

Research Article

# Does “It” Work in Turkey? A Network Agenda-Setting Research

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## Abstract

Traditional agenda-setting researches based on the media's claim to be effective in public opinion, second-stage agenda-setting researches have emerged at the end of the 1990s. Following these studies which support the idea that the significance levels were also related to the attitudes, more than these studies have been carried out in the third stage agenda setting researches. The first network agenda setting (NAS) study were carried out by Guo, McCombs and Shaw in 2011. The number of researches conducted so far is quite low. Therefore, it should be noted that the subject is quite new and there is an important gap in the research and testing of the basic hypothesis. According to the agenda-setting network model used in the third-level of agenda-setting studies (Network agenda-setting, NAS), bilateral networks and relations between issues and events can be transferred to the public's agenda via the media through the media. According to the new model, the news bodies connect different events and objects, and this connection simultaneously created in the public mind. This study examines the hypothesis of third level of agenda-setting under the conditions of Turkish culture in Turkey. Does it work in Turkey?

**Keywords:** Network Agenda Setting, Media, Public Relations.



Araştırma Makalesi

# Türkiye’de Çalışıyor Mu? Gündem Belirleme Ağı Çalışması

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## Öz

Bir konuya medyanın gösterdiği önemlilik düzeyi ile o konuya kamuoyunda atfedilen önemlilik düzeyinin bağlantılı olduğunu savunan geleneksel gündem belirleme araştırmalarının yanında 1990’lı yılların sonunda ikinci aşama gündem belirleme araştırmaları ortaya çıkmıştır. Tutumlar yönünde de önemlilik düzeylerinin ilişkili olduğunu bu araştırmaların ardından yakın zaman önce üçüncü aşama gündem belirleme araştırmalarında bundan daha fazlası ileri sürülmüştür. Üçüncü aşama gündem belirleme araştırmasına yönelik ilk çalışmalar Guo, McCombs ve Shaw tarafından 2011 yılından sonra gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bugüne dek yapılan araştırma sayısı ise oldukça azdır. Dolayısıyla konunun oldukça yeni olduğu belirtilmelidir. Üçüncü aşama gündem belirleme çalışmalarında kullanılan gündem belirleme ağı modeline göre (Network Agenda Setting) olay ya da davranışlar medyadan kamuya eş zamanlı haber öbekleri şeklinde aktarılabilir. Yeni modele göre haber kuruluşları farklı olayları ve objeleri birbirine bağlamak suretiyle kamuoyunun zihninde de bu bağlantıların oluşmasına katkı sağlar. Bu çalışma, Türkiye’deki Türk kültürünün koşulları altında üçüncü aşama gündem belirleme hipotezini incelemektedir. Dolayısıyla konunun oldukça yeni olduğu ve araştırmalarla temel hipotezin test edilmesine yönelik önemli bir açığın bulunduğu belirtilmelidir. Üçüncü aşama gündem belirlemenin temel hipotezi; yani medya gündem bağlantıları arasındaki ilişki ile kamu gündem bağlantısı arasındaki ilişkinin pozitif olması Türkiye’de doğrulanabilir mi? Türkiye’de yaygın gazeteler ve kamu gündemi arasındaki ilişki üçüncü aşama gündem belirleme hipotezinde geçerli olan etkileşimi doğrulamakta mıdır? Üçüncü aşama gündem belirleme hipotezi Türkiye’de çalışıyor mu? Çalışmanın temel konusunu işte bu sorular oluşturmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Gündem Belirleme Ağı, Medya, Kamuoyu.

## Introduction

Traditional agenda-setting approach suggests that the media determines the issues that the public thinks and speaks through the presentation of the news (McCombs vd, 2000, p. 77-78). The second level of agenda-setting studies argues more than that focusing on the attitudes of the issues in the media content (Yüksel, 2001, p. 22-23). The latest research approach called the third level of agenda-setting. It suggests that the contents of the media determines the images in the minds of the people in the form of a template or a pattern, and the relevant evidence put forward.

The first network agenda setting (NAS) study were carried out by Guo, McCombs and Shaw in 2011. The number of researches conducted so far is quite low. It should be noted that the research field is quite new. According to the agenda-setting network model used in the third-level of agenda-setting studies (Network agenda-setting, NAS), bilateral networks and relations between issues and events can be transferred to the public's agenda via the media (Vu et al., 2014, p. 670). According to the new model, the news bodies connect different events and objects, and this connection simultaneously created in the public mind (Guo et al., 2012, p. 58).

There are approximately 40 national wide newspapers in Turkey. 35 of them are political, 4 of them are sports and one of them is a magazine newspapers. The total newspaper circulation is around 2.800.000. There are 13 newspapers with a circulation of more than 100 thousand (http1).

This study examines the hypothesis of third level of agenda-setting under the conditions of Turkish culture in Turkey. Does it work in Turkey?

## Literature Review

The basis for the third level of agenda-setting is based on a network-linked network model that argues that people tend to establish a relationship between different elements to rationalize social reality (Vargo et al., 2014, p. 5). According to this, the news media network different events, objects and this connection is created in the public's mind simultaneously (Guo et al., 2012, p. 58). More precisely, the NAS model argues that the importance of the interrelated issues and behaviors can be adopted by the media. For example, according to the agenda-setting network model, if the American media repeatedly talks about the country's foreign policies and domestic economic problems, audiences will think that there is a connection between these two issues (Vargo et al., 2014, p. 5).

According to the statements of Vu et al. (2014, p. 670), the NAS model has changed dramatically our thoughts about the effects of the media. Traditional agenda-setting research assumes that the events are transferred separately from the media to the public as different elements. However, according to the agenda-setting model, events or behaviors can be transferred from the media to the public in the form of news phrases. So, the media simply doesn't tell us what to think about the news or how we should think about them; it also tells us what to think about the relationships between news channels in the media. Therefore, NAS, unlike the previous approaches, answers the following question: What is the picture inside our head? (Guo et al., 2012, p. 56).

According to Lang's dashboard model, the more frequently two different news articles are conveyed, the more it is suggested that individuals associate these reports with so many others. For example, the news channel becomes more prone to associate these two

events with each other as it broadcasts the events of September 11 and September 11 in the same bulletin (Guo et al., 2012, p. 58).

The NAS model suggests that the scope of the news and people's ideas may be implicitly or explicitly linked. Contextual meanings also arise from such connections. For example, it is important not only how the news organization conveys a subject, but also how often interrelated issues are mentioned during the same news period (Vargo et al., 2014, p. 4-5).

As a result, there are very few NAS researches conducted so far. In the first study by Guo and McCombs (2011a), data from the study conducted by Kim and McCombs (2002) were used. Accordingly, a high correlation was found between the public agenda network and the media agenda network and it was stated that the model was supported (Guo et al., 2012, p. 60-61). In the second study, Guo and McCombs (2011b) conducted a similar study. Unlike the first study, the method of obtaining the data set and the width of the set were changed. In this new study, questionnaires were prepared using "mind mapping" method. The results confirmed the validity of the agenda-setting model (Guo et al., 2012, p. 61). In the third study, unlike other studies, large data sets were used. For three years, the data matrixes of the media and public agendas were analyzed and the linkage matrices obtained in the study were analyzed. A high correlation was found between the media and public agenda matrices (Guo et al., 2012, p. 63-65). In another study, it is the testing of the horizontal and vertical media together with the network of agenda setting on social media. In this study by Vargo et al. (2014), the idea that there is a strong correlation between the vertical and horizontal media concepts and the topics of the media and the issues that the President candidates Obama and Romney supporters have connected in their minds have been tested. Vu et al. (2014), unlike other studies, examined the model of the setting of agenda setting with five years of media and public data at national level. In another study by Guo et al. (2015), the news published by the newspapers in the United States, China, Taiwan and Poland about the Iraq War was analyzed by network analysis.

In the study conducted by Cheng and Chan (2015), the NAS in the moral and spindle education movement (MNE: Moral and National Education) that started in the summer of 2012 in Hong Kong was investigated. As a result, it has been demonstrated that the issue of media and public agenda issues are generally strong, although not for some newspapers. Therefore this is the study that examines NAS from a different country and different culture.

### **Methodology of NAS Researches**

In order to measure the media agenda in traditional and second-level of agenda-setting researches, content analysis is conducted and a single-question questionnaire is applied to measure the public agenda. It should be noted that in the third level studies, different and special techniques and programs are used. In this context, the concept that should be defined first is network analysis.

Network analysis is a series of studies conducted to measure and map the relationships and flows between different groups (Guo, 2012, p. 616). Another definition of network analysis is called a structure that shows the relationships of the elements with each other through ties. The elements are the actors within the network and the connections are the relationships between them (Kadry and Al-Taie 2014, p. 8).

In terms of content analysis, the data collection process on the media agenda is similar

with the traditional, second and the third level studies. However, for the third level researches, the issues on the agenda are different from the attitudes towards the subjects, and the relations between the issues are taken into consideration (Guo, 2012, p. 620). Network analysis is used to determine the relationships between the issues.

It is possible to measure the existence or coexistence of the elements of the same subjects on the public agenda, such as the presentation of the different elements related to the issues such as the media agenda. These measurements are made with mind mapping surveys previously used in different disciplines.

Mind mapping has recently been widely used in areas such as advertising and education; it is a new research method, which is oriented towards centralization from a relationship (Buzan and Buzan, 1996; Mento and Martinelli, 1999; Paxman, 2011, cited in Guo, 2012, p. 618). It is the most preferred method to learn how to relate objects and behaviors on the public agenda. Because it can show how the public perceives the messages coming from the media instinctively and externally (Guo, 2012, p. 621).

### **Methodology**

In order to reveal the public agenda in the study, the population is limited to Aydın province in Turkey. Aydın is Turkey's 20th most populous city with the population of 1.097.746. It has the 11th highest literacy rate with 98% in Turkey ([http2](http://2)).

With the survey method, 400 people were selected from the cluster sample in order to represent Aydın. If the units that make up the universe are large and are not fully listed, cluster sampling is used (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2010). The reason of the survey to be made with 400 people is that the sample is sufficient for 0.05 sample error and 384 samples for 100 million people (Yazıcıoğlu and Erdoğan, 2004, p. 50).

The questionnaire was prepared in three sections. These; demographic questions, the agenda of the newspaper to follow attitudes and mind mapping.

The answers to the mind mapping questions included in the questionnaire were categorized as the cited words, and a large number of written words were given as separate categories. 62 different words were written in the mind mapping questionnaire. These words are divided into 13 categories: Economy, health, war, politics, national security, social problems, education and culture, environment, migration, justice, violence, unemployment, and foreign policy.

The survey was conducted in May 2018. Because McCombs et al. (1995, p. 285) argues that it is usually between five and seven weeks for an issue on the media agenda to affect the public agenda, and Salwen (1988, p. 100-106) states that this effect is between five and seven weeks. In this research, the time period taken to determine the media agenda ends in March 2018. Therefore, the survey was conducted in May 2018, which is assumed to be the most effective media impact.

The written questionnaire has pre-tested after the preparation of the questions. It has applied to 20 randomly selected people. According to the results of the test, unclear questions and unanswered questions have revised. Then it a second pre-test applied to another 20 people. It has observed that people could not totally fill the entire mind mapping questions. Upon this, the researcher has asked the questions one by one orally to the participants within the face-to-face communication. In this way, it has understood

that the questions have filled completely and healthier data have obtained. Therefore, the survey has conducted by the researcher in person in public places.

The media universe of the study has defined by the newspapers, which have assumed to inform people who lives in Aydın. As a limitation in the study, 5 national newspapers (Hürriyet, Sabah, Sözcü, Posta and HaberTurk), which have more than 200.000 circulation ratio per day selected as the sample newspapers of the study (http3). The time limit of the issues of the newspapers were in between October, November, December 2017 and January, February and March in 2018. So the time frame of the media content was 6 months. Only the first pages of the newspapers, the networks in the headline news have obtained by content analysis. The researcher and two graduate students conducted the coding independently. The convergence between the coders are 88%.

### **The Network and the QAP Correlation**

The NAS researchers use the QAP (Quadratic Assignment Procedure) correlation test to examine the media and public agenda links. In order to see the results of the network analysis, coding data related to each subject in each coding form were converted into matrices with Excel. Then it was analyzed by UciNet and visualized by NetDraw.

During the coding, for example, if the words "economy" and "politics" seen together in a news on obesity issue, this coded to matrix of "economy-politics" as +1 in Excel. Afterwards, matrices were transferred to UciNet, and centralization, QAP analyzes and matrices were visualized. The more news about these two issues have given in the connection or together, the visualization between the two subjects are so thick in the figure of NetDraw.

It was accepted in the previous studies that there was a significant (high) QAP correlation between 70% and 100% ( $p = 0.70 - 1.00$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) (Guo and McCombs, 2011a, 2011b; Guo, 2012; Guo et al, 2012; Vargo et al., 2014; Vu et al., 2014; Cheng and Chang, 2015; Guo et al., 2015; Ispir and Kılıç, 2017, Dingil, 2018). In addition, experimental measurements have performed with the UciNet program. Sample matrices have formed in these measurements. The same values have entered into the sample matrices and the experiment has obtained. In these results, the values of the same data were measured in the matrices of 1.00 and this result was 0.98, 0.91. It decreases by showing values such as 0.70. It is accepted that QAP correlation was not correlated between 0.00 and 0.49, but a ratio between 0.50 - 0.69 was interpreted as a significant (0.70 - 1.00) correlation.

### **Findings**

Mind mapping questionnaires applied in order to evaluate the extent to which public opinion exposed to media contents affected by these publications. In the public opinion survey conducted in Aydın, 51% of the 400 participants are male and 49% are female. The survey included participants from all ages over the age of 18. The education level of the respondents is 38% undergraduate, 19% high school, 13% associate degree, 13% primary education. The income distribution of the respondents is 27% below the minimum wage, 49% is 1601-3200 TL, 21% is 3201 - 5600 TL and 3% is over 5600 TL.

In order to measure the general agenda follow-up of the respondents, this question asked to the participants: At what level do you find yourself interested in any political, economic, legal, cultural and social developments in the country?

According to the results, 50% of the participants were fully interested, 32% were interested, 10% were not interested in what they were interested in, and 8% stated that they were irrelevant. This finding interpreted as that the respondents significantly related to the general issues of the country.

The data obtained at the survey stage of the data collection process converted into symmetric matrices. In network analysis, the basic structure of data analysis is the matrices. These matrices, consist of N columns and N lines depending on the number of predetermined category (N). The public agenda link matrix have 13 categories in this study. The matrices thus formed have 13 columns and 13 rows. For example, 48 links between "national security" and "foreign policy" were marked, and this number was written to the relevant cell in the matrix. The linking matrix of public agenda is shown in Table 1.

**Table 1: Public Agenda Link Matrix**

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
A	0	1	2	16	13	6	11	2	1	5	0	15	7
B	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0
C	2	0	0	1	4	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	7
D	16	2	1	0	37	10	11	1	2	25	0	4	13
E	13	0	4	37	0	7	8	0	1	27	0	2	48
F	6	0	1	10	7	0	18	10	1	19	2	1	0
G	11	3	0	11	8	18	0	1	0	9	1	14	0
H	2	0	0	1	0	10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
I	1	0	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	1
J	5	0	0	25	27	19	9	0	0	0	9	2	0
K	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	9	0	0	0
L	15	1	0	4	2	1	14	0	2	2	0	0	0
M	7	0	7	13	48	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

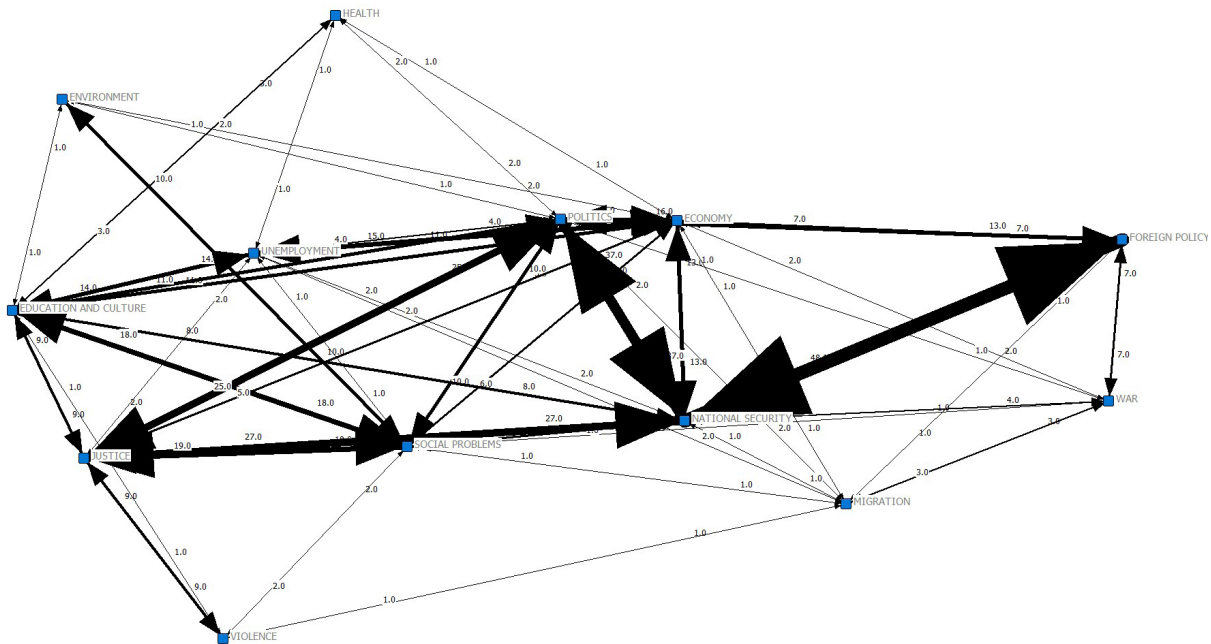
*A-Economy, B-Health, C-War, D-Politics, E-National Security, F-Social Problems, G-Education and Culture, H-Environment, I-Migration, J-Justice, K-Violence, L-Unemployment, M-Foreign Policy*

Centrality is an important measurement concept used in network analysis. Degree centering is the node that receives the most interaction within the network; that is, it shows the most central node. The most central category is "national security" with 147 degrees of centrality. Secondly, the category of "politics" has 122 degrees of centrality. Grade rating of the categories is shown in Table 2.

**Table 2: Degree Centrality Of Public Agenda**

Node	Degree centrality
National Security	147
Politics	122
Justice	96
Economy	79
Foreign policy	76
Education and culture	76
Social problems	75
Unemployment	41
War	18
Environment	14
Violence	13
Migration	12
Health	7

Visual presentation is important for a better understanding of the network. The visualization of network data gives a better idea of what the network looks like. The public agenda mind mapping network image shown in Figure 1. The two most linked categories are "national security" and "foreign policy". The second link is between "national security" and "politics" as shown with thicker line.

**Figure 1: Public Agenda Network**

### Findings of newspaper agenda content analysis

The content analysis conducted on the news on the first pages of sampling of the most circulated 5 newspapers in Turkey. Then, the newspaper agenda link matrix created. The newspaper agenda link matrix consists of the same categories as the public agenda. The newspaper agenda link matrix consisting of 13 columns and 13 lines is given in Table 3.



**Table 3: Newspaper Agenda Link Matrix**

	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>G</b>	<b>H</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>J</b>	<b>K</b>	<b>L</b>	<b>M</b>
<b>A</b>	0	1	0	25	6	16	5	6	0	12	1	0	9
<b>B</b>	1	0	2	3	6	31	7	1	0	4	3	0	1
<b>C</b>	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	15
<b>D</b>	25	3	0	0	58	25	17	2	0	40	1	0	30
<b>E</b>	6	6	1	58	0	15	2	2	0	45	2	0	262
<b>F</b>	16	31	1	25	15	0	36	25	6	39	21	0	2
<b>G</b>	5	7	0	17	2	36	0	2	1	7	2	0	0
<b>H</b>	6	1	0	2	2	25	2	0	0	2	0	0	2
<b>I</b>	0	0	1	0	0	6	1	0	0	0	2	0	4
<b>J</b>	12	4	0	40	45	39	7	2	0	0	22	0	9
<b>K</b>	1	3	0	1	2	21	2	0	2	22	0	0	1
<b>L</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>M</b>	9	1	15	30	262	2	0	2	4	9	1	0	0

*A-Economy, B-Health, C-War, D-Politics, E-National security, F-Social problems, G-Education and culture, H-Environment, I-Migration, J-Justice, K-Violence, L-Unemployment, M-Foreign policy*

In the general agenda linkage matrix of newspapers, "National Security" became the most central category with 399 degrees of centrality. Then, with the centrality of 335 degrees, the category of "foreign policy" comes. Grade rating of the categories given in Table 4.

**Table 4: Degree Centrality Of Newspapers Agenda**

<b>Node</b>	<b>Degree centrality</b>
National security	399
Foreign policy	335
Social problems	217
Politics	201
Justice	180
Economy	81
Education and culture	79
Health	59
Violence	55
Environment	42
War	20
Migration	14
Unemployment	0

The visualization of the newspapers agenda network shown in Figure 2. The two most linked categories are "National Security" and "Foreign Policy". The second link is between "National Security" and "Politics" as seen with the thick lines in Figure 2.

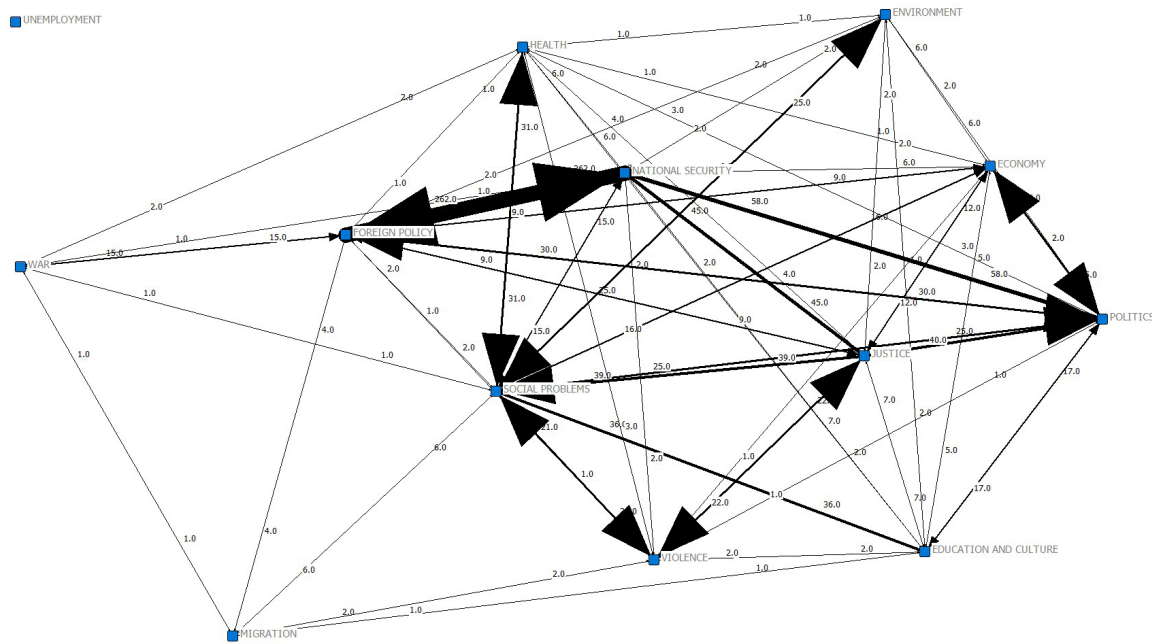


Figure 2: Newspaper Agenda Network

**Network Ratings and QAP Correlations**

The subject category of the news in the mainstream newspapers is “National Security” with 399 degrees of centrality. The next category is “Politics” with 122 degrees of centrality. In the public agenda, “National Security” with 147-degree centrality is at the top of the list. The agenda of the common newspapers and the public agenda were the same in the first order of degree centralization. The ranking is similar in many respects. However, there are differences in the ranking of some subjects: “unemployment”, “social problems” and “health”. This is thought to be able to create mind maps according to their own experiences rather than the media where the public can directly experience them. Table 5 shows the ranking of common newspapers degree centrality and public agenda degree centralization.

Table 5: Degree Centrality Of Public And Newspapers Agenda Comparison

Degree centrality of public agenda			Degree centrality of newspaper agenda		
Node	Degree centrality	Rank	Rank	Node	Degree centrality
1- National security	147	1	1	1- National security	399
2- Politics	122	2	4	2- Foreign policy	335
3- Justice	96	3	5	3- Social problems	217
4- Economy	79	4	6	4- Politics	201
5- Foreign policy	76	5	2	5- Justice	180
6- Education and culture	76	6	7	6- Economy	81
7- Social problems	75	7	3	7- Education and culture	79
8- Unemployment	41	8	13	8- Health	59
9- War	18	9	11	9- Violence	55
10- Environment	14	10	10	10- Environment	42
11- Violence	13	11	9	11- War	20
12- Migration	12	12	12	12- Migration	14
13- Health	7	13	8	13- Unemployment	0

The agenda of widespread newspapers and the public agenda were the same as the first rank of the degree center. There are similarities in other degrees of centrality. The two most frequently linked categories on the public agenda are "National Security" and "Foreign Policy". The second link is between "National Security" and "Politics". The first two lines on the agenda of the newspapers were the same with the public agenda.

The correlation between the public and newspaper agenda networks tested with QAP correlation. It is 0.79 ( $p = 0.79$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). As a result, because of the high QAP correlation, there is a high similarity between common newspapers and the public network. In addition, it is similar to the rankings in the central center of the newspapers and the rankings in the center of the public agenda. Also the Pearson Correlation  $r$  is also high between table 1 and table 2 ( $p = 0.802$ ,  $p < 0,01$ ). That means there is a highly correlated link between issue saliences on the media and public agendas.

### Results and Discussion

The researches on third level of agenda-setting are fairly new. Testing the hypothesis in Turkey is important in terms of cultural differences in the world. In this study, the headline news of the top 5 popular newspapers in Turkish language were reviewed in 6 months period. The subject links in the headline news revealed. The links on the public agenda questioned by mind mapping questions and 400 people. The comparison of the public and common newspapers agenda was found 0.79 ( $p = 0.79$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). This shows that there are high similarities in the general agenda issues of public and dissemination newspapers. As a result, the basic hypothesis of the third stage agenda-setting studies (similarity between the links between the media agenda and public agenda) confirmed by this study.

National security is the most central issue in the media agenda. The second central issue is foreign policy. The reason for this is the intense civil war in Syria during the sampling period. There are also terrorist attacks at the same time in Turkey. National security is at the center of the public agenda. This shows that the public keeps the country security issue on its agenda.

The two most commonly linked categories in the public agenda are National Security and Foreign Policy . The second most common link is between National Security and Politics. The reason for this situation is closely related to developments in Syria. As a result, public agenda links and newspaper agenda links were correlated. This may be due to the fact that public gives importance to to these issues as the media writes.

On the other hand, if we look at the tables closely, it is seen that social problems aren't important for public agenda as it is seen in the media agenda. Beside this economy, education and culture issues are important for the public agenda than the media agenda. Also it is needed to underline that unemployment is one of the important issues for public agenda, but it hasn't seen in the media agenda in anyhow.

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## Türkiye’de Çalışıyor Mu? Gündem Belirleme Ağı Çalışması

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### Genişletilmiş Özet

Geleneksel gündem belirleme yaklaşımına ilişkin ilk araştırmanın yayımlandığı 1972 yılından bu yana konunun farklı boyutlarını irdeleyen dünya çapında 600’ün üzerinde araştırma yapıldığı ve bir şekilde medya gündeminin kamu gündemine öncülük ettiği tespit edilmiştir. Tutumlar yönünde de önemlilik düzeylerinin ilişkili olduğunu bu araştırmaların ardından yakın zaman önce üçüncü aşama gündem belirleme araştırmalarında bundan daha fazlası ileri sürülmüştür. Üçüncü aşama gündem belirleme araştırmasına yönelik ilk çalışmalar Guo, McCombs ve Shaw tarafından 2011 yılından sonra gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bugüne dek yapılan araştırma sayısı ise oldukça azdır. Dolayısıyla konunun oldukça yeni olduğunu ve araştırmalarla temel hipotezin test edilmesine yönelik önemli bir açığın bulunduğu belirtilmelidir. Yeni modele göre, haber kuruluşları farklı olayları ve objeleri birbirine bağlar ve aynı anda kamuoyunun zihninde de bu bağlantıların oluşabildiğini söylemektedir. Geleneksel ve ikinci aşama gündem belirleme araştırmalarında medya gündemini ölçmek için içerik analizi, kamu gündemini ölçmek için de tek soruluk anket uygulaması gerçekleştirilmektedir. Üçüncü aşama çalışmalarda ise çok daha farklı ve özel teknik ve programların kullanıldığı belirtilmelidir. Üçüncü aşama gündem belirleme çalışmalarında gündem belirleme ağı modeli (Network agenda setting- NAS) ile veriler analiz edilmektedir. Bu modelde ağ analizi yöntemi ve zihin haritalama anketleri kullanılmaktadır. Medya gündemine yönelik ölçümlerde yine içerik analizi yöntemi kullanılmaktadır. Ancak içerik analizi ağ analizine veri desteği sağlamaktadır. Kamu gündemine yönelik anketlerde ise zihin haritalama tekniği kullanılmaktadır. Üçüncü aşama gündem belirleme araştırmacıları, medya ve kamu gündemi arasındaki bağlantıları belirlemek için medya ve kamu gündemi bağlantılarını ayrı ayrı test etmeye yarayan QAP (Quadratic Assignment Procedure) korelasyon testini kullanmaktadır. QAP korelasyon ölçümleri UciNet programı ile yapılmaktadır. QAP verilerine göre anlamlı bir benzerliğin olup olmadığı ölçülmektedir. NetDraw programı ile bağlantıların görselleştirilmesi yapılmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, Türkiye’deki Türk kültürünün koşulları altında üçüncü aşama gündem belirleme hipotezini incelemektedir. Dolayısıyla konunun oldukça yeni olduğunu ve araştırmalarla temel hipotezin test edilmesine yönelik önemli bir açığın bulunduğu belirtilmelidir. Acaba üçüncü aşama gündem belirlemenin temel hipotezi; yani medya gündem bağlantıları arasındaki ilişki ile kamu gündem bağlantısı arasındaki ilişkinin pozitif olması Türkiye’de doğrulanabilir mi? Türkiye’de yaygın gazeteler ve kamu gündemi arasındaki ilişki üçüncü aşama gündem belirleme hipotezinde geçerli olan etkileşimi doğrulamakta mıdır? Acaba üçüncü aşama gündem belirleme hipotezi Türkiye’de çalışıyor mu? Bu çalışmanın temel konusunu işte bu soru oluşturmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada Türkçe yayın yapan tirajı en yüksek tirajı 200 bin ve üzeri olan 5 yaygın gazetenin (Hürriyet, Sabah, Sözcü, Posta ve HaberTürk) 6 aylık süre zarfında manşet haberleri incelenmiştir. Manşet haberlerinde yer alan konu bağlantıları ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Kamunun gündemindeki bağlantılar, zihin haritalama soruları ile 400 kişiye anket yapılarak ortaya koyulmuştur.

Araştırma bulgularına göre ankete katılanların %51'i erkek, %49'u kadındır. Ankete 18 yaş üstü her yaş grubundan katılım olmuştur. Ankete katılanların eğitim durumu %38'i lisans, %19'u lise, %13'ü ön lisans, %13'u ise ilköğretim mezunudur. Ankete katılanların gelir durumu dağılımı %27'si asgari ücret altında, %49'u 1601-3200 TL, %21'i 3201 - 5600 TL, %3'ü ise 5600 TL üzerindedir. Ankette yer alan zihin haritalama sorusundan önce kamunun genel gündem takibini ölçmek için, "Ülkede yaşanan siyasi, ekonomik, hukuksal, kültürel, toplumsal her türlü gelişme hakkında kendinizi hangi düzeyde ilgili buluyorsunuz" sorusuna verilen yanıtlardan çıkan sonuçlara göre katılımcıların %50'si tamamen ilgiliyim, %32'si ilgiliyim, %10'u ne ilgili ne ilgisizim, %8'i ise ilgisiz olduğunu belirtmiştir.

Yaygın gazetelerde çıkan haberlerin konu bağlantı matrisinde en merkezdeki kategori 399 derece merkezियeti ile "Ulusal Güvenlik"dir. Sonraki kategori ise 122 derece merkezियeti ile "Siyaset" kategorisi olmuştur. Kamu gündeminde ise derece merkezियetinde ilk sıra 147 derece merkezियeti ile "Ulusal Güvenlik"tir. Yaygın gazetelerin gündemi ve kamu gündemi derece merkezियetinin ilk sıralaması aynı olmuştur. Diğer derece merkezियeti sıralamalarında da benzerlik vardır. Ulusal güvenlik, medya gündeminde en temel konudur. İkinci ana konu dış politikadır. Bunun nedeni, örneklem alınan dönemde Suriye'deki yoğun iç savaş ve Türkiye'de aynı zamanda terör saldırıları da var. Ulusal güvenlik, kamu gündeminin de merkezindedir. Bu, kamunun ülke güvenliği konusunu gündemde tuttuğunu göstermektedir.

Kamu gündeminde en çok bağlantı kurulan iki kategori "Ulusal Güvenlik" ve "Dış Politika"dır. En çok ikinci bağlantı ise "Ulusal Güvenlik" ve "Siyaset" arasındadır. Gazeteler gündem bağlantısında da ilk iki sıra kamu gündem bağlantısı ile aynı olmuştur. Bu durumun nedeni Suriye'deki gelişmelerle yakından ilgilidir. Kamu gündem bağlantıları ile gazetelerdeki gündem bağlantılarındaki benzerlik QAP korelasyonu ile teste tabi tutulmuştur. Kamu ve gazete gündem ağı arasındaki QAP korelasyonu 0.79 ( $p=0.79$ ,  $p<0.05$ ) çıkmıştır. QAP korelasyon analizinin yüksek çıkması nedeniyle yaygın gazeteler ve kamu ağı arasında yüksek benzerlik vardır. Ayrıca gazetelerdeki derece merkezियetindeki sıralaması ile kamu gündemindeki derece merkezियetindeki sıralaması ile benzerlik göstermektedir. Bu, durum medyanın önem verdiği konu bağlantılarına kamunun da bu konulara önem vermesi nedeniyle olabilir.

Öte yandan, tablolar dikkatli incelendiğinde, sosyal konuların medya gündeminde önemli olmadığı görülmektedir. Ancak kamu gündeminde sosyal sorunların önemi vardır. Ekonominin yanı sıra, eğitim ve kültür sorunları kamu gündeminde medya gündeminden daha önemlidir. Ayrıca, işsizliğin kamu gündeminde önemli konulardan biri olduğunun altını çizmek gerekmektedir. Ancak medya gündeminde hiç bir şekilde görülmemiştir.

Sonuç olarak, üçüncü aşama gündem belirleme çalışmalarının temel hipotezi (medya gündem bağlantıları ile kamu gündem bağlantıları arasında benzerlik vardır) bu çalışma ile de doğrulanmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Gündem Belirleme Ağı, Medya, Kamuoyu.

