30 kişiye anket linki iletilmiştir. Hem Türkiye'de petrol ve doğalgaz sektöründe çalışan mühendis sayısının sınırlı olması hem de pandemi koşulları nedeniyle örneklem sınırlandırılmış ve ulaşılabilecek maksimum sayıya ulaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. 195 kişiden 121'i anket çalışmasına dahil olmayı kabul ederek soruları yanıtlamıştır. Ancak, iki anketin geçersiz olması nedeniyle toplam geçerli anket sayısı 119 olmuştur. 22'si kamu, 16'sı özel sektör çalışanı olmak üzere çatışma grubu sorularını yanıtlayan katılımcı sayısı 38'dir. Aynı şekilde, 20'si kamu ve 19'u özel sektör çalışanı olmak üzere ekonomik sonuçlar grubunun anket sorularını 39 kişi yanıtlamıştır. Son olarak da kontrol grubu anketine 18'i kamu ve 24'ü özel sektör çalışanı olan 42 mühendis katılım sağlamıştır. Anketten elde edilen veriler çapraz tablolar aracılığıyla istatistiksel olarak analiz edilmiş ve tezin araştırma sorularına cevap aranmaya çalışılmıştır.

Sonuçlara bakıldığında, katılımcıların çatışma bağlamlı tüm ifadelere katılım düzeyleri haber çerçevesi gruplarına göre farklılık gösterirken, bu ifadelerin yalnızca ikisinde çatışma grubundakiler en yüksek katılımı göstermiştir. Çatışma grubundakilerin diğer gruptakilere oranla daha yüksek katılım gösterdikleri ifadeler şunlar olmuştur: “Doğu Akdeniz Krizi’nin temelinde siyasi gerilim vardır” ve “Ülkeler arasında yaşanan gerilim Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli sonuçlarındandır”. Bu bulgulara göre birinci hipotezimiz olan “Çatışma çerçevesi ile yazılan bir haber metni, okuyucu üzerinde ağırlıklı olarak çatışma temelli bir etkiye

neden olmaktadır" varsayımı reddedilmiştir. Bu sonuca çalışmanın geneli açısından bakacak olursak çatışma çerçevesinin katılımcıların görüşlerinin oluşmasında etkili olmadığı sonucuna ulaşıldığı şeklinde yorumlanabilir. Tezin kuramsal perspektifinin, medyanın gerçekliği çerçeveler aracılığıyla yeniden yapılandırarak bu durumun alıcı kitlenin düşüncelerinin oluşumu üzerinde bir etki yarattığı görüşü olduğu daha önce de belirtilmiştir. Ayrıca, toplumsal yapısalcılık yaklaşımı kapsamında değerlendirecek olursak kitle iletişim araçları ve buna bağlı olarak çerçevelerin hem güçlü hem de sınırlı etkilere sahip olduğu durumu literatürde çoğu araştırmada dile getirilen bir tanımlama olmuştur. Yani medyanın etkileri, izleyicilerle olan etkileşimiyle sınırlı olabilir. Hipotezin sonuçları açısından bu tanımlama ele alındığında, çatışma çerçevesinin etkisizliği, katılımcıların bilgi düzeylerine, ideolojilerine veya siyasi görüşlerine bağlı olarak değişkenlik göstererek çerçevelerin etkisini sınırlandırmış olabilir.

Tezin ikinci hipotezini değerlendirmek için de bulgular aynı şekilde çapraz tablolarla ve yüzdesel ifadelerle incelenmiştir. Analizlere göre, ekonomik sonuçlar grubundaki katılımcıların, çerçevelenen haberleri okuduktan sonra sunulan tüm ekonomi bağlamlı ifadelere diğer iki gruptakilere göre daha yüksek bir katılımda bulundukları sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Dahası, özellikle "Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın ekonomik açıdan katkı sağlayacağını düşünüyorum", "Ekonomik olarak Libya ile imzalanan anlaşma nedeniyle katkı sağlanmıştır" ve "Ekonomik etkenler Libya ile imzalanan anlaşmanın en önemli sonucudur" şeklindeki üç ifade açısından haber çerçeve grupları arasındaki yüzdesel fark oldukça yüksek olarak bulunmuştur. Bu bağlamda, "Ekonomik sonuçlar çerçevesinde yazılan bir haber metni, okuyucu üzerinde ağırlıklı olarak ekonomi ile ilgili bir etkiye neden olmaktadır." şeklindeki ikinci hipotez reddedilememiştir. Bu sonucu tezin kuramsal temelleri açısından yorumlayacak olursak, ekonomik sonuçlar çerçevesi aracılığıyla gerçeğin yeniden yapılandırılması katılımcıların görüşlerinin oluşmasında etkili olmuştur.

Özetleyecek olursak, Stuart Hall, Althusser'in görüşlerine paralel olarak, medyanın gerçeği yeniden inşa etmesine rağmen olduğu gibi yansıtıyormuş gibi davrandığını dile getirmektedir. (Yaylagül, 2013: 129) Buna paralel olarak, Doğu Akdeniz Krizi haberlerinin gerçeği tam olarak yansıtmadığı düşüncesi bu araştırmanın ortaya çıkmasında etkili olmuştur. Kişisel bir gözlemden ortaya çıkan bu düşünce ile tezin teorik yapısı ve araştırma metodolojisi şekillenmiş ve tamamlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Hipotezi değerlendirmek için bulgular yüzde olarak sunulmuş ve çapraz tablolara göre analiz edilmiştir. Çatışma çerçevesinin katılımcıların görüşlerinin oluşmasında herhangi bir etkisinin olmadığı, ekonomik sonuçlar çerçevesi açısından ise bu durumun tam tersi olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Bir başka deyişle elde edilen veriler, çatışma çerçevesinin okuyucu üzerinde çatışma bağlamlı düşünce oluşumunda etkili olduğu hipotezini desteklememiş; ancak ekonomik sonuçlar çerçevesinin okuyucu üzerinde ekonomi bağlamlı düşünce oluşumunda etkili olduğu hipotezini desteklemiştir. Bulgular, Price ve arkadaşlarının bulgularıyla kısmen benzerlik göstermektedir. Daha detaylı açıklayacak olursak, medya ve alıcı kitle arasındaki etkileşim nedeniyle gerçekliği yeniden yapılandırmanın bireyler üzerinde bütüncül bir etkiye neden olmadığı sonucuna ulaşılmasına rağmen, çerçevelerin genel perspektifte etkili olduğu değerlendirmesi yapılmıştır.

Çalışma boyunca bazı zorluklarla karşılaşılmıştır. Bu zorluklar anketin kapsamı ve verilerin analizinde de çeşitli sınırlamalara neden olmuştur. Karşılaşılan ilk zorluk, pandemi koşulları nedeniyle anketlerin yüz yüze yapılamamasıdır. Bu durum veri toplamak için tasarlanan sürenin uzamasına ve katılımın beklenenden daha az olmasına neden olmuştur. Karşılaşılan ikinci zorluk ise örnekleme ve analiz aşamasında meydana gelmiştir. Hedef kitle, hipotezler ve koşullar kapsamında yalnızca petrol ve doğalgaz sektöründe çalışan mühendisler olarak belirlenmiştir. Ancak örneklemin beklenenden daha az olması ve kolayda örnekleme yoluyla belirlenmesi gibi faktörlere bağlı olarak verilerin analizinde de sınırlılıklar meydana gelmiştir. Anket soruları 5'li Likert ölçeği olarak tasarlanmasına rağmen, analiz aşamasında ilgili veriler birleştirilerek 3'lü Likert ölçeğine indirgenmiştir. Ayrıca analizler yalnızca çapraz tablolar üzerinden ve yüzdesel değerlerle hesaplanıp değerlendirilebilmiştir. Diğer bir deyişle, örneklemin boyutu ve yapısından dolayı ileri

ve kesitsel analizler yapılamamıştır. Ayrıca, metodoloji bölümünde belirtilen sınırlamalar nedeniyle, yeniden yapılandırılarak çerçeveler aracılığıyla medyada sunulan Doğu Akdeniz Krizi haberlerinin toplumsal ve ideolojik bağlamı incelenememiş, sadece çerçevelerin katılımcılar üzerindeki etkileri değerlendirilebilmiştir.

Gelecekteki çalışmaların, medyanın Doğu Akdeniz Krizi gerçeğini ideolojik olarak nasıl yeniden yapılandırdığını ve çerçevelediğini ve bunun bireylerin düşüncelerinin oluşumu üzerindeki etkilerini incelemesi daha kapsamlı olacaktır. Ayrıca daha kapsamlı değerlendirmelerin geliştirilebilmesi için gelecekteki çalışmalara bir öneri olarak; ele alınacak örneklem rastgele örnekleme yoluyla belirlenerek daha geniş bir anket çalışması yapılabilir. Bu tez, bu öneriyi mümkün kılmak için belirli sınırlılıklar dahilinde adımlar atan bir çalışma olmuştur.

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