REPRESENTATION OF CSOS IN NATIONAL MEDIA:

MEDIA ANALYSIS

ENCOUNTERS: ENHANCING AND
MONITORING CIVIL DIALOGUE

yada

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CONTRIBUTIONS (A-Z)
Ceylan Özünel
Dr. Ulaş Tol
Elif Öztürk
Emine Uçak Erdoğan
Mehmet Ali Çalışkan
Pınar Gürer
Prof. Dr. Burak Özçetin
Rümeysa Çamdereli
Saygın Vedat Alkurt

RESEARCH TEAM
Prof. Dr. Burak Özçetin
Saygın Vedat Alkurt
Emre Taşdemir
Zeynep Kazu
Cansu Peker

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INTRODUCTION

It is possible to define civil society organizations as key subjects in terms of discovering problems and turning them into issues and agendas. The CSOs discover the problems with certain levels of awareness and turn them into "issues", take steps to solve these issues, produce "agendas" of these issues, represent the ideas they have put forward, develop recommendations and models for decision makers, monitor the "issues" in different dimensions and aspects, report them and share them publicly. In this regard, CSOs are important subjects for the development of solution proposals and making them available as permanent solutions.

We can describe some of the most important tools that complement the key positions of CSOs as telling, communicating, announcing, drawing attention, sharing, and advocating. The transformative role of the media is obvious in terms of the fact that the identified problems take place on the agenda of society or decision makers and become "issues".

On the other hand, deep discussions are being held in Turkey about the freedom, originality, nature and function of the media at an increasing rate. According to the report "**Turkey's Changing Media Landscape, 2020**", 70 percent of citizens in Turkey do not trust the media while 56 percent do not consider the media free. On the other hand, there is a deep transformation in the media. The area of print media, which we can describe as traditional or conventional media, is shrinking while online media are gaining

importance. The Covid-19 pandemic also appears to have a negative impact on confidence in the media. According to the research conducted by Associate Professor Suncem Koçer and supported by TÜBİTAK 1001, "Understanding Wrong Information Spread in Turkey in the Context of Covid-19 from the Perspective of Media Users and Developing Preventive Action Suggestions" it is observed that the confidence of society, especially in conventional print media, has decreased markedly during the pandemic (KOÇER, 2021). A gradual decline in the trust rate forces institutions to communicate through their own social media channels, and each institution begins to be active in its own social media environment, as well as common media tools.

Although the power of print media has gradually weakened, its power, especially in the local area, is undeniable. From the point of view of CSOs, it is still an important tool for accessing society and decision-makers. For CSOs, the media is of great importance in two respects. One is the establishment and protection of their corporate reputation, and the other is turning their issues into an agenda. Confidence in more and more well-known and recognized CSOs is growing, both in terms of volunteering and donation mechanisms and this plays an extremely important role in developing the capacity of CSOs. As trust in the institution grows, so does reputation for its saying. On the other hand, it can move the issues that it is advocating to the public agenda. Media visibility of CSOs is also important for the development of plurality in the media and self-existence of the media as

a civic and public platform. Many issues regarding democracy, multiculturalism, access of disadvantaged groups to rights and services, participation and pluralism can become a part of the media agenda through the visibility of CSOs.

Under the scope of this research carried out within the frame of the "Strengthening Civil Dialogue" project carried out by the YADA Foundation and supported by the European Union, an analysis was conducted that will contribute to understanding how visible civil society organizations operating in Turkey are in the national media, how is the general appearance of civil society news, which activity and type of news stand out in terms of visibility, which civil society organization can be more involved in the national media according to the field of activity and category of civil topography and how the content is associated with the tones of CSOs and society. On the one hand, assessments were made on the status of Turkey in the context of the media and the visibility of CSOs through the eyes of civil society representatives, academics, and media experts. In this context, with a mixed model in which qualitative and quantitative methods are used together, the news made in the national print media during the 12-month period between July 1, 2019 and July 1, 2020 was examined at the first stage and at the second stage, preliminary findings were evaluated through in-depth interviews conducted with representatives of civil society and the media, experts from the private sector and academia.

In this regard, the report aims to include the visibility of CSOs as an important title in the discussions on the transformation, originality, nature and freedom of the media, to make them visible and to create a new space for discussion and thinking. We hope that the report creates an opportunity to think about the contribution of CSOs' active presence in the media to the democratization of Turkey and to awareness and solution of its deep and implicit issues.

2

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

2019-2020 is defined as a new era for civil society from a social and economic point of view.

The widely used keyword in news related to CSOs between 2019 and 2020 is "new". The "new" concept is used in the forms of "new normal", "new Turkey", "new system" and "new virus". It will not be wrong to say that economic, political and pandemic-induced developments have led to questioning and transforming the social and economic norms of the past, leading to the entry of current conditions into social life as new normal. It seems that this is also included in the agenda of civil society. Civil society now tends to convey its message to the society with the concept of "new"..

The representation of civil society in the media is quite low, although the pandemic allows for an increase, there is still a decrease in the rate of news publication.

In the 12 months between 2019-2020, foundations, associations and cooperatives were seen on 110 news per day and 3357 news per month. It is observed that the same figure was 3618 per month and 120 per day during 2018 - 2019[1]. In other words, if we look at the years 2019-2020, it cannot be said that the visibility of civil society in the media has increased numerically; Even if the Covid-19 pandemic offered an area to allow for an increase, there was a partial decrease in civil society news.

Civil society is a decorative subject in most of the current news.

Civil society cannot be a subject in the news it takes place, but it is positioned as a secondary actor. Civil society organizations are the main subject of the news in only 1 out of every 3 news with CSO content. CSO news, in which CSOs are secondary subjects, is larger than the actual CSO news in terms of the area it covers in newspapers. In other words, the news in which CSOs are secondary subjects occupy more space in newspapers both in terms of area and number. Two different types of positioning stand out in the secondary news: The first is situations where civil society organizations are not main subject of the news. Positioning the CSO whose name is mentioned in the news as an affected actor, not an influencer. Examples of these news are the visits of politicians or public administrators. The second is the news in which CSOs are positioned decoratively. In such news, only names of civil society organizations are mentioned, but their activities or statements are not included.

1 https://yada.org.tr/yayinlar/sivil-toplumun-medyadaki-go%cc%88ru%cc%88nu%cc%88 rlu%cc%88g%cc%86u%cc%88-analizi/, YADA Foundation, Analysis of Civil Society's Visibility in Media, January 2020

The sensational tone made to make the news visible is also repeated by the civil society.

The way of reporting the news that CSOs appear is problematic. It is seen that most of the news has a content that will create negative opinions about both the CSO that is the subject of the news and the civil society in total. It can be said that both the media's reporting styles and the forms of advocacy of CSOs have an effect on the formation of this negative tone in the news. Media organizations give their content in a negative tone (to make it more sensational) to attract public attention. On the other hand, a similar practice is observed in civil society. There are situations in which the negative tone is adopted to reveal the gravity of the issues in order to create public opinion on social issues.

The news with a negative tone directly targets civilian movements and criminalizes them. These reports are not found in a single political position, but in various sources representing different political positions.

The vast majority of news with negative tone directly targets civil society. Examples of these news are: **Yeni Akit** news titled "Supporting LGBTI with the Excuse of Abuse" targeting CSOs working in the field of LGBTI + and gender, **Aydınlık** news titled "The Agenda of Liberals: Pedophilia", **Evrensel** news titled "Purpose in Education: Imam Hatip, No Other Needed!", **Yenisöz** news titled "The Main Target of the Fanatic Kemalist Association is not to allow Muslims to Breath with Pure Secularism Exercise" and **Cumhuriyet** news titled "Religionist Protocol". As can be seen, it is possible to come across content directly targeting civil movements in media outlets with different world views and political positions.

The "invisibility" of CSOs is increasing in columns and interviews.

The category in which CSO news is most included is the "news" category of newspapers. On the other hand, columns and interviews appear to be more favorable environments, both in terms of staying at the borders and focus of the issue that CSOs have adopted, and in terms of the CSOs' self-expression. As a remarkable finding, however, it seems that gender / women-themed CSO news are relatively high in columns while most of the conversations and interviews are related to corporate social responsibility projects. According to the civil topography classification, political-oriented CSOs are those about which the most columns are written with 27%, while professional/sectoral CSOs have the highest percentage of articles and interviews when compared to others. In 14% of self-organizations and market-oriented CSOs there are mostly articles in the form of columns.

With the effect of the pandemic, the visibility of professional CSOs has increased and advocacy CSOs have decreased.

When CSOs that appear in the news are categorized according to YADA classification of Civil Topography, it seems that the vast majority of CSOs that appear in the news are professional oriented CSOs. Specialist CSOs make up 18% of the news while advocacy CSOs make up 11%. Compared to 2018 - 2019, it is seen that the visibility of professional CSOs among other CSOs has increased, and the visibility of specialist and advocating CSOs has decreased.

CSOs' own opinions are low in content.

Most of the civil society news does not include the opinions of the relevant CSOs. Looking at the rate at which CSOs' opinions are included in civil society news content, it is observed that they are closely related to the rate of news involving CSOs spokespersons (40%). According to this, 40% of CSO news contains the opinions of the CSO, which is the subject of the news, while the majority (60%) does not contain the own opinions of the CSO

There is a distance between civil society and public institution in news content.

Public opinion is not included in civil society news. The rate of CSO news containing the views of the public institution is 13%. The news of CSOs that fall into the category of fellow townsman is the ones that include the highest rate of public opinion with 28%. Most of these news are visits to fellow townsman associations and statements regarding the visit.

The call to the public in the news is very weak, the society is just "informed".

Civil society organizations do not make a call or appeal to the general community or to a specific social / demographic segment to create public opinion in news content related to them. Looking at the public call in news content, it seems that there is a call to the public about an issue in only 3% of the news.

The rate of being mentioned with another CSO is very low.

When we look at the positioning of CSOs with other CSOs in the news, the rate of being mentioned with another CSO in the news is only 7%. In other words, there is no other CSO name in the content of CSO news with a total rate of 93%. CSOs that are seen together in the news seems to have an appearance not through contrasts, but through unanimity. There is a contrast in 7% of the reports involving two CSOs while there is unanimity in 93% of these news.

The rate of call on public is quite low overall, while there is a significant increase in certain categories.

In 86% of politically oriented CSO news, the civil society organizations are positioned in opposition with the public institutions. Civil society news does not address public institutions. The rate of making calls on public institutions in the content of civil society news is 4%. Looking at the rate of calls on public institutions in the news according to the areas of activity of CSOs, it seems that CSOs operating in the field of human rights make the highest calls on public institutions with a rate that makes a difference when compared to other areas of activity of CSOs, namely about 29%.

The visibility of civil society in the media is deemed important, and visibility is seen as vital in achieving the goals of the CSOs.

Visibility is seen as critical in terms of both increasing the influence power of CSOs and ensuring their financial sustainability. Experts share the idea that resources are very important for CSOs, so they should "be visible in the media in terms of communication". It is stated that visibility creates an area of legitimacy for CSOs as well as financial sustainability. A strong relationship is established between visibility and social trust.

There is a strong opinion that CSOs do not have enough media coverage and are not visible enough.

Although the definition of qualification differs among CSOs (CSOs that work with vulnerable groups and aim not to be visible and CSOs aiming to convey their message to the general public), it is seen that CSOs cannot approach their goals as much as they targeted. The reasons for not being able to reach this target are explained by both the communication capacities of CSOs and the attitude of the media on this issue.

Experts believe that civil society in Turkey does not care about communication with the community, does not aim to develop expertise on this issue and does not devote resources to it.

One of the main shortcomings of CSOs is that they do not pay enough attention to the communication and see communication as a luxury, as some commercial organizations do. At the same time, since CSOs do not have communication experts in their staff, communication is considered as a priority only in civil society organizations that have reached a certain extent.

Factors that make a news item valued by the media: the urgency of the event, the magnitude of the event, the proximity of the event, and its negativity in general.

It is noted that news about CSOs is often caught in one of these filters, and in order to be among these priorities, attention-grabbing content is needed. It is stated that CSOs should use the language of the media to find a place in the media.

Data use in CSO news is increasing.

Data sharing is often seen, especially in the context of the pandemic and economic issues in 2020. Research / data content does not affect the tone of the news positively, on the contrary, the tone of the news becomes more negative, as it is more in the hands of experts and advocates. In particular, the media gives these news as a "terrible picture". Data content is available in most professional CSOs, and international references are available in most specialized organizations.

In Turkey, the media is defined by an axis of polarization. Concerns about state control and the nature of the media are often expressed.

It is widely believed that an important area of media is visual media, and this area has become politicized. Mono-block media depiction is often encountered. The second basic distinction is based on quality. For the process defined as a bottleneck of journalism, both the competence of media employees and frequent changes of tasks are used to characterize the current state of the Turkish media. Regarding state control, two main arguments prevail: the first is the direct political interventions of the state, and the second is the relation of capital to politics, which drives the mainstream media.

The way in which the media positions CSOs is problematic.

Considering the discussions of the experts on how CSOs appear in the media, how they are presented and in what contexts they are portrayed, it can be said that there is an agreement on a negative perception. Based on expert opinions, it is possible to categorize the forms of visibility as follows:

- **CSOs as sideshow actors:** decorative positioning aimed at increasing the legitimacy of an idea or approach, taking part as a secondary, sideshow actor.

- **CSOs as elements of incapacity:** the presentation of CSOs and CSO beneficiaries as incapacitated actors in the media and the dominance of a downplaying language.

- **CSOs as criminal elements:** CSOs are often involved in the media by being criminalized or associated with a crime.

- **CSOs as players of the opposite team:** the language established through the relationship of opposition, negative perception of "independent" non-governmental organizations in the pro-government media, opposite team rhetoric.

- **CSOs as reactive actors:** CSOs are often involved in the media based on problems and reactions and the microphone is extended to them only at the times of crisis.

3

METHOD AND SCOPE

Due to the exploratory and descriptive qualities of the research, a mixed method was adopted that includes both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The quantitative and qualitative stages of the research can be defined as follows:

- **Appearance of CSO News in Turkey's National Media:** Population Representation Quantitative Analysis
- **Media Appearance Criteria of Civil Society News:** Current Situation Assessment, Visibility Factors, Opportunities and Limitations

It is possible to define the research population as all the news about civil society in the printed national media. In order to represent this population and generalize the research findings to the population, all the civil society news appearing in print publications were collected within the 12-month period between 1 July 2019 and 1 July 2020, and a sample large enough to represent this news population was randomly selected. Each news in the sample was read and coded according to 46 different variables created for the content and prepared for quantitative analysis. In the next section, population size, sample selection and size, coding, and basic characteristics of the sample will be discussed. In the following section, details of the interviews with media representatives, experts, academics and civil society representatives will be given in the qualitative stage "Criteria for the Appearance of Civil Society News in the Media".

3.1. REPRESENTATIVE QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS: SAMPLING CHARACTERISTICS, DATA COLLECTION AND CODING

Within the scope of the research, a news scan was carried out in national print media between 1 July 2019 and 1 July 2020. In the civil society news scan, 42,597 contents reflected on the national media with the keywords of associations, foundations and cooperatives were collected in a database (For the list of Internet news sources, SEE ANNEX 1).

In the preliminary analysis, a total of 2,358 news, which included associations, foundations, civil society and cooperatives, but did not have a civil society news, were removed from the database. Thus, the population of the Representative Quantitative Analysis phase was determined as 40,239. This figure corresponds to all of the CSO news reflected in the national print media, which contain associations, foundations or cooperatives within a 12-month period. Random values between 0-1 were assigned to each content in this phase. The entire database was sorted by randomly assigned values and 2274 news with the highest random value was coded as category 1, and the second 2274 news as category 2 to create a reserve pool. Cases entering the first selection but not related to civil society were removed from the database during coding and new contents from the reserve pool were added to the database. In this way, 2274 news selected by simple random method were coded and made ready for analysis. It was calculated that 2274 news articles would represent the population with a magnitude of 40,239 at a 95% confidence interval, with ± 2% error margin.

Out of 40,239 news items, 2,274 contents selected by simple random method were coded according to their relations with CSOs, public institution and private sector.

The variables used in coding and their descriptions are listed in Table 1. Code Variables List.

Table 1. Code Variables Lis

CATEGORY	VARIABLE	EXPLANATION
IDENTITY INFORMATION OF THE NEWS	HISTORY	Release date of the news
	LINK	News link
	BROADCAST	Broadcast source / Media name
	PRINTED / INTERNET	Broadcast source upper category (Internet / Printed)
	PAGE NO	Page number in printed publications
	TITLE	Title of the news
	PERIOD	Publication period (daily, weekly, etc.)
	PUBLICATION TYPE	Type of media (Newspaper, magazine, newspaper supplement, etc.)
	CIRCULATION	Circulation in printed publications
	COVERAGE	News coverage in print publications
	TL	Economic value of the field in printed publications
	SUBJECT CATEGORY	News subject category (Event, project, judiciary, economy etc.)
	NEWS TONE POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE	The tone of the news for the reader (negative, positive, neutral)
	TONE PERCEIVED BY CSO-POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE	Tone of the news for CSOs (Negative, positive, neutral)
	LOCATION	The positioning of the news
	MAIN / SECONDARY	CSO priority of the news (Main / Secondary)
	TYPE OF NEWS (NEWS / COLUMN)	Type of news (News, column)
	COLUMNIST	Name of columnist, if any
ORGANIZATION / NEWS CLASSIFICATIONS	CSO NAME	Name of the CSO contained in the news
	CSO THEMATIC AREA	Thematic area of the CSO contained in the news
	CSO CLASSIFICATION CATEGORY	Classification category of the CSO contained in the news
	NAME OF THE CSO SPOKESPOERSON	Name of the spokesperson of the CSO, if any
	IS THERE AN CSO VIEW?	Whether the CSO has its own opinion
	IS THERE A PUBLIC OPINION?	Whether there is a public opinion in the news
	DOES IT CONTAIN RESEARCH / DATA?	Whether the news contains research / data
	IS THERE AN INTERNATIONAL REFERENCE?	Whether there is an international reference in the news
	CSO ACTIVITY CATEGORY	CSO's activity categorization
	PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS IN THE NEWS	Public institutions mentioned in the news, if any
	COMPANIES IN THE NEWS	Companies mentioned in the news, if any
	OTHER CSOs IN THE NEWS	Other CSOs mentioned in the news, if any

CATEGORY	VARIABLE	EXPLANATION
BY THE CSOs...	CALL FOR THE PUBLIC	Whether there is a call for public by CSOs in the news
	DEMOGRAPHIC / SOCIO-CULTURAL CATEGORY	To which target audience, if there is a call
	CALL FOR THE PRIVATE SECTOR	Whether there is a call for the private sector by CSOs in the news
	WHICH SECTORS?	To which sector, if there is a call
	CSO / PRIVATE SECTOR POSITIONING	How the CSOs / Private sector is positioned (Together, opposite)
	CALL FOR PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS	Whether there is a call for public institutions by CSOs in the news
	WHICH PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS?	To which organizations, if there is a call
	CSO / PUBLIC POSITIONING	How CSOs / Public institutions are positioned (Together, opposite)
	CALL FOR CSOs	Whether there is a call for other CSOs by CSOs
	WHICH CSOs?	To which CSOs, if there is a call
	CSO / CSO POSITIONING	How CSOs are positioned with each other (Together, opposite)
BY PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS...	CALL FOR PUBLIC BY PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS	Whether there is a call for public by public institutions in the news
	DEMOGRAPHIC / SOCIO-CULTURAL CATEGORY	To which target audience, if there is a call
	CALL FOR PRIVATE SECTOR BY PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS	Whether there is a call for private sector by public institutions in the news
	WHICH SECTORS?	To which sector, if there is a call
	PUBLIC / PRIVATE SECTOR POSITIONING	How public institutions and private sector are positioned (together, opposite)

In the 12 months between 2019-2020, foundations, associations and cooperatives were seen on 110 news per day and 3357 news per month. It is observed that the same figure was 3618 per month and 120 per day during 2018 - 2019.[2] In other words, if we look at the years 2019-2020, it cannot be said that the visibility of civil society in the media has increased numerically; even if the Covid-19 pandemic offered an area to allow for an increase, there was a partial decrease in civil society news.

Looking at the months of publication of the news, it is seen that there is no statistically significant month that stands out. When we look at the increase in the number of news in March 2020, it seems that 2 agendas stand out. The first is the Covid-19 pandemic, which started to be discussed in late January 2020 and would set the agenda for a long time with

2 https://yada.org.tr/yayinlar/sivil-toplumun-medyadaki-go%cc%88ru%cc%88nu%cc%88rlu%cc%88g%cc%86u%cc%88-analizi/, YADA Foundation, Analysis of Civil Society's Visibility in Media, January 2020

the announcement of the first case in Turkey in March. With the first case seen in Turkey in March 2020, the pandemic started to be mentioned in different dimensions such as health, economy, life and politics. Another development affecting March 2020 is the refugee / asylum-seekers in February 2020. Statements of the politics and civil society about the refugees who marched to the Greek border for the transition are covered in the media in most of the March 2020, starting from the end of February 2020.

Table 2. Number of News by Month

		NUMBER OF NEWS	SHARE IN TOTAL NEWS
2019	July	221	9.7%
	August	168	7.4%
	September	203	8.9%
	October	221	9.7%
	November	225	9.9%
	December	211	9.3%
2020	January	190	8.4%
	February	168	7.4%
	March	209	9.2%
	April	165	7.3%
	May	134	5.9%
	June	138	6.1%

When we look at the publication periods of the media in which the news is published, it is seen that approximately 63% of the news is in daily publications such as national newspapers. The second most common publication period is monthly publications, the majority of which are journals. Most of the journals that are monthly publications in general are sectoral magazines and the news of professional CSOs are heavily featured on these channels.

Table 3. Number of Civil Society News by Publication Period

PUBLICATION PERIOD	NUMBER OF NEWS	SHARE IN TOTAL NEWS
Daily	1439	63.3%
6 days a week	125	5.5%
Weekly	120	5.3%
Monthly	308	13.6%
Bi-Monthly	84	3.7%
Quarterly	43	1.9%
Uncertain	105	4.6%
Other	49	2.2%

The news outlets with the most CSO news are national newspapers. Approximately 3 of every 4 CSO news are published in main sections of national newspapers and 4% in supplements. One fourth of the CSO news is seen to be published in weekly or monthly magazines.

Table 4. Number of News by Media Category

MEDIA CATEGORY	NUMBER OF NEWS	SHARE
Newspaper	1696	74.62%
Magazine	469	20.63%
Newspaper supplement	94	4.14%
Magazine supplement	14	0.62%

It can be said that there is not a meaningfully prominent medium among all national newspapers in terms of covering civil society news. It is seen that the news is published in 774 different media within printed publications. Printed media with the most civil society news are the newspapers Cumhuriyet, Analiz, Dünya, Birgün and Aydınlık. In other words, none of the national channels tend to put civil society news ahead of the others. However, when the first 5 channels are examined, it is seen that 2 of these channels are opposed to the current government, and 2 of them are economy-oriented newspapers.

Table 5. Top 20 Printed Publications with the Most CSO News

	NUMBER OF NEWS IN POPULATION	SHARE IN POPULATION	NUMBER OF NEWS IN SAMPLE	SHARE IN SAMPLE
Cumhuriyet	1570	3.69%	82	3.61%
Analiz	1490	3.50%	86	3.78%
Dünya	1478	3.47%	83	3.65%
BirGün	1342	3.15%	63	2.77%
Aydınlık Gazetesi	1328	3.12%	83	3.65%
Günboyu	1241	2.91%	72	3.17%
Milliyet	1181	2.77%	70	3.08%
Dokuz Sütun	1121	2.63%	67	2.95%
Yeni Akit	1099	2.58%	51	2.24%
Evrensel	1012	2.38%	68	2.99%
Milat	968	2.27%	49	2.16%
Millî Gazete	873	2.05%	49	2.16%
Yeni Birlik	873	2.05%	35	1.54%
Hürriyet	868	2.04%	45	1.98%
Hürses	862	2.02%	57	2.51%
Sözcü	858	2.01%	46	2.02%
Yeni Şafak	840	1.97%	53	2.33%
Türkiye Gazetesi	821	1.93%	41	1.80%
Anayurt	771	1.81%	42	1.85%
Doğru Haber	648	1.52%	38	1.67%

Most of the civil society content in the media is in the news category (89%). Compared to the 2018 - 2019 period, it seems that the rate of finding a place in columns has increased significantly. While 3% of the content was in columns during the 2018 - 2019 period, the same rate was 7% in 2019 - 2020. Similarly, it is possible to say that there is an increase in interviews. While an average of 1% of the content in 2018 - 2019 was an interview or conversation, this rate was around 3.5% in 2019 - 2020. Based on these findings, it can be said that the area where spokespersons can express themselves directly has expanded in the 2019-2020 period. However, this statement still constitutes a small part of the total news.

Table 6. Type of Contents

TYPE OF CONTENT	NUMBER OF NEWS	SHARE
News	2030	89.3%
Columns	159	7.0%
Interview	80	3.5%
Other	4	0.2%

Civil society news is mostly on current pages (71%), followed by economy pages. The reflection of the intense economic agenda of Turkey on civil society in 2019-2020 is evident. Both the fluctuation in exchange rates and the contraction caused by the Covid-19 pandemic in different sectors increase the weight of the economic news of civil society.

However, civil society cannot find a place in the thematic pages of newspapers such as environment, life, health, sports and culture and arts. In other words, civil society news has been more visible, especially at the points where it touches on current issues rather than its own thematic field of activity, except for the issues that have been in touch with the economy and Covid-19 since 2019.

Table 7. Positioning of Civil Society News

TYPE OF NEWS	NUMBER OF NEWS	SHARE
Current news	1606	70.7%
Economics / Finance	302	13.3%
Front Page	135	5.9%
Ads	29	1.3%
Magazine	28	1.2%
Sport	21	0.9%
Actual	17	0.7%
Automotive	16	0.7%
Last Page	14	0.6%
Other	105	4.6%

The average area covered by civil society news published in printed newspapers between 2018 and 2019 was 187 Column x Cm (Column x Centimeter) and the average advertising value was 15,000 TL. Each CSO news reached an average of 174,000 people through printed publications.

The news with the highest coverage and highest advertising value in the 2019 - 2020 period are: The news titled "There Can Be No Accident of Justice in Business" on the "Business Ethics Summit" organized by the Turkish Economic Enterprise and Business Ethics Association, The news of the Sabah newspaper titled "Everyone Pays the Bill for Early Retirement" containing the statements of Recep Tayyip Erdogan against the Platform for Delayed Pension, The Milliyet news article titled "Do Not Submit", which was published on the Day of Combating Violence Against Women and shared the data of the Platform "We Will Stop Women Murders", Sabah News titled "We pray for the Turkish Army" on the issue that the "Peace Spring" operation was supported by refugees living in Turkey and the Cumhuriyet Newspaper article titled "Talking Too Much is a Reason for Violence" published on March 8 about a gender discrimination research. It can be said that especially the gender issue took place in the vast majority of media after judicial events and on certain days regarding women's rights.

Table 8. Averages of Coverage, Access and Advertising Value of News

	2018- 2019	2019- 2020	CHANGE
Average Access (Person)	174358.1	146989.9	-18.6%
Coverage (Column x CM)	187.8	175.2	-7.2%
Advertising Value (TL)	15798.9	14945.5	-5.7%

3.2. MEDIA APPEARANCE CRITERIA OF CIVIL SOCIETY NEWS: TOPICS AND PARTICIPANT PROFILE

After depicting the visibility of civil society in Turkey as a representation, interviews were held with experts from the media, civil society, private sector and academia in the second phase of the research, the "Appearance Criteria of Civil Society News" in Media, in order to understand the possibilities and limitations of visibility in depth. Of the 14 interviews, 4 were held with media representatives, 2 with the private sector, 3 with academics working in the fields of communication and social science, and 4 with representatives of CSOs operating in different themes / having different world views. In the selection of media organizations, representatives of minority communities' newspapers, independent media organizations and national television broadcasting organizations were reached in order to represent different identities. In civil society, associations and foundations operating in the fields of refugees, gender, environment and public health were included.

The codes representing the participants identifying the organizations interviewed are given in the table below:

Table 9. Definitions of Experts and Institutions with whom In-Depth Interviews Were Conducted

PARTICIPANT CODE	DEFINITIONS OF EXPERTS AND INSTITUTIONS	CATEGORY
G1E	Weekly Newspaper Published by a Minority Community living in Turkey	Media
G2E	National TV Channel opposed to the Government	Media
G3K	Social Benefit Communication Expert Media Agency	Private sector
G4E	Independent Media Platform	Media
G5K	Weekly Newspaper Published by a Minority Community living in Turkey	Media
G6K	International Environmental CSO	Civil Society
G7K	CSO Operating Nationally in the Field of Refugees	Civil Society
G8K	CSO Operating Internationally in the Field of Refugees	Civil Society
G9K	Feminist Women's CSO with Muslim Identity	Civil Society
G10K	National Environment / Community Health CSO	Civil Society
G11K	Academia	Academia
G12E	Academia	Academia
G13E	Human Rights / Research	Private sector
G14K	Academia	Academia

The in-depth interview questionnaire consisted of three main sections following personal information. These three main sections also formed the core organization of the research report:

- Questions about the effects of the current media structure on CSOs' media visibility and CSO-media relations;

- Questions about the dynamics, forms and conditions of CSOs' coverage in the media;

- Questions about the relationship of the institutional capacities and communication of CSOs with their media visibility.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, all interviews were conducted via teleconference. During the interviews, which lasted an average of 45 minutes, the voice recordings of the participants were taken within the permission of the participants and the interviews were decoded.

4

CIVIL SOCIETY MEDIA APPEARANCE IN TURKEY: QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

In the report, we aim to first portray the projection of Turkish civil society in the media, then discuss the factors affecting the visibility / invisibility of civil society news in the media under the light of expert interviews.

The quantitative findings section was collected under 5 main headings. The first part contains an overview of the media coverage of CSO news. In this section, findings regarding which type of news are seen more in the media, which civil society organizations can take place in the media more, and how these appearances are perceived by both society and CSOs were presented. In the second part, media appearance types according to the fields of activity of CSOs were included. In the third part, the forms of appearance according to the Civil Topography Classification, which is the clustering tool used by the YADA Foundation while clustering civil society organizations, were presented.[3] The fourth part of the quantitative findings focused on the content of civil society news, and in which content the news was more visible in the media. In the "actors and positions" section, which is the last part of the report, how civil society organizations are involved with the other institutions and organizations (other CSOs, private sector and public institutions) and how they are positioned have been revealed.

4.1. AN OVERVIEW ON CIVIL SOCIETY NEWS

When we look at the headlines of CSO news, it is seen that the prominent word is "new". The "new" concept is mostly used with the concepts of "new Turkey", "new normal", "new virus", "new era" and "new president". As of 2020, it is seen that the manifestation of the Covid-19 pandemic in different areas has become the main topic of civil society. It seems that the impact of the pandemic on different social segments, public health, daily life styles, daily practices and economy is frequently reported on the thematic pages of news media.

Figure 1. Featured Civil Society News Headlines Word Cloud

3 https://yada.org.tr/en/civil-topography-classification/

When we look at the CSOs that stand out in the civil society news, it can be said that especially professional organizations appear in the media. It is seen that the effects of currency fluctuations in Turkey and the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on different sectors increased the visibility of CSOs operating on a professional basis. It can also be expressed that especially the automotive and retailing sectors are highly affected by both the exchange rate and the pandemic and they were more involved in economy discussions. Another category highlighted by the pandemic is the CSOs operating in the field of health. It seems that CSOs working in the field of health such as the Infectious Diseases Association, the Turkish Cancer Association, the Turkish Thoracic Society and the Turkish Nephrology Association have found a place in the media. Apart from economy and health, another CSO with high visibility is the Human Rights Association (İHD). When we look at the news of the İHD, it is seen that the rights defenses for journalists and politicians in prisons have come to the fore.

Figure 2. Civil Society Organizations in the News

Civil society is positioned as secondary in approximately two thirds of the news. News in which CSOs are the main actors is only 35% of the entire CSO news. Two different types of positioning stand out in the secondary news: The first is situations where civil society organizations are not the main subject of the news. In other words; positioning the CSO whose name is mentioned in the news as an affected actor, not an influencer. Examples of these news are the visits of politicians or public administrators. The second is the news in which CSOs are positioned decoratively. In such news, only names of civil society organizations are mentioned, but their activities or statements are not included.

Graph 1. Main - Secondary News Distribution

35%

65%

Main   Secondary

CSO news, in which CSOs are positioned as secondary, is larger than the main CSO news in terms of the area it covers in newspapers. In other words, the news in which CSOs are at secondary position are more covered in newspapers both in terms of area and number.

Graph 2. Coverage of the News as Main - Secondary (column x cm)

Secondary	Main
181.5308	163.5709

Information Note on News Tone Coding

The tone of the news in the civil society news was coded with two variables as "tone perceived by the society" and "tone perceived by the CSOs". These variables contain three categories as "positive", "negative" and "neutral". Both news tone coding was considered independently of the features such as accurate / false, unbiased / biased.

Tone Perceived by the Society

The main differentiating element of the tone variable perceived by the society is whether the text or the news image has a content that will cause anxiety and concern for the society or a certain segment of the society. Even if it does not have such a content as a subject, whether it has the goal of creating anxiety and concern was also seen as the separators that determined the tone of these news. In order to separate the news with regard to the tone perceived by the society, the following questions were asked by the coders to each news:

• Who?

• From which position?

• About whom?

• Using what kind of language?

• What is it talking about?

The answers given by the text to the questions "What is it talking about" and "Using what kind of language" were considered as the main elements that determine the tone of the news. In response to the question "What is it talking about", regardless of the accuracy / falsehood of the news, all content that would cause concern and anxiety for the whole or a segment of the society was coded as negative.

For example, the news that "274 children brides became mothers in the state hospital" in response to the question "What is it talking about" was considered as a news which was perceived negatively by the society. The negative coding of this news was that it had a topic that would arouse concern by some or all of the society rather than whether its content was based on a fact. On the other hand, regarding the answer we received to the question "Using what kind of language", the news titled "Terrible suspicion" about a bus that was burnt down for using oil no 10 was coded as a negative content. The use of words such as "horrible, terrifying, frightening, nightmare, trap, tragic", regardless of the news content, moved the news into the negative cluster.

Tone Perceived by CSOs

STK tarafından algılanan ton değişkeni içinse metinlere ek olarak haberlere "STK'ların gündeme taşımayı / gündemde tutmayı hedeflediği bir içeriğe sahip mi" sorusu yöneltildi.

- Who?

- From which position?

- About whom?

- Using what kind of language?

- What is it talking about?

- Does it have a content that the CSO aims to bring / keep it on the agenda?

News, which allow the issues to be visible in society, can have positive effects on the goals of CSOs, despite the fact that they contain negative elements in their content. For example, the news "Sinop Castle surrendered to the slums " was perceived as negative due to the fact that the language used by the news caused concern on the side of society, but the news was interpreted as positive by CSOs because it had the potential to raise public awareness of the Sinop Castle, which is included in the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List.

In the tone variable perceived by CSOs, the question "about whom" was also important. News directly targeting CSOs from different political positions was often encountered and coded as news that was perceived negatively by CSOs because it would narrow the field of civil society.

The tone of the news in the civil society news was coded with two variables as "tone perceived by the society" and "tone perceived by the CSOs". To give an example: the news "Sinop Castle surrendered to the slums " was perceived as negative due to the fact that the language used by the news caused concern on the side of society, on the other hand, it was interpreted as a news with a positive content by the civil society in terms of the impact of the news on the goals of civil society. When looking at the tone of CSO news in the media, it is seen that 11% of the news had a positive tone while 8% had a negative tone. The most intense tone of the news is neutral.

Graph 3. Tone of News Perceived by the Society

11% 8%

81%

Negative   Neutral   Positive
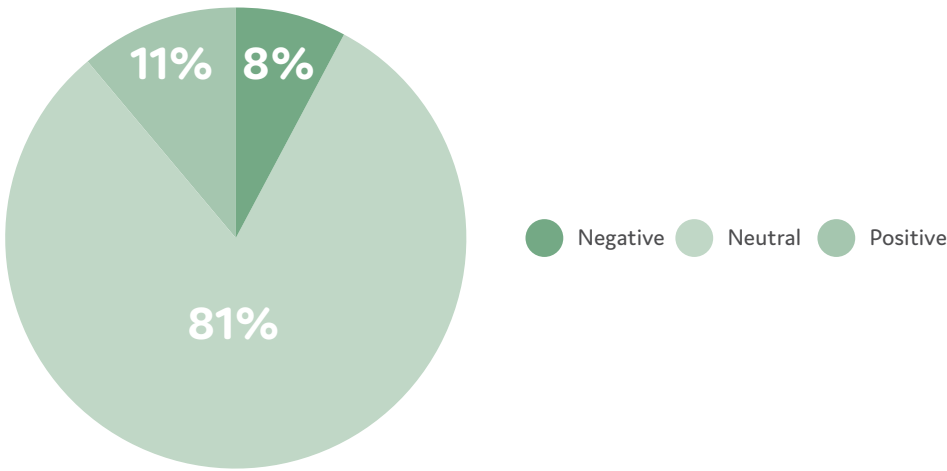
When we look at how civil society news is perceived by civil society, it is seen that news with a neutral tone come to the fore. While 17% of the news has a positive tone, 1% has a negative tone in terms of civil society. The vast majority of news with negative tone directly targets civil society. Examples of these news are: **Yeni Akit** news titled "Supporting LGBTI with the Excuse of Abuse" targeting CSOs working in the field of LGBTI + and gender, **Aydınlık** news titled "The Agenda of Liberals: Pedophilia", **Evrensel** news titled "Purpose in Education: Imam Hatip, No Other Needed!", **Yenisöz** news titled "The Main Target of the Fanatic Kemalist Association is not to allow Muslims to Breath with Pure Secularism Exercise" and **Cumhuriyet** news titled "Religionist Protocol". As can be seen, it is possible to come across content directly targeting civil movements in media outlets with different world views and political positions.

Graph 4. Tone of News Perceived by the CSOs

16.8% 1.5%

81.7%

Negative   Neutral   Positive
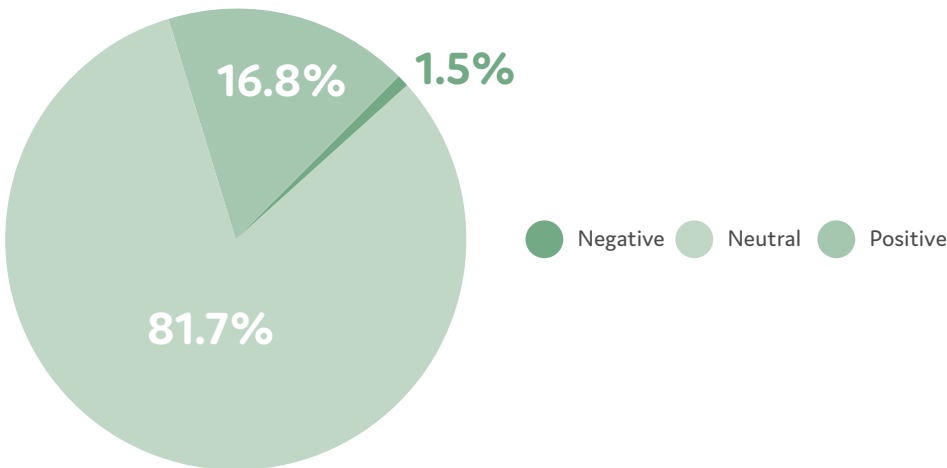
When we evaluate the perceived tone in the eyes of CSOs according to the tone perceived in the eyes of the society, it is seen that all the news perceived negatively by CSOs have a content that will create negative opinions against the civil society. On the other hand, the biggest difference is the negative news that is perceived positively by civil society and has content in line with its goals, as we explained above. It can be said that both the media's reporting styles and the advocacy styles of CSOs have an effect on the negative tone. Media organizations give their content in a negative tone (to make it more sensational) to attract public attention. On the other hand, it appears that there is a similar practice in civil society. There are situations in which the negative tone is adopted to reveal the gravity of the issues in order to create public opinion on social issues.

Table 10. Tone Perceived by the Society According to the Tone Perceived by the CSOs

		TONE PERCEIVED BY THE CSOS		
		Negative	Neutral	Positive
Tone perceived by the society	Negative	100.0%	2.0%	27.5%
	Neutral	0.0%	97.0%	9.2%
	Positive	0.0%	1.0%	63.4%

The positive tone rate of main civil society news is higher than news where CSOs are at secondary position. In other words, when civil society appears in the news as the main actor, the content is more positive than when positioned in supporting / secondary roles.

Graph 5. Perceived Tone of the News by the Society According to Being Main - Secondary Actor

Main: 6.3% 77.1% 16.6%
Secondary: 8.6% 82.7% 8.7%

● Negative ● Neutral ● Positive
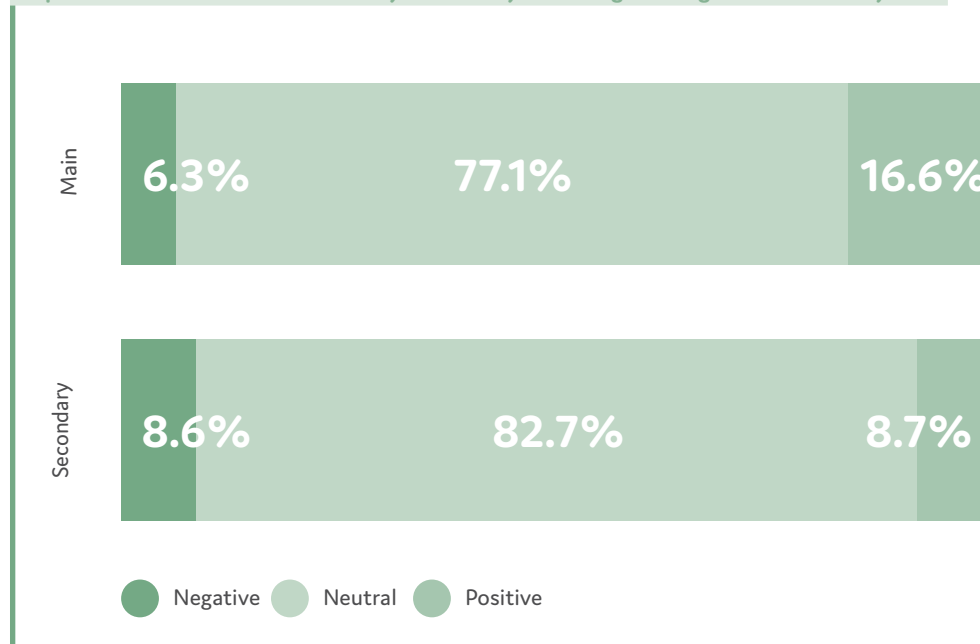
Similarly, approximately 1 in 4 of the main news has a positive tone for the CSO. This rate remains at 13% in secondary news. As we will discuss in the last section, it would not be wrong to say that the presence of civil society as an actor in the media will strengthen civil society, although there are still obstacles to the visibility.

Graph 6. Perceived Tone of the News by CSOs According to Being Main - Secondary Actor

Main: 1,9% | 74.6% | 23.5%

Secondary: 1.4% | 85.4% | 13.2%

● Negative ● Neutral ● Positive
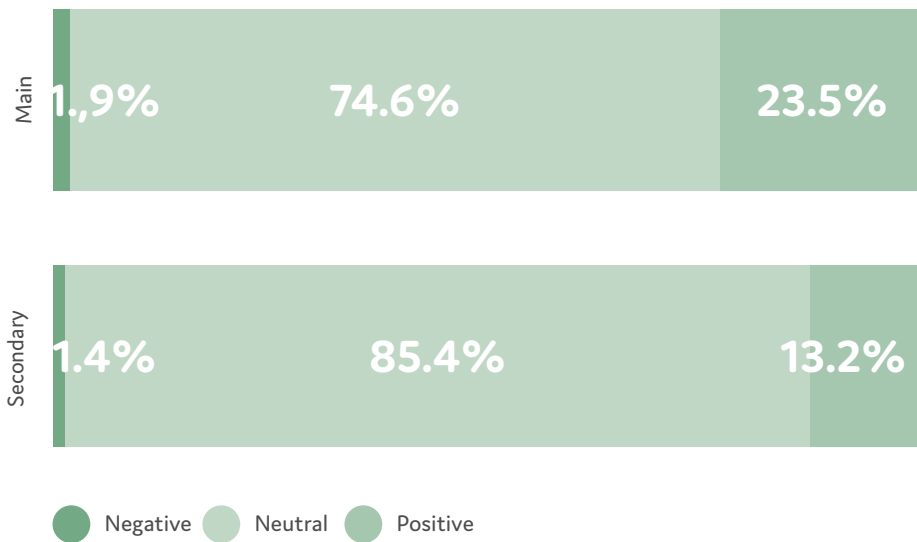
It is seen that the areas covered by positive-tone civil society news in newspapers are greater than negative-tone news. An important reason for this is that most of the positive-tone news are news where CSOs are main subjects and the CSOs' own statements / contents are reflected in the news text. Similarly, the fact that part of civil society news is included in the thematic pages of newspapers, the fact that the thematic pages contain a more positive tone than the current / agenda pages, leads to the fact that the coverage of CSO news in a positive tone is greater than that of news in a negative tone. This has the potential to provide civil society with a direct opportunity to talk about its own issues.

Graph 7. Coverage by Tone of News (Column x CM)

Negative: 164.2% / 196.3%

Neutral: 167.0% / 167.9%

Positive: 241.6% / 208.9%

● Perceived by the society ● Perceived by the CSOs
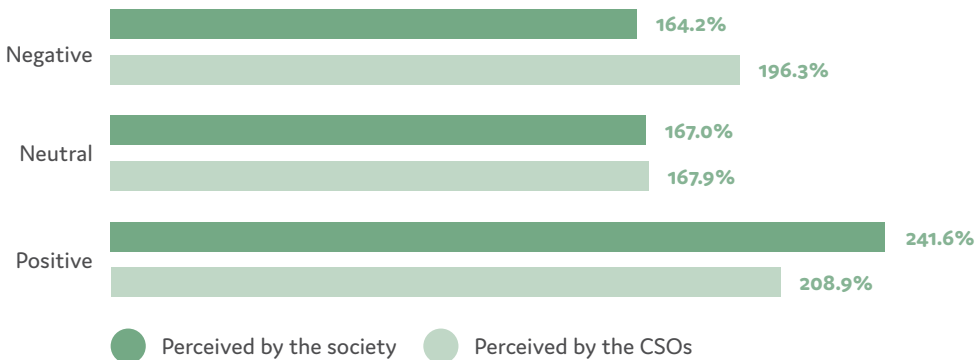
Both the main CSO news, in which CSOs are located as the main actor, and the secondary CSO news, in which they are located as a secondary actor, are most often found in the current news pages of newspapers. But in thematic areas such as culture/art, education, sports, the density of the news where CSOs are the main actors are much greater. On the other hand, the position of CSOs in economy and public health news caused by the pandemic is secondary in general. In these news, CSOs are positioned as secondary actors who contribute and provide the basis of the news, offer expert opinion or oppose the news and main actors of the issues (largely public institutions).

Table 11. Positioning According to Being Main or Secondary Actor

	MAIN	SECONDARY
Current	46.5%	39.1%
Economy	16.2%	23.3%
Art and culture	4.1%	3.7%
Life	3.4%	3.6%
Sport	2.6%	2.1%
Health	1.1%	2.8%
Policy	1.9%	1.5%
World	1.3%	1.3%
Education	2.0%	0.8%
Magazine	1.0%	0.9%
Interview	0.6%	1.1%
Society	0.8%	1.0%
Automotive	0.3%	1.2%
Local	0.5%	1.0%
Sector	1.5%	0.4%
Energy	0.3%	0.9%
East / Southeast	0.3%	0.5%
Society	0.6%	0.3%
Labour	0.4%	0.4%
Article	0.4%	0.4%
Diğer	%14,3	%13,6

Both the main CSO news and the secondary CSO news find a place in the papers as news. But it can be said that there is a proportional increase compared to 2018 – 2019 in types such as interviews, where CSOs can express themselves directly.

Table 12. Type of News According to Being Main or Secondary Actor

	MAIN	SECONDARY
News	92.7%	87.5%
Columns	4.8%	8.2%
Interviews	2.3%	4.2%
Other	0.3%	0.1%

The vast majority of CSO news, perceived by CSOs in a negative tone, consists of columnists. As we have exemplified in previous sections, the columns contain content that targets a specific category or directly specific CSOs. Similarly, about 1 in 4 of the news perceived negatively by society are columns. Although the interviews are few in number, they support the positive perception of civil society by both the CSOs and the society.

Table 13. News Tone by Type of News

	BY THE SOCIETY			BY THE CSOS		
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive
News	74.6%	92.9%	73.8%	40.0%	92.5%	78.5%
Columns	25.4%	3.6%	18.1%	60.0%	4.1%	16.0%
Interviews	0.0%	3.3%	7.3%	0.0%	3.3%	5.0%
Other	0.0%	0.1%	0.8%	0.0%	0.1%	0.5%

A significant part of CSO News, which is perceived negatively by society, is included in the policy pages. The most positively perceived CSO news are found on thematic pages such as Culture/Art, Life, Society.

Table 14. Tones of News by Positioning

	BY THE SOCIETY			BY THE CSOS		
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive
Current	1.7%	78.4%	19.9%	9.5%	78.3%	12.2%
Economy	0.2%	90.3%	9.5%	6.1%	88.6%	5.3%
Art and culture	0.0%	75.9%	24.1%	4.6%	75.9%	19.5%
Life	0.0%	78.8%	21.3%	3.8%	75.0%	21.3%
Sport	1.9%	84.6%	13.5%	3.8%	82.7%	13.5%
Health	0.0%	90.2%	9.8%	3.9%	86.3%	9.8%
Policy	16.2%	70.3%	13.5%	32.4%	67.6%	0.0%
World	6.9%	82.8%	10.3%	20.7%	75.9%	3.4%
Education	3.6%	82.1%	14.3%	10.7%	78.6%	10.7%
Magazine	0.0%	66.7%	33.3%	0.0%	66.7%	33.3%
Interview	0.0%	85.7%	14.3%	0.0%	85.7%	14.3%
Society	0.0%	81.0%	19.0%	0.0%	81.0%	19.0%
Automotive	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Local	0.0%	84.2%	15.8%	5.3%	84.2%	10.5%
Sector	0.0%	88.9%	11.1%	0.0%	88.9%	11.1%
Energy	0.0%	93.8%	6.3%	0.0%	93.8%	6.3%

An important part of CSO news is about the economy. Negative developments in the economy, especially between 2018 and 2020, caused sector-oriented unions and economic actors to issue statements / express their demands in different areas. On the other hand, the economic reflection of the Covid-19 pandemic had a significant share in the post-2020 period. Civil society news spoke about the economic dimension as well as the health dimension of the pandemic

Graph 8. Subject Category Distribution

Category	Percentage
Economy	23.8%
Life	23.2%
Business	13.7%
Politics	8.4%
Health	7.4%
Art and culture	5.7%
Environment	3%
Education	2.6%
CSR	2.6%
Sport	2.5%
Tourism	2.2%
Judicial	1.8%
Science / Technology	1.2%
Women	0.7%
Other	1%
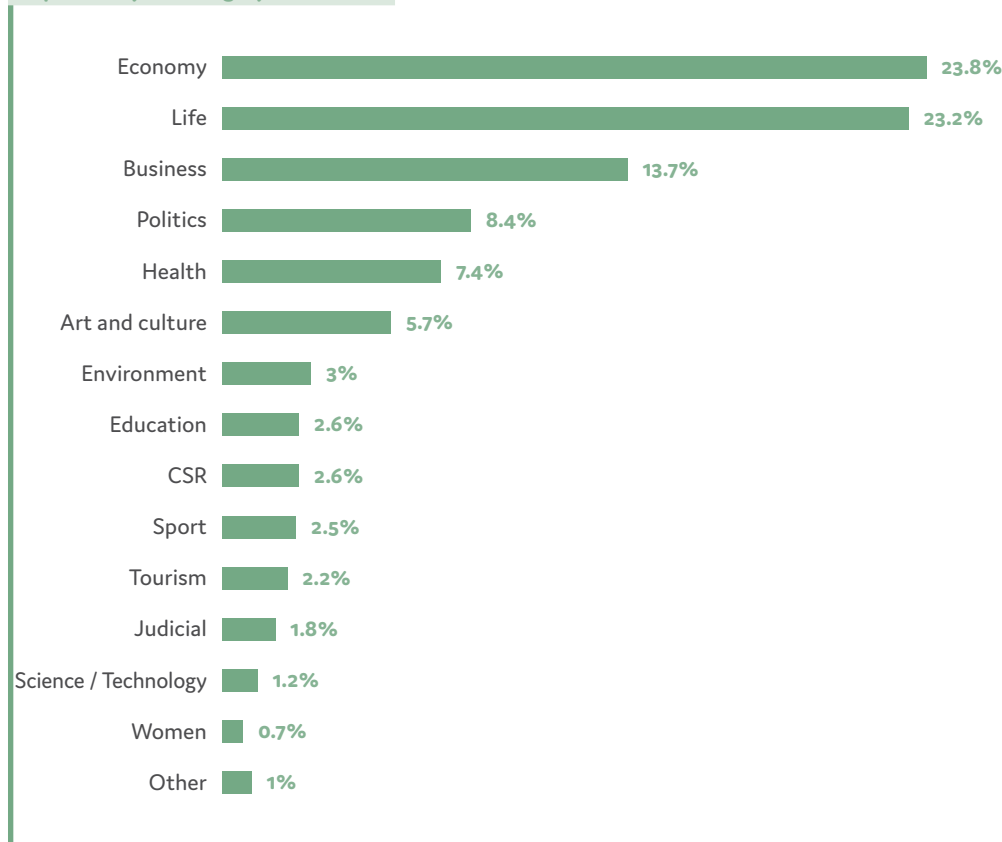
Majority of the main news is about life and the majority of secondary news is about economy. Culture / art, health, education and environment stand out in the ranking of thematic news.

Table 15. Subject Category According to Being Main or Secondary Actor

	MAIN	SECONDARY
Life	27.5%	20.9%
Business	20.7%	10.0%
Economy	17.1%	27.5%
Politics	6.8%	9.2%
Art and culture	4.9%	6.2%
Health	4.9%	8.8%
Education	3.3%	2.3%
Environment	2.6%	3.2%
Judicial	2.5%	1.5%
CSR	2.4%	2.6%
Sport	2.4%	2.5%
Tourism	1.6%	2.6%
Science / Technology	1.1%	1.3%
Woman	1.0%	0.6%
Other	1.1%	0.9%

The CSO News, which are perceived most negatively by society, are those politically oriented. The news tone of environmental and gender issues is also highly negative. With regard to the civil society, it seems that most of the news that has a negative tone is the news about politics.

Table 16. News Tone by Subject Category

	BY THE SOCIETY			BY THE CSOS		
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive
Economy	4.1%	93.9%	2.0%	0.4%	94.6%	5.0%
Life	6.6%	67.9%	25.4%	1.1%	68.7%	30.2%
Business	4.8%	84.3%	10.9%	0.0%	86.5%	13.5%
Politics	34.2%	63.7%	2.1%	11.1%	64.2%	24.7%
Health	3.6%	94.1%	2.4%	0.6%	97.6%	1.8%
Art and culture	1.5%	78.5%	20.0%	0.0%	80.0%	20.0%
Environment	18.8%	81.2%	0.0%	0.0%	79.7%	20.3%
Education	8.3%	80.0%	11.7%	6.7%	81.7%	11.7%
CSR	0.0%	62.1%	37.9%	0.0%	62.1%	37.9%
Sport	1.8%	85.7%	12.5%	1.8%	87.5%	10.7%
Tourism	0.0%	94.1%	5.9%	0.0%	88.2%	11.8%
Judicial	16.7%	83.3%	0.0%	0.0%	83.3%	16.7%
Science	3.6%	92.9%	3.6%	0.0%	92.9%	7.1%
Woman	17.6%	76.5%	5.9%	0.0%	76.5%	23.5%
Democracy	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Protest	66.7%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Invitation	0.0%	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Religion	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
World	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Travel	0.0%	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	50.0%	50.0%
Help	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Meeting	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Activity	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Agenda	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Project	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Technology	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Visit	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%

All subject categories are mostly taking place in newspapers as news. But as a remarkable finding, gender / women-themed CSO News has a high rate of being the subject of columns. Most of the interviews and conversations are related to corporate social responsibility projects.

Table 17. News Type by Subject Category

	HABER	KÖŞE YAZISI	DIĞER
Economy	96.6%	3.4%	0.0%
Life	92.0%	8.0%	0.0%
Business	91.3%	8.3%	0.3%
Politics	82.6%	17.4%	0.0%
Health	94.3%	5.1%	0.6%
Art and culture	88.7%	11.3%	0.0%
Environment	97.0%	3.0%	0.0%
CSR	93.1%	3.4%	3.4%
Education	90.9%	9.1%	0.0%
Sport	96.4%	3.6%	0.0%
Tourism	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Judicial	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Science / Technology	85.2%	14.8%	0.0%
Woman	76.5%	23.5%	0.0%
Democracy	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Protesto	%100,0	%0,0	%0,0

4.1. MEDIA APPEARANCE OF CSO NEWS BY FIELD OF ACTIVITY

The thematic fields of activity of the organizations included in CSO news were categorized. The top 20 most visible activity categories were included in the table; the remaining categories were merged into the title "other". Looking at the areas of activity of CSOs in civil society news, it seems that about half of them are related to professional organizations. The professional organizations are followed by health, charity/solidarity, culture/art, environment and women's issues respectively.

Graph 9. Distribution of CSO Activities

Activity	Percentage
Professional / Sectoral	49.5%
Health	8.5%
Solidarity / Charity	6.1%
Culture	4.6%
Environment / Nature Protection	3.7%
Women	3.1%
Human Rights	2.8%
Education	2.7%
Research / Science	2.4%
Politics / Thought	1.8%
Art	1.5%
Sport	1.5%
Disability	1.5%
Development	1.4%
Animal Rights	1.1%
Child	1%
Aid	0.9%
Youth	0.8%
Townsman	0.8%
Consumer Rights	0.7%
Other	3.7%
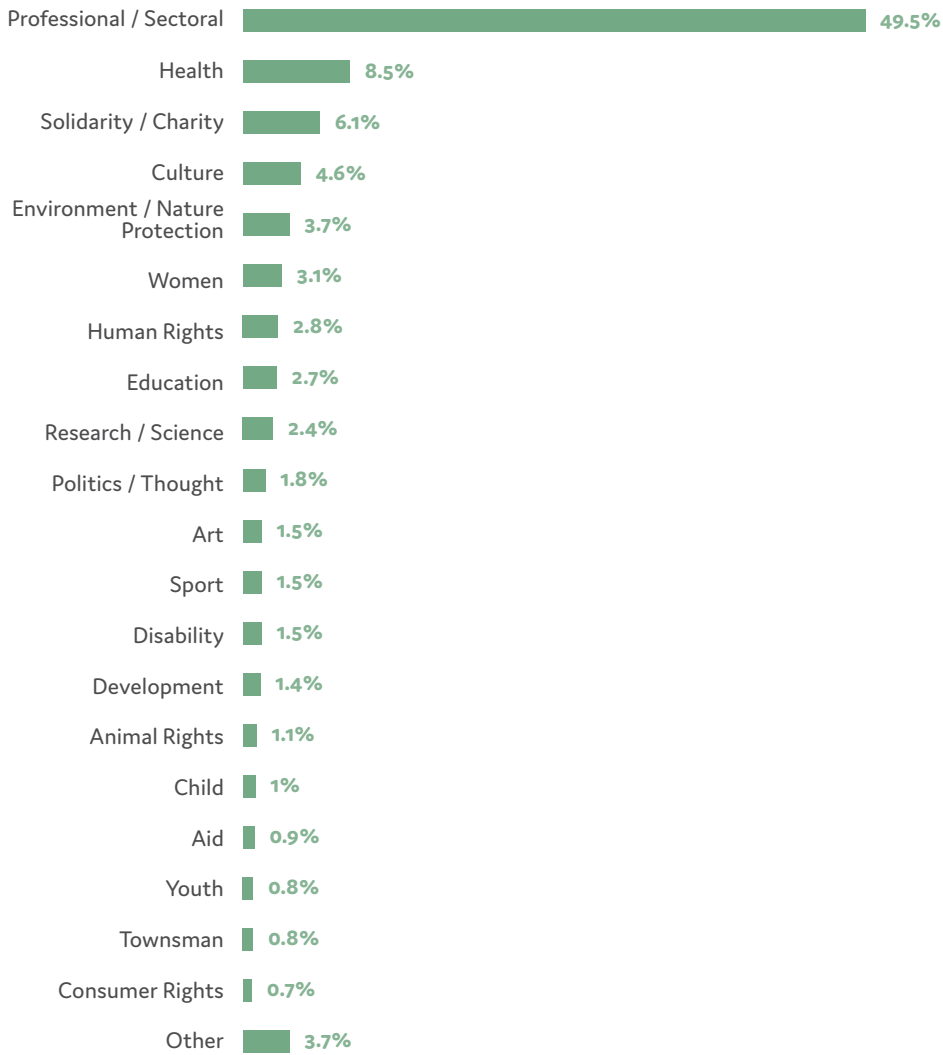
The participation rate of professional organizations in both the main CSO news and the secondary CSOs news is high. CSOs that appear in about half of every CSO news are professional-oriented CSOs. One reason for this is the intensity of Turkey's economic agenda in the period 2019 – 2020; but the visibility analysis conducted by YADA covering the periods 2018 – 2019 shows that the same rate was 30%.

Table 18. Field of Activity According to Being Main or Secondary Actor

	MAIN	SECONDARY
Professional / Sectoral	48.0%	50.3%
Health	6.0%	9.8%
Solidarity / Charity	7.9%	5.1%
Culture	2.9%	5.5%
Environment / Nature Protection	3.4%	3.9%
Woman	3.9%	2.7%
Human rights	3.8%	2.3%
Education	3.6%	2.2%
Research / Science	1.5%	2.9%
Politics / Thought	1.5%	1.9%
Art	1.5%	1.5%
Sport	1.4%	1.6%
Disability	1.6%	1.4%
Development	2.0%	1.1%
Animal rights	1.3%	0.9%
Child	1.6%	0.7%
Youth	1.3%	0.5%
Fellow townsman	0.8%	0.8%
Consumer Rights	0.6%	0.8%
Other	3.4%	3.8%

News from CSOs operating in thematic areas such as human rights, women, education and children has a high rate of being the main subject of CSO news. CSOs operating in areas such as economy, culture-art, politics are more taking place as secondary actors in the media.

Table 19. Being Main or Secondary Actor by Field of Activity

	MAIN	SECONDARY
Professional / Sectoral	34.0%	66.0%
Health	24.9%	75.1%
Solidarity / Charity	45.7%	54.3%
Culture	22.1%	77.9%
Environment / Nature Protection	31.8%	68.2%
Woman	43.7%	56.3%
Human rights	46.9%	53.1%
Education	46.8%	53.2%
Research / Science	21.8%	78.2%
Politics / Thought	30.0%	70.0%
Art	35.3%	64.7%
Sport	32.4%	67.6%
Disability	39.4%	60.6%

Development	50.0%		50.0%			
Animal rights	41.7%		58.3%			
Child	56.5%		43.5%			
Youth	55.6%		44.4%			
Fellow Townsman	33.3%		66.7%			
Consumer rights	29.4%		70.6%			
Other	32.5%		67.5%			

The CSO news set in the most intense negative tone are related to those operating in the fields of politics, human rights, animal rights and consumer rights. In other words, the appearance of rights defenders in the media is set with a negative content due to their activities. For example, CSOs operating in the field of animal rights are raising the agenda of animal rights violations, trying to draw attention to the issue and trying to make an impact, but due to its subject matter, the news is perceived as negative. An important part of the news that is perceived negatively by the CSOs includes those related to politics.

Table 20. News Tone by Field of Activity

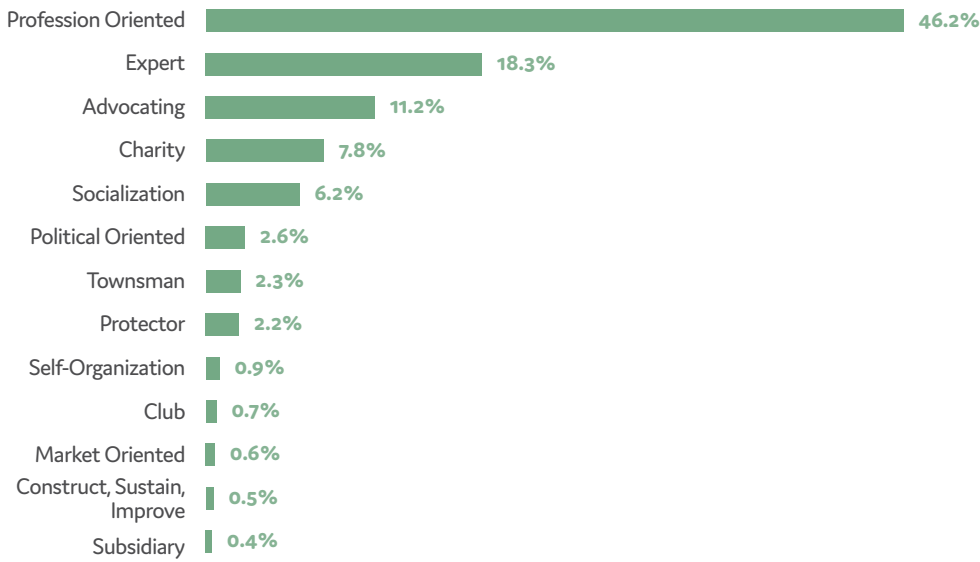|	BY THE SOCIETY			BY THE CSOS		
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive
Professional / Sectoral	4.9%	89.5%	5.6%	0.7%	90.9%	8.4%
Health	3.6%	85.5%	10.9%	0.5%	88.1%	11.4%
Solidarity / Charity	6.5%	68.1%	25.4%	0.7%	65.9%	33.3%
Culture	9.6%	72.1%	18.3%	1.9%	72.1%	26.0%
Environment / Nature Protection	11.8%	72.9%	15.3%	0.0%	72.9%	27.1%
Woman	15.5%	67.6%	16.9%	4.2%	67.6%	28.2%
Human rights	25.0%	73.4%	1.6%	1.6%	71.9%	26.6%
Education	9.7%	66.1%	24.2%	8.1%	64.5%	27.4%
Research / Science	3.6%	83.6%	12.7%	1.8%	83.6%	14.5%
Politics / Thought	35.0%	60.0%	5.0%	20.0%	62.5%	17.5%
Art	2.9%	76.5%	20.6%	0.0%	82.4%	17.6%
Sport	0.0%	85.3%	14.7%	0.0%	85.3%	14.7%
Disability	6.1%	54.5%	39.4%	0.0%	54.5%	45.5%
Development	9.4%	62.5%	28.1%	0.0%	62.5%	37.5%
Animal rights	20.8%	41.7%	37.5%	0.0%	41.7%	58.3%
Child	4.3%	73.9%	21.7%	4.3%	69.6%	26.1%
Aid	20.0%	50.0%	30.0%	5.0%	45.0%	50.0%
Youth	22.2%	61.1%	16.7%	11.1%	55.6%	33.3%
Fellow Townsman	16.7%	77.8%	5.6%	5.6%	83.3%	11.1%
Consumer rights	29.4%	70.6%	0.0%	0.0%	88.2%	11.8%
Other	10.8%	72.3%	16.9%	0.0%	72.3%	27.7%

Most of the columns are giving place to CSOs working in the field of politics/thought, and the vast majority have negative content.

Table 21. Type of News by Field of Activity

	NEWS	COLUMNS	INTERVIEWS	OTHER
Professional / Sectoral	91.7%	5.7%	2.6%	0.0%
Health	87.0%	5.7%	5.7%	1.6%
Solidarity / Charity	92.0%	5.1%	2.9%	0.0%
Culture	80.8%	13.5%	5.8%	0.0%
Environment / Nature Protection	92.9%	4.7%	2.4%	0.0%
Woman	85.9%	12.7%	1.4%	0.0%
Human rights	95.3%	4.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Education	67.7%	14.5%	16.1%	1.6%
Research / Science	81.8%	10.9%	7.3%	0.0%
Politics / Thought	70.0%	30.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Art	85.3%	11.8%	2.9%	0.0%
Sport	97.1%	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%
Disability	93.9%	6.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Development	87.5%	6.3%	6.3%	0.0%
Animal rights	95.8%	0.0%	4.2%	0.0%
Child	91.3%	4.3%	4.3%	0.0%
Aid	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Youth	77.8%	16.7%	5.6%	0.0%
Fellow Townsman	94.4%	5.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Consumer rights	88.2%	11.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Hobbies	86.7%	6.0%	7.2%	0.0%

4.3. MEDIA APPEARANCE OF CSO NEWS BY CIVIL TOPOGRAPHY CLASSIFICATION

CSOs featured in CSO news were categorized according to YADA's Civil Topography Classification. It seems that the majority of the CSOs in the news are professional CSOs. While CSOs in 18% of the news were experts, 11% of them were advocating CSOs. Compared to 2018 - 2019, it is seen that the visibility of professional CSOs among other CSOs has increased and the visibility of expert and advocating CSOs has decreased.

Graph 10.Distribution by Civil Topography Classification⁴

Category	Value
Profession Oriented	46.2%
Expert	18.3%
Advocating	11.2%
Charity	7.8%
Socialization	6.2%
Political Oriented	2.6%
Townsman	2.3%
Protector	2.2%
Self-Organization	0.9%
Club	0.7%
Market Oriented	0.6%
Construct, Sustain, Improve	0.5%
Subsidiary	0.4%

The news with the most negative tone includes self-organizations, politically oriented CSOs and advocates. The media coverage of CSOs operating in these categories is generally negative. More than half of the news with self-organizations, 37% of the news involving politically oriented CSOs, and approximately 17% of the news involving advocating CSOs are set in negative tone.

Table 22. News Tone by Civil Topography Classification

	BY THE SOCIETY			BY THE CSOS		
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive
Profession Oriented	5.0%	88.9%	6.1%	0.8%	90.5%	8.8%
Expert	4.6%	85.6%	9.9%	0.5%	87.0%	12.5%
Advocating	17.3%	73.7%	9.0%	2.0%	73.7%	24.3%
Charity	5.1%	57.1%	37.9%	1.7%	54.8%	43.5%
Socialization	5.7%	66.0%	28.4%	2.1%	68.1%	29.8%
Political Oriented	36.7%	58.3%	5.0%	20.0%	61.7%	18.3%
Fellow Townsman	11.3%	81.1%	7.5%	0.0%	79.2%	20.8%
Protector	8.0%	76.0%	16.0%	2.0%	76.0%	22.0%
Self-Organization	57.1%	38.1%	4.8%	4.8%	38.1%	57.1%
Club	0.0%	94.1%	5.9%	0.0%	88.2%	11.8%
Market Oriented	7.1%	64.3%	28.6%	0.0%	64.3%	35.7%
Construct, Sustain, Improve	0.0%	91.7%	8.3%	0.0%	83.3%	16.7%
Subsidiary	0.0%	62.5%	37.5%	0.0%	62.5%	37.5%

4 https://yada.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/11-Verilerle-Sivil-Toplum-Kurulu%C5%9Flar%C4%B1.pdf , YADA Foundation, Civil Society Organizations with Data, 2016
  * CONSTRUCT, SUSTAİN, IMPROVE: Making Happen, Live and Better

When examining news types according to civil topography classification, it is seen that mostly the news content is produced in all categories with over 90% rates, but columns, interviews and conversations stand out in some CSO categories. Political-oriented CSOs are those with most column content with 27%, while professional/sectoral CSOs have the highest percentage in articles and interviews compared to others. There are mostly columns in 14% of Self-Organizations and Market-oriented CSOs.

Table 23. News Type by Civil Topography Classification

	NEWS	COLUMNS	INTERVIEWS	OTHER
Profession Oriented	91.6%	5.9%	2.5%	0.0%
Expert	87.5%	7.5%	4.6%	0.5%
Advocating	92.2%	5.9%	2.0%	0.0%
Charity	85.9%	6.8%	6.8%	0.6%
Socialization	85.8%	7.1%	7.1%	0.0%
Political Oriented	73.3%	26.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Fellow Townsman	94.3%	3.8%	1.9%	0.0%
Protector	86.0%	8.0%	4.0%	2.0%
Self-Organization	85.7%	14.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Club	88.2%	5.9%	5.9%	0.0%
Market Oriented	71.4%	14.3%	14.3%	0.0%
Construct, Sustain, Improve	83.3%	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%
Subsidiary	87.5%	12.5%	0.0%	0.0%

4.4. CONTENT OF CSO NEWS: CSO SPOKESPERSON, DATA, INTERNATIONAL REFERENCE, PUBLIC INSTITUTION OPINION

CSOs are represented by at least one spokesperson in 36% of the analyzed civil society news. However, it is seen that the name of an CSO spokesperson is not mentioned in 65% of the news.

Graph 11. Presence of CSO Spokesperson in the Newsu

36%

64%

Present   Not Present
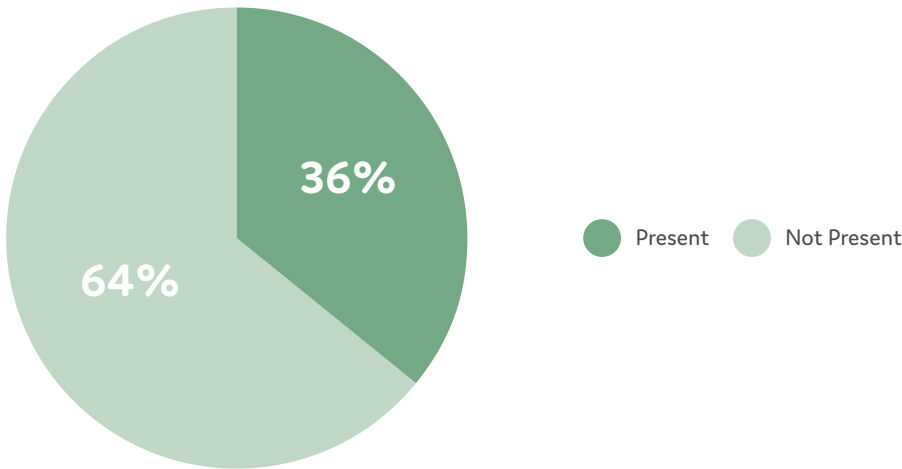
Looking at the tones of the news that CSOs participate in according to the status of having a spokesperson, it seems that a neutral tone prevails in the news, whether CSOs have a spokesperson or not. On the other hand, the positive tone perceived by the community in the news is lower than in the news that does not include the spokesperson. One reason is that the language the spokesperson uses to convey the CSO's subject matter is usually in more neutral tones.

**Table 24. News Tone by Availability of CSO Spokesperson**

	BY THE SOCIETY			BY THE CSOS		
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive
Available	8.0%	82.3%	9.7%	0.7%	82.9%	16.4%
Not Available	7.4%	78.0%	14.5%	3.1%	79.5%	17.5%

CSOs working in the fields of activity where the target group is the general public and calling for the public, the news containing spokespersons are higher than other categories. CSOs working on consumer rights are the category with the highest number of spokespersons with 82%. This is followed by professional / sectoral CSOs with 70%, health with 69% and development CSOs with 65%. CSOs working on themes such as youth, children, art and politics / thought have a higher rate of not having a spokesperson.

Table 25. Availability of CSO Spokesperson by Field of Activity

	AVAILABLE	NOT AVAILABLE
Professional / Sectoral	69.8%	30.2%
Health	69.4%	30.6%
Solidarity / Charity	62.3%	37.7%
Culture	57.7%	42.3%
Environment / Nature Protection	48.2%	51.8%
Woman	59.2%	40.8%
Human rights	61.4%	38.6%
Education	58.7%	41.3%
Research / Science	52.7%	47.3%
Politics / Thought	42.5%	57.5%
Art	38.2%	61.8%
Sport	47.1%	52.9%
Disability	48.5%	51.5%
Development	65.6%	34.4%
Animal rights	50.0%	50.0%
Child	34.8%	65.2%
Aid	65.0%	35.0%
Fellow Townsman	57.9%	42.1%
Youth	44.4%	55.6%
Consumer Rights	82.4%	17.6%
Other	64.3%	35.7%

Graph 12. Inclusion of CSO Opinions in the News

40%

60%

Included   Not Included
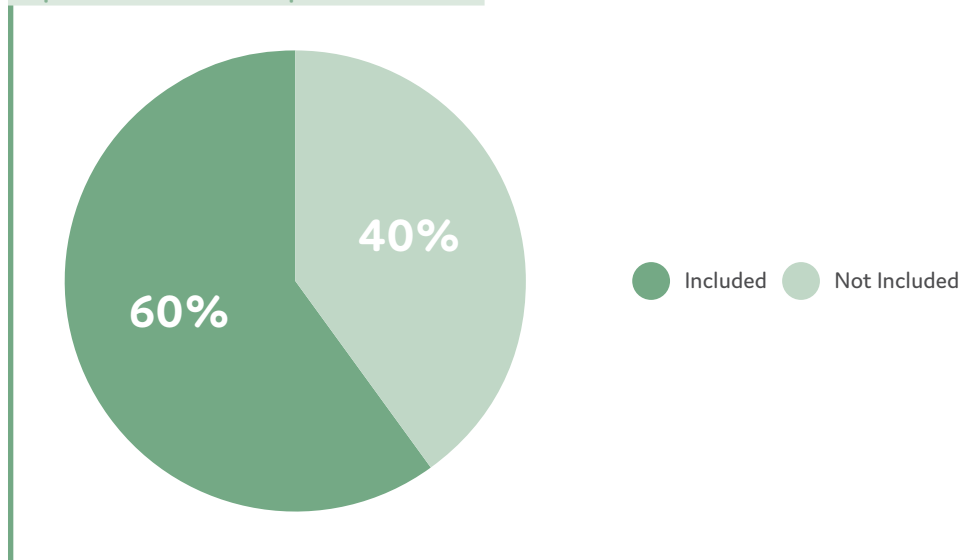
Most of the civil society news does not contain the opinion of the relevant CSOs. When looking at the rate of including the opinions of CSOs in the civil society news content, it is seen that there is a close relationship with the rate of news involving CSO spokesperson (40%). Accordingly, 40% of the CSO news includes the CSO's own opinions, while the majority of the news (60%) do not contain the opinions of the CSO.

Graph 13. News Tone Perceived by the Society by Inclusion of CSOs' Opinions

Included
8.67%   83.61%   7.72%

Not Included
6.44%   76.44%   17.11%

● Negative ● Neutral ● Positive
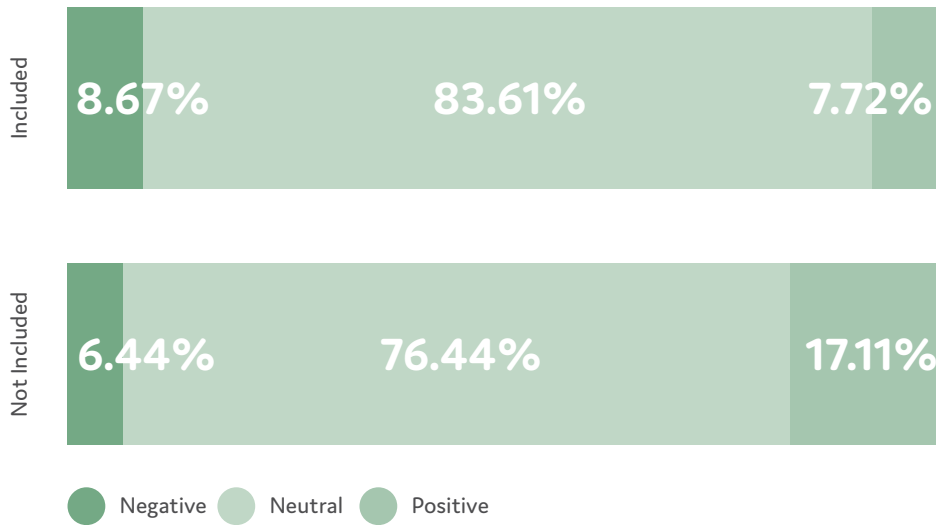
When we look at the tone of the news perceived by the society according to the opinions of the CSOs, it is seen that while most of the news containing CSO opinions have a neutral tone, this is also true for the news that do not contain CSO opinions. News that do not include CSO opinions are perceived in a more positive tone.

Graph 14. News Tone Perceived by CSOs by Inclusion of CSOs' Opinions
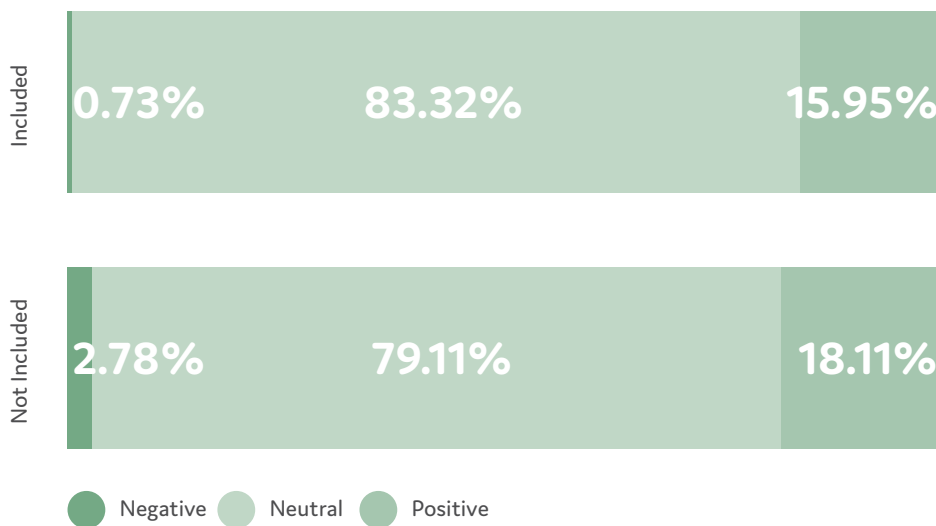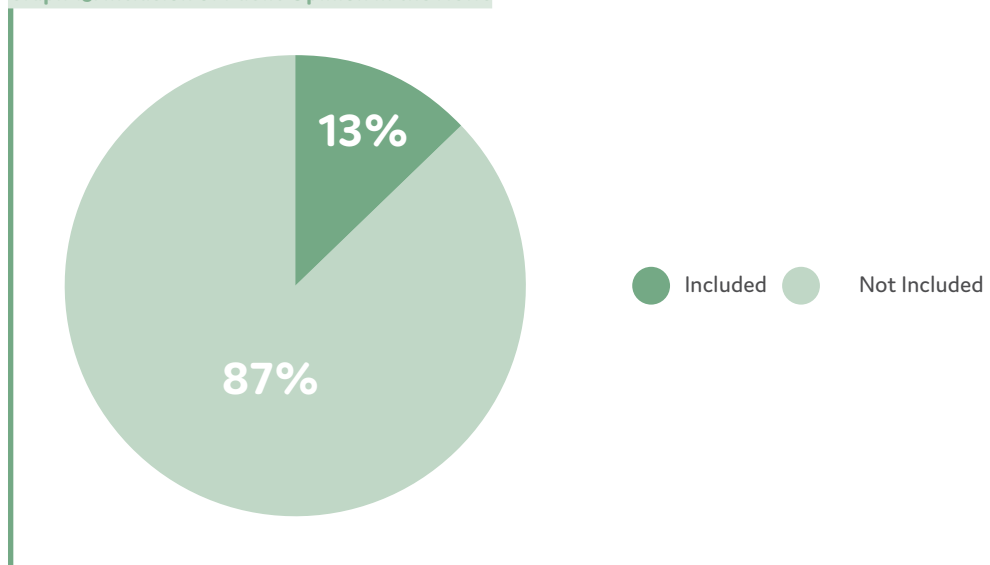

Included
0.73%   83.32%   15.95%

Not Included
2.78%   79.11%   18.11%

● Negative ● Neutral ● Positive

Table 26. Inclusion of CSO Opinion by Civil Topography Category

|	INCLUDED	NOT INCLUDED
Charity	45.2%	54.8%
Fellow-Townsman	54.7%	45.3%
Protector	58.0%	42.0%
Club	29.4%	70.6%
Profession Oriented	68.4%	31.6%
Self-Organization	61.9%	38.1%
Market Oriented	57.1%	42.9%
Advocating	65.9%	34.1%
Political Oriented	28.3%	71.7%
Socialization	36.9%	63.1%
Expert	58.2%	41.8%
Subsidiary	75.0%	25.0%
Construct, Sustain, Improve	58.3%	41.7%

When we consider the inclusion of CSO opinions according to the civil topography category, subsidiaries appear as the category with the most spokespersons with 75%. This figure is 68% for professional CSOs, while the opinions of 66% of advocating CSOs and 62% of self-organizations take place in the news. In charity, club, political oriented, socialization CSOs, this rate is less than 50%, in other words, the opinions of these CSOs take place in the news at a much lower rate.

Graph 15. Inclusion of Public Opinion in the News
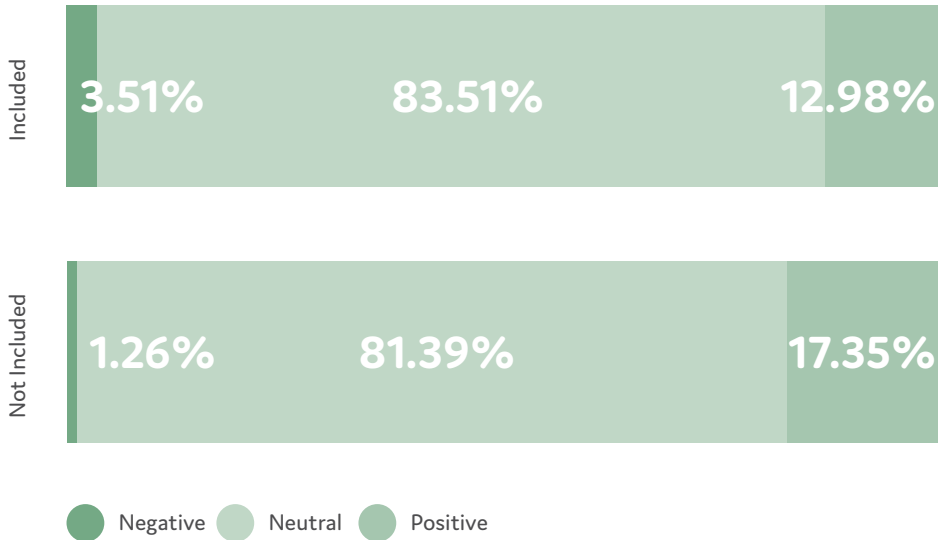

13%

87%

Included   Not Included

There is a distance between civil society and public institution in news content. Public opinion is not included in civil society news. The rate of CSO news containing the views of the public institution is 13%.

Graph 16. News Tone Perceived by the Society by Inclusion of Public Opinion

Included

10.88%   83.51%   5.61%

Not Included

7.34%   80.38%   12.27%

● Negative   ● Neutral   ● Positive
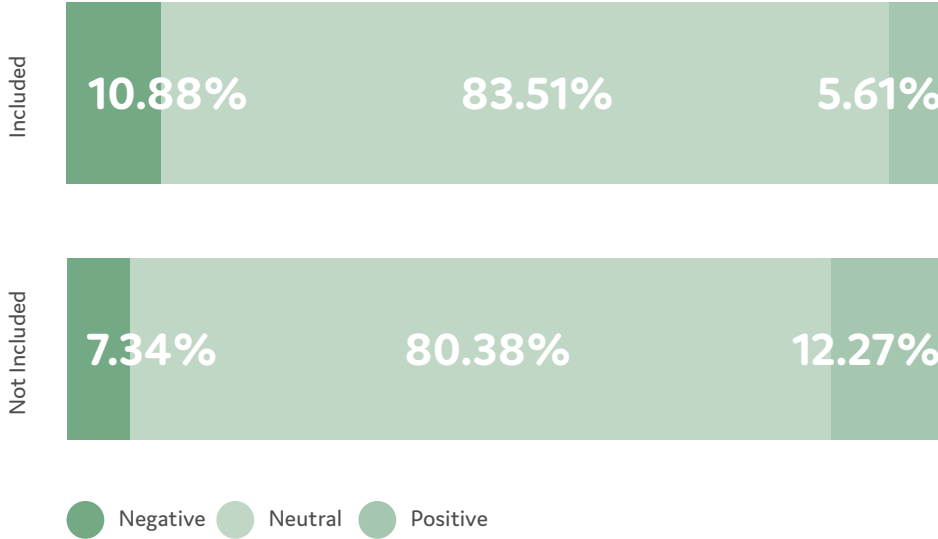
Graph 17. News Tone Perceived by CSOs by Inclusion of Public Opinion

Included

3.51%   83.51%   12.98%

Not Included

1.26%   81.39%   17.35%

● Negative   ● Neutral   ● Positive

The tones of news that contain public opinion do not differ from those that do not. News without public opinion has a more positive tone than news with public opinion.

Table 27. Inclusion of Public Opinion by Civil Topography Classification

	INCLUDED	NOT INCLUDED
Profession Oriented	12.1%	87.9%
Expert	10.1%	89.9%
Advocating	14.9%	85.1%
Charity	10.7%	89.3%
Socialization	9.9%	90.1%
Political Oriented	23.3%	76.7%
Fellow Townsman	28.3%	71.7%
Protector	12.0%	88.0%
Self-Organization	14.3%	85.7%
Club	0.0%	100.0%
Market Oriented	21.4%	78.6%
Construct, Sustain, Improve	25.0%	75.0%
Subsidiary	12.5%	87.5%

The news of CSOs that fall into the category of fellow townsman is the ones that include the highest rate of public opinion with 28%. Most of these news are visits to fellow townsman associations and statements regarding the visit. This is followed by the news of CSOs that fall into the CONSTRUCT, SUSTAİN, IMPROVE category with 25%, politically oriented with 23% and market oriented with 21%. The news of the CSOs in the socialization category is the ones with the least public opinion. The opinion of CSOs in the club category does not appear in the news at all.

Table 28. Inclusion of Public Opinion by Field of Activity

	INCLUDED	NOT INCLUDED
Professional / Sectoral	11.7%	88.3%
Health	9.2%	90.8%
Solidarity / Charity	18.1%	81.9%
Culture	19.2%	80.8%
Environment / Nature Protection	11.8%	88.2%
Woman	14.1%	85.9%
Human rights	14.3%	85.7%
Education	11.1%	88.9%
Research / Science	10.9%	89.1%
Politics / Thought	27.5%	72.5%

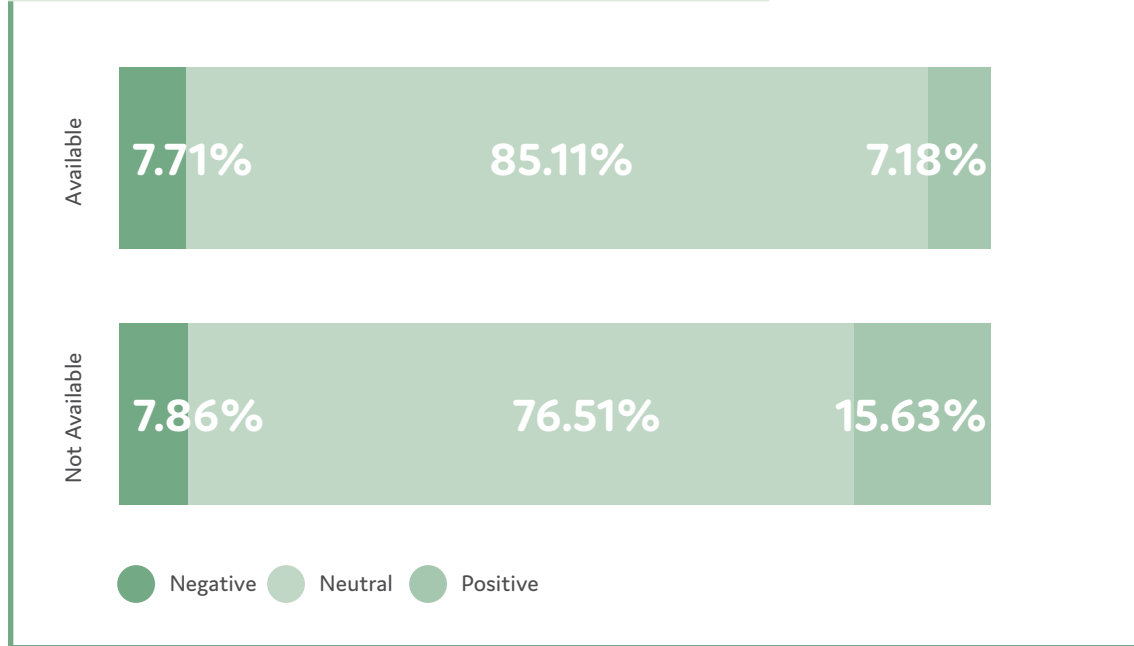|		
Art	2.9%	97.1%
Sport	2.9%	97.1%
Disability	12.1%	87.9%
Development	12.5%	87.5%
Animal rights	19.2%	80.8%
Child	0.0%	100.0%
Aid	10.0%	90.0%
Fellow Townsman	31.6%	68.4%
Youth	5.6%	94.4%
Consumer Rights	17.6%	82.4%
Other	12.9%	87.1%

Public opinion is proportionally the highest in the news, which includes CSOs whose field of activity is fellow townsman. This is followed by CSOs in the field of politics/thought (28%). In the news of CSOs working in the fields of culture, animal rights, charity/solidarity and consumer rights, public opinion is included with rates between 18% and 19%. The public opinion finds a place in the content of Arts and Sports News at low rates.

Graph 18. Availability of Research / Data in the News

50%   50%

● Available   ● Not Available
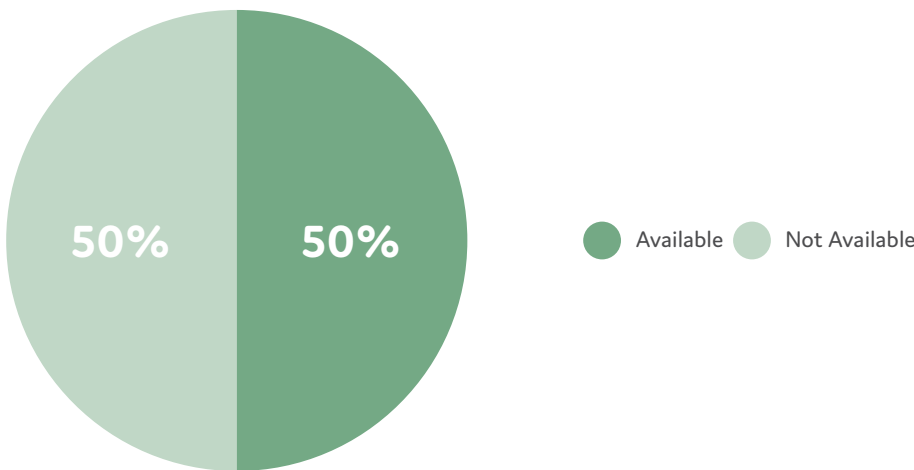
Civil society news is half data-based. Half of the civil society news includes research / data, while half of them do not have any research / data content.

Available

7.71% **85.11%** **7.18%**

Not Available

7.86% **76.51%** **15.63%**

● Negative ● Neutral ● Positive

It cannot be said that the fact that the news is data-based positively affects the news tone perceived by the society. In data-based news, although the data points to factual reality, it is observed that the tone used in transferring data contains negative / neutral elements. For this reason, it is seen that news without research / data are in a more positive tone than those that contain data, and that news with data is more neutral.

Graph 20. News Tone Perceived by CSOs by Research / Data Availability

Available

0.71% **85.99%** **13.30%**

Not Available

2.36% **77.38%** **20.26%**

● Negative ● Neutral ● Positive
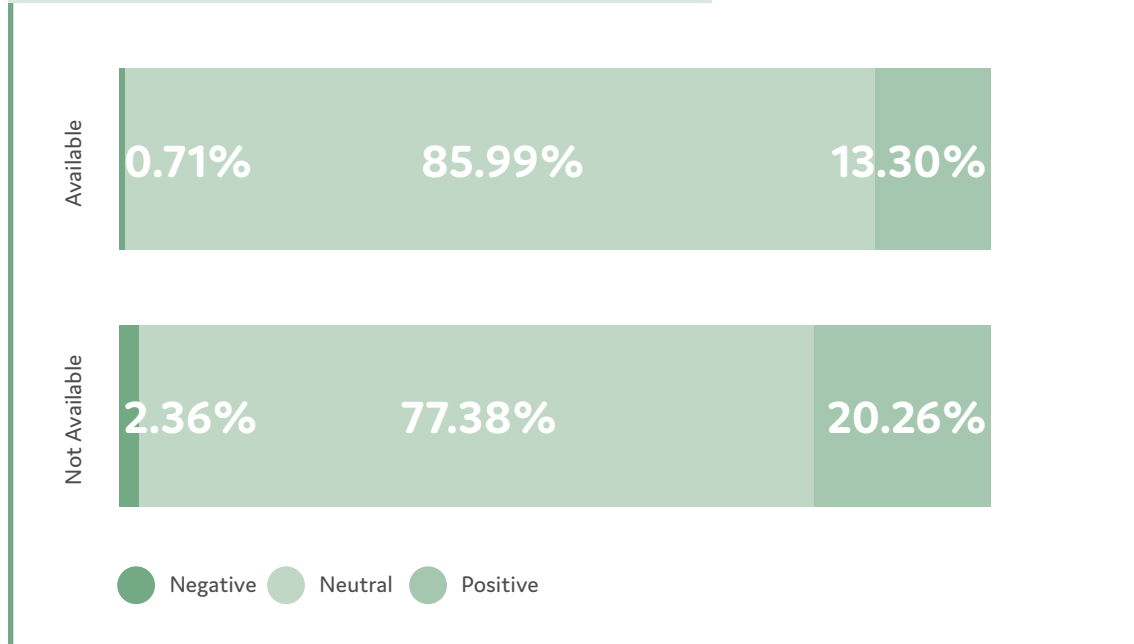
It cannot be said that the fact that the news is data-based has a positive effect on the news tone perceived by the CSOs. It is seen that the news without research / data has a more positive tone.

Table 29. Research / Data Availability in the News by Civil Topography Classification

	AVAILABLE	NOT AVAILABLE
Profession Oriented	56.9%	43.1%
Expert	71.2%	28.8%
Advocating	45.9%	54.1%
Charity	23.2%	76.8%
Socialization	12.1%	87.9%
Political Oriented	20.0%	80.0%
Fellow Townsman	13.2%	86.8%
Protector	20.0%	80.0%
Self-Organization	52.4%	47.6%
Club	23.5%	76.5%
Market Oriented	42.9%	57.1%
CONSTRUCT, SUSTAİN, IMPROVE	33.3%	66.7%
Subsidiary	75.0%	25.0%

Data-based news is most common in subsidiaries and expert organizations. Looking at the research/data availability of the news that CSOs participate in according to the classification category, it seems that the highest research/ data availability is found in subsidiary CSOs with 75%. This is followed by news from expert CSOs with 57%. Accordingly, it can be said that the news of CSOs that address more professional, scientific areas of work contains research/ data. The category with the least research is socialization with 12% and fellow CSOs with 13%.

Table 30. Research / Data Availability in the News by Field of Activity

	INCLUDED	NOT INCLUDED
Professional / Sectoral	58.9%	41.1%
Health	71.9%	28.1%
Solidarity / Charity	23.9%	76.1%
Culture	20.2%	79.8%
Environment / Nature Protection	60.0%	40.0%
Woman	31.0%	69.0%
Human rights	52.9%	47.1%
Education	30.2%	69.8%
Research / Science	65.5%	34.5%
Politics / Thought	17.5%	82.5%

| Art	26.5%	73.5%
Sport	14.7%	85.3%
Disability	6.1%	93.9%
Development	65.6%	34.4%
Animal rights	15.4%	84.6%
Child	13.0%	87.0%
Aid	30.0%	70.0%
Citizen	10.5%	89.5%
Youth	38.9%	61.1%
Consumer Rights	35.3%	64.7%
Other	47.1%	52.9%

According to the field of activity of CSOs, the research / data availability in civil society news is at the highest rate with 72% in the news of CSOs working in the field of health. This is followed by CSOs in the field of development with 66% and research with 65%. In addition, the news of CSOs in the fields of environment / nature protection, professional / sectoral and human rights ranks first among the news containing research / data. The least research containing news appears as the news of CSOs working for the disabled.

Graph 21. Availability of International Reference in the News


42%

58%

⬤ Available ⬤ Not Available
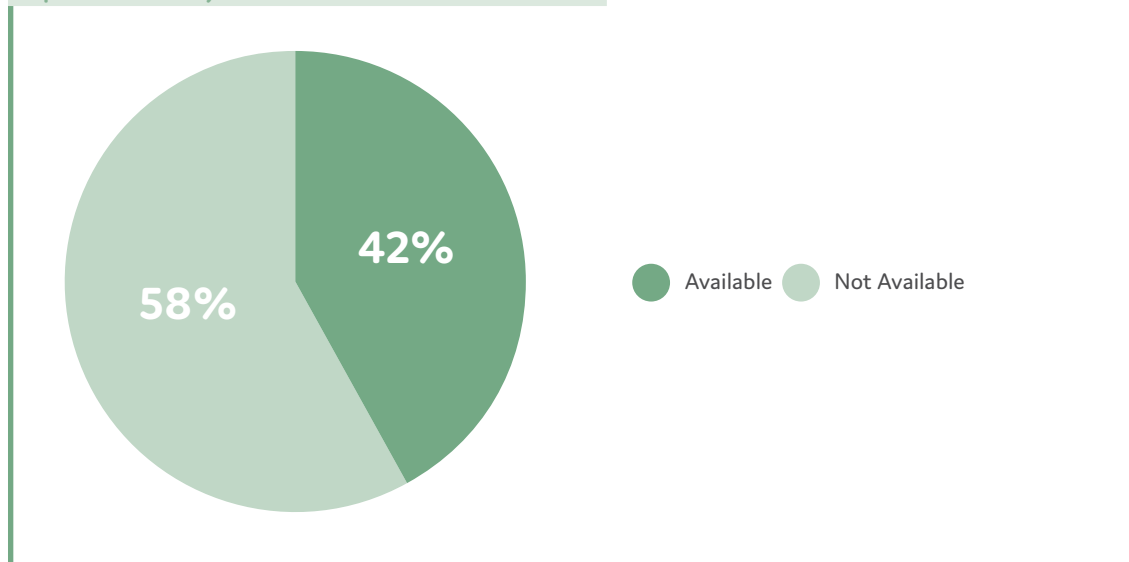
Global issues are reflected in the civil society news by 42%. In other words, the rate of civil society news benefiting from international sources is 42%. Accordingly, it can be said that civil society news refers to international and domestic sources.

Graph 22. News Tone Perceived by the Society by Availability of International Reference

Available

6.1% | 82.6% | 11.2%

Not Available

9% | 79.4% | 11.6%

● Negative ● Neutral ● Positive
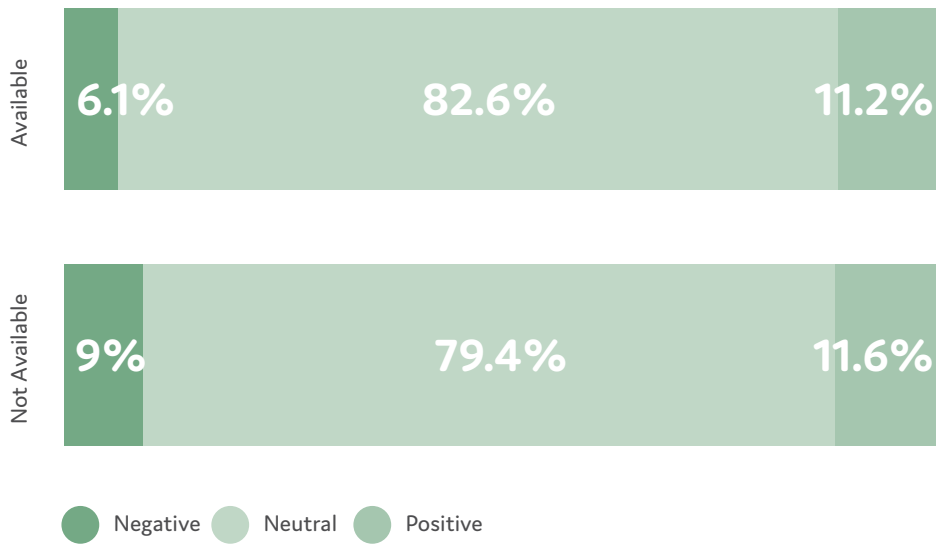
A neutral tone prevails in civil society news perceived by society, whether it has international references or not. There is no significant differentiation in the tone of the news according to the international reference. While 11% of news with international references is positive, the same rate is 12% for news that do not contain international references.

Graph 23. News Tone Perceived by CSOs by Availability of International Reference

Available

1.2% | 83.3% | 15.6%

Not Available

1.8% | 80.5% | 17.7%

● Negative ● Neutral ● Positive
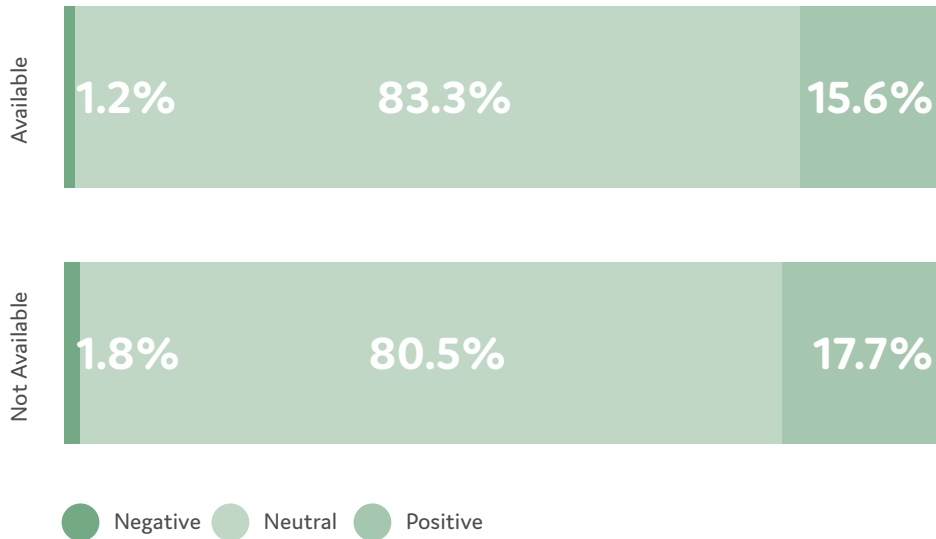
According to the international reference, a neutral tone prevails in the news perceived by CSOs. Again, there is no significant differentiation in the tone of the news according to the international reference. While 16% of news with international references are positive, the same rate is 18% for news that do not contain international references.

|	AVAILABLE	NOT AVAILABLE
Profession Oriented	46.5%	53.5%
Expert	50.2%	49.8%
Advocating	25.9%	74.1%
Charity	39.5%	60.5%
Socialization	32.6%	67.4%
Political Oriented	28.3%	71.7%
Fellow Townsman	39.6%	60.4%
Protector	12.0%	88.0%
Self-Organization	28.6%	71.4%
Club	17.6%	82.4%
Market Oriented	21.4%	78.6%
CONSTRUCT, SUSTAİN, IMPROVE	50.0%	50.0%
Subsidiary	50.0%	50.0%

Civil society news with the most international references, is the news of expert, CONSTRUCT, SUSTAİN, IMPROVE and subsidiary CSOs with 50%. Given the research/data availability rates, the fact that the international reference in the news of expert CSOs is one of the categories with the highest rate is in line with the high research / data availability rate. News from CSOs in these three categories is followed by news from CSOs in the categories of profession with 47%, fellow townsman with 40%, charity with 40% and socialization with 33%, while CSO news in protector and club categories contains international reference below 20%.

	AVAILABLE	NOT AVAILABLE
Professional / Sectoral	46.9%	53.1%
Health	44.4%	55.6%
Solidarity / Charity	34.8%	65.2%
Culture	39.4%	60.6%
Environment / Nature Protection	35.3%	64.7%
Woman	25.4%	74.6%
Human rights	35.7%	64.3%
Education	30.2%	69.8%
Research / Science	58.2%	41.8%

Politics / Thought	37.5%	62.5%
Art	55.9%	44.1%
Sport	20.6%	79.4%
Disability	24.2%	75.8%
Development	37.5%	62.5%
Animal rights	3.8%	96.2%
Child	26.1%	73.9%
Aid	70.0%	30.0%
Citizen	36.8%	63.2%
Youth	33.3%	66.7%
Consumer Rights	17.6%	82.4%
Other	27.1%	72.9%

Graph 24. Availability of Call for Public in the News
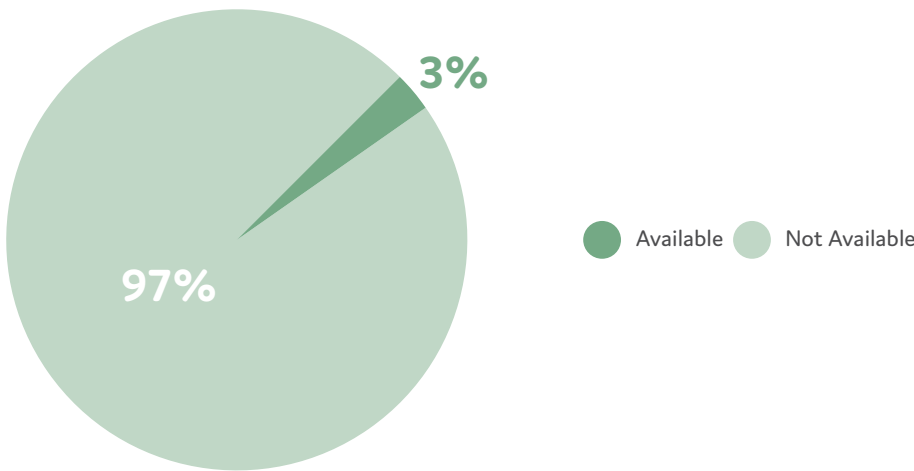
3%

97%

● Available ● Not Available

Civil society organizations do not make a call or appeal to the general community or to a specific social / demographic segment to create public opinion in news content related to them. Looking at the public call in news content, it seems that there is a call to the public about an issue in only 3% of the news.

Available

| 13.0% | 76.8% | 10.1% |

Not Available

| 7.6% | 80.9% | 11.5% |

● Negative ● Neutral ● Positive
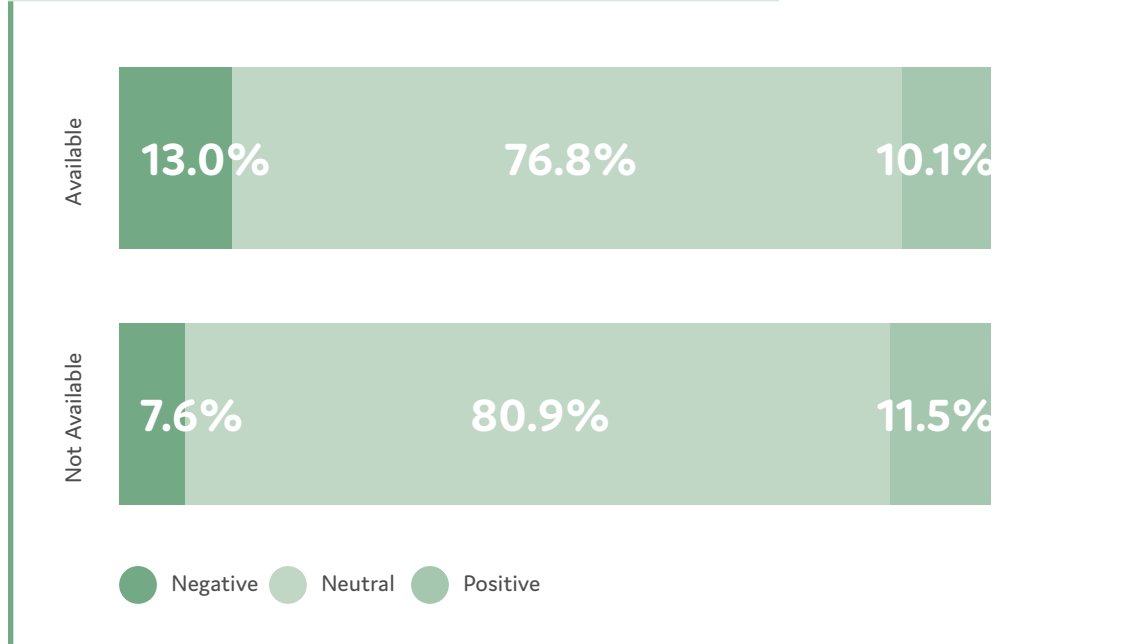
Calling for the public does not have a significant impact on the tone of the news perceived by the society. It can be said that it mostly creates a neutral effect. While 12% of the news calling for the public have a positive tone, this rate is seen as 10% in the non-calling news.

Available

| 1.4% | 72.5% | 26.1% |

Not Available

| 1.5% | 81.9% | 16.5% |

● Negative ● Neutral ● Positive
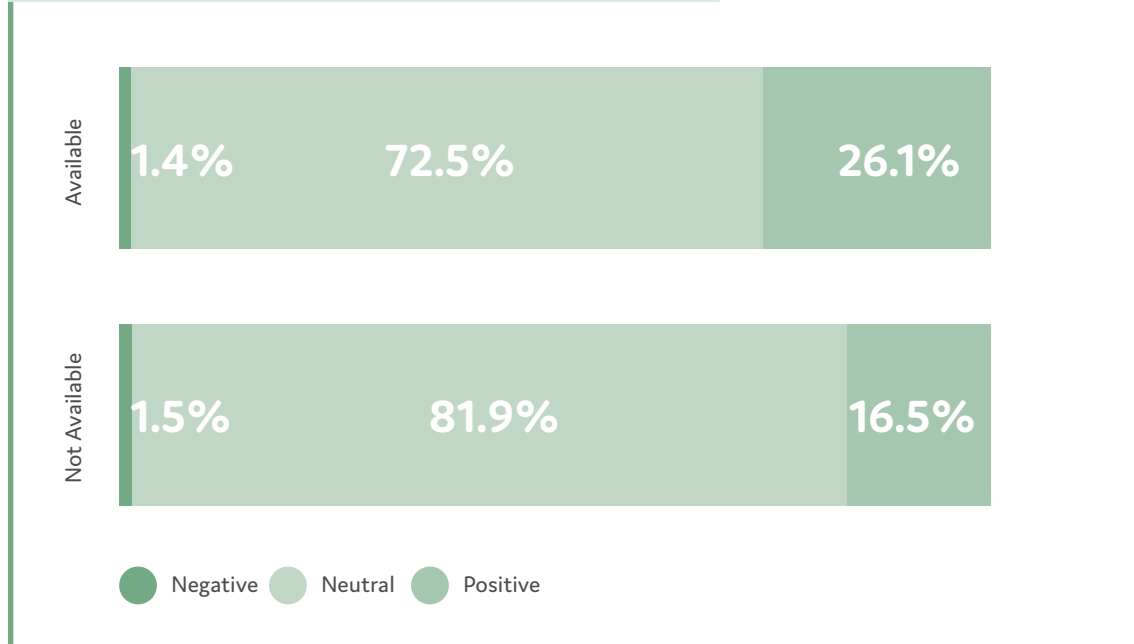
Calls made for the public have a significant impact on the tone of the news perceived by CSOs. While 26% of the news calling the public have a positive tone, this rate is 17% for the non-calling news.

Table 33. Availability of Call for Public by Civil Topography Classification

	AVAILABLE	NOT AVAILABLE
Profession Oriented	1.9%	98.1%
Expert	5.8%	94.2%
Advocating	4.7%	95.3%
Charity	4.0%	96.0%
Socialization	1.4%	98.6%
Political Oriented	1.7%	98.3%
Fellow Townsman	3.8%	96.2%
Protector	2.0%	98.0%
Self-Organizations	0.0%	100.0%
Club	0.0%	100.0%
Market Oriented	0.0%	100.0%
Construct, Sustain, Improve	0.0%	100.0%
Subsidiary	0.0%	100.0%

Calling for the public does not differ according to the categories of civil topography, and making calls in the news of any category does not exceed 6%. The news making the most calls is that of expert and advocating CSOs. Calling for the public is seen as 6% in expert CSOs, 5% in advocating CSOs and 4% in charity CSOs.

Table 34. Availability of Call for Public by Field of Activity

	AVAILABLE	NOT AVAILABLE
Professional / Sectoral	2.1%	97.9%
Health	7.7%	92.3%
Solidarity / Charity	2.2%	97.8%
Culture	2.9%	97.1%
Environment / Nature Protection	2.4%	97.6%
Woman	4.2%	95.8%
Human rights	1.4%	98.6%
Education	0.0%	100.0%
Research / Science	3.6%	96.4%

Politics / Thought	2.5%	97.5%
Art	0.0%	100.0%
Sport	0.0%	100.0%
Disability	3.0%	97.0%
Development	0.0%	100.0%
Animal rights	7.7%	92.3%
Child	4.3%	95.7%
Aid	10.0%	90.0%
Fellow Townsman	5.3%	94.7%
Youth	0.0%	100.0%
Consumer Rights	35.3%	64.7%
Other	2.9%	97.1%

According to the field of activity, calls for the public are most encountered in the news of CSOs operating in the fields of consumer rights. Calls are made for the public in 35% of the news of CSOs operating in the field of consumer rights. This is followed by the news of CSOs operating in the field of aids with 10%.

**Figure 3. Social Sections Where Calls Are Directed in CSO News**

When we consider the social segments to which calls are directed in CSO news, the society in general stands out. In addition, consumers and patients are at the top of the groups where calls are directed. The members of the association are another group that stands out among the groups to which the calls are directed. Again, among the prominent groups are animal lovers, youth, parents, Muslims and women.

4.5. HOW ARE CSOS INVOLVED IN THE NEWS AND WITH WHICH ACTORS?

4.5.1. POSITIONING OF CSOS WITH OTHER CSOS IN CSO NEWS

Graph 27. CSO / CSO Positioning
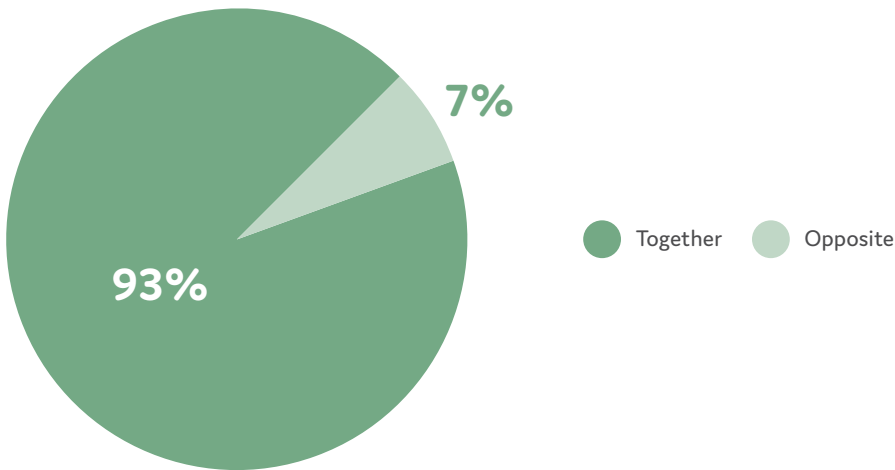
7%

93%

● Together   ● Opposite

When we look at the positioning of CSOs with other CSOs in the news, the rate of being mentioned with another CSO in the news is only 7%. In other words, there is no other CSO name in the content of CSO news with a total rate of 93%. CSOs that are seen together in the news seems to have an appearance not through contradictions, but through unanimity. There is a contradiction in 7% of the reports involving two CSOs while there is unanimity in 93% of these news

Table 35. CSO / CSO Positioning by Civil Topography Classification

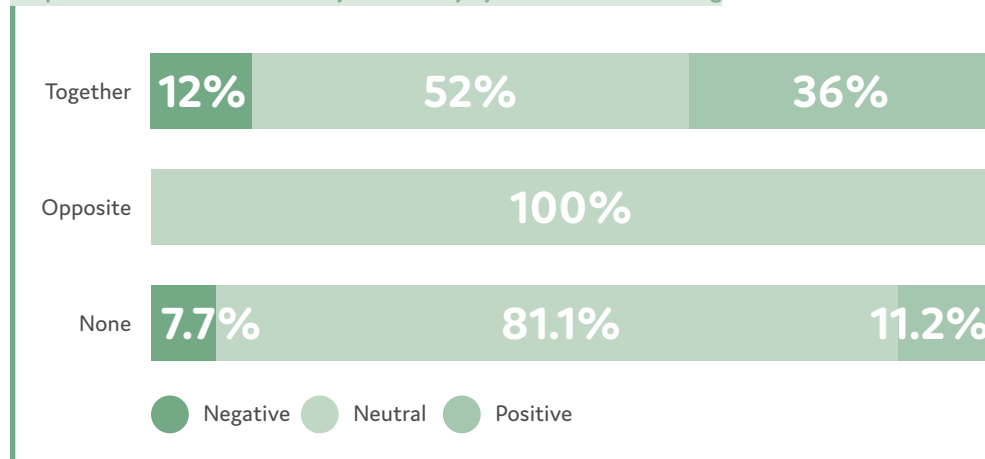|	UNANIMITY	CONTRADICTION	NONE
Profession Oriented	1.0%	0.1%	99.0%
Expert	0.7%	0.2%	99.0%
Advocating	2.4%	0.0%	97.6%
Charity	1.1%	0.0%	98.9%
Socialization	1.4%	0.0%	98.6%
Political Oriented	1.7%	0.0%	98.3%
Fellow Townsman	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Protector	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Self-Organization	4.8%	0.0%	95.2%
Club	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Market Oriented	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Construct, Sustain, Improve	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Subsidiary	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%

According to the classification of civil topography, there are no opposing CSOs in the news. There is a 5% unanimity in the news coverage of self-organizations.

Table 36. CSO / CSO Positioning by Field of Activity

	UNANIMITY	CONTRADICTION	NONE
Professional / Sectoral	1.0%	0.1%	98.9%
Health	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Solidarity / Charity	0.7%	0.0%	99.3%
Culture	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Environment / Nature Protection	5.9%	0.0%	94.1%
Woman	1.4%	0.0%	98.6%
Human Rights	2.9%	0.0%	97.1%
Education	1.6%	0.0%	98.4%
Research / Science	1.8%	1.8%	96.4%
Politics / Thought	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Art	2.9%	0.0%	97.1%
Sport	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Disability	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Development	3.1%	0.0%	96.9%
Animal rights	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Child	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Aid	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Fellow Townsman	5.3%	0.0%	94.7%
Youth	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Consumer Rights	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Other	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%

Considering the positioning of CSOs with other CSOs in the news that they are involved in according to their fields of activity, it seems that the contradictions are only in CSOs operating in the field of research/science at about 2%.

Graph 28. News Tone Perceived by the Society by CSO / CSO Positioning

Together: 12% | 52% | 36%

Opposite: 100%

None: 7.7% | 81.1% | 11.2%

● Negative   ● Neutral   ● Positive

When we look at the tone of the news perceived by the society according to the positioning of CSO / CSO, it is seen that the contradiction is completely neutral. Unanimity is perceived positively with a rate of 36%.

4.5.2. POSITIONING OF CSOS WITH PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS IN CSO NEWS

In 3% of civil society news, the name of a public institution is mentioned. The positioning of civil society-public institutions in the news is perceived to be more negative than the positioning of civil society among itself: 1%. On the other hand, it seems that civil society organizations take place together in 2% of the news that they participate with public institutions.

Graph 29. CSO / Public Institution Positioning

Legend: Together — Opposite — None

97%
2%
1%
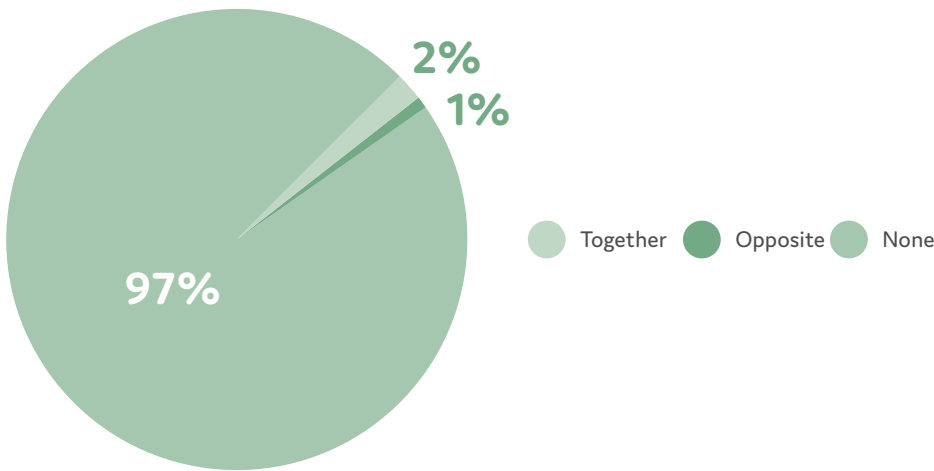
According to the category of civil topography, it seems that clubs and subsidiaries have a higher relationship with the public institutions. The biggest contradiction is in political-oriented CSOs. In 86% of politically oriented CSO news, civil society organizations are opposed to public institutions.

Table 37. CSO / Public institution Positioning by Civil Topography Classification

	UNANIMITY	CONTRADICTION	NONE
Profession Oriented	1.9%	1.0%	97.1%
Expert	1.9%	0.0%	98.1%
Advocating	1.2%	2.0%	96.9%
Charity	4.0%	0.0%	96.0%
Socialization	0.7%	0.0%	99.3%
Political Oriented	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Fellow Townsman	0.0%	3.8%	96.2%
Protector	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Self-Organization	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%

| Club	5.9%	0.0%	94.1%
Market Oriented	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Construct, Sustain, Improve	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Subsidiary	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%

Civil society news does not address public institutions. The rate of calling for public institutions in the content of civil society news is 4%.

Graphic 30. Call for Public Institutions

4%

96%

● There is   ● There isn't
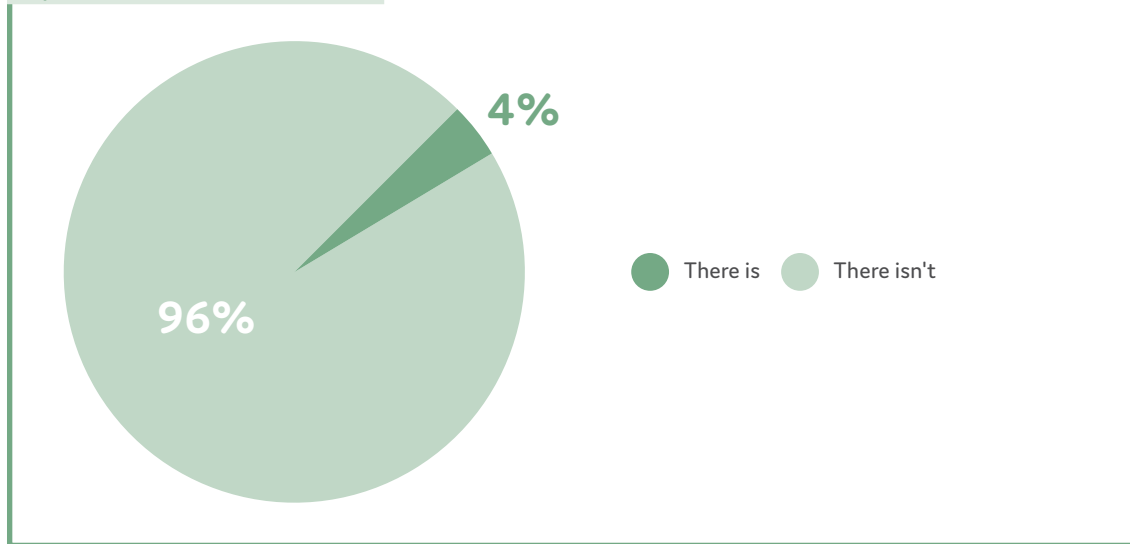
Considering the tone perceived by the society in CSO news that call for public institutions or not, a neutral tone prevails in the news, while a negative tone is observed in 33% of the news that calls for public institutions, and a negative tone is observed in approximately 7% of those who do not. Here, a negative tone difference of 26% stands out in the approach between the news that is calling for public institutions and that is not doing so.

Graph 31. News Tone Perceived by the Society by Calling for Public Institutions

There is: 33.3% | 65.6% | 1%

There isn't: 6.7% | 81.4% | 11.9%

● Negative ● Neutral ● Positive
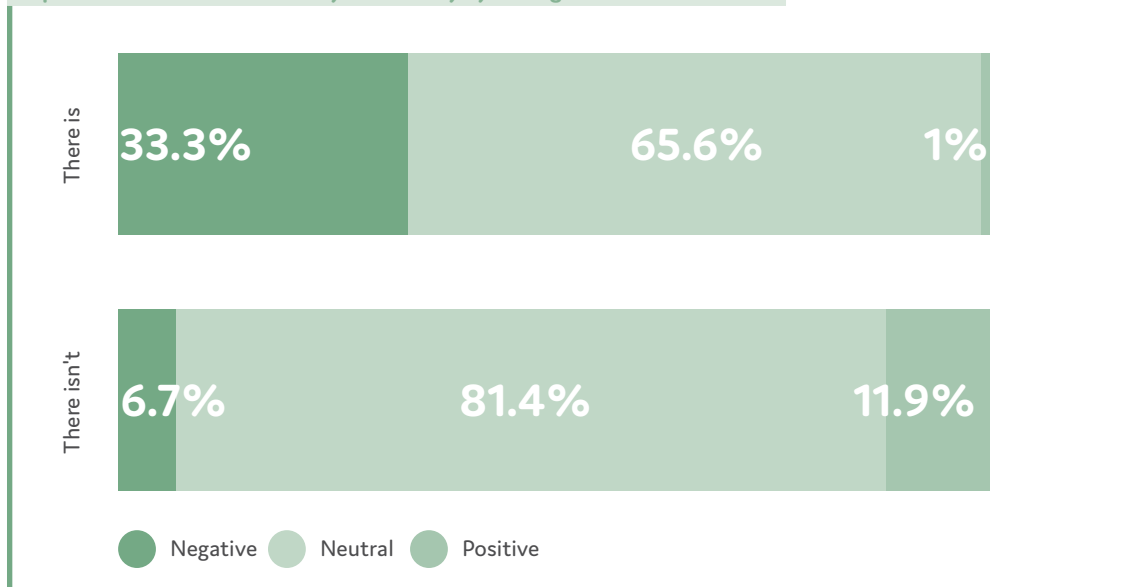
Mostly advocating, market-oriented CSOs and self-organizations are calling for public institutions. The call for public institutions is high in 16% of the news of advocating CSOs, and in 14% of market-oriented CSOs and self-organizations. There are no calls for public institutions in the news of CONSTRUCT, SUSTAİN, IMPROVE and subsidiary CSO categories.

Table 38. Call for Public Institutions by Civil Topography Classification

	AVAILABLE	NOT AVAILABLE
Profession Oriented	3.1%	96.9%
Expert	1.2%	98.8%
Advocating	16.1%	83.9%
Charity	2.3%	97.7%
Socialization	2.1%	97.9%
Political Oriented	3.3%	96.7%
Fellow Townsman	1.9%	98.1%
Protector	4.0%	96.0%
Self-Organization	14.3%	85.7%
Club	0.0%	100.0%
Market Oriented	14.3%	85.7%
Construct, Sustain, Improve	0.0%	100.0%
Subsidiary	0.0%	100.0%

Considering the rate of calls for public institutions in the news according to the fields of activity of CSOs, it seems that CSOs operating in the field of human rights call for public institutions at most with a rate that makes a difference with other fields of activity of CSOs, namely about 29%. In CSOs engaged in consumer rights and fellow townsman, these rates are 12% and 11%, respectively. Looking at these activities, which are in the top 2, it can be said that the rights-based and political-oriented CSOs are called for public institutions in their news.

**Table 39. Call for Public Institutions by Field of Activity**

	AVAILABLE	NOT AVAILABLE
Professional / Sectoral	2.9%	97.1%
Health	3.1%	96.9%
Solidarity / Charity	2.9%	97.1%
Culture	3.8%	96.2%
Environment / Nature Protection	4.7%	95.3%
Woman	4.2%	95.8%
Human Rights	28.6%	71.4%
Education	3.2%	96.8%
Research / Science	0.0%	100.0%
Politics / Thought	5.0%	95.0%

Art	2.9%	97.1%
Sport	0.0%	100.0%
Disability	6.1%	93.9%
Development	3.1%	96.9%
Animal rights	3.8%	96.2%
Child	0.0%	100.0%
Aid	0.0%	100.0%
Fellow Townsman	10.5%	89.5%
Youth	0.0%	100.0%
Consumer Rights	11.8%	88.2%

## 4.5.3. POSITIONING OF CSOS WITH PRIVATE SECTOR IN CSO NEWS

The private sector is not targeted in civil society news. In only 1% of the news, there is a call for the private sector.

Graph 32. Call for Private Sector in the News
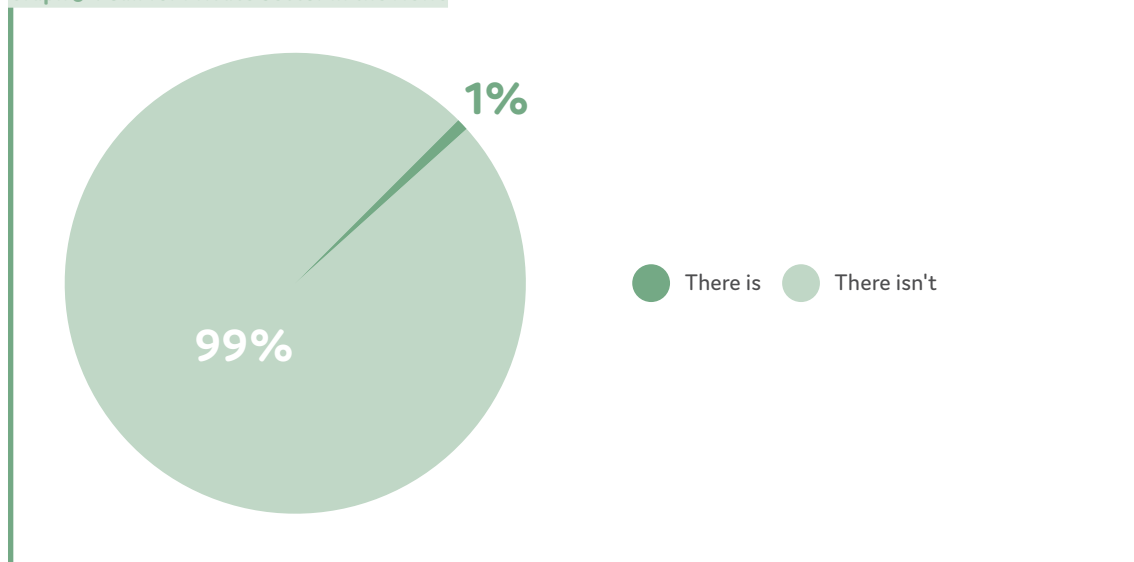
A neutral tone prevails in all of the news calling for the private sector. But the news calling for the private sector is in a more positive tone than the ones that aren't. About 18% of the news calling for the private sector is positive, while this figure is about 8% for the news that are not.

Graph 33. News Tone by Call for Private Sector

There is	17.86%	78.57%	3.57%
There isn't	7.66%	80.8%	11.54%

● Negative ● Neutral ● Positive
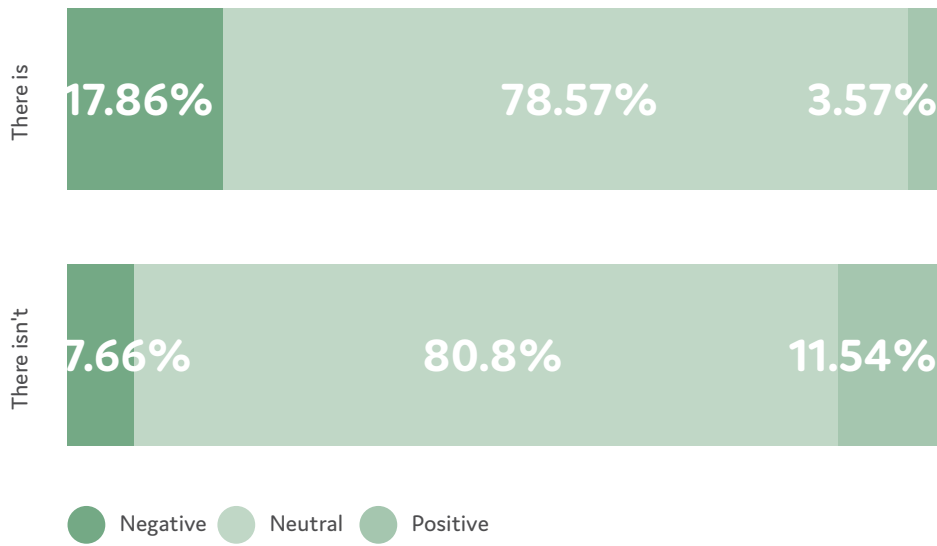
The civil topography category that makes the most calls for the private sector is fellow townsman. About 3% of CSO news in the fellow townsman category has a call for the private sector to take action. This is followed by advocating and profession-oriented CSOs with 2%.

Table 40. Call for Private Sector by Civil Topography Classification

|	AVAILABLE	NOT AVAILABLE
Profession Oriented	2.0%	98.0%
Expert	0.0%	100.0%
Advocating	2.0%	98.0%
Charity	0.0%	100.0%
Socialization	0.0%	100.0%
Political Oriented	0.0%	100.0%
Fellow Townsman	3.8%	96.2%
Protector	0.0%	100.0%
Self-Organization	0.0%	100.0%
Club	0.0%	100.0%
Market Oriented	0.0%	100.0%
Construct, Sustain, Improve	0.0%	100.0%
Subsidiary	0.0%	100.0%

Considering the CSOs that call for the private sector according to their field of activity, CSOs operating in the field of consumer rights are at the highest rate with approximately 12%. Followed by fellow townsman CSOs with 5%. The rate of CSOs operating in the fields of sports, politics / thought and environment / nature protection to call for the private sector is 3%, 3% and 2%, respectively.

Table 41. Call for Private Sector by Field of Activity

	AVAILABLE	NOT AVAILABLE
Professional / Sectoral	1.8%	98.2%
Health	0.0%	100.0%
Solidarity / Charity	0.0%	100.0%
Culture	0.0%	100.0%
Environment / Nature Protection	2.4%	97.6%
Woman	0.0%	100.0%
Human Rights	0.0%	100.0%
Education	0.0%	100.0%
Research / Science	0.0%	100.0%
Politics / Thought	2.5%	97.5%
Art	0.0%	100.0%
Sport	2.9%	97.1%
Disability	0.0%	100.0%
Development	0.0%	100.0%
Animal rights	0.0%	100.0%
Child	0.0%	100.0%
Aid	0.0%	100.0%
Fellow Townsman	5.3%	94.7%
Youth	0.0%	100.0%
Consumer Rights	11.8%	88.2%
Other	**6.7%**	**460.0%**

Civil society organizations do not appear in the news with the private sector. Company name is mentioned in only 3% of the news. While there is a contradiction in 1% of the news in which civil society and private sector are seen together, they are positioned in unanimity in 2%

Graph 34. CSO / Private Sector Positioning

2%
1%

97%

Together ● Opposite ● None
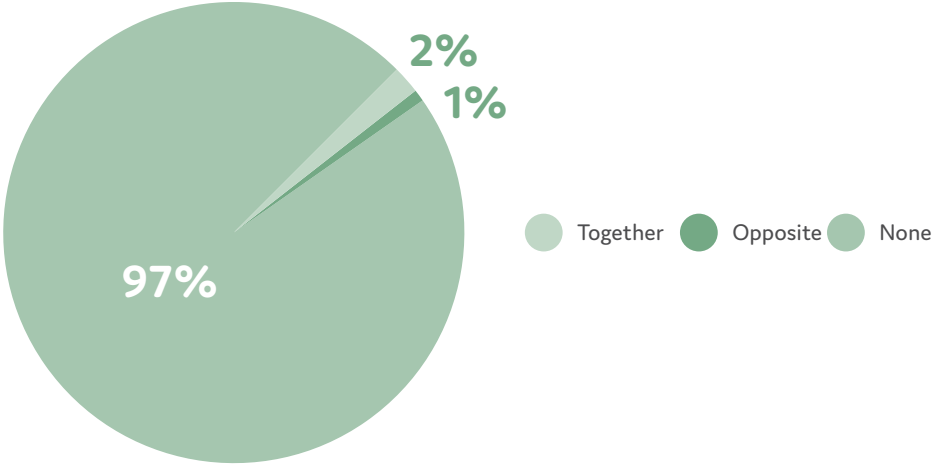
5

CSOS ON THE VISIBILITY VS. INVISIBILITY PENDULUM: QUALITATIVE ASSESSMENT

It is obvious that the media visibility of CSOs is an important issue. It is also possible to argue that there is more than one dimension of this importance that is interrelated-intertwined. One of the issues concerning media visibility is the awareness and reliability of CSOs. Confidence in well-known and recognized CSOs is growing, which plays an extremely important role in developing CSOs' capacity, both in terms of volunteering and donation mechanisms. At the same time, the relevant CSOs can move the issue they are addressing and advocating to the public agenda. Media visibility of CSOs is also important for the development of plurality in the media, the survival of the media as a civic and public platform. Many issues related to democracy, multiculturalism, disadvantaged groups, participation, pluralism and rights can become part of the media agenda along with CSO visibility. This, in turn, leads to the democratization and diversification of the media agenda. When we think that in a democratic environment, the media can take on functions such as reporting, providing analysis, investigation, building empathy, being a public forum, mobilizing and democratic education (Schudson, 2014), it is obvious that CSOs will make a significant contribution to all of these functions. At this stage of our research, we asked a number of questions from this framework to CSO representatives, members of the media and experts/researchers working on civil society. Information about the people and their institutions whose views are taken as references can be found in Table 9 in Section 3-2.

The in-depth interview question form consisted of three main parts following personal information. These three main sections also form the basic organization of our research report:

- Questions about the effects of the current media structure on CSOs' media visibility and CSO-media relations;

- Questions about the dynamics, forms and conditions of CSOs' coverage in the media;

- Questions about the relationship of the institutional capacities and communication of CSOs with their media visibility.

As we have mentioned, this sequence will be followed in this section, which will address the findings of the in-depth interviews. Our goal is not to reach the final truth about these questions or to take a picture that presents a full picture of the CSO ecology in Turkey. Rather, we strive to identify in what terms CSO visibility is considered in the CSO-Media-Politics triangle, different ways of defining the relationships and actors, and different definitions of problems and solutions. Although there are certain limitations, we see that extremely rich findings are available from in-depth interviews.

5.1. MEDIA IN TURKEY WITHIN THE DILEMMA OF POLARIZATION, CONTROL AND NON-QUALIFICATION

In this part of our study, in which we tried to understand the dynamics of media visibility and invisibility of civil society, participants were first asked to define the media environment in Turkey, rank

the characteristics that make Turkish media discrete, and categorize the media. Classifications and categories are important indicators that reveal how social actors understand and perceive the outside world and how they frame what is happening around them. Because social actors use these frameworks, categorical schemes, hierarchical classifications and definitions as their basis when determining their thoughts, attitudes and behaviors. Participants were first asked to define and categorize the media area in Turkey without any classification logic and orientation. Although the answers to the question differ, it seems that the main orientation is the political classification, and when defining this orientation, the issue of polarization stands out.

5.1.1. CLASSIFYING THE MEDIA

Currently, it is emphasized that the media in Turkey is under the dominance of visual media. One of the highlights is that visual media is "dominated" by pro-government media. It is said that one of the important consequences of this dominance is the disappearance of the mainstream media in Turkey. According to G4, a researcher and member of a rights-based CSO; Fox TV and Halk TV offer two alternatives that are rising in visual media against this block, and behind this rise is that "all other channels say similar things to each other and repeat each other." However, the participant also mentions that initiatives such as Mediascope, T24 are becoming stronger alternatives every day and talk about the existence of media that "are more critical, have a good number of views and readings, which we cannot say directly against the government." Even the academic participant (G14) notes that with

the shrinking of the media space, people who cannot participate here are turning to alternative media, and alternative media is becoming more mainstream.

In media classifications, criteria such as independence, impartiality, objectivity and freedom appear to stand out. One of the important points is the emerging consensus that actors with these characteristics are mostly found in New Media and alternative media. The journalist, who is also a member of the Press said:

"We can't talk about an independent media, we can't talk about adjectives like independence and freedom, there are newspapers here that we can call more pro-government and opposition. Let me say that we encounter a more unbiased type of media in internet newspapers than in the written press." (G5)

5.1.2. TURKISH MEDIA

When we ask about the basic characteristics of the media in Turkey, it seems that the answers focused on politics are intense. A significant number of respondents to our questions describe the media as an area that is heavily controlled by the government; where the government decides what is included in the media or not, devoid of independence and freedom. The point that participants often highlighted in mono-block media depiction is the dominant capital structure in the media and the relations between media capital and the government.

"Polarization... ownership structure ... that coal is now the main energy policy of the government. The censorship used ... however, many factors, such as the ownership relationship of newspapers with the energy sector, prevent coal-related news from appearing in the media." (G6)

Capital structure and government control are not the only problems of the Turkish media. In the interviews, quality, or rather poor quality, is another issue that determines the Turkish media. Currently, the bottleneck experienced by journalistic activity is defined by an CSO employee participant in the following words:

"Unfortunately, the number of qualified journalists in the media has decreased a lot. In the old days, when we talked about great journalists, there were reporters who specialized in all areas. There was a reporter specializing in health, a reporter specializing in the environment, a reporter specializing in women's rights, and these people were really expert, qualified and fluent in many languages. But because of the structures and facilities available now, many people have moved away." (G6)

An CSO employee participant (G8) adds "frequent task changes" to problems with the workforce in the media. According to the participant, these rapid changes in the media are an important obstacle to establishing permanent relations between CSOs and the media.

The question of quality is not only raised by referring to the working conditions or qualifications of media employees. At the same time, the fact that the quality of media content also decreased from the perspective of the participant in the media (G4) is expressed in the following words:

"The state of the newspapers is deplorable. It's deplorable once in content. As you know, because of the political situation in the country, the habit of reading newspapers has now disappeared. From the point of view of television channels that used to be called mainstream, the situation is also not very pleasant. They're going down. Internet broadcasting is winning now. Podcasts have been common lately. They became quite popular." (G4)

However, new media and new publishing practices are not received so positively by all participants. In the words of researcher/CSO member participant (G13), the Turkish media is not the media of 2020":

"What we call new media is that conventional media has moved to the internet in Turkey. There's not a lot of new media. There have been alternative examples for 1-2 years, but for example, the Hürriyet newspaper and the Hürriyet website, The Sabah newspaper and the Sabah website are not different from each other. In this sense, the Turkish media is not the media of 2020. This aspect is very weak. Its design is very similar to each other. There are very few newspapers and televisions whose design aesthetic is good. Others are usually the same templates that look similar to each other." (G13)

Until now, almost all of the participants have described and classified the Turkish media in a negative way and in negative terms. The characteristics of the Turkish media are stated by the participants as being under government control, being in the hands of government-controlled capital, being under strict control, biased and polarized. Again, according to the participants, what the media does not have is objectivity, criticality and quality. As can be seen in the next section, this politicized reading of the media field often affects the answers to other questions of in-depth interviews.

5.2. CSO VISIBILITY IN THE MEDIA

In this section, where we will discuss the opinions of the participants on the media visibility of CSOs, the following questions were basically answered:

*   Is visibility important? Why does it matter?

*   Are CSOs visible enough in the media? Which CSOs have more / less media visibility?

*   In what situations and in what ways do CSOs become visible in the media?

*   What are the determinants of visibility?

5.2.1. WHEN WE SAY CSO

Before moving on to the importance of visibility, it will be useful for our discussion to reveal what participants understand from civil society and how they define the CSO area. Many of the participants seem to have a distinction between independent CSOs and pro-government CSOs. For example, a media participant (G4) answers the question of CSO visibility with the following question:

"What do we understand when we say civil society? I mean, for example, is civil society the ones who are very close to power? Are we going to accept them, for example, as civil society? We don't pay much attention to civil society organizations that are not civilians." (G4)

5.2.2. BEING VISIBLE

One of our first questions about the media visibility of CSOs was whether media visibility matters and why it matters. All participants, except a rights-based CSO representative participant, note that it is important for CSOs to be visible in the media. Academic participant (G12) notes that communication should be a priority for all organizations, not just CSOs, and adds:

"It is more important for civil society organizations, because first of all, when we ask what the reason for the existence of a civil society organization is, we see a segment that it wants to reach. It could be the whole of society, it could be a more limited group of people who are disadvantaged." (G12)

Agency employee participant (G3) notes that "every step taken by CSOs "who are trying to eliminate and heal the wounds formed in society" must be seen". Here, visibility is vital to achieving the objectives of the relevant CSO.

Visibility is also often associated with CSOs' sources of funds and donations. CSO representative participant (G7) states that visibility has a vital meaning when viewed from the perspective of civil society and explains this importance in the following words:

"Because civil society organizations like us in Turkey continue to survive through certain funds and realize their

projects. These funds create an addiction. The fact that it can create its own donors and its own public opinion, which should form the lifeblood and support its continuity, is one of the indispensable tools of a civil society organization and the media is vital for this." (G7)

The relationship between visibility, sustainability and funds is one of the frequently highlighted points. Agency employee participant (G3) notes that resource is very important for CSOs, so they should "be visible in the media in terms of communication". Another participant (G13) states that CSOs "are increasing the number of people who will take care of whatever problem they are apparently interested in as much as they are visible and thus increasing the number of people who will fund it."

"Let's say the issue of violence against women bothers me. I want violence against women to be prevented, but there's nothing I can do. If there is such an association, I donate 10 liras a month, 20 liras 50 liras to support it, and I satisfy my myself like this. Some of us are doing activism, and some of us are supporting them and fulfill the civil society duty. Therefore, visibility is very important for civil society." (G13)

Visibility is defined as an important determinant not only in terms of achieving goals and raising funds, but also in order to increase supporters, mobilize relevant segments of society and gain legitimacy:

"You're also doing some rights-based advocacy work, and you need each of your supporters to be a soldier in this fight. Reaching more people and expanding the community is the primary goal. The second goal is to tell those what you have done and to express that the support they have given has gone to a rightful place and that a proper job has been done. As a third reason, we can say that being visible in the media is important in order to change the mentality in the general public in the areas where you are advocating and to have a certain impact on legislators." (G7)

One of the highlighted points and key words in the relationship between CSOs and media visibility has been "trust". According to the academic participant (G12) who said, "We need to trust each other as a society, as a world, even as humanity" communication plays a key role in the CSOs' trust building process. Other academic participant (G11), known for his work on civil society and volunteerism, emphasizes that there is a link between donations, trust and visibility. The participant describes a mutually positive form of relationship in which each element supports the other:

"They don't trust and they don't know where the money is going. So platforms that show that they are accountable, transparent, like CSOs like "...." that we have established have found a little more space in the press. Because that emphasis on transparency is critical. Because people are curious about things like where my money goes, what's going on, I think that kind of work finds more space in the press. For example, "..." found a lot of space. The reason for this, of course, is that there is everything in it, running, entertainment, sports. As the numbers rise and 17 million liras was collected in a race, you could be a subject to economic news, sports news and civil society news. There is such a thing. I think "..." has attracted a lot of mainstream interest in terms of visibility, but it's taken a lot of years, to be honest." (G11)

The CSO representative participant (G8) notes that trust is extremely important, especially for small CSOs, in a country where there can be "some unpleasant things", in the field of CSOs. Because for people, supporters, and the media to take you seriously, you need to "get recognized and earn their trust."

However, media visibility is not always desirable. It can even be avoided, especially for CSOs that work in sensitive areas. An CSO representative (G9) states that they do not consider it appropriate to share their events in the media, that the audience who will attend the event is concerned about this situation, that there may be people who come to the event just to sabotage it, and that this may disturb other participants: "we're worried about being lynched and putting someone in danger." The same CSO representative cites an unpleasant incident that they experienced as an example of this:

"For example, I remember that last year, 1-2 journalists tried to infiltrate our conference, I did not know which organization they were from. One of them even passed out. I'm using the word infiltrated because he caused a lot of discomfort. She was constantly angering people, pushing women in the bathroom and trying to get their ideas with statements that would provoke them, and we had to force her out, and she even snarled the hotel on her way out." (G9)

5.2.3. NEWS VALUE

One of the things to focus on before entering into a discussion about the visibility of CSOs in the media is what is newsworthy. A significant number of participants include the phenomenon of "newsworthy" in the discussion. The academic participant (G14), whose field of study is journalism, emphasizes that in order for something to be newsworthy, apart from CSO news, it must contain several distinctive elements: the urgency of the incident, the magnitude of the incident, the proximity of the incident to us, and usually the negativity. He notes that news about CSOs is often stuck in one of these filters and is not considered newsworthy by journalists. Here we see that it is useful to convey the comment about the negativity here:

"Negative news grabs attention. And when you look at CSOs, for example, the issues they are interested in can already be tricky issues. It can be a woman issue. It can be the environment. The topics here may not be easy to explain immediately." (G14)

The other academic participant (G14) stated that the media have different priorities and that remarkable content is needed to be among these priorities and adds: **"Bad things can take part in more news. There is a journalistic rhetoric. They say" Bad news is good news." Bad news spreads quickly, bad news becomes more headlines."** A similar emphasis comes from the CSO representative working in the field of migration (G7). Journalists, in the habit of reporting, in an enormous data scarcity, engage in headlines that serve an agitated language where the audience they address is the most receptive. On the other hand, it is stated that CSOs are actors who are outside of this news language and logic.

5.2.4. IS CSO VISIBILITY SUFFICIENT?

One of the most important questions posed to the participants was whether they found CSO visibility sufficient in the media. Although the answer to this question is generally negative, it is seen that conditions and reservations are often noted. So, in addition to whether the CSOs are visible or not, it is frequently emphasized that visibility varies according to which CSOs and which media are mentioned.

Our participant (G10), a member of a CSO operating in the field of environment, emphasizes that "there is never enough" and that there will always be more coverage in the media. A similar emphasis comes from another CSO participant (G7): **"It will never be enough within the framework of the goals we set for ourselves."**

A significant portion of the participants state that CSOs do not have enough coverage in the media, they are not visible enough, and draw attention to different reasons for this. For example, media member participant (G2) states that CSOs are not sufficiently covered in the media and underlines that CSOs are the main responsible for this: **"The reason for this is that the civil society cannot introduce their own work too much (...) Secondly, because the people in the civil society are always the same people and they appear on every channel so when they are hosted 1-2 times, they do not need to express their opinions again."** Another media member participant (G5) does not find the media visibility of CSOs sufficient and attributes this to the fact that there are not enough strong movements in civil society, the movements remain as sparks for a short time and cannot be fed.

The academician participant (G12) also states that CSOs cannot find enough coverage in the media and that there are different reasons for this both in terms of media and CSOs. According to the participant, the media has its own priorities on the agenda of the country that "does not normalize" and in this extraordinary flow, "talking about civil society, talking about CSOs, associations, talking about their activities or giving them a place in the media seems a bit luxurious". Similarly, the other academic participant (G11) emphasizes that not being able to find enough space is due to media and CSOs. According to the participant, CSOs often lack communication plans about their work or the campaigns they run. The fact that conventional media is also not aware of such issues completes the picture.

The conclusion that the media does not know CSOs well enough is agreed by other participants. For example, CSO participant (G5) states that the media does not know CSOs well enough, that the number of journalists writing in the field of civil society among media workers is very low and explains this with the interests of the media: **"No matter how many things you tell, they say what they want, they act by thinking about what will attract attention."**

It is seen that CSO members, media workers and academics who share their views with us agree to a large extent that CSOs do not have enough coverage in the media. An exception to this is the following comment by the media representative participant: **"Whether pro-state or independent, I think non-governmental organizations find their coverage in the media one way or another."**

Despite this agreement, the parties differ

over the reasons for not getting enough media coverage. While CSOs hold the media responsible for this situation, the media point to CSOs, and academics and experts draw attention to the mutual dynamics that both sides bear responsibility. In other words, the two main actors of the process, the CSOs and the media, place the responsibility on the other actor rather than look at themselves with a self-critical perspective.

Continuing with the issue of visibility, alternative media is defined as a space where CSOs can share and show themselves and their activities more frequently for many participants. CSO employee participant (G7) states that although it is more important to take part in mainstream media in order to influence public opinion, they cannot find enough coverage in these channels, but platforms such as Bianet, Gazete Duvar, Civil Space, Civil Pages and T24 are reporting them more. It is seen that the academician participant (G11) made a similar comment with reference to Diken and Medyascope platforms.

5.2.5. FORMS AND DETERMINANTS OF VISIBILITY

In our research, in addition to how visible CSOs are in the media, we also asked how they looked, in other words, how they were presented and in what contexts and how they were portrayed. Here, too, almost all of the participants presented us with an extremely negative picture. It is possible to collect the answers given under more than one category.

1. **CSOs as elements of incapacity:** Our academician participant (G11) states that CSOs and CSO beneficiaries are often presented as incapable actors in the media and that a downplaying language dominates the media.

2. **CSOs as criminal elements:** Many participants agree that CSOs are often involved in the media by being criminalized or associated with a crime. For example, the media do not report on an CSO meeting, but if the police raid that meeting, they would (G4). A civil society employee states the following: "If it is not trying to criminalize a someone from here, the media does not give much coverage.".

3. **CSOs as players of the opposite team:** According to the media participant (G1), negative representation also manifests itself in the civil society side of the political polarization. In the words of the participant: "State-controlled media only cover independent civil society organizations to defame them. This is actually a war, so since the government is a repressive totalitarian government, they have declared war on civil society organizations that have close ties with independent Europe. Therefore, independent civil society organizations are involved only to be defamed and accused." A similar emphasis is present in the statements of the other media employee (G2) participant. Independent civil society organizations always appear negatively in the pro-government media.

4. **CSOs as reactive actors:** Participants also state that CSOs are often featured in the media in relation to the problem and reaction. CSOs can take place in the media as actors who are "unable to set the agenda" (G10) and become mainstream (G13) in the context of negative issues, where the media extends the microphone during a problem or crisis.

5. CSOs as sideshow actors: Another point that stands out in the interviews is that CSOs are constantly involved as secondary actors in media representations. (G7, G13).

In addition to the way CSOs appear in the media, the participants were asked what the factors determining visibility are. What conditions, situations, stories, or features make or do not make a CSO more visible in the media?

The agency employee participant (G3) emphasizes that the main factor determining the visibility of an CSO is "urgency". According to the participant, in other words, when it comes to issues that occupy the agenda and need to be talked about urgently, CSOs find more coverage in the media. According to the media member participant (G5), the more an issue hurts, the more the interest in the relevant CSO increases and the disadvantage of this is that it is short-term and the agenda changes very quickly in Turkey. In addition to the urgency, close relations established by CSOs with the media, and even one-on-one contacts, are also among the factors and elements that affect visibility. In the words of the CSO participant (G7): **"If you don't do anything, you don't appear. If you don't call and poke someone, you won't be seen."**

State control and the dominant capital structure of the media are also one of the important things that determine the visibility of independent CSOs in the media. In the words of the participant (G6) working in the environmental CSO **"Sometimes you can't take part in that media no matter what you do."**

Another factor that determines the visibility of CSOs in the media is their geographical location. Academic participant (G15) underlines this point by stating that Istanbul CSOs, which are geographically easier to access media, are more visible in

the media. Within this structure, political polarization turns into an important factor determining visibility (G2). With the words of the media member participant (G4), which political pole you are close to determines in which media you can be seen or how you will appear. Or, in the words of the CSO member participant (G10), for example, if you want to appear in media outlets close to the government, you need to have a language accordingly: **"a language that does not politicize the subject, has a contextual meaning, speaks more expertly".**

The quality and media suitability of the communication activity carried out by CSOs in terms of **form** and **content** are highlighted by many participants as one of the factors determining visibility in the media. The academician participant (G12) states that it is already difficult to be in the media, and that in order to be in the media, it is necessary to meet the media with a very good content. Environmental CSO employee participant (G6) evaluates qualified content in line with the news norms and needs of the media: **"Everything that constitutes the elements of the news can take place in the media as much as they meet these in the campaigns we have created."** New, striking, interesting, environmental news supported by a good video or photo can take place in the media much more easily. On the other hand, the participant also complains that the qualified works they produce can be lost in the agenda. In other words, the **agenda** and the **turmoil** in the agenda is one of the factors affecting the visibility of CSOs:

"Unfortunately, there is such a thing as the agenda. Make a good report as you want, at that moment there happens a male violence and the woman is killed, or the President

makes a word or something else, and Environmental news can become one of the news that can be discarded on the agenda." (G6)

Of course, the communication skills of CSOs and the quality of their communication is a problem about resources. In this context, academic participant (G12) underlines the need for staff to prepare qualified content in CSOs with the following words:

"In order for the person or the editor there or the person sitting at the table in the media to prefer you over the other news, the material you provide should be more remarkable, better quality, your photos higher resolution, and your film much more attractive. Hiring high-level professional colleagues to prepare this content is another challenge. So it is difficult to be visible, and becomes even more difficult." (G12)

However, the participant (G12) states that most of the CSOs in Turkey lack even professional staff, let alone having qualified staff to prepare such content. CSO employee participant (G9) also states that CSOs generally do not care enough about the communication issue and do not have a communication specialist, which is an important obstacle to visibility in mainstream media.

The **content of messages** conveyed by CSOs to media organizations is another factor affecting visibility according to participants. For example, the agency employee participant (G3) states that qualified expert knowledge is always needed in the media. Another point emphasized by more than one participant is the importance of CSOs to concretize the subject, especially through human stories while conveying their messages. According to participants (e.g. G6 and G8), the media gives more space to human stories than abstract issues:

"Since we are a somewhat emotional society, human stories are in high demand, the media are very fond of it, and it also attracts a lot of attention on social media. There are such criteria in the media that whatever you do, you cannot get through." (G6)

When we ask what determines CSO visibility in the media, the most common answer was special days. Special days such as World Environment Day, 8 March, 5 December World Volunteers Day are among the points increasing the visibility of relevant CSOs (G2, G8, G11)

"For example, December 5 is World Volunteers Day. Once a year, everybody wants to talk about volunteering. For example, the activities of the CSOs for that day or the joint works of the institutions with CSOs are quickly covered everywhere. Apart from that, for example, the disabled week. For example, there are CSOs working in the field of disability. CSOs such as the Tohum-Autism Foundation, especially those associated with certain days, and those works become visible for a day or two. We can actually see it very clearly. Donations are talked about in times such as holidays and religious holidays." (G11)

Real **social mobilization** or pressure on an issue is also cited as one of the factors that determine the media visibility of CSOs. Especially when the actors of this mobilization are CSOs (G2) or issues like the Istanbul Convention (G4), it is stated that CSOs appear more in the media.

5.2.6. THERE IS BOTH VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE

According to the participants, another important factor determining the media visibility of CSOs is the CSO itself. What we mean here is the impact of the CSO's working area and subject and size on media visibility. It is possible to talk about the existence of a consensus among almost all participants on this issue. Participants we consulted frequently emphasize that some issues and CSOs operating in some fields are seen more legitimate and acceptable by the media, but on the contrary, some issues have difficulty in finding coverage in the media.

- The first place for the participants is the distinction made between politically acceptable and non acceptable CSOs. More than one participant uses the term "avoid quarrel" when describing CSOs that are accepted by the media and their working areas: " Avoiding quarrel like Green Crescent and Red Crescent" (G10); "who avoid quarrel, does not say anything that will contradict with the government" (G4); "For example, education is a field that never goes into quarrel" (G11). Another participant (G13) states that generic and mainstream movements such as the women's movement have managed to find their way into the media.

- There is a common emphasis on the fact that CSOs such as LÖSEV, TEMA, AÇEV, which are well-established and already well-known on the one hand, and operating in non-politicized areas such as children's rights and health, are more visible in the media. (G4, G9, G11, G13).

- Participants note that civil society organizations, especially those working on rights-based, sensitive issues such as human rights, find it difficult to participate in the media: "For example,

the rights-based works done by institutions such as the Association for Struggle Against Sexual Violence and the Hrant Dink Foundation do not find much political coverage in the media. Besides, civil society is not very associated with advocacy in our country. The rhetoric of help is so common. There is little media coverage that these advocacy issues can be politically risky." (G11). The researcher and the participant (G13), who is also a member of a CSO, mentions the existence of some "mined areas" in the civil society and says that we now know which CSO chairs cannot speak on mainstream channels: "In 2015, Mazlum Der's Diyarbakır branch head could participate in a discussion program at CNN Türk. Tahir Elçi could attend as the Diyarbakır Bar Association President. But if you notice, since Tahir Elçi was murdered, we have hardly ever seen the president of the Diyarbakır Bar Association on mainstream television."

- Media member participant (G2) states that it is wrong to say that any non-governmental movement is in the media except women's and environmental rights. However, participant (G10), a member of environmental CSO, states that the field of activity is very important and that CSOs working in the field of energy have difficulty in finding coverage in the media.

- CSO member participant (G7) underlines that trade associations have more coverage in the media, especially when it comes to work carried out in cooperation with the state.

- Participants (G4, G10) state that CSOs operating in fields such as LGBT-I and AIDS are seen as "risky" by the media and these organizations are frequently "prone to being lynched" (G9).

5.3. CSO FIELD

CSOs are the focus of the final section of the questionnaire. The institutional capacities of CSOs, especially the communication capacity, the use of media, especially digital media, what should be done for capacity development, and how they are affected by the global pandemic process are the focus of this section.

As with other questions, the participants describe and define the field of civil society through political ruptures and fractions. For example, media member participant (G1) divides CSOs as follows: civil society organizations that are under the direct control of the government, civil society organizations that aim to be close to the government, civil society organizations close to a certain political power or sect, civil society organizations established and led by European institutions and European governments; and civil society organizations affiliated with European institutions but independent. Other participants (G10, G13) also highlight the polarized and politicized nature of the civil society space.

5.3.1 CSOS, COMMUNICATION AND INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY

In the previous section, we asked whether visibility in the media is important for CSOs and why. In this section, we investigated whether CSOs attach enough importance to communication and whether they consider communication as one of their priority issues.

One of the important problems for the participants is that although they think that communication is important for CSOs, they do not attach the necessary importance to communication. For the academic participant (G12), one of

the main shortcomings of CSOs is that they do not attach enough importance to communication and they see communication as a luxury, as some commercial organizations do. CSO member participant (G9) likewise complains that CSOs do not attach sufficient importance to communication, for example, they do not have a communication expert in their staff. With the statements of the agency member participant (G3), communication is generally considered as a priority issue in "civil society organizations that have reached a certain size". This judgment is voiced by almost all participants in different ways:

"Unless it is a large institution, the issue of communication is not so much thought about. The smaller ones, unfortunately, do not go over the communication strategy." (G10)

"I think communication is a non-prioritized area. When we started to establish "A .." 14-15 years ago, we realized that most of the civil society organizations were not interested in speaking to the general public anyway. Many choose to finish their work first and then consider communication." (G11)

"We, communicators, do our best to make it a priority. Unfortunately, this is not a priority. Especially the

experience of civil society tradition here does not go long ago. Every day, we started to see that there are newer and more innovative works that can speak to the general public and have a certain audience in civil society communication." (G7)

To sum up, communication is important for CSOs, however, this importance and priority can only be attached fully in CSOs that are larger, institutionalized and have access to resources. This point brings us to another important topic regarding institutional capacity and opportunities. It is possible to talk about different positions in this regard. For example, the academician participant (G12) explains this situation by the fact that the vast majority of CSOs "prefer to stay more local, stay small" and do not aim "to be national, to be international, to find funds". The researcher as well as the participant (G13) states that although some CSOs have resources, they do not have sufficient institutional capacity, for example they lack public relations and communication departments, so they can not do works that might attract the attention of the media.

However, the participants share in detail the successful practices in their CSOs. Participant member of a large-scale international environmental CSO (G6) states that five people are working in their communications department and this is less in terms of international standards, but "not bad" for Turkey. Employees of two large-scale CSOs operating in the field of emergency aid similarly convey detailed communication plans and teams.

"We prepare an e-bulletin every 3 months as much as we can. We already have a website with our core journalist friends, which includes all the activities we do. Especially if we are producing campaign content, we do this using all of our individual links. Without them, it is difficult for an CSO to be visible when I look from the journalist's point of view." (G7)

"There are special units where we manage the communication field. We have a communication center, where 30-35 people work, where people can reach and get information. Apart from that, we have a promotion unit. All promotional activities are carried out here. We have a publications unit. This is the unit where content related to the management of websites is followed. We have a production unit consisting of about 30 people. They actually support the work we have done. We are working in this way with the shots they have made, drone footage, documentary shootings, and stories from different parts of the world. In particular, documentaries made by our production unit are broadcast on channels. In these documentaries, in a sense, our work or different activities in the country are highlighted and shown." (G8)

"While conducting these relationships, we classify the media among themselves: Social media, digital media, newspapers, websites, radios, magazines, televisions. We carry out our work in this direction and shape our own work according to their weight in society. Here we are following the international conjuncture, we follow the conjuncture in Turkey, we are trying to follow trending topics. Since the effectiveness of social media and digital is increasing, we are trying to concentrate and plan our work in that area. Sometimes we lower the importance of the newspaper and increase the importance of the digital. We try to use social media intensively in this sense. At the same time, we try to use social media celebrities from time to time in our works. You know, there are

Youtubers, influential names on Instagram, and influential names on Twitter. We try to increase our visibility by including them in our work from time to time." (G8)

However, as can be expected, many failure stories as well as success stories are voiced by the participants. The detailed report by the researcher and CSO member participant (G13) clearly reveals the communication deficiencies and the reasons for this:

"There is a day called the anniversary of the fight against torture. For example, a press release will be made that day. The format of the press release is classic and very long. 10-15 people come together and two journalists either come or not. Then this 5-page text is sent. Therefore, the reporting criteria of the civil society are very weak in this sense. But while we were working in another two institutions, we did some work that took this into account. Keeping press releases short, opening Twitter tags, dealing with issues of interest to journalists and the public and attracting attention there." (G13)

5.3.2. SOCIAL MEDIA AND CSO COMMUNICATION

The increasing importance of new communication technologies, especially social media, is frequently emphasized in the discussion about the visibility of CSOs in the media. Academic participant (G11) states that although traditional media is still important, it has lost its importance and social media visibility has become more critical. A similar emphasis is shared by the participant (G6), a member of the CSO, who said that "visibility in the traditional media has fallen further into the background". The same participant states that "internet media is more prominent than traditional media where the ownership structure of the media has narrowed so much".

Media member participant (G5) also emphasizes that it is easier to reach the masses with social media. CSO member participant (G7) points out that using social media has become a necessity and draws attention to the importance of using a neutral language here.

The agency member participant (G3) states that new communication technologies are particularly useful in overcoming the restrictions on promotion and advertising

"Initially, the advertisements of civil society organizations would have remained in the background due to financial insufficiency. Usually there would be no ads either. They did something, but they didn't have the time and money to explain it. But now, especially with the development of the digital side, civil society organizations have started to open their own channels. With the strengthening of social media, people have become the spokespersons of civil society organizations. Visibility has increased, but still not at the desired level." (G3)

5.3.3. PANDEMIC

The last part of our questionnaire is devoted to the effects of the closure / quarantine processes experienced after the Covid-19 global pandemic on CSO activities, CSO communication and CSO's visibility in the media. Many participants state that the pandemic process puts significant obstacles in front of CSOs, as well as important opportunities. The academic participant (G12) summarizes the risk-opportunity relationship with the following words:

"Pandemic is of course a threat, it is a risk, but of course it brings opportunities with it. Now that it is a

pandemic, I can hold a meeting with you at the Zoom, but if there was no pandemic, I would say let's meet face to face. And probably this meeting would have happened much later, maybe not. In this sense, the pandemic has prompted us to use communication technologies more. Now we have started to use more communication tools and we can turn this into an opportunity as civil society. We can take this physical distance in the pandemic as an opportunity and become visible by using social media more, other communication channels and electronic media. Have CSOs used it? Of course they did. They held meetings online. They volunteered online." (G12)

The judgment that CSOs' communication activities have shifted to digital and especially their social media activities and visibility have increased is shared by other participants. CSO member participant (G10) states that the pandemic causes problems in terms of job security, but it is beneficial in terms of digitalization. The other participant (G9), a member of the CSO, stated that the visibility on social media has increased and that there is a decrease in the quality and continuity of participation. The academician participant (G14) states that there is not only a shift to digital, but also the pandemic process leads

CSOs to produce communication formats and contents and creative campaigns suitable for the digital space. Another important point (G7) is that CSOs have increased social media activity.

Participants were also asked whether certain CSOs and issues came to the fore in the media during the pandemic period. It is frequently emphasized that CSOs operating in the field of health, especially the Turkish Medical Association, are more prominent, since it is a health-centered subject that requires expertise (G10, G2, G4). Media member participant stated:

"Coronavirus is a highly specialized subject. Therefore, everybody should not talk about it. It seems quite normal that CSOs, which have experts in this field, come to the fore. For example, there is an organization called Clinical Microbiologists. When talking about the virus, we hosted them, people from that organization, for example. We have received a lot of opinions, we published their views."(G4)

Again, more than one participant stated that communication styles such as teleconferences, which became more frequent as a result of the pandemic, made it easier to come together, increase the frequency of the activities, and destroy the geographical borders of the activities and open them all over the country:

"For example, let's say we have a small hall, we provide trainings and we can give these trainings to 30 people, but when you move it online, there have been events where you can reach 100-200 people. This is perhaps the advantage of this issue. While you can only address 30 people at a time, you reach 200-300 people now. Hence it eliminated the geographical borders." (G13)

CSO member participant (G8) shows increased donations as another positive result of the pandemic. However, it is stated that there are opinions emphasizing that CSOs are not so positively affected by the pandemic and that mobilities of CSOs are limited.

6

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

In the 12-month period from July 2019 to July 2020, no month stands out as a period having a busy civil society agenda. However, after February and March 2020, it is seen that the CSO news regarding the Covid-19 pandemic and the economic agenda gained weight. 2019 – 2020 The widely used keyword in news related to CSOs between 2019 and 2020 is "new". The "new" concept is used in the forms of "new normal", "new Turkey", "new system" and "new virus". It will not be wrong to say that economic, political and pandemic-induced developments have led to questioning and transforming the social and economic norms of the past, leading to the entry of current conditions into social life as new normal. It seems that this is also included in the agenda of civil society. Civil society now tends to convey its message to the society with the concept of "new". On the other hand, although the Covid-19 pandemic allows for an increase in the total number of news, the representation of civil society in the media in the period 2019-2020 is still low. In fact, it would not be wrong to say that there is a partial decrease in the number of news when compared to the 2018.- 2019 period.

Most of the CSO news appears in daily publications. The pages with the highest concentration of news are the current news pages and economic news. While the vast majority of the content in the press consists of news, columns and interviews are only 10% of the texts in the press about CSOs. In most of the current CSO news, CSOs are positioned as a decorative subject, that is, they cannot be a subject in the news they take place, and they are included as a secondary actor. Bunu gösteren veri ise her 3 haberin yalnızca 1'inde CSO'ların haberin öznesi olması. Sayıdan ziyade haber büyüklüğü açısından da değerlendirecek olursak, CSO'ların ikincil olarak konumlandığı haberlerin kapladığı alan özne olduğu haberlerde kapladığı alandan daha büyük.

News containing CSOs also carry the discursive codes of the other news world and sensational tones are preferred in order to make them readable. It seems that CSOs also adopt this pattern. There are situations in which the negative tone is adopted to reveal the gravity of the issues in order to create public opinion on social issues.

It is possible to come across news that directly target civil society. The news is disseminated and circulated not only from a single political position but from various sources with different political positions. It can be said that the news spreading from different political positions / sources and directly targeting / criminalizing the civil society narrow the fields of activity and discourse of not only the "opposition" but the whole civil society world and question the social legitimacy of CSOs.

The fact that CSOs are not visible in their columns and interviews indicates the scarcity of a journalist who is concerned with the issues of civil society and specializes in this issue. CSOs are not on the radar of journalists for interviews and columns, and the frequency of finding a place in interviews and columns is increasing with ready-made content served to the media by the private sector or CSOs, such as corporate social responsibility projects. In addition, most of the CSO news does not contain its own opinion and perspective. In other words, CSOs cannot even influence the news about themselves on a discursive level and in this case, they cannot extend beyond an institution covered in the news. We can say the same situation by looking at the news whether CSOs are calling for the public or not. However, the vast majority of CSO news is aimed at "informing" the society rather than calling on the general or certain groups of the society. This can be considered as a factor that weakens the power of influence in the issues targeted by CSOs.

CSOs do not appear together with other CSOs, public or private sector. This is due both to the scarcity of news covering the different perspectives of CSOs operating on a particular issue, and to the low frequency of CSOs getting together with other organizations. Appearing together is not on the axis of topics, but on activities such as participating in an invitation / event.

In Turkey, the media, civil society experts, is identified as an area polarized by media experts and academics. It is stated that especially the visual / conventional media are under state control and have a mono-block structure. Secondly, the quality of media journalists is questioned.

Media and civil society experts and academics care about CSOs being visible in the media to achieve their goals, but think that they are not visible enough. Although the definition of competence differs, experts emphasize that CSOs cannot communicate with the society as much as they aim, they do not attach importance to this communication to reach their goals and that they do not have the motivation to develop expertise in the context of communication.

Experts find the media's positioning of CSOs problematic. Based on expert opinions, it is possible to make a classification as follows;

- **CSOs as sideshow actors:** decorative positioning aimed at increasing the legitimacy of an idea or approach, taking part as a secondary, sideshow actor.

- **CSOs as elements of incapacity:** the presentation of CSOs and CSO beneficiaries as incapacitated actors in the media and the dominance of a downplaying language.

- **CSOs as criminal elements:** CSOs are often involved in the media by being criminalized or associated with a crime.

- **CSOs as players of the opposite team:** the language established through the relationship of opposition, negative perception of "independent" non-governmental organizations in the pro-government media, opposite team rhetoric.

- **CSOs as reactive actors:** CSOs are often involved in the media based on problems and reactions and the microphone is extended to them only at the times of crisis.

Considering both the suggestions conveyed by the experts in the in-depth interviews and the problem areas pointed out by the quantitative data, a set of suggestions was developed to increase the media visibility of civil society and to transform the forms of visibility in line with the targets of CSOs.

- Better dialogue with media professionals and involvement of media members whenever possible.

- CSOs to establish tighter and one-to-one / bilateral relations with media members

- Presenting the prepared reports and communication materials to the media in a format that journalists can understand and communicate easily and announce them on social media

- Preparing qualified bulletins and choosing the right tools used to distribute the prepared bulletin

- CSOs to establish communication departments

- Employment of professional communicators

- Seeing communication as a job that requires expertise and allocating human / financial resources.

ANNEXES

ANNEX 1. CIVIL TOPOGRAPHY CLASSIFICATION

Self-organisation: These are the organisations that individuals with a disadvantaged position in relation to the general population have established in order to strengthen their positions. For example, organisations related to disabilities are such organisations established by individuals with disabilities. These organisations may create targets such as socialisation among themselves, as well as increasing their capacity and seeking to find solutions or fight for their rights related to their specific issues. On the other hand, coming together with the motivations to protect the interests or a certain group or their beneficiaries to establish an organization is not sufficient to consider these groups under this category. The criteria for the definition of a self-organisation is for individuals to be positioned in a disadvantaged placement within society.

Advocate: Organisations that undertake the advocacy of a disadvantaged group, nature, animals, environment, human and consumer rights at the policy level and social conscience. These organisations set direct objectives, such as improving policies or improving practices, or they aim for an indirect benefit, such as ensuring society takes ownership for the issues at hand. On the other hand, organisations that advocate and/or represent an idea, ideology, an interest or a vocational benefit, do not fall under the category of "advocate" in this classification. Advocacy organisations are defined as organisations that target the betterment of the suffering parties in terms of being subject to discrimination in regard to universal values.

Politically oriented: Organisations that bring together individuals who share a certain world view or belief and carry out activities to promote and/or disseminate their common theme. Such organisations often have organic or indirect links with political networks. Although these organisations may be passive disseminators, they are generally a party to the basic problems of Turkey and make statements, and also conduct protests and meetings to have an impact on public opinion.

Philanthropist: Organizations that provide cash and/or in-kind aid or services to the needy or disadvantaged groups of society.

Protective: There are also philanthropic organisations which do not directly provide financial support or aid which is of financial value, but rather aims to protect their target group by aiming to physically strengthen the related disadvantaged groups. "Protective Philanthropic Organisations" are generally with the close network of the related disadvantaged group or is a group established by experts which have an interest in the target group. Although fewer examples exist, there are also "Protective Organisation" established by those who have a sympathy for the disadvantaged group.

Expert: They are productive and creative organisations that provide a foundation for other organisations of civil society by producing expert knowledge on a certain subject. There maybe other organisations which are doing work related to an area of expertise, however, the reason for existence of an expert organisation is to produce knowledge and provide scientific outputs. As similar to Advocacy and Politically Oriented Organisations, Expert Organisations reach out to the public with the knowledge that they have produced. However, they should remain within the boundaries of objectivity and should not

make biased appeals. Instead, they act to develop approached for the issues they undertake and have a mission to diversify and ensure a knowledge base and infrastructure. It is possible to see that Expert Organisations behave as if they are in the category of Advocacy or Politically Oriented Organisations contingently, even in not essentially. However, these organisations gain their respect, not through the category they are in, but by means of their expertise. It is important for these organisations to upkeep this claim by preserving their objectivity.

Construct, Sustain, Improve: Organisations which act in priority to construct, protect and improve a structure, venue or neighbourhood which is of public value. This mode of behaviour is one which is the oldest and most prevalent in Turkey as a behaviour which can be defined as charitable. As it is known, fountains which are constructed as a "good deed" are labelled as "charities". Throughout history, mosques have been built by philanthropists so that Muslims can pray. However, since the establishment of the Republic, mosques have at times become affiliated with political or sects and while building a mosque is still considered an act of charity, it can also be viewed as having strong connects with a particular sect or network. In this sense, some mosque construction and maintenance related organisation as if they are a Politically Oriented Organisation. Besides this, this category also defines as relatively newer type of behaviour. This type is one which gives priority to protecting and improving/beautifying a neighbourhood, quarter or perhaps a site and required solidarity by its residents. In terms of solidarity, it has the features of the category of philanthropy and also the characteristics of Socialisation, for which the characteristics will be defined below.

Townsman: Organisations which bring together those of a certain geography or cultural background, who live in a different geography or culture. In general, they aim to provide socialisation opportunities, a means to be a remedy to "homesickness", to give back to their communities if their ties remain and provide a platform of support to overcome challenges which they may be experiencing. The large majority of these organisations established by those who have migrated to larger areas of settlement from a town or village. Many of their members live in the same or neighbouring areas. Even if their ties in their hometowns have become weaker, they still exist. On the other hand, even though this category makes reference to a common geographical history, there are groups which have completely severed their ties from these geographies. These communities establish "Townsmen Organisation" to keep the fire of a common history and culture alight and make efforts to restore and promote them. In fact, although the majority may have severed their own ties, they conduct activities to share the tribulations of their community, countrymen/townsmen, kinship, nation and even other nations be conducting activities to bring solutions to problems. These characteristics make them similar, in part, to Politically Oriented Organisations and also Self-Organisations.

Socialisation: Organisations that provide platforms for socialising, in relation to a hobby, social exchange or a common background. They generally are not extrinsically motivated. They rarely make public the products of their exchange. However, they do this as a contingent, and not a necessity of social benefit and it is not systematic. These organisations are generally established by peers of age, vocation or culture to collectively carry out a hobby/interest. The collective may result in outputs such as choirs, exhibitions, fetes, etc. However, the main motivation is not the action, as it is a recreational activity. Many of these organisations are established to create a platform to play card or board

games and meets the need of recreational activities for social circles.

Club: Organisations aiming to allow individuals with arts or sporting skills to perform related activities regularly and participate in races, competitions, leagues, tournaments or various national or international events. The most common of these types of organisations in Turkey are sporting clubs (especially soccer). Recently, dance schools are increasingly becoming federations. Many sports or arts centres which are managed like businesses can also have transfer to the Market Oriented category.

Vocation/Profession Oriented: Organisations which aim to ensure the promotion, development, and protection of interests of individuals of a particular vocation or sector. They generally act like a chamber. They conduct activities towards the development of the vocation/profession, solidarity between colleagues, and finding solutions to vocation/professional problems. As they advocate for vocations/professional interest, they are similar to Advocate Organisations; however, they differ in their motivations as their efforts are to maximise particular interests rather than advocacy of universal rights-based activities. Some types are not vocation based but are of the sectoral scale. They undertake the common problems regarding the reputation of the sector and legislative challenges. There are also those which do not focus on a particular sector, such as businessperson associations.

Market oriented: Market Oriented organisations are organisations which are questioned as to whether they are CSOs, as they are established with the aim to produce interest. While they could be a business venture, they aim to become an association, foundation or cooperative to benefit from the legal, ethical or social-cultural gains to be had by being

a volunteer organisation. On the other hand, there may be benefit in separating the support provided through civil society activities and the local solely business related activities, such as operating a sauna or the selling of a product.

Affiliate: Organisations which are established to conduct activities which an organisation cannot conduct within their own organisation due to legal, economic, or ethical reasons. There are many types. The most common are "Volunteer" organisations that are established with a separate regulation or legislative memorandum. These organisations may become idle in time, like the "Combatting Tuberculosis" association or may carry out activities outside of their mission, such as "Halkevleri [Community Centres]. Another type of Affiliate may be those organisations which are established to improve the wellness conditions of the managers or their employees or public organisations. Another type may be associations, foundations or cooperatives established under the leadership of public servants/managers for public servants which provide a certain service, to make use of a service or activity (such as municipal spots clubs) with ease and comfort without meeting barriers to attend in an activity outside of their organisation. The last type is the affiliates of private companies. In the past these were mainly established to conduct charity work by the capital providers, while today they are being established for institutional social responsibility and certain sponsorship activities for the reputation of the company and are managed by the managers of the existing companies. On the other hand, Affiliates create a problem as to their classification; as the affiliate's working principal may be in line with another category. To disperse them to these other categories have an impact on their unique characteristics. Thus, Affiliate Organisations have diversified characteristics in many different areas.