

The Representation of Cultural Heritage in the Print Media of Turkey:

Hasankeyf between 2000-2009

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the position of media and its impact on cultural heritage perception in Turkey, by using an archaeological site in danger as a case study and analyzing the relevant newspaper coverage. The site in question is Hasankeyf which is in danger of being submerged in the Ilisu Dam Project's reservoir lake. The main point is to see how Hasankeyf has been represented after the initiation of the dam project and how the attitude of the print media changed over time. As a background, the thesis also discusses the cultural heritage perception and the position of archaeology in Turkey, starting from the Late Ottoman era until contemporary times, as well as state policies towards cultural heritage. Qualitative and quantitative content analysis has been conducted in order to explore selected Turkish newspapers' representation of Hasankeyf. The data used in this thesis consists of the relevant coverage in four Turkish newspapers: *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal*, *Sabah*, and *Zaman*, from 2000 to 2009. The content of the news coverage on cultural heritage in Turkey is an understudied topic, and this thesis serves as the first study to address the issue. It shows that the coverage of Hasankeyf in the Turkish news media has created publicity and kept the issue on the agenda between 2000 and 2009. However, the results also prove that there are differences among the Hasankeyf coverage in the selected newspapers in terms of both content and news coverage frequency.

Keywords: Cultural heritage perception, Turkish press, Hasankeyf, the Ilisu Dam Project, cultural policies

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, tehlike altındaki arkeolojik bir alanı vaka analizi olarak bunu ele alan gazete haberlerini inceleyerek Türkiye'deki kültürel miras algısını ve medyanın bunun üzerine etkisini araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Vaka analizi olarak kullanılan arkeolojik alan ise, Ilısu Baraj Gölü altında kalma tehlikesi bulunan Hasankeyf'tir. Bu çalışmanın esas amacı, baraj projesinin başlangıcından itibaren Hasankeyf'in yazılı basılı tarafından temsil edilmesini ve zaman içinde bu temsilin nasıl değiştiğini göstermektir. Tartışılan konuya zemin hazırlamak açısından, tez kapsamında Geç Osmanlı döneminden günümüze kadarki süreçte kültürel miras algısı, arkeolojinin yeri ve kültürel miras alanındaki devlet politikaları tartışılmıştır. Araştırmak üzere seçilen gazetelerin Hasankeyf temsiline analizi için nitel ve nicel içerik analizi uygulanmıştır. Araştırmanın örneklemini, *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal*, *Sabah*, ve *Zaman* gazetelerinin 2000–2009 yılları arasında yayınlanmış Hasankeyf haberleri oluşturmaktadır. Yapılan araştırma, Türkiye'de çalışılmamış bir konu olan kültürel mirasın gazete haberlerindeki içeriğini işleme açısından bir ilk özelliğini taşımaktadır. Sonuç olarak, yapılan araştırma göstermiştir ki Türkiye'deki haber medyasının 2000–2009 yılları arasında Hasankeyf'i ele alışı, alanın bilinirliğini artırıp ve konunun gündemde kalmasını sağlamıştır. Ayrıca, yapılan çalışmanın buluntularına göre seçilen gazetelerin Hasankeyf'i haber yapma sıklığı ve içerik konusunda farklılıklar bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler:

Kültürel miras algısı, Türk basını, Hasankeyf, Ilısu Baraj Projesi, kültürel politikalar

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INTRODUCTION

In Turkey, there clearly is an increasing interest in cultural heritage, especially over the last decade. Starting with the drastic submersion of Zeugma under the Birecik Dam reservoir in 2000, the protection of cultural heritage started to gain importance for more stakeholders. What is more, this event also raised questions regarding the protection of such heritage against various development projects in Turkey. In this contradiction, Turkey stands a developing country which is very rich in terms of cultural assets and also in need of profit-making investments. However, the problematic situation that various dam projects all over Anatolia pose a threat to cultural heritage is not new. Particularly, due to the Southeastern Anatolia Project (Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi, GAP) which was developed in the 1960s both excavated and not yet excavated archaeological sites in the region have already been damaged. However, public discussions regarding the issue began only around a decade ago, and the media has a very important role in this process, by publicizing the existing threats and the value of cultural heritage in Turkey. Furthermore, the interest in history and archaeology is also reflected in the content of various media such as television programs, series, magazines, or newspaper coverage.

Another dam project, the Ilisu Dam Project as an element of the GAP master plan, poses a threat to Hasankeyf, a medieval city located in the Batman province and with a much richer history. Similar to what happened at Zeugma, Hasankeyf also created both local and international protests against the dam project, and the extensive media coverage of Hasankeyf contributed to this cause by keeping the event on the agenda.

In the popularization of cultural heritage, media's role is massive. Furthermore, with the public awareness that they create, media also has an impact on the protection of cultural heritage. However, even though media's role is crucial, not enough research has been conducted in Turkey about the content of the media coverage on cultural heritage. In this context, this study seeks to look in detail at the position of media and its impact on cultural heritage perception in Turkey, by using an archaeological site in danger as a case study and analyzing the newspaper coverage of Hasankeyf with respect to events surrounding the Ilisu Dam Project. Within the scope of this research, the data consists of the relevant coverage of four Turkish newspapers: *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal*, *Sabah*, and *Zaman*, from 2000 to 2009.

Since this thesis uses Hasankeyf and the Ilisu Dam Project as a case study for cultural heritage news coverage, the historical background of the archaeological site and the phases of the dam project should be given attention. Consequently, Chapter 1 includes an overview of the history of Hasankeyf up to contemporary times in order to show the evolution of the historic town and gives information on some of its major monuments. Furthermore, the developments during the implementation of the Ilisu Dam Project and the discussions regarding its effects on the region are explained in respect to both the implementing institution and the anti-dam point of view. The socio-economic and demographic aspects of contemporary Hasankeyf are also elaborated upon while discussing the issue based on the interviews that I conducted in Batman with various state officials, media and NGO representatives.

Since I aim to analyze cultural heritage perception and the impact of the media on protecting cultural heritage in Turkey, I will discuss various topics in the following chapter to provide a background to cultural heritage discussions in Turkey. Firstly, the developments in the cultural policies of Turkey in a historical framework are briefly examined; particularly, as an important sub-topic of the discussions of cultural policies, the practice of archaeology and

the status of cultural heritage are discussed in Chapter 2. However, I will also touch upon the notions of archaeology and cultural heritage in the transition period, from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, within the context of identity politics. Furthermore, against this background on the evolution of archaeology and cultural heritage perception in Turkey, the relationship between the Anatolian dam projects and the cultural heritage in the reservoir areas of these dams, as well as their positive and negative impacts are examined in detail in Chapter 2. In this examination, the case of Zeugma and the Birecik Dam, the ways in which Zeugma was publicized in the media and the media involvement in the protection of Hasankeyf are also included for comparison. The last section of this chapter will discuss the general aspects of the relationship between archaeology and the media, accompanied by examples from abroad. This section introduces more on the journalistic details regarding the representation of archaeology as a discipline and the political dimension of the issue.

Chapter 3 covers the theoretical frame for the analysis of the news media, including the literature on language and representation, discourse and power, the notion of news and the news-making processes. An examination of these concepts is necessary in order to reveal the ways in which the news media operate, their relationship with politics, and to understand the priorities of the journalists which are very aligned with these issues. Furthermore, various models that frame the effect of the media on public opinion are also discussed in this chapter, such as the agenda-setting model, bandwagoning, the spiral of silence and the “third-person” effect. These models constitute a base for the analysis of newspaper coverage on Hasankeyf.

For the analytical part of this thesis, both qualitative and quantitative content analysis is applied to the data. Even though content analysis is traditionally known as a quantitative analysis technique, the results from the analysis are not solely interpreted according to numerical outcomes. In fact, an in-depth analysis is also conducted with respect to the events surrounding Hasankeyf and the Ilisu Dam Project issue that are assumed to affect newspaper

coverage, as well as previous discussions regarding the history of cultural heritage perception in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. Each research question applied to the data is analyzed under a separate headline in Chapter 4. I have formulated the research questions in order to derive information about the newspapers' interest in Hasankeyf over the years; to categorize and interpret the themes and references that occur in the Hasankeyf coverage; and to measure the efforts of the newspapers for the protection of Hasankeyf.

In conclusion, the aim of this study is neither to suggest a cultural heritage discourse that should be used in newspapers, nor to criticize the cultural heritage coverage of newspapers that are included in the study. Rather, it examines the variations in the cultural heritage discourse through the lens of the news coverage on Hasankeyf of four newspapers between 2000 and 2009, and the ways in which the perceptions of archaeology and cultural heritage are reflected in this coverage. Another intention of this thesis is to see the extent of the interest of news media in cultural heritage protection issues following a state-supported project. Due to the limitations of this study, the visuals that are used in Hasankeyf news together with the text are not analyzed.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF HASANKEYF AND THE ILISU DAM PROJECT

Due to the Ilisu Dam Project which will leave it under water, the small town called Hasankeyf, barely accessible because of the Kurdish-Turkish civil war in the 1990s, has drawn the attention of many. The ancient city of Hasankeyf and its rock caves are situated along the Tigris River and carry great importance with the traces of the Medes, Persians, Byzantines, Umayyads, Abbasids, Artukids, Seljuks, Ayyubids, Mongolians and Ottomans located in the area throughout history, and it is argued that the history of the site goes back to Sumerians, Akkadians, Assyrians and Babylonians. According to Oluş Arık, Hasankeyf carries great importance for being the melting pot of three important cultural zones that he describes as such:

Mesopotamia, where Assyrians made their mark by establishing the first internationally qualified empire in history; Roman Empire, which managed to combine the cultures of Europe and the Mediterranean and consequently generated the foundations of the western world; and Central Asia and Iran which formed an international cultural sphere with both their own creation and by playing the conductor role between Far East and Near East (Arık 7; translation mine).

As a cultural heritage site that carries great importance, there are serious concerns regarding Hasankeyf being inundated under the reservoir of the Ilisu Dam in addition to the

expected negative impacts on the environment and the Kurdish population living in the area (Young 3). The following sections will include general information about the history of Hasankeyf and the primary monuments; then the history of the Ilisu Dam Project and the discussions on the impact of the dam on modern Hasankeyf will be indicated. However, in the scope of this research, the environmental and sociopolitical aspects of the dam projects will not be discussed in detail.

2.1 History of the Cultural Heritage Site

The name of the historical site, Hasankeyf, was transformed over time, and yet the legend behind its name was carried to the present. To begin with its origins, the name of the city, Hasankeyf, most likely comes from the stem “kepa, kipa, kefa, kaifa” which means “rock” in several Aramaic languages such as Assyrian, Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic (Arik 13). Nevertheless, the clearest and oldest written sources that mention the name of the antique town are from the Romans and the Byzantines, who dominated the city until the seventh century. Both Romans and the Byzantines kept the Assyrian stem and called it “Castrum Kepha,” meaning “castle of the rock” (Arik 13-14, Leedom-Ackerman 59). Following that, it turned into “Hisn Kafyfa,” meaning “rock fortress,” during the Arab domination of the area right after the Islamic conquest in 640 AD (Leedom-Ackerman 59). E. Honigmann also argues that Hasankeyf was cited as “Cefa, Cepha, Kıpak, Hesna de Kefa” in the written sources of the Late Roman, Christian Roman and Byzantine eras (Arik 14). From the linguistic similarities and the usage of the Assyrian stem meaning “rock” in the name of the city from the very beginning of the written sources mentioning Hasankeyf, Oluş Arik concludes that Hasankeyf was a very important and renowned center with the natural rock features of the area where people actually carved out caves and lived in them (Arik 13). He takes this assumption one step further and suggests that we can assume that the city started to

develop in the seventh century BC when the Assyrian language was dominant in the Late Assyrian period (Arik 13, Young 3). To contextualize the rock cult, in the Urartu civilization which ruled a small eastern part of the region where Hasankeyf is located for a long time, rocks were considered holy and the tradition of rock tombs was very common. In Hasankeyf, some traces of rock tombs were also discovered in the southern side of the castle. Consequently, it is also argued that there possibly was an Urartian-period settlement in Hasankeyf, and this might have an effect on significance of rocks that stands out in the history of the city (Arik 14).

Another legend about the origin of the city's name comes from *Marvels of the Kurdish Nation* written by Cheref-Ouddin, prince of Bitlis, four centuries ago (Leedom-Ackerman 59). The writer talks about an Arab prisoner kept in the fortress, Hasan, who was condemned to death and requested as his last wish riding his horse in the courtyard one last time. Hasan gained speed and rode his horse to the fortress wall where he jumped with his horse over the fortress into the Tigris River. According to the legend, the horse died; however, Hasan managed to survive falling into the river from 500 feet. One of the witnesses of the incident said "Hasan Keif?" (Hasan, how?), and the name of the town has stayed Hasankeyf ever since.

One of the most significant architectural structures of the site is the fortress which was built in the fourth century by Constantine to fortify the city against the Persians; in fact, the famous Roman historian Procopius mentioned this fortress as one of the two fortresses Constantine built in the Tur Abdin region against the Persians (Arik 14, Leedom-Ackerman 59, Young 3). In the fifth century, the oldest independent church organization was founded here and became a religious center with the establishment of the Syriac Bishopric which was officially accepted in the Council of Chalcedon in 451 AD (Arik 14, Başgelen 115, Leedom-Ackerman 59, Young 3).

After the Islamic conquest, Hasankeyf, being a halt for travelers on the Silk Road, was ruled by the Umayyads and the Abbasids, respectively. From the seventh century until the last quarter of the eighth century, the city was under the domination of the Umayyads, and from then on, until the Seljuks conquered South East Anatolia in the eleventh century, the Abbasids ruled the city (Arık 15). When the Islamic army started to conquer the area, Hasankeyf happened to come under siege. However, it was said to have submitted to the Muslims in a peaceful way by “opening the bridge” on the orders of the ruler’s wife (Arık 15). After the conquest in the seventh century, the Syrians in the area continued to live there, despite the fact that they occasionally revolted and tried to separate from the Muslim domination.

Under the rulership of the Artukid dynasty, which managed to establish its sultanate with the permission of the Seljuk Emperor Sultan Berkayruk, Hasankeyf experienced its golden age between the 1100s and 1236 (Arık 15, Young 3). Hasankeyf remained the capital of the principality until 1183; however, at that time, the capital was moved to Diyarbakır (Arık 15). The most glorious period of the city was also reflected in the architecture in Hasankeyf. The famous bridge, of which four columns are left behind now, was built around 1150-60 by the Artukid Sultan Fahreddin Karaaslan (Arık 40, Başgelen 115, Young 3). The construction of the bridge gave rise to the strategic and commercial importance of the city, in addition to the cultural atmosphere in Hasankeyf (Arık 16). According to Oluş Arık, the Hasankeyf Palace was like an academy where the masters of art, science and architecture gathered, and this led to a very lively cultural life (Arık 17).

During the time of political instability in Anatolia in the first half of the thirteenth century, the Seljuks managed to control both the Artukids and the Ayyubids around 1226. However, the descendants of the Seljuk Empire failed to keep the lands together, and in 1232 the princes of Salah ad-Din (Saladin) Ayyubid’s dynasty took Hasankeyf from the Artukids and dominated the area (Arık 17, Young 3). Yet, the Mongol incursion that affected the entire

Near East also reached Hasankeyf in 1260, when the Mongols conquered the city. Even though they invaded the city, they left the management of the city to the Ayyubids, provided that they remained loyal to the Mongols (Arık 18). The stability that the Seljuks provided in Anatolia collapsed with the Mongols. Consequently, the Era of Principalities started in Anatolia. In this environment, the Ayyubids, the Ak Koyunlu Dynasty, the Safavids and the Ottomans fought over Hasankeyf after the Mongol domination. It is known that the Ak Koyunlu Dynasty ruled the city for a short period of time. However, after Uzun Hasan, the most famous Ak Koyunlu ruler, lost the region to Fatih Sultan Mehmet, the Ak Koyunlu domination in the area decreased (Arık 18). In fact, the Zeynel Bey Mausoleum, which was dedicated to the son of Uzun Hasan, was built in this period on the other side of the Tigris River, right across the main settlement.

In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the Ayyubid Sultan Halil came to the throne by taking advantage of the disorder in the area. In order to strengthen his power, he married the sister of the Safavid Shah Ismail who was trying to create an Iranian Empire at that time. When the Safavids conquered the Ak Koyunlu's lands and became the rising power in the region, the Ayyubid Halil went to Tabriz together with the other rulers of the principalities of South East Anatolia to show their allegiance. However, Shah Ismail arrested all the princes, claiming that they were not sincere (Arık 19). Halil somehow escaped and managed to reach Hasankeyf where Shah Ismail had also sent his men. Taking advantage of this turmoil, the Ottoman Sultan Selim II attacked Hasankeyf and added the city to the Ottoman Empire's lands in the first quarter of the sixteenth century (Arık 19). Yet, Selim II respected the memory of Saladin and protected the family's lineage. What is more, he gave the governance of Hasankeyf to Halil, provided that he would remain subject to the Ottoman Empire. From the sixteenth century onwards, the governance of Hasankeyf did not change hands and stayed first within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire and then of the Turkish Republic (Arık 19).

Some of the architectural structures in Hasankeyf are: the Artukid Bridge, the El-Rızk Mosque, the Ulu Mosque, the Koç Mosque, the Sultan Süleyman Mosque, the Kızlar Mosque, the Küçük Mosque, the Zeynel Bey Mausoleum, the Big Palace, the Small Palace and the Hasankeyf Castle. Although Turkey is very rich in terms of historical sites, Hasankeyf's uniqueness in architecture is significant. In fact, Oluş Arık who conducted the first excavation in Hasankeyf states:

“Hasankeyf is unique not just because of its stunning visual impact but because of the styles of architecture which can be seen there. Asian and eastern-Iranian concepts of building met Roman and Arabian designs. But there was no amalgamation or blending of the architectural styles. They simply existed, side by side” (Arık qtd. in Young 4).

Oluş Arık argues that in the last decades of the Ottoman era, in the late nineteenth century, the native population who with their production had kept the economy alive left the city for good. However, with the Arabic-speaking immigrants who moved to Hasankeyf, replacing the original settlers, the city was transformed into a “village-town” that was still engaged in economic activities (Arık 20). He also suggests that, even though there is no written evidence, in the first quarter of the twentieth century Hasankeyf was affected by the turmoil in the region and that this first led wealthy Muslims and then the Christian locals to abandon the city; consequently, the population was confined to the caves in the castle area in the upper city, a settlement pattern which in the end turned Hasankeyf into a village limited by the castle walls (Arık 20).

The last forty years of Hasankeyf are as interesting as its earlier long history. In 1964, the construction of the concrete bridge next to the ancient Artukid Bridge, which was thought to have collapsed some time between the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, together with

the international transit asphalt project put Hasankeyf on the map (Arık 48, 268). Ten years later, Hasankeyf experienced another phase of development. In 1974, the president of the Turkish Republic of the period ordered new and modern houses to be built in Hasankeyf after he saw that people were still living in caves. The ruins of the lower city were destroyed, and on top of the ancient remains concrete houses were built, which form the current town today (Arık 268). These newly built dwellings, unfortunately, harm the ancient layers underneath.

Right after the construction of the houses, Hasankeyf was accepted as a site for conservation and consequently in 1978 became a site legally protected by the Turkish government (Arık 268, Leedom-Ackerman 59). However, contradictory decisions were made about the fate of Hasankeyf. On one hand, Hasankeyf was accepted as a first-degree historical site to be preserved by the *Anıtlar ve Gayrimenkul Eski Eserleri Koruma Yüksek Kurulu*. On the other hand, at roughly the same time the Ilisu Dam Project was planned, which would cause Hasankeyf to become submerged in the dam reservoir (Arık 268). Although according to Oluş Arık the decision about the dam was not made with bad intentions, Joanne Leedom Ackerman looks at the issue from a different perspective. She argues that the opponents of the dam claim that recognizing Hasankeyf as a site for conservation interrupted the dam project which originally came forward in the 1950s. However, the opponents suggest that there is a connection between the conflict between the Turkish government and the Kurdish guerilla in the 1980s and 1990s and the government approving the dam project (Leedom-Ackerman 59).

Oluş Arık began excavations in Hasankeyf in 1985, when it was a village within the boundaries of Mardin province. In 1990, when Batman was declared a city, Hasankeyf became a town and was connected to Batman. In 1992, excavations stopped because of the conflict between the Turkish army and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) (Young 4).

However, in 1998, the excavations headed by Oluş Arık started again. Since 2004, the excavations in Hasankeyf have been conducted by Abdüsselam Uluçam.¹

2.2 The Monuments in Hasankeyf

The Historic (Artukid) Bridge

The history of the bridge, one of the most beautiful monuments of the Middle Ages, is still not clear. Archival documents give inconsistent information about the bridge, which makes it hard to draw firm conclusions about the patron and the construction date. However, most probably the bridge was built by the Artukid Sultan Fahreddin Karaaslan between the years 1150-60 AD. It probably was damaged by an earthquake in 1161 and restored in 1164. The second major restoration was made during the era of the Ayyubid Sultan Melik-el-Adil Mucirü'd-din Muhammed in 1349, which lasted five months; the records also state that during the Ottoman period, the bridge underwent repairs. Historical documents mention the bridge until the end of the sixteenth century.

The bridge has six arches and seven piers; its length is 216 meters from the first to the seventh base. The bridge rises from the second base from the northern shore and reaches its highest point in the three central piers. It reaches the southern shore in front of the castle with the sixth and seventh bases (Arık 40-48).

The El Rızk Mosque

The El Rızk Mosque was built by the Ayyubid Sultan Süleyman in 1409.² However, only the minaret, the monumental gate and the remainders of the prayer hall's façade have survived to today. The identified length of the monument from the southern end of the prayer hall (*harim*)

¹ <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/277571.asp>

² *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı*. <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/TR/belge/1-20082/eski2yeni.html>.

section to the monumental rock door with the *esma-i hüsnâ* (God's 99 beautiful names) at the northern end is 53.28 meters; the width of the monument from the eastern façade to the sunken, yet still visible remnants on the western end, near the Tigris, is 27.95 meters. The height of the minaret is 37.57 meters from the modern street level and 40.85 meters when measured from the original *harim* floor. The monument is constructed with cut stones and the masonry is crowned with high quality stone engravings (Arık 60-64).

The Small Palace or Bastion

The bastion, which does not have a certain construction date, is known as the palace of the Akkoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan and called “Küçük Saray” (Small Palace). The reason for this monument being called as a palace is its 22 meters length, 9.30 meters width and 7.60 meters height, which makes the inner space very impressive considering the humble current houses in the area.

The best-preserved parts of the monument are the north-eastern façade, the lion relief and two symmetrical rosettes with drop motives. However, there are very deep cracks in the monument, so that the Tigris River in fact can be seen through the holes (Arık 96-98).

The Big Palace

A big mound stands on top of the rock hill, which is filled with the upper city and the castle, covering an area of 2350 meter square. This mound dominates the view of the River Tigris. Its frontal part looks like an independent structure with a façade of large stone blocks and supported by hemispheric buttress towers. However, the remaining part of the mound, more than half, in the south is made of soil batches. The inner structure of this part is considered to have a much more complex settlement plan and materials used in the structures than the other part (Arık 102). Since no inscription giving the date of the palace has been uncovered during

the excavations, the exact date of the construction of the palace and the identity of the patron remains unknown. Yet, it is known that the palace existed during the Artukid, thanks to historical documents stating that the Artukid ruler Kutbeddin Sökmen II fell from the palace and died (Arık 102).

The Ulu Mosque

The Ulu Mosque is located in the northern part of the upper city, and it is hard to draw the boundary between the mosque and the Big Palace; the connection between these two structures is obscure since it is under the dent in the area. The mosque has a *harim* in the east-west direction and a frontal courtyard which is twice as big as the *harim*; in fact, this building type is very common in Southeast Anatolia, especially by the Artukids between 1101 and 1232 (Arık 114-118). However, even though the architecture shows that the mosque might be from that period, there are no historical records proving that the Ulu Mosque was built at the end of eleventh, in twelfth or thirteenth century. Oluş Arık believes that the dates on the minaret, the iwan and the minbar showing the dates 1327, 1394 and 1396 are the dates of various restoration and renovation works, rather than the construction dates (Arık 116).

The Kızlar Mosque

The Kızlar Mosque, which is currently an active mosque used by locals is located to the east of Koç Camii; it lacks historical documents that could reveal details about the monument.³ However, the architectural features, the domed cubic structures built in the four corners of the central square courtyard, show that the monument is a mausoleum rather than a mosque. In fact, the mausoleum in the one on the north-east corner managed to survive. Today, one of

³ Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı. <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/TR/belge/1-20082/eski2yeni.html>.

these four rooms has been turned into a woodshed, whereas others are utilized as *harim* by connecting three rooms with a corridor and covering the walls with tiles (Arık 148).

The Koç Mosque

The Koç Mosque, which is situated in the lower city, is significant for its layout, making its ruins the second-biggest after the Big Palace. It is an advanced design which is in fact close to the model of the Ulu Mosque in the upper city, with spaces added to the sides of the main building. However, in the Koç Mosque, the design was implemented at once (Arık 158). The construction date of the mosque is not clear, as with many other mosques built in the area. There are different views about the issue of the date and patron: it was either commissioned by the Ayyubid ruler Melikü-l-Adil Muciru'd-din Muhammed between the years 1326 and 1335, or, as Oluş Arık suggests, it was built in the Artukid period (Arık 160).

Recent excavations have revealed that the Koç Mosque was built on top of ancient ruins, which are in fact prehistoric. Ceramic sherds from the chalcolithic and Bronze Age periods have proven that the history of Hasankeyf extends as early as the third and fourth millennium BC (Arık 165-166).

The Süleyman Mosque

The Süleyman Mosque is a complex in the lower city, consisting of a set of spaces added to a mausoleum considered to be the tomb of either Sultan Süleyman (d. 1432) or Şahabeddin Gazi; there are historical sources which are confirming each version. The mausoleum mosque complex gathers stylistic elements of the various periods in Hasankeyf's history: the eastern façade of the mosque courtyard, the stone minaret which has survived without alterations, the portal which is attached to the minaret, and the fountain with its stone engravings (Arık 170).

The Zeynel Bey Mausoleum

The Zeynel Bey Mausoleum is situated on the opposite shore of the antique city and the mosaic inscription in the entrance reveals that it was built for Zeynel Bey, son of Akkoyunlu Uzun Hasan, who died in the Otlukbeli War that was fought against the Ottomans in 1473; in fact, the mausoleum must have been built around that time. The dome of the structure is very much like a helmet shape from Middle Ages where the body was made of cut stones and the exterior surface was covered with glazed and non-glazed mosaics. Especially, dark blue and turquoise glazes were used in the structure. As a matter of fact, the tiles on the exterior surface and the plaster cover used in the interior space are the only examples in Anatolia which represents the dominant style in Central Asia during the 14th century when it reached its highest point in the era of Timur (Arık 226-236).

The İmam Abdullah Mausoleum

The mausoleum, of which almost no original parts survive today, is located across the River Tigris, on a little mound. The İmam Abdullah Mausoleum is formed of a thickset minaret, a small courtyard and a domed cubic tomb structure where İmam Abdullah, a Shiite saint, is believed to be buried. The inscription above the door states that the mausoleum was restored by the Akkoyunlu Sultan Halil in 1474 (Arık 224).

2.3 The History of the Ilisu Dam Project

The Ilisu Dam Project has been one of the essential elements of GAP, to be built on the Tigris River, 45 kilometers from the Syrian border. The planning of the project actually started in 1954 by the State Hydraulic Works (Devlet Su İşleri, DSI). If the construction proceeds as planned, it will be the second-biggest dam in Turkey, fourth in terms of its power-generating capacity. The reservoir of the dam of roughly 300 km² and the catchment area will

affect five provinces: Diyarbakır, Batman, Siirt, Şırnak and Mardin. The dam's height will be 138 meters from the foundation, or 130 meters if measured from the riverbed (Ronayne 67).

The funding of the Ilisu Dam Project was supposed to come in its entirety from international sources. The most important reason for the postponement of the project, which was first discussed in 1954, was funding. However, in 1971 pre-feasibility studies were completed; the dam project gained its final shape and was approved in 1982. Yet, the project was kept on hold until the end of the 1990s. The reason for this delay was the project's controversial nature, funding concerns and problems related to international norms (Düzgören and Yıldız 20-21).

According to the report prepared by the Kurdish Human Rights Project, the fact that a considerable part of Hasankeyf was going to be submerged under the Ilisu Dam was certain even then. For this reason, a "Hasankeyf Committee" was established in Istanbul in 1986-87 to draw the attention of the public to the issue, by organizing various activities and field trips to Hasankeyf. With the increasing activities of the PKK during this period, starting in 1984 and continuing during the 1990s, protecting Hasankeyf and the debating on the Ilisu Dam Project was removed from the agenda (Düzgören and Yıldız 21). The authors of the same report critically approach to the fact that, in the same time period, a newly flourishing environmentalist movement worked for the protection of ancient Hasankeyf city and other archaeological sites in the area. However, there were, and still are, other concerns related to the project (Düzgören and Yıldız 21). Because of the expected damages in the area, four conditions were stipulated to the Turkish government according to the report prepared by an independent supervisory board and published by the British government in 1999 as a result of the pressure of the public, the NGOs and politicians of the countries providing funding for the Ilisu Dam Project at the time:

- 1- The preparation and implementation of an internationally approved and independently controlled practical settlement program;
- 2- Meeting the needs for the water processing facilities which will ensure the quality of the water supplies on the upper part of the river;
- 3- Reassurance of maintaining consistent and sufficient water flow on the lower part of the river;
- 4- The preparation of a detailed plan which will ensure the protection of the archaeological heritage in Hasankeyf (Düzgören and Yıldız 22-23; translation mine).

In 1996, the Turkish government tried to finance GAP as a build-operate-transfer project by the private sector. However, no contractor was willing to fund the project, raising questions whether it would be profitable (Düzgören and Yıldız 34). After a year, DSİ chose the Swiss company Sulzer Hydro as the main contractor of the project. Sulzer Hydro became the first foreign company involved in GAP, which had not opened itself to the international market before (Düzgören and Yıldız 35). However, Sulzer Hydro, which was sold to the Austrian VA Tech Company in 1999, in collaboration with the Swiss company ABB, gave the construction-engineering-related subcontract work to a consortium led by Balfour Beatty (Düzgören and Yıldız 35). Other companies included in the consortium were Impreglio (Italy), Skanska (Sweden) and three Turkish construction companies, Nurol, Kiska and Tekfen (Düzgören and Yıldız 35). In 2000, ABB's connection with the Ilisu Dam Project ended when it conveyed all its responsibilities to the British-French company Alstom. In addition, Skansa also withdrew from the project in September 2000 (Düzgören and Yıldız 36). As a consequence of public and international campaigns, the Ilisu Dam project was suspended, and all the members of the consortium withdrew their support (Leedom-Ackerman

59, Ronayne 67). Ronayne lists the reasons for the anti-dam campaign that resulted in the suspension of the project in 2001 and the still valid concerns as such:

The longstanding and continuing history of repression of the Kurdish majority in the region by the Turkish State; the failure of the project to meet the most basic international standards of resettlement and with regard to assessing impacts on the environment and cultural heritage; the potential submergence of most of the town of Hasankeyf, as a place of particular economic, cultural and historical significance to residents and to Kurdish people more widely, and as an archaeological site of international significance; the fact that the dam could exacerbate regional conflict over water between Turkey and its downstream neighbors; the secrecy with regard to key project documents; the failure to seriously consider alternatives to the dam; doubts over independent monitoring of any possible project implementation (Ronayne 67-68).

The opponents of the dam project also argue that it is not worth implementing, since the dam would last only fifty to seventy years and produce only 2 percent of Turkey's electricity needs. In fact, the electricity generated from the Ilisu Dam will not go to Southeast Turkey (Leedom-Ackerman 60). If built, the Ilisu Dam will be the key structure among other dams on the Tigris River by balancing the control over the water flow; consequently, it might reduce the downstream water flow to Iraq and Syria (Ronayne 67). According to the Ilisu Dam Report of State Hydraulic Works, this will result in a loss of 75 percent of the historic city of Hasankeyf and the resettlement of the Kurdish population living in that area. What is more, Ronayne adds that approximately 78,000 persons who live in the 183 villages and towns in the area mostly of Kurdish ethnicity will be displaced if the dam is built (Ronayne 67).

It is also argued that the ongoing struggle about the dam project has already affected the region. Half of the population of Hasankeyf already had to leave their houses because they were told that the dam would be built and their houses flooded. Consequently, nobody is investing, neither in their dwellings nor their businesses, which makes Hasankeyf seem like a town in ruins (Leedom-Ackerman 60).

In contrast, the Turkish government claims that it is consistent in the planning of the Ilisu Dam Project and that the implementation of the project carries great importance. According to the DSI's project report, the reasons for the dam's importance for Turkey are as follows:

- The Ilisu Dam Project is an important investment project of the Turkish Republic.
- The project is vital for the country's welfare, modernity and development. What is more, it will provide peace and help solving the energy problem in the region.
- The project will contribute to the development of Southeastern Turkey, especially the Batman, Mardin, Siirt and Şırnak provinces.
- In the provinces stated above, the project will provide for the livelihood of 80,000 people as workers in the construction and their families.
- When finished, the project will bring the country an income of 300 million dollars with the annual average of 3,833 billion kWh energy it produces.
- During construction, the project will provide an economic activity of approximate 600-700 million dollars to the region, and this will bring prosperity to people living in the area.

- It will result in the rebuilding of the present roads, bridges, railways and villages, which will be submerged in the Ilisu Dam Reservoir, with new technology.⁴

Although the first consortium had been dissolved and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in a public speech in 2003, had declared that Hasankeyf would not be flooded, another consortium to build the Ilisu Dam was established in 2004. This consortium consisted of the Austrian VA Tech as the leading company which would build the dam and supply the turbines for one billion Euro and also finance the salvaging of Hasankeyf for another 30 million Euro; the Swiss company Alstom and the German company Züblin which would supply the generators; and the Turkish construction companies Nurol, Cengiz and Çeliker which would be responsible for the construction of the dam and tunnels (Ronayne 68). In the Ilisu Dam Report of State Hydraulic Works, it is stated that the budget for the construction of the Ilisu Dam Project was planned to cover seven years of construction work, the period in which it was actually planned to be finished in the first place, between 2006 and 2013. Of the total foreign funding of 1.2 billion Euro, 30 million was to be used for the protection of cultural heritage in Hasankeyf. What is more, the report also states that no more than 80 percent of Hasankeyf would be flooded and that the upper city --including tens of tombs, mounds and 4,200 cave houses-- would not be affected by the Ilisu Dam. In fact, the aim is to turn the area into an archaeological park and an open-air museum to create a center for culture and tourism.⁵ Additionally, according to the plan, the lower city, the El-Rızk Mosque, the Koç Mosque, the Sultan Süleyman Mosque, the Kızlar Mosque, the Small Palace, the Zeynel Bey Mausoleum, the İmam Abdullah dervish lodge and the Artukid Bridge will be moved to the archaeological park.⁶ The DSI report also states that all the cultural assets planned to be removed from their original places will be excavated and preserved over the seven years of

⁴ http://www.dsi.gov.tr/ilisu_projesi.pdf (translation mine)

⁵ http://www.dsi.gov.tr/ilisu_projesi.pdf

⁶ http://www.dsi.gov.tr/ilisu_projesi.pdf

construction. Oluş Arık warns that an appropriate restitution plan is needed to accomplish such an undertaking and that the replacement of several monuments does not exactly mean preserving Hasankeyf and its original character (Arık 280).

The foreign companies halted the project in December 2008, claiming that Turkey did not satisfy the conditions of the World Bank regarding the protection of the region's inhabitants, environment, and cultural heritage (Leedom-Ackerman 59). The consortium gave the Turkish government 180 days to fulfill the conditions requested. In August 2009, the foreign companies declared that they were officially withdrawing their support from the Ilisu Dam Project. The Ministry of Environment and Forestry issued a declaration stating that the project would continue and that Turkey had the capacity to sustain the Ilisu Dam Project without foreign funding. In fact, it has recently been rumored that various Turkish banks funding the project which do not prefer to announce their involvement to public because of the public opinion in favor of the protection of Hasankeyf and the Tigris basin. Despite these circumstances, the construction of the dam, which started in 2006, is currently going full speed.

In addition to the events surrounding the Ilisu Dam Project and Hasankeyf as a cultural heritage site, the opinion of Hasankeyf's residents regarding the issue is also very important. Therefore, I will touch upon the sociopolitical and socioeconomic state of Hasankeyf as a province before discussing what locals think about their cultural heritage and the dam project.

“Hasankeyf is one of the poorest among many other provinces in Turkey which might be in fact one of the poorest three provinces of Turkey, the others being Bahçesaray (a province of Van) and Güçlükönak (a province of Şırnak),” says the current department manager in the Regional Directorate for Culture and Tourism in Batman, the former mayor of Hasankeyf between the years 1984 and 1989, and the initiator of the archaeological excavations that began in 1985. According to him, the main concern of the local people of

Hasankeyf, who are mostly Kurdish, is economic development, finding employment and keeping the youth in the province. The young population, 90 percent of the total, is moving west to find jobs; as a consequence, the current inhabitants of Hasankeyf are mostly the elderly. From this perspective, locals are not necessarily opposing the dam project; they are concerned with their economic situation and preventing younger generations from abandoning their lands for work elsewhere. He states that poverty is the main reason why locals do not participate in the anti-dam activities that NGOs organize in the area. A columnist from *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, who extensively writes about Hasankeyf and the problems about cultural heritage and environment in Turkey, adds that the cultural heritage in Hasankeyf is not an asset that can feed the locals at this point, and this is the reason why they cannot oppose the dam project as strong as intellectuals from elsewhere. In fact, the pressure to save Hasankeyf on the governments in Europe and the governance of the banks and companies that are funding the project, as it is reflected in the media, is entirely initiated by people outside Hasankeyf. This means that the residents of Hasankeyf, excluding a minority who are directly involved in the issue, merely stand as observers vis-à-vis the events and their media coverage.

Given that economic development of the area is their main concern, the dam project's supporters argue that it will bring short-term and long-term job opportunities to the area. The short-term job opportunities will occur during the construction process since there will be a need for human resources which will be filled by locals. Additionally, dam-related employment opportunities after the completion of construction will create long-term employment for locals in the area. In fact, the general perspective of the Turkish government about GAP, including the Ilisu Dam, is to see the project as intended to "raise the local income level and living standards in a relatively under-developed part of the country" (Kaya 37). However, if the Ilisu Dam Project is not implemented, an alternative economic

development plan for Hasankeyf will be through tourism, by generating and executing an appropriate management plan for the cultural heritage site.

There is also an opposing view about the potential economic development that the dam project may bring to the area. The editor of *Batman Çağdaş* newspaper and the chairman of the Hasankeyf Volunteers Association (Hasankeyf Gönüllüleri Derneği) for the past 15 years, points out that there are already 23 dams in the province and that the number will be 24 with the construction of the Ilisu Dam; yet, if these dam projects were to develop the area where they have been built, then “the province would have turned into little Germany or France by now.” As an example, he refers to the Batman Dam, which has not been finished since 1984 and caused many dozen villages to be submerged under water, as well as the resettlement of many people to the suburbs of the city of Batman; the construction of the Ilisu Dam will result in a similar migration problem, causing people to move to larger cities. In the case of the Ilisu Dam’s construction, he says that 60,000 people will migrate; according to his point of view, these people also have a right to take refuge in those countries which support the Ilisu Dam and provide funding to this project. In fact, he indicates that this threat of migration to the European countries which support the project is one of the factors that caused the withdrawal of foreign funding.

What the local people think of the Ilisu Dam project is also not easily defined as one single opinion. On one hand, the people of Hasankeyf are not in a position to express an opinion or resist the project because of the economic issues of the area; on the other hand, the editor of *Batman Çağdaş* newspaper gives clear numbers, stating that 70 percent of the locals are against the dam in its current form. However, the aghas and power-holder sheikhs of the area are in favor of the project because their real estate properties will become more valuable with the expropriation of the lands to be submerged; this is, in fact, a problem resulting from the lack of land reform in Turkey. How the cultural heritage of Hasankeyf as an antique city is

perceived by the inhabitants is also worth mentioning. There is a growing interest in the cultural heritage among the youth of the area; I believe the systematic education of school-aged children about the history of their towns is an important factor that has triggered this interest. Around the historic sites, it is easy to observe children wandering around and playing tourist guides, mostly to tell Turkish tourists about the history of their town and to inform them about the site. This is also the case for Hasankeyf where children are eager to tell visitors what they know about the history of the site; in fact, this is a way to earn pocket money, especially in the tourist season. This is consistent with what the editor of *Batman Çağdaş* newspaper says about the new generation of Hasankeyf locals, as he mentioned that the young people of Hasankeyf feel more responsibility towards their heritage than people in 60-70 range age.

The sociopolitical state of the area is also an important factor to consider when discussing Hasankeyf and the Ilisu Dam Project. Although the main interest of this research is cultural heritage, each of my interviewees brought up this aspect and its relationship to the dam project. What is more, newspaper coverage always refers to politicians and the political state of the area, which in the end makes this subject impossible to omit here. Although this study is not focused on politics, and although the sociopolitical state of the area is a highly sensitive topic considering the current environment in Turkey,⁷ it is necessary to give some background information. This is also necessary to understand Hasankeyf's coverage in the Turkish print media and in what context these news are reported.

As mentioned above, Hasankeyf and the wider territory where the Ilisu Dam is planned are mostly populated with by people of Kurdish ethnicity. In Turkey, the general assumption about the area is such that it is associated with the terrorist activities of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (Kürdistan İşçi Partisi, PKK); accordingly, it is a place where

⁷ Currently, the ethnic tension between Turks and Kurds, terrorism in Turkey, and the government's approach to these subjects are the major topics on the agenda.

terrorists are settled. Given these circumstances, a dam project that will submerge the area brings up the question whether it is purposely imposed to displace the Kurdish community and to prevent terrorist activities by literally erasing the area.

Currently, there are two major political parties in the area, the Peace and Democracy Party (Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi, BDP)⁸ and Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP)⁹; yet, most of the municipal administration in the region is governed by the BDP. In this political climate, the AKP is by all means in favor of the Ilisu Dam Project, while, the BDP is opposing it. However, the editor of *Batman Çağdaş* newspaper points out that there is also a neutral fraction which is supporting the salvage of Hasankeyf free of the political conflict between BDP and AKP, as he adds that BDP managed to raise awareness about cultural heritage and the protection of Hasankeyf.

Apart from the apparent facts, the legitimate views of these parties about the Ilisu Dam Project and the protection of Hasankeyf, there are arguments -- they might be called conspiracy theories -- about certain political concerns of the government regarding the area, claiming that the reason of its insistence on implementing this project is strategic. According to the current chairman of the Hasankeyf Volunteers Association, these arguments can be outlined under three main topics: To begin with, the government wants to use this dam and the water resources accumulated with this dam as a trump over its neighboring countries, such as Iraq and Syria, which have a shortage of water. Secondly, the AKP government believes that it can solve the PKK problem by submerging the area under water. Thirdly, the government wants to provide rent to companies with have close ties to the AKP, through the construction of the dam project.

⁸ The BDP was established in 2008 and is one of the political parties represented in the parliament. The party is also known for representing the Turkish citizens of Kurdish ethnicity.

⁹ The AKP is a conservative right-wing party which was established in 2001 by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Currently, it is the political party in power, as the party managed to receive the highest votes in the last two elections in Turkey.

The usage of water sources being one of them, there are various subjects that raise tensions in the Middle East. Yet, the problem over water sources will become more serious in the region with the “population growth, changing patterns of water use, and possible shortages in supply” (Kaya 34). The waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates have always caused trouble between Turkey and its neighboring countries; the Ilisu Dam Project has brought the issue back to the agenda and has been widely covered not only by the Arab press, but also by the western media and environmentalist NGOs (Kaya 35). There is an argument that the construction of the Ilisu Dam, together with all the other dams built under the auspices of GAP, will result in the reduction of the water volume flowing to Syria and Iraq; more seriously, Turkey could stop the water flow to these countries in time of crisis, and this could lead to war in the area (Düzgören and Yılmaz 75-76).

In response to these arguments, the developers of the project indicate that this issue has been exaggerated and add that there is no need to be afraid since the Ilisu Dam is designed for providing energy rather than for irrigation purposes; it will not affect the water flow when used for hydroelectric purposes (Düzgören and Yılmaz 77). In addition, the report *The Truth About the Ilisu Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant and Hasankeyf (Ilisu Barajı ve Hidroelektrik Santrali ile Hasankeyf Gerçeği)* that the DSI prepared states that the neighboring countries were informed about the progress of the project and given all relevant information; Turkey also pledged the scientific research to be conducted in the region to designate the amount of water to be released and to standardize the quality of the water flowing to Iraq and Syria.¹⁰

Given these circumstances, one may question whether the reason to build the Ilisu Dam is strategic/political or not. According to a well-known journalist who writes extensively on the issue, Hasankeyf did not serve a certain ideology or politics until supporters of PKK’s

¹⁰ http://www2.dsi.gov.tr/ilisu/ilisu_hasankeyf.swf, pp. 6-7.

terrorist activities declared that they defended the protection of Hasankeyf; in the end, this caused the issue to take on political aspects. In parallel with the argument, he also adds:

In one of my columns, I reminded that separatist terrorists killed archaeologists working in the southeast and named the most famous scholars in Turkey against the discourse that considers terrorists as equal to those defending the protection of Hasankeyf, and asked: Can there be a more unfortunate discourse than that which considers our world of science and culture that looks after Hasankeyf as equal with separatist terrorists?"

In fact, this discourse has become very uncomfortable for people in Southeastern Turkey who defend the protection of Hasankeyf; in almost every interview I conducted, my informants felt obliged to say: "we are not traitors just because we want to rescue Hasankeyf."

Unfortunately, there has emerged an attitude that makes a distinction between *us* and *them*; the supporters of the Dam Project (and therefore of development in Turkey) are assigned to *us*; traitors associated with terrorists who want Turkey to be an underdeveloped country are considered as *them*.

As mentioned in this chapter, the Ilisu Dam Project has various dynamics apart from Hasankeyf and its cultural heritage, which are related to global politics, environmental and human rights issues. However, as the conceptualization of cultural heritage and archaeology in Turkey, cultural policies, and the media coverage of archaeology are the main focus of this research, the following chapter will discuss in greater detail the cultural heritage perception in the Ottoman Empire and the Early Republican Era. In parallel with this concept, the construction of cultural policies will be examined. Furthermore, the dam projects and their relationship to Turkey's economic development plans and cultural heritage protection will also be examined in detail.

CHAPTER 2

CULTURAL HERITAGE PERCEPTION IN TURKEY

2.1 The Evolution of Cultural Policies in Turkey in a Historical Framework

The role of cultural policies in the establishment of the contemporary Turkish Republic and the formation of a common nation consciousness was so great that they allowed the adaptation of many to the initiated reforms and modernity in that era (Seçkin 119). From then on, the objectives of cultural politics evolved with each government, depending on its motivations. According to Serhan Ada, between 1920 and 2000, the cultural politics of Turkey can be defined as “strong and definite” (Ada 93).¹¹

Before delving into cultural heritage as debated from the perspective of cultural politics in Turkey, I will give an overview of cultural politics in Turkey by using Ada’s periodical classification of 1920-1950, 1950-2000 and 2000 onwards.

Ada refers to 1920-1950 as the period of “powerful and central institutions,” when cultural politics could be described as “national foundation and structuring” (Ada 94). In fact, Deniz Ünsal notes that in the Early Republican era, culture was valued equally as economic and social development which is very much consistent with the modernization and westernization objectives of that time-period (Ünsal 163-164). That is to say, in the process of constructing a national identity, the new republic was trying to construct “a unified body without privilege or class” while also attending to the cultural heritage taken over from the

¹¹ Even though the official year of the establishment of Turkish Republic is 1923, he takes 1920 as the initial year, that year being the establishment of the parliament.

Ottoman Empire (Ada 94). For this purpose, three important attempts were made in order to unify national education and to abolish pluralism in Ottoman education: The legislation of the *Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu* (Law on the Unification of Education)¹² in 1924, the establishment of the *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Turkish Historical Society)¹³ and *Türk Dil Kurumu* (Turkish Language Institute)¹⁴ in 1931 and 1932, respectively. In addition to these initiatives which were responsible for “the regulation and steering of culture from the top to the bottom,” the other influential institutions that aimed to disseminate “national culture” were the *Halk Evleri* (People’s Houses) and the *Köy Enstitüleri* (Village Institutes) which were established in 1932 and 1940 (Ada 94-95).

The era between 1950-2000 is referred to as the period of “privatization and ministries.” The cultural politics of the period between 1950-1970 is described as “soft politics” or “non-political politics” in which some of the older policies of the previous era were abandoned and a “softer” understanding espoused (Ada 99, Ünsal 165).¹⁵ From the 1950s onwards, the understanding of improvement in culture and development as one had declined; priority shifted solely to “development goals” while putting culture into an ancillary position. In fact, this understanding also continued in the 1960s when the main concerns were economic and social development under the Democrat Party’s administration which embraced liberalism (Ünsal 165). The most significant characteristics of the cultural policies of that period were the adaptation of a conservative – it could even be considered racist – notion of “Turkishness” based on Central Asiatic origins and Islamic identity (Ada 97). Starting with

¹² The legislation offered the unification of all educational institutions under the Ministry of Education, the elimination of religion in education, and a ceasing of the establishment of foreign educational institutions in the Republic (Ada 94).

¹³ The ultimate goal of this institution was to write the republic’s history and to form an official discourse with the institution’s publications (Ada 94).

¹⁴ In accordance with the adopted cultural politics of the time, the association was responsible for the purification of the language after the change from the Arabic to Latin alphabet in the official language (Ada 94-95).

¹⁵ Ada adds that the characteristics of cultural politics adopted in that era were not valid for a short period of time after the 1960 coup in Turkey.

the inauguration of the Ministry of Culture in 1971,¹⁶ cultural policies have shown variations with each government. Furthermore, in terms of privatization, the establishment of the *İstanbul Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı* by Nejat Eczacıbaşı in 1973 holds the distinction of being the first private initiative to participate in cultural activities as a non-profit organization (Ada 98).

Like many topics in Turkey, discussions about cultural politics emerged with the prospective membership of Turkey to the European Union. Furthermore, the increasing investment interest of the private sector in culture and the necessity to regulate and stimulate this interest also made a significant impact. In this regard, the 1990s witnessed various projects and symposia that aimed to underpin a solid cultural politics in Turkey for the 2000s (Ada 98-102). From the 1980s onwards, the position of non-governmental organizations is also worth mentioning, considering that they have stood as responsible institutions and raised their voices regarding cultural issues, resisting the idea of “a powerful state” in Turkey (Ada 98, Ünsal 183).

After a general overview of the historical course of cultural politics in Turkey, I will focus on the latest developments in the last decade, as planned and implemented by the AKP government. The AKP, which defines itself as a “conservative democrat” party, has brought a new perspective to the existing cultural politics of Turkey. Accordingly, culture is a tool that can be utilized in order to achieve the government’s neo-liberal policies that aim at economic foreign extension (Aksoy 193). However, Asu Aksoy states that, since the 1970s, the “instrumentalization” of culture has been a valid factor regarding change in the cultural policies of developed countries (Aksoy 193).

In addition to ideological concerns in terms of the “instrumentalization” of culture that arose after the AKP came power, the intentions behind the privatization of culture and the utilization of culture for the publicity of the country have brought other discussions on the

¹⁶ During the 1970s and 1980s, the Ministry of Culture was closed and reopened several times, and merged with the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Tourism, respectively (Ünsal 167).

agenda (Aksoy 193). According to the new perspective, culture is seen as a promising sector that will enable Turkey to stand out in an environment of global rivalry. Consequently, investment in culture and cultural assets is thought to vitalize foreign investment and tourism (Aksoy 194-195).

2.2 The Practice of Archaeology and Cultural Heritage Discourse

Since the establishment of the first nation-states, archaeological evidence has been used or manipulated to construct an identity, by means of a legitimization of the past. According to Trigger, the reason behind nations' practice of archaeology is "to enhance their group's self-confidence by making its success appear natural, predestined and inevitable; to inspire and justify collective action; and to disguise collective interest of altruism" (Trigger 15). Gül Pulhan argues that the consciousness of protecting cultural heritage based on "the state of belonging" started in the mid-nineteenth century, with the emergence of nation-states after the collapse of the empires. In this environment, "archaeological and historical heritage" was not only used as a tool for legitimization of the borders of the newly established nation-states, but it also played an important role to form a common identity (Pulhan 137-138). The usage of archaeological evidence in national history writing has been a much-discussed research topic in recent archaeological literature as well, and research in that area reveals much information about the self-identification processes of nation-states. It has shown that the self-identity that a state attributes to itself through this evidence is a constantly changing condition according to the demands of that particular time period, which also reflects upon the narratives of the past (Atakuman 107).

In parallel with nations' needs for archaeological practice, the notion of heritage has a number of different meanings. Most commonly, heritage is referred to as a "form of collective memory, a social construct shaped by the political, economic and social concerns of the

present” (Graham and Howard 5). Heritage is also “a technology of governance ... a point of validation or legitimization for the present in which actions and policies are justified by continuing references to representations and narratives of the past that are encapsulated through manifestations of tangible and intangible” (Smith 2). That is to say, the inclusion of heritage in the value-creation narratives moved the notion from the “material world” to the “world of meaning” in the last decade (Atakuman 109).

According to the 1990-1995 Draft Medium Term Plan, cultural heritage is defined by UNESCO as “the entire corpus of material signs either artistic or symbolic handed on by the past to each culture and, therefore, to the whole humankind” (UNESCO 1989, 57). The differentiation between tangible and intangible heritage is also made within the plan. While “architectural complexes, archaeological sites, rural heritage, the countryside, and the urban, technical or industrial heritage, industrial design and street furniture” are listed as tangible heritage, “the signs and symbols passed by oral transmission, artistic and literacy forms of expression, languages, ways of life, myths, beliefs and rituals, value systems, and traditional knowledge and know-how” are considered intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO 1989, 57). However, in the UNESCO Culture Sector-Intangible Heritage-2003 Convention, the shift from the traditional perception which focuses on the possession and protection of material heritage to a more recent one that emphasizes the aspects of meaning and identity is concretized with this definition:

Intangible Cultural Heritage means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with

nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development.

The definition that demonstrates the relationship between intangible and tangible heritage, and identity may be interpreted as a set of suggestions encouraging the regulation of heritage practices of nation-states according to policies that recognize diversity and tolerance, instead of “authorized heritage discourses” (Atakuman 110). Unfortunately, in Turkey, cultural heritage has a simpler mission for the majority. Atakuman argues that cultural heritage in Turkey, like in many other countries, has been “constructed and continues to be perceived as ‘things’ to be protected for their value in terms of international prestige and touristic consumption”; thus, the cultural policies of Turkey is still problematic (Atakuman 108).

2.3 Identity Politics and the Evolution of Cultural Heritage Perception in Turkey

Nationalism which also affected the politically unstable Ottoman Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century (Özdoğan 1998; 116), and later the Turkish Republic resulted in a profound interest in history. Therefore, archaeology played an important role in the “nationalist projects” to legitimize nation-states (M. Ergin 13). Consequently, as archaeology empowered nation-states, the institutionalization of archaeology accelerated (M. Ergin 14). The relationship between modernization and archaeology differed in each country, for each had its own concerns in the formation processes as nation-states. In terms of the Early Turkish Republic, it is interesting to look at the dynamics of the relationship between “national

modernity” and archaeology, as the Republic was neither a European nation-state nor a postcolonial one (M. Ergin 14; Redford and N. Ergin 3)

The definition and perception of cultural heritage in the late Ottoman and in the following Republican period were also shaped in accordance with the necessities of other nation-states in that time period (Pulhan 130). Furthermore, the rich archaeological resources in Anatolia that drove Western countries to fight over the rights to these assets resulted in a more protective attitude in the Ottoman Empire to create a “bureaucratic cultural heritage perception” with the establishment of museums, legal regulations, and various research studies concerning the subject (Pulhan 137-138). However, this reflexive attitude was also bringing contradiction to the Western paradigm of the Ottoman Empire. As Gül Pulhan argues, on one hand, there was a negative reaction against Western countries that were carrying off archaeological assets; on the other hand, archaeology as an emerging field more or less imitated Western practice (Pulhan 138). In this respect, the perceptual shift in archaeological research and heritage between the Late Ottoman and the Early Republican Period is an important epoch to investigate in order to observe the ways in which archaeological material was utilized. National history-writing was a very important issue immediately after the establishment of the Republic; there were carefully planned initiatives through the national education system and museums in that regard. Therefore, the value and the meaning of the remnants from the past were concretized through a so-called “official” heritage discourse. Given that generations have been exposed to altering historical narratives that aimed to create a common shared identity for nearly a century, an evaluation of the political/nationalistic dimension of cultural heritage protection is inevitable.

The interest of Europe “in the lands of the Orient” resulted in the state’s demand for heritage discourse and practice in both the Ottoman Empire and later the Turkish Republic. However, in order to constitute a heritage discourse, which is basically a responsive action

against Europe, there was the necessity of an “institutional format” that again could be imported from Europe; yet, it should be noted that the adopted archaeological and museum practices were opposed to European imperialism in content (Atakuman 110-111). In the Europeans’ hunt for cultural properties, that content was specifically emphasizing the claims of the Ottoman Empire over the antiquities inasmuch as territorial possessions (Shaw 107). The assertion over cultural properties was for “negotiating for the recognition of the Ottoman Empire ... in the league of the civilized,” namely convincing the Europeans to accept the Ottoman Empire as civilized; given the declining political power of the Ottoman Empire from the eighteenth century onwards, heritage was used “to restore its loss of authority” (Atakuman 111).

The first antiquities edict in 1869 and the subsequent laws of 1874, 1884 and 1906, with which the protection of cultural heritage became stricter, are indications of how archaeological artifacts were valued in the Ottoman Empire and also how regulations pertinent to museology and archaeological practice became more urgent (Atakuman 111, Pulhan 138). Until the 1980s, laws and regulations concerning cultural heritage were altered and managed with respect to the same protective incentives that were legislated during the Ottoman period (Pulhan 138). In fact, some of the basic principles that were proposed in the Antiquities Law (*Asar-ı Antika Nizamnamesi*) enacted in 1884, including the prohibition to transport antiquities outside the Ottoman territories for the first time, remained in effect until 1973; this shows that the archaeological thought and cultural heritage perception/practice in Turkish Republic was built upon the Ottoman foundations (Atakuman 111-112, Shaw 111).

The contradiction between Ottomans’ resistance to European imperialism and the adaptation of “universalistic” practices of heritage is referred to as “cultural camouflage” by Shaw (Shaw 225). Shaw’s “cultural camouflage” suggests that the role of cultural heritage in Ottoman identity politics was to the extent of using antiquities to validate of modernization

based on a civilized history rather than constructing a historical unity (Atakuman 112). Atakuman argues that the evolution of the “camouflaging discourse” can be traced from the establishment of museums and the initiation of heritage legislation in the Ottoman era nearly a century ago, to modern Turkish heritage discourse and practice in order to reach a better understanding of the present perception of cultural heritage (Atakuman 112). In order to exemplify the similarity, Atakuman discusses Turkey’s constant efforts in joining the European Union and yet insisting on its unique cultural characteristics; this position is very much hand in hand with the Ottoman legacy of “pragmatic Westernization,” which also overlaps with the subsequent “ethnicist authoritarian nation-building” legacy of the Kemalist era (Atakuman 112).

As Murat Ergin quotes Enver Ziya Karal, a historian of the Early Republican Era, there are three main objectives of scholars which in fact, displayed the “political, social, and cultural concerns” of archaeology as a discipline: “(1) correcting western scientific misconceptions which classified Turks into the yellow race; (2) showing the Turks’ innate capacity for civilization; (3) fending off territorial claims on the Anatolian peninsula” (Karal qtd. in M. Ergin 14). Given that “reaching the level of modern (i.e. Western) civilizations” was determined as the ultimate goal of the state during the establishment process of the Turkish Republic, it can be concluded that there was a constant effort to justify that the newly established state was suitable to count as part of the modern civilization according to Western norms. As Ergin puts it, by using various disciplines (such as folklore, archaeology, anthropology, museum studies, philology, history, ethnography, and so on), Early Republican scholars tried to show the “contributions of the Turks” to the modern world which however does not accept Turkey as a country capable of being modern (M. Ergin 17).

Right after the establishment of the Republic, Islam as the unifying power was replaced by secular Turkish nationalism and Kemalism; this resulted in the exclusion of

Ottoman heritage and the search for an alternative origin on which to build the new nation-state (Redford and N. Ergin 4). In this quest, archaeology constituted the most scientific way to prove hypotheses regarding the origins of the Turkish people and their relationship with Anatolia (Güven 37). As was valid for many states trying to find ethnic connections with the lands where they are located, this was a political initiative given the assumption that the right to those lands belong to the very first settlers (M. Ergin 21).

Apart from furnishing the legitimacy of the Turkish Republic, history and archaeology were also used to support the fact that the Turkish Republic was rightfully capable of pursuing the foundation goals of being modern and civilized by inheriting the accumulation of various cultures from the prehistoric to Ottoman period, which together are, evidently, revealing the historical evolution of human beings (Shankland 227). In fact, Suna Güven suggests that in the establishment of archaeological sciences in the Republican period, the primary goal was to draw a consistent scheme in terms of explaining the connections between civilizations and constructing the evolution of Turkey's cultural heritage in retrospect (Güven 37). For this purpose, the historical interest that developed in order to shape the cultural heritage of the Republic covered a very long time-span and all civilizations that had existed in Anatolia. Güven argues that the cultural properties of different civilizations were mentioned generally and impartially, which led to the fact that they were all used as evidence for the Republic's legitimacy and also ownership of the former civilizations (Güven 37-38). Even though there was a new configuration in historiography which had an all-embracing nature with the intention of "constructing a national common consciousness" in Turkey, Güven adds that the interest was focused more on the pre-Ottoman and pre-Islamic periods of Anatolia (Güven 38); as a consequence, the archaeological excavations that were conducted in the early

Republican era were intended to uncover the Classical and prehistoric periods rather than Islamic period (Özdoğan 1998; 117).¹⁷

In the newly established Turkish Republic, the value of antiquities was assessed based on the Turkish History Thesis, and the main objective was to find proof of existence of Turks in Anatolia since prehistoric times in order to legitimize the territorial integrity right after the Turkish War of Independence against various ethnic groups who were argued to be the opposing side in the battle, cooperating with Western states (Atakuman 112). The focus of the thesis on prehistory was also very critical since it intended to introduce a development pattern of Turkish history dating much earlier, independent from Islam. Within the Kemalist modernization project, Islam was considered as malignant in the ultimate modernization aim (Atakuman 112). It should be also noted that, within the scope of nationalistic purposes, the scientific discourse entered the Turkish heritage state discourse, as archaeological remains were started to be treated as scientific evidence (Atakuman 112).

The change in the heritage discourse in Turkey occurred after the Second World War when the Democrat Party came into power and when the secular-ethnicist ideology gradually shifted to an Islamist-ethnicist one; consequently the popularity of archaeology declined and religious state discourse became more effective in the construction of national heritage, through education and culture (Atakuman 112). Namely, the efforts of embracing all the past cultures of Anatolia while connecting them to Turkish origins in the Turkish History Thesis were replaced with a different assertion claiming that the existence of Turks in Anatolia began with the “Islamicized” Oguz Turks after defeating the Byzantines at Malazgirt in 1071 (Copeaux). According to Atakuman, this idea formed the basis of the “Turkish-Islamic

¹⁷ The archaeological interest in Near Eastern, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine cultures was intense that the heritage of the Seljuks or Ottomans was neglected and not even “considered as *antiquities*” (Özdoğan 113). Uzi Baram and Lynda Carroll take the discussion one step further and argue that a growing interest in studying remains from the Ottoman period started only in the 1980s (Baram and Carroll 4). Baram and Carroll also argue that the destruction of material remains in the Middle East from the recent past was an important issue until very recently (Baram and Carroll viii). In fact, it continues to be an important issue.

Synthesis” in the 1970s and 1980s, also systematized and supported by the state itself (Atakuman 112).

The 1960s and 1970s were significant for developing a heritage concept and its regulation through various international charters. These can be listed as follows: the Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites in 1964; the European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage in 1969 (London); the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property in 1970 (Paris); the Convention on the Means of Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1972 (Paris); and the European Charter of Architectural Heritage in 1975.

In terms of heritage management, the administration in Turkey was not stable in the 1970s. The cultural affairs section which was under the responsibility of the Ministry of National Education was separated and named the Undersecretariat of Cultural Affairs in 1965 as a new entity. However, in 1971, the Undersecretariat of Cultural Affairs was abolished and a Ministry of Culture was established in the following year. In 1977, the Ministry of Culture was abolished and its responsibilities were combined with that of the Ministry of National Education until 1983 (Atakuman 114). Currently, the official name of the responsible entity is the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, after the merging of ministries in 2003.

The protection of archaeological heritage is provided by the necessary laws and regulations in Turkey. However, the idea of protection essentially means preventing archaeological assets from leaving the territory of Turkey. To this end, various bureaucratic obstacles have been in effect from the nineteenth century onwards. The implementations that make excavation permissions harder for both local and foreign archaeologists, the appointment of “excavation inspectors” who are government officials supervising each excavation’s activities, or the duty of local museums to look not only after their own

collections but also all of the archaeological assets in the area around that area can be listed among these (Pulhan 138).

Without a doubt, cultural heritage is no longer only a tool to “empower nationalistic ideologies or ethnic identities.” In the contemporary setting, it has also become a “soft power” resource for both local and international NGOs and a sector that contributes immensely to the tourism income (Pulhan 139).¹⁸ Pulhan argues that, even though cultural heritage is seen as the major promotion tool for country-based marketing and an indispensable asset for income-raising efforts in tourism, the decisions made between projects that are planned on behalf of “development” and the protection of cultural heritage usually contradict the importance attached to cultural heritage (Pulhan 140-141).

From a current cultural politics perspective in Turkey, there have been very significant changes in the last decade with the AKP government, which came to power in 2002. According to Pulhan, cultural heritage also became an area affected by the governmentally endorsed Islamic practices in daily life, as well as the empowerment of local authorities, when compared to the past. However, the government’s aggressive privatization policy regarding cultural heritage in legal terms can be considered the most fundamental change (Pulhan 141). Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan’s declaration in the 60th Governmental Plan in 2007 may serve as an example:

Our government considers its cultural mission as establishing the basis for a rich and competitive cultural life as well as protecting and developing existing cultural heritage. The prosperity of our culture without losing its vitality depends on its flourishing and spreading in an independent environment without barriers. Acting on this perspective, our government has been encouraging the private sector and non-governmental organizations to play an active role in the cultural

¹⁸ For more information on the term “soft power”, see <http://hbswk.hbs.edu/archive/4290.html>.

domain and has spearheaded a great deal of new initiatives. Our efforts to increase private sector operations in the field of arts and culture will continue in the coming period” (Erdoğan qtd. in Aksoy 193-194).

As a phenomenon which is constantly claimed to be saved for and inherited by future generations, cultural heritage is under the responsibility of the government in terms of protection and management (Pulhan 141). In the constitutional provision, it is designated as such:

The state shall ensure the conservation of the historical, cultural and natural assets and wealth, and shall take supportive and promotive measures towards this end. Any limitations to be imposed on such assets and wealth which are privately owned, and the compensation and exemptions to be accorded to the owners of such, as a result of these limitations, shall be regulated by law (Article 63).

When this fact is taken into account, recent developments regarding the privatization of cultural heritage indicates fundamental changes in the perception of cultural heritage. However, when economic circumstances and bureaucratic obstacles in Turkey meet the high costs of cultural heritage preservation, privatization in the field becomes inevitable. However, this transformation, particularly for archaeological heritage, requires necessary financial resources and legal and bureaucratic arrangements (Pulhan 134). In this regard, there have been many laws and regulations enacted in order to increase the involvement of the private sector and the authority of local governments in the cultural heritage field. These laws areas follows: “the law of ‘Incentives for Cultural Investments and Enterprises,’ numbered 5225 and dated July 2004; the law of ‘Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties,’ numbered 5226; the law on ‘Conservation By Renovation and Use By Revitalization of the Deteriorated Historical and Cultural Immovable Property,’ numbered 5366 and dated June 2005; and the ‘Foundation Law’ dated February 2008” (Pulhan 142-143).

Atakuman argues that “Turkey’s cultural heritage policy is a site of muted contestation between government and academics”; however, she also adds that the narrative that most Turkish scholars adopt in principle is a “revised reading” of the secular-ethnicist Anatolianist approach from the early Republican period, which is very much in conflict with the current state ideology (Atakuman 123). As far as concept of heritage is concerned, archaeologists find ways to raise their voice against state policies by using the “scientific” evidence for the protection of cultural heritage that is “universally” significant (Atakuman 124). However, scholars and other experts often fail to convince government officials about the value of heritage. From the position of the state officials, although heritage has been treated as a disregarded area, heritage management is highly controlled by the government (Atakuman 124). Furthermore, the dilemma of heritage also continues with the perception of Anatolian heritage as follows: “on the one hand, it is often seen as contributing to European narratives of civilization; on the other, it interferes with the identity politics of Islamization as well as the liberal economic policies of expansion and construction” (Atakuman 124).

All things considered, as Atakuman describes, “Turkey’s cultural heritage continues to be, as it was under the Ottomans, a matter of international diplomacy and the tourist economy, deliberately removed from the construction of both national and universal identities and from the recognition of diversity” (Atakuman 124). It is interesting to observe that, when speaking of tolerance and diversity in the country, “fossilized” cultural heritage sites are put on display concealing the fundamental problems in the actual living sites; that is exactly where the discussions regarding both heritage and human rights policies come into question, as it occurs in the case of Hasankeyf (Atakuma 124).¹⁹ It indicates that the prideful possession of the past cultures of Anatolia is only referring to the material remains within carefully selected sites

¹⁹ It is argued that, even if Hasankeyf survives the Ilisu Dam, which is very unlikely, the diversity of culture will be eradicated from the reservoir area by the dam project (Ronayne 77). Ronayne also adds that “whatever claims there are to ownership of more ancient heritage, the existence of Kurdish communities in the reservoir area means that much of the recent history that would be destroyed is Kurdish heritage” (Ronayne 78).

rather than an understanding of a cultural diversity that includes people. In fact, cultural heritage is a concept commonly used to bloat Turkish national pride. For many, the feeling of national pride based on cultural heritage usually comes with envisaging glorious historic monuments. When talking to people in small towns about the cultural heritage sites in their area, it is interesting to see how people embrace the historic remains and feel pride about the past, regardless of the fact that a remarkable number of locals are involved in treasure hunting or illicit antiquities trade. This is an unfortunate outcome of deficiencies in cultural heritage education and a lack of awareness regarding archaeological practice.

In this context, the meaning of cultural heritage and how it is communicated in Turkey is a topic that urgently needs to be explored. Especially the ways in which the notion of cultural heritage is communicated through education and media is worth investigating when considering that these are the two powerful tools in meaning-making processes. Without a doubt, both education and media are greatly affected by the political environment in Turkey, and it is essential for understanding the re-making of cultural heritage perception to understand this environment.

2.4 Cultural Heritage and Dam Projects in Turkey

In today's world, economic development constitutes the most fundamental objective in every country's policies. From the previous discussions about cultural policies in Turkey, a simple statement may summarize the current standpoint against culture: While culture is considered, it is commoditized to create profit, which in the end turns into economic development. In fact, the debates concerning the privatization in the cultural sector in Turkey can be considered an outcome of this statement. Given that the concept of "economic development" is also the ultimate aim in effective cultural policies in Turkey, the main question is, what happens when conflicts of interests occur between the profit-making projects

of the government and the protection of culture. If we downsize the concept of culture to cultural heritage, the choices made between cultural heritage protection and other development-promising projects that pose a threat to these assets are mostly against the protection of cultural heritage in Turkey. In fact, the role of archaeology in economic development projects has been discussed nearly everywhere in the world (Shoup 231).

Where cultural heritage protection is concerned, especially in the last decade, the dam projects planned under Turkey's Southeast Anatolia Project (GAP) are a crucial issue. As part of the extensive economic development program of Turkey, various sizes of dam projects have been implemented from 1965 onwards in order to supply electric power, they also have been used to irrigate large areas.

In 1998, Emre Kongar, a well-known scholar in Turkey, describes GAP as "the most promising project that would yield results in terms of cultural policies in Turkey, even though it is originally an economical development plan." In fact, he even stated that the project was "the most important project of twenty first century's Turkey with its great potential of both economic and cultural development." Within the scope of GAP, there are nine administrative provinces in the project's region: Adiyaman, Batman, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Kilis, Mardin, Siirt, Şanlıurfa and Şırnak. The GAP region corresponds to both ten percent of the total population and geographical area of Turkey. Initially, GAP was undertaken

as a programme to develop water and land resources of the region and consequently planned as a package comprising 13 projects envisaging irrigation schemes and hydraulic power plants in the basins of the Euphrates and Tigris.

As a whole, the package included twenty-two dams, nineteen hydraulic power plants and irrigation covering an area of 1.7 million hectares.²⁰

²⁰ http://includes.gap.gov.tr/files/ek-dosyalar_en/about-gap/latest-situation.pdf.

However, the project transformed into an integrated regional development plan which extended its areas of interest to rural and urban infrastructure, housing, transportation, communication, agricultural and industrial development, tourism, education, and health with the preparation of the GAP Master Plan in 1989; later on, the idea of sustainable human development was embraced within GAP-related activities. According to the report entitled “Latest Situation on Southeastern Anatolia Project Activities of the GAP Administration” in 2006, the share of the region in the Gross Domestic Product in 1985 rose from 4% to 5.5% by 2001; there are significant positive developments in the fields of public investment, agriculture, industry, transportation and energy. However, there has been a considerable controversy on many aspects of GAP, including the economic and cultural developments that are expected.

Within the scope of GAP, twenty-two dams and nineteen hydroelectric plants are to be implemented which is predicted to irrigate an area of 1.7 million hectares (Özdoğan 6).²¹ The majority of the dams are already planned to be built on the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers; until now, the Keban (675 sq km), Karakaya (268 sq km) and Atatürk (872 sq km) Dams were completed in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and more recently, the Birecik (385 sq km) and Kargamış (28 sq km) Dams were completed in 1999 and 2000 (Özdoğan 6, Shoup 232).²²

A considerable number of the world’s cultural heritage sites exist in Turkey which has housed many civilizations in a unique geographical location extending between Europe and Asia. Serving as a bridge between continents, Anatolia has been an important settlement area that led to the transmission of people, commodities, and ideas since early prehistory (Özdoğan 2). As a consequence, cultural heritage in Turkey is significant in order to understand the historical development in Anatolia and the broader region. Even though archaeology has a

²¹ Mehmet Özdoğan states that there are 193 dams which inundate an area of 3300 sq km, and 105 dams are under construction to inundate another 667 sq km in Turkey. He also adds that there are 45 more dams that are planned but on hold for financial problems to be solved before construction.

²² For further information on the dam projects in Turkey, see the webpage of DSİ (General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works): <http://www.dsi.gov.tr/>

long-standing tradition in Turkey and even though research in this area is well-developed compared to other non-Western countries, Turkey is still lacking an extensive archaeological survey that will contribute to the cultural inventory of the country and reveal information about the past cultures of Turkey (Özdoğan 1-2). In an environment where dam construction activities pose a serious threat to both excavated and not yet excavated archaeological sites, conducting excavations and providing necessary documentation become more vital.

Most of the archaeological settlements are under the threat of being submerged under the water of the dam reservoirs due to the fact that they are situated alongside the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, since being close to water resources was crucial for ancient people, more than it is today. Likewise, there are geographical aspects, such as the rugged topography of the region with intermountain plains, that steered and enabled people (both ancient and present populations) to settle in particular convenient areas. Many archaeological sites were destroyed and only few salvage excavation and survey projects could be initiated for a limited number of sites.²³ Mehmet Özdoğan notes that, even though the amount that is rescued from the limited number of salvage excavations is of minimal in quantity, the information gathered from the rescue operations is so staggering that it sheds light on hitherto unknown cultures in the region; thus, there will be a need to revise knowledge about the historical connections between Syro-Mesopotamia and Anatolia (Özdoğan 2). Under these circumstances, one becomes curious about the magnitude of information that is lost because of missing salvage excavations.

The implementation of archaeology in Turkey started in the first half of the nineteenth century, which is comparatively earlier than in many other non-Western countries. In parallel with its archaeological history, the establishment of museums and the initiation of decrees in order to manage cultural heritage also date back to the mid-nineteenth century (Özdoğan 3).

²³ Mehmet Özdoğan claims that the salvage operations that have been initiated in the Kargamış and Ilisu dam reservoir areas on the Euphrates and Tigris are well-organized projects. However, the problem still remains as the construction of dam projects continues.

Özdoğan adds that, since then, both Turkish and foreign archaeological teams have been working all over the country to practice archaeology. However, there are also various problematic aspects of archaeological excavations in Turkey; one of them is the bureaucratic restrictions on excavation permissions given to both Turkish and foreign excavation teams. Özdoğan argues that this obstacle has both positive and negative impacts on archaeology in Turkey. The restriction policy provides few permits in number, but ensures better-quality excavations than in many other countries (Özdoğan 3). It should also be noted that both local and foreign excavations are supervised by a government official at the site, and these government officials are responsible for reporting about the excavation. However, strict restrictive research permits are inevitably discouraging many expeditions, which in the end preclude a considerable amount of contributions to the archaeological exploration of the country. Compared to other countries in the Near East, Turkey is archaeologically the least explored one (Özdoğan 3). In spite of these drawbacks, it should be noted that the number of archaeological expeditions rose from twenty-five to two hundred between 1970s and 2000 (Özdoğan 3).

Even though Turkey has a longer history than many non-Western countries in terms of a proper scientific archaeological practice, Turkey is usually accused of embracing a nationalist approach towards the past. In opposition to this position, Mehmet Özdoğan argues that “Turkey is one of the few countries where the state policy on archaeology has not been ethnically oriented and there has not been a selective approach towards the past” (Özdoğan 3). His statement is very crucial when the dam projects in the southeastern part of Turkey are taken into account. Correspondingly, he also makes a note on the case of Hasankeyf and discusses the accusations against the Turkish government’s attitude, including dislocating the Kurds in the area and inundating their cultural heritage. According to Özdoğan, the archaeological policy of Turkey is not affected by the political tension between the

government and the ethnic Kurdish population in the region; there already have been numerous excavations going on in the region, researching various time periods from the Paleolithic to the late Medieval eras (Özdoğan 23). Besides, Özdoğan adds that the number of displaced ethnic Turks and the “Turkish” cultural heritage that is lost are much more in comparison to the loss in Kurdish areas. In fact, even for the case of Hasankeyf in particular, he points out that the medieval town to be submerged under the reservoir experienced its most prosperous time in the Turkish Artukid period, when the town was the capital; the last-remaining monuments in Hasankeyf are already from this dynastic period (Özdoğan 23-24). Consequently, he concludes that the accusations are unfair and that there is no deliberate effort to destroy Kurdish heritage in Hasankeyf triggered by political concerns.

Özdoğan highlights a numerical data regarding the ongoing archaeological excavations classified with respect to various time-periods and civilizations. According to the data of 1995, out of the 63 excavations carried out in Turkey, 9 of them was covered Turkish-ruled periods, 24 prehistoric periods, and the remaining 30 excavations was on Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods (Özdoğan 24).

Even though it is true that Turkish archaeology stands at a scientifically high level, Özdoğan argues that the Turkish Antiquity Service is not an effective and adequate system to follow developments in scientific archaeology or to prevent destruction in archaeological sites. The bureaucratic system is much more concerned with over-controlling the archaeological excavations than preventing the destruction of sites (Özdoğan 3).

Another problematic issue to be considered is the absence of a cultural inventory in Turkey. The sites that carry archaeological, historical or natural importance should be registered by the Antiquities Service to be legally protected; presently, the number of registered sites and monuments are about 70,000, of which 3,000 are archaeological sites (Özdoğan 4). Due to a lack of trained personnel and equipment, there is no complete

inventory of archaeological sites (including mounds, tumuli, caves, castles, historic bridges, etc.) in Turkey. Even though a lot of sites are known and published in the archaeological literature, they should be registered to be officially protected (Özdoğan 4). Under these conditions, constant construction of dams and inundation of large areas remove the chance of creating a cultural inventory of Anatolia. In fact, not only the reservoir lake of the dams, but also any other complementary work engaged with dam construction such as large camps, roads, infrastructure or quarries may cause in the destruction of cultural heritage; additionally, the irrigation activities following the dam construction should be added to the list of dangers to the cultural heritage as well (Özdoğan 9-10). Özdoğan lists his concerns and ideas about archaeological heritage in Turkey and the destructive impacts of dam projects on cultural heritage as follows:

1. Turkey incorporates numerous relics and evidence of the past, most of which is of critical importance for cultural history, not only of Turkey but as a significant part of world cultural heritage.
2. Most of Turkey is still archaeologically unexplored and in most areas even the basic cultural sequence is unknown.
3. There is only a partial inventory of archaeological sites in Turkey; thus, after destruction we have no way of knowing what has been lost.
4. Most of the dams are being constructed in areas that possess extremely important sites.
5. The bureaucratic system in Turkey is a serious handicap in handling and organizing large scale rescue projects (Özdoğan 6).

As a counter-argument to these conditions, it has been asserted that the archaeological sites that are to be inundated will be preserved for the future.²⁴ However, that is not a correct

²⁴ Most recently, Allianoi, an ancient spa settlement from the Roman period, was buried under sand, with the claim of protecting the remains after the site was submerged under the Yortanlı Dam reservoir in December 2010. Despite the opposition of the experts and the public, after deciding that the only way to preserve the site for the future was covering it with sand, the dam started collecting water in February 2011, and the site was

statement even if all the architectural remains in the reservoir lake were of stone; it is most probable that the remains will lose their form after being recovered from their mud.²⁵ Özdoğan also points out that, more important than stone remains, the loss of loose anthropogenic deposits should be taken into account (Özdoğan 8).

There are various reasons for cultural heritage management in Turkey being more difficult than in Europe. To begin with, in Turkey the archaeological sites are much voluminous, both in quantity and magnitude, and the archaeological deposit that cover them are thicker than ones in Europe, which results in longer time-periods to complete rescue excavations (Özdoğan 14). Consequently, continuation of salvage projects that last very long also bring the issue of providing the necessary financial resources for these projects. For the case of Turkey, and many other countries as well, the protection of cultural heritage often conflicts with the development projects of the state. Realistically, it is not possible to save all archaeological sites and to ignore the implementation of development projects considering that heritage sites exist almost everywhere in Anatolia. In that respect, Özdoğan suggests that common sense, good will and the usage of scientific criteria are three important aspects while handling the issue (Özdoğan 15).

Unfortunately, the value of archaeological sites is not taken into account in the planning stage of industrial construction projects. However, the Valletta Convention, which has been ratified by Turkey as well, acknowledges the assessment of cultural heritage during the process (Ahunbay, Özdoğan 15).²⁶ Furthermore, UNESCO's Draft Recommendation concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works (1968) manifests that "It is the duty of governments to ensure the protection and the

submerged under the dam reservoir. In order to save Alliano, there have been protests on the international level and extensive media coverage for the publicity of the case.

²⁵ According to Özdoğan, with developed technological devices, the monuments might be recovered from the mud in the future. However, it should also be added that, rather than made of stone, most of the architecture in the area is of mud-brick or dry masonry; in the cases of the Keban and Karakaya dams, the mud-brick architecture was already damaged when the reservoir areas started to collect water (Özdoğan 8).

²⁶ For the full text of the treaty, see <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/treaties/html/143.htm>

preservation of the cultural heritage of mankind as much as to promote social and economic development. Preventive and corrective measures should be aimed at protecting or saving cultural property from public or private works likely to damage and destroy it” (Ahunbay).

All things considered, in Turkey, cultural heritage is seen as an element that is not compatible with modern development; when a decision has to be made between one or the other, cultural “relics” are most likely give way to development projects (Özdoğan 15). As discussed in the previous sections, cultural heritage is seen as “an asset of touristic value” that is constantly experiencing attempts to be turned into financial profit; however, it is not considered “knowledge” or a “part of patrimonial heritage” (Özdoğan 15). From that point of view, the argument would most likely continue that there are enough tourists visiting Turkey to see cultural heritage sites and that there are already enough sites to attract tourists; we could keep the sites only if they do not cross the appointed investment areas (Özdoğan 15). The aspect of tourism is quite involved in these discussions so that even on the website of Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP), the first statement in the article regarding the importance of cultural heritage within the development projects is described as follows: “the GAP project assigns special importance to the protection, conservation and tourism related promotion of the cultural heritage of the region that emerged throughout thousands of years in the progress of human civilization.”²⁷ This statement is clearly demonstrating the perception of cultural heritage and the current mentality behind the protection and conservation efforts towards cultural heritage.

Under the circumstances, in Turkey where dam constructions pose a serious threat to archaeological sites, salvage operations are costly and should be conducted in a limited amount of time. However, even though the necessary resources (on the basis of finances, time limits, and teams volunteering for the salvage operations) are provided, it is not possible to

²⁷ For the full article on the importance of cultural heritage in GAP, see <http://www.gap.gov.tr/projects-and-activities/belkis-zeugma/the-importance-of-cultural-heritage-in-gap-and-zeugma>.

preserve all the endangered sites. It is a fact that there are over 200 sites endangered by three dams built along the Euphrates and Tigris, and numerous other sites are to be affected by over one hundred dams that are under construction in Turkey (Özdoğan 17). In this case, on what basis should the selection process be and who should decide on the criteria?

Turkey's archaeological heritage covers a time-span from the prehistoric up to the present; there are numerous architectural remains from nearly every time-period. However, the value of the archaeological sites may differ for archaeologists who are studying different periods if a decision should be made on selecting a small number of sites to conduct salvage excavations. Even though vast monumental sites seem appealing to the eye, more inconspicuous mounds from Neolithic and Paleolithic periods could also carry great importance in understanding the past (Özdoğan 17). In order to overcome this challenge and recognize the potential of the sites, Özdoğan suggests that a system which will enable to test every site by soundings is necessary (Özdoğan 17).

The case of Hasankeyf is, in fact, a good example of such a dilemma. Hasankeyf is an endangered medieval town which not only abounds with numerous historical monuments, but is also located in a remarkable natural setting that displays the citadel. In order to rescue the site, both local and international civic organizations have tried to explain to the public the importance of the site, also putting pressure on the State Hydroelectric Department (Özdoğan 17-18). However, this also means that other sites in the region, which could gain very important information for cultural history, are being neglected, and saving them is considered a luxury since they are of interest to a few specialists only (Özdoğan 18). It is argued that most of the funding is allocated to the salvage operations of Hasankeyf, and other sites are being forgotten (Özdoğan 18).²⁸

²⁸ According to Abdüsselam Uluçam's declaration, the director of the rescue excavations at Hasankeyf, 1,250,000 Turkish Lira from the Presidency of GAP Administration, and another 400,000 Turkish Lira from the State Hydroelectric Department were allocated for the salvage operations in 2009 (<http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/24961917/>).

In addition to the problematic aspects of these projects, the dams also have positive impacts on archaeology in Turkey. Özdoğan claims that, before the Keban salvage excavations conducted by METU-TAÇDAM in 1968, the amount of archaeological activity in the area was very little; until then, southeastern Turkey had been archaeologically unexplored (Özdoğan 18).²⁹ There are two important aspects that quickened the pace of archaeological activity in the area as a consequence of the dam projects: financial resources, and exciting results received from the rescue excavations, which increased the interest of the archaeologists (Özdoğan 18). In fact, Özdoğan states that the Euphrates Basin is archaeologically the best documented part of Turkey.

The cultural heritage sites have already been under continuous threat by various activities such as road construction, mechanical agriculture, irrigation, the construction of airports, industrial areas, and so on; in developing countries like Turkey, it is not possible to preclude the construction of big investment projects such as dams. Yet, there should be serious efforts to minimize the loss. As Özdoğan argues, even though projects of such magnitude omit the chance of preserving cultural heritage sites, they give the opportunity to derive information about the past from many sites which would less likely be researched (Özdoğan 18). Furthermore, the organization and execution of rescue projects should not be solely that particular country's responsibility, which is explicitly valid for Turkey as well; in addition to "international solidarity and watch," there is a need of an academic body in order to observe and give advice to the salvage operations (Özdoğan 19-23).

²⁹ More than 16 rescue excavations were conducted in the region affected by the Keban Project. In addition to the excavations, documentation of traditional architecture, rural sociology, anthropology, and paleo-environmental studies were also carried out. The Keban Project is also significant for demonstrating the importance of the region for cultural history.

2.4.1 The “Zeugma Affair”

As far as protection of cultural heritage and dam projects in Turkey are concerned, the outcry against the partial submersion of Zeugma under the Birecik Dam reservoir in 2000 can be considered the beginning point of increased public interest in and awareness of archaeology; this event is also known as the “Zeugma Affair” (Özdoğan 19).

The Birecik Dam was planned to be built on the Euphrates in 1975 and was authorized and filled with water in 1989 and 2000; the construction of the project was financed by a German-French-Belgian-Austrian consortium (Shoup 234). According to the DSI, the Birecik Dam generates 672 megawatts and is capable of supplying water to an irrigation area of 92,700 ha. The construction of the dam also posed a threat to many cultural heritage sites along the Euphrates and within the dam’s catchment area. Even though salvage excavations on eight sites were carried out prior to the construction of the dam, due to the late start, only a minimum could be salvaged (Özdoğan 12). Unfortunately, the rescue work at Zeugma, the former provincial capital of the Roman Empire, commenced in 1992, right after the construction of the dam began; the excavations were conducted by Australian, French and Turkish teams between 1992 and 2000, revealing well-preserved and exceptionally beautiful mosaics from Roman villas (Özdoğan 12, Shoup 234-237). In May 2000, four months before the dam began collecting water, another zone of villas adorned with mosaic floors and statues were found by the excavation teams, which drew both local and international attention to the site (Özdoğan 13, Shoup 237). The pressure of the archaeologists and the extensive press coverage of the site resulted in the Turkish government taking active measures to support the salvage work; consequently, with a substantial amount of financial contribution of NGOs, areas to be submerged were excavated with the help of hundreds of volunteers who were called in for the time remaining until the submersion of the site (Özdoğan 13).

Özdoğan argues that the last-minute rescue work at Zeugma was rather successful, so that the excavation of large areas and the removal of the many Roman mosaics were achieved with the financial support provided. However, Özdoğan also adds that the positive impact of the “Zeugma Affair” on other salvage operations only continued for another year, and this shows that the publicity of such events do not contribute to the long-term solution of the problem (Özdoğan 19). When comparing the case of Zeugma to Hasankeyf, we can also observe a similar kind of publicity both on local and international basis. However, as indicated by the DSİ, there has been substantial financial contribution to the salvage excavations in Hasankeyf before planned submersion. In fact, according to the DSİ’s report in 2009 (*Ilisu Barajı ve Hidroelektrik Santrali ile Hasankeyf Gerçeği*), as of now, the financial budget allocated to the archaeological excavations at Hasankeyf between 2009 and 2015 constitutes the greatest amount allocated for any salvage excavations: 77 million dollars are allocated to the rescue excavations, for six years of work.

For both dam projects, the development of the area by means of the dam projects and their inevitability for the future of the region was highlighted by the GAP administration. However, contrary to the Birecik Dam, the discourse regarding the Ilisu Dam Project and Hasankeyf included the aspect of tourism with the preservation of the cultural heritage site (Shoup 245). The assertion is based on the fact that the citadel of Hasankeyf will not be “affected” and remain above the reservoir level so that the area can be turned into an “Archaeological Park and an Open Air Museum.”

2.4.2 The Media Involvement in the Anti-Dam Campaigns for the Protection of Hasankeyf: The Case of “Hasankeyf’e Sadakat Treni”

Hasankeyf'e Sadakat Treni (Allegiance to Hasankeyf Train), collectively organized by the *Doğa Derneği*³⁰ and the *Atlas Dergisi*,³¹ carries great importance for showing the joint efforts of an NGO and a magazine working for a common cause. This cooperation of *Doğa Derneği* and *Atlas Dergisi* has been formed to take action with the common aim of “zero annihilation” in both the natural and cultural diversity in Turkey. *Hasankeyf'e Sadakat Treni* was organized under a campaign called *Hasankeyf'e Sadakat* and took the road to Hasankeyf three times, in 2005, 2007 and 2010.

The *Hasankeyf'e Sadakat Treni* is a solid indicator of a media organ involved in the protection of a cultural heritage site in Turkey by creating a public movement. Even though the train was not able to carry everyone who wanted to attend and show their loyalty to Hasankeyf, it symbolized the common consciousness that represented the group of people who protested Hasankeyf being inundated under the Ilısu Dam. The organization also managed to draw the attention to Hasankeyf and reminded why the protection of Hasankeyf is so important. In fact, the *Hasankeyf'e Sadakat Treni* held in 2005 won the “Most Creative Social Responsibility Project Award” by the Doğan Yayın Holding (Doğan Press Holding) in 2005. Even though the award was given by the press company that owns *Atlas* magazine, the *Hasankeyf'e Sadakat Treni* project qualified to win the award among many other social responsibility projects, and this shows the success of the first *Hasankeyf'e Sadakat Treni* which eventually led to the second one.

Hasankeyf'e Sadakat Treni in 2005, which departed the İstanbul, Haydarpaşa Train Station in İstanbul on 26 August and arrived in Hasankeyf on 28 of August, carried around

³⁰ *Doğa Derneği* (Nature Association) is one of the most important organizations in Turkey dealing with the environmental problems since 2002. The organization has a mission of protecting nature in Turkey, starting with “Important Natural Regions” by taking the nature and human as a whole (<http://www.dogadernegi.org/hakkimizda.aspx>). Currently, *Doğa Derneği* is running the “*Hasankeyf Yok Olmasın*” campaign to prevent Turkish banks from funding the Ilısu Dam Project.

³¹ *Atlas Dergisi* is a Turkish magazine which publishes on cultural heritage, travel, history, nature, science and space, adventure, geography and environmental issues since 1993. There are also five other sub-magazines with different themes published under the name of *Atlas*: *Atlas Tarih* (History), *Atlas Tatil* (Travel), *Fotoatlas* (Photography), *Yeşil Atlas* (Nature-Environment), and *Arkeo Atlas* (Archaeology).

300 persons including scholars and artists like Pelin Batu (actress) and Harun Tekin (musician). *Atlas* Magazine, which prepared the October 2005 issue with the participants in the train, announced the aim of the event as follows: “To prevent the history drawn and to save our memory and to look at the future with hope.” In the same declaration, *Atlas* also referred to its general opinion about the Ilisu Dam Project: “Atlas says that saving Hasankeyf will provide more energy than destroying it and that a country that buries a cultural heritage cannot be enlightened by electricity.”³²

The 2007 *Hasankeyf’e Sadakat Treni* was more frequently mentioned in the media than the 2005 one. This fact can be directly related to the course of events concerning Hasankeyf and the Ilisu Dam Project between 2005 and 2007. After laying the foundation of the Ilisu Dam Project by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in August 2006, the second *Hasankeyf’e Sadakat Treni* was organized a year later. Therefore, preventing financial support for the project became a matter of priority so as to stop the construction, by showing that a mass action was inevitable. Since the first *Hasankeyf’e Sadakat Treni* had been successful, organizing a second one was the appropriate measure for showing allegiance to Hasankeyf again under these circumstances. The general director of the *Doğa Derneği*, Güven Eken, explains the aim of the *Hasankeyf’e Sadakat Treni* as “To save historic Hasankeyf in Batman and the Tigris Valley which are expected to be submerged under the water accumulated in the Ilisu Dam and also to ensure the withdrawal of the banks which give financial support to the Ilisu Dam project.”³³

The second *Hasankeyf’e Sadakat Treni* departed from the Haydarpaşa Tarain Station in İstanbul on 29 August and, after nearly 35 hours of journey, arrived in Hasankeyf on 31 August. When compared to the 2005 *Hasankeyf’e Sadakat Treni*, the number of supporters who wanted to attend the trip was higher. Therefore, another wagon was added to the train to

³² http://hasankeyfesadakat.kesfetmekicinbak.com/sadakat_cagrisi/00005/

³³ <http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/418671.asp> (translation mine)

increase its capacity. In fact, the new wagon added to the train was named *Gençlik Vagonu* (Youth Wagon) and reserved for those under the age of 25 to prompt youth participation to the train. The total of 320 passengers of who were guided by Özcan Yüksek, the editor of *Atlas Magazine*, Güven Eken, the general director of the *Doğa Derneği* and many other experts participated in the presentations, talks and musical performances that took place on the train. During the journey, the passengers were also informed about the geography of Anatolia, the moorlands, the Taurus Mountains, climate change and Hasankeyf.

The most recent *Hasankeyf'e Sadakat Yolculuğu* (Allegiance to Hasankeyf Trip) was organized in 2010, between 27-30 August, with the participation of 150 persons. The name of the event had to change from *Hasankeyf'e Sadakat Treni* to *Hasankeyf'e Sadakat Yolculuğu* since three buses were used as transportation instead of a train. On the way to Hasankeyf, the participants stopped by Tuz Gölü which is about to be desiccated and another village, Halfeti, which is submerged under the Birecik Dam Reservoir. The trip was again guided by Özcan Yüksek and Güven Eken, as were the previous two *Hasankeyf'e Sadakat* events. Unfortunately, the last *Hasankeyf'e Sadakat* event received much less attention.

2.5 Archaeology and Media

Even though archaeology has become a topic to attract more attention over the last few years, the communication of the discipline is still not satisfactory. Considering that most persons do not have direct contact with archaeologists or historians, the media become the most significant information tool to reach the public. However, giving sole responsibility to journalists regarding the ways in which archaeology is presented is problematic. In order to overcome various obstacles in this process, such as credibility and the image of the discipline, a close collaboration between media and archaeology should be achieved. In this way, media will not only be able to reach first-hand information easily in order to create more informative

and accurate stories for the readers, but also to be an intermediary to promote archaeological research (Benz and Liedmeier 153-154). Furthermore, as it is discussed throughout this thesis, the media also have a significant impact on creating publicity about cultural heritage sites under threat.

There have been virtually no attempts to examine the relationship between Turkish media and archaeology. However, various studies from other countries about the treatment of archaeology in the media reveal important facts worth comparing with Turkish practice. Especially, Great Britain, where both archaeology and media are long-standing disciplines, serves as a good example to observe the interaction between these fields in order to achieve a clear view of media representation of archaeology and how it evolved in time.

The media and archaeology have “a mutually profitable two-way relationship” according to Neal Ascherson in his article entitled “Archaeology and the British Media” (Ascherson 145). Based on the mutual relation between archaeology and media that Ascherson describes, as the media wish to publish stories related to archaeological subjects, the profession finds it possible to be the object of public attention in the way in which it desires, as a result of this demand (Ascherson 145). From the media’s perspective, there are various criteria that are commonly used in order to make an archaeological story intriguing. Ascherson lists two of the main concepts that are sought after by the British journalists while covering archaeological enterprises: how much the archaeological finding is worth, and the new discovery’s engagement with the supernatural, which is most of the time derived from myths and commonly believed stories (Ascherson 146). The presence of these elements in the coverage of archaeology by Turkish media also prevails and Turkish media occasionally use the market price of the antiquities in such coverage. Furthermore, there are cases in which archaeological sites are associated with various myths. For instance, in the latest media

coverage of Göbekli Tepe, the most popular debate was whether the site was actually the Garden of Eden, as it has been claimed.

The representation of archaeology in the media takes another dimension as a result of the media's inclination to demonstrate "superiority" either on the national or local level by using archaeology as evidence (Ascherson 148). This kind of superiority with a nationalistic/patriotic connotation in the media coverage of archaeology is achieved in two ways: "by evidence of priority, in settlement, development or the achievement of 'civilization'; or by evidence of a higher cultural/technical level at a time/times in the past" (Ascherson 148).

Further interesting research has been concluded at the Department of Near Eastern Archaeology at the University Freiburg, Germany, regarding the relationship between archaeology and print media. The study aims to analyze how archaeological information is used by journalists to create a compelling story and the factors that guide journalists in terms of subject, matter, and style by looking at selected newspapers and magazines (Benz and Liedmeier 153). The study supports the fact that there is an increasing interest in archaeology. However, a duality between the themes of entertainment and information occurs in different types of print media. Based on the circulation rates, it is argued that while "more popular" print media tend to put forward the aspect of entertainment, the analysis shows that popular science articles are well-balanced and both entertaining and informative (Benz and Liedmeier 160). As a result of the stylistic analysis of the articles published in various types of print media, Benz and Liedmeier also concluded that adequate background information should be given in the stories to raise intelligibility and increase quality (Benz and Liedmeier 160).

The long-standing relationship between archaeology and media is "largely perceived as a direct or hierarchical passage of information from expert to audience, from complexity of scholarly rigour to the excruciating simplicity of popular tone" (Brittain and Clack 12).

Brittain and Clack also indicate an important aspect of archaeology's relationship with the media: As a result of the engagement of archaeology with mass media, serious concerns have come forward regarding the representation of archaeology and archaeologists, accuracy and credibility of archaeological narratives, and the "dumbing-down" of information. Yet, it is also a fact that archaeology is content with the increasing media presence in an environment where archaeology does not bring financial returns to the media. In this setting, the benefits of media "popularity" is counter-balanced by "non-professional" archaeological narratives and emerging "other" narratives. Even though multiplicity in terms of the interpretation of archaeology now constitutes a fundamental approach to post-processual methodologies and arguments, how the media expands the boundaries of "the openness of truth" is an issue of concern for many scholars (Brittain and Clack 13).

In addition to these concerns, Brittain and Clack also touch upon political aspects. It is argued that "the political accountability of archaeology's relationship to media is distinctively apparent" (Brittain and Clack 13). In fact, a case from Turkey can exemplify the issue. According to Ian Hodder's description of the press conference for Çatalhöyük, a considerable number of local, national and foreign media representatives were invited by the excavation sponsors, which created the grounds for politicians to "gain their own media coverage with their own political intentions," ranging from various attempts to put forward the importance of the historical site today and in the past, over debates about the local population's genetic relations to the ancient inhabitants of the region, to the "relevancy" of Turkey's membership to the European Union (Brittain and Clack 13). Consequently, the case of Çatalhöyük also suggests that the involvement of politicians in archaeology through media is substantial and quite common in Turkey. As far as the audience's perception is concerned, the intervention of politicians brings another dimension to the media coverage of archaeology, which is highly critical. However, as a discipline, archaeology has been used for political reasons for a long

time, such as for the legitimization of power by empires or in history-writing processes during the establishment of nation states. Therefore, one could say that archaeology is already political in itself, and that the way in which it is communicated through the media today, with the intervention of politicians, is a modern version of a historical habit.

The media are notorious for misrepresentation. However, it should be also noted that the concepts of “archaeology” and “archaeologist” do not have absolute criteria regarding their definition based on a common consensus; as a matter of fact, they contain various meanings and visual projections for many, both inside and outside the discipline (Brittain and Clack 13).

The appearance of archaeology in the mass media poses the question as to where it stands in relation to the education and entertainment missions of media. The duality of education and entertainment “mistakenly draws a distinction between learning and leisure” with respect to the audience’s active or passive engagement (Brittain and Clack 21). In this kind of differentiation, the mass media is perceived as “a potential educational medium for archaeology” to inform people about the past; yet, television in particular is expected to offer a presentation that should both catch the audience and offer informative programming.³⁴ It is suggested that, in order to have an educational basis, archaeology should be presented in an entertaining way.

Like many other disciplines, archaeology also seizes upon a certain sensible and cautious approach against media journalism concerning “inaccuracy and blatant misrepresentation” (Brittain and Clack 23).³⁵ In addition to archaeology’s mistrust against the media, Brittain and Clack point out the position of archaeology in its relationship with media

³⁴ This kind of programming which blends education and entertainment is called as “infotainment” (Brittain and Clack 22).

³⁵ In fact, many examples from history can validate this skeptical attitude against media. Noam Chomsky’s work which assesses the relationship between media and politics serves as a good example in order to see the ways in which media has been used as a propaganda tool for manipulation in politics. Furthermore, Brittain and Clack also add that “by the 1980s, Marxist analyses demonstrated with clear empirical data the tensions between political ideologies and the media’s potential as an ordering mechanism in the construction and maintenance of citizenship” (Brittain and Clack 24-25).

based on mutual benefit. In this context, it is claimed that archaeology has used media in order to sustain archaeological projects. In fact, already in the 1920s, Mortimer Wheeler came to realize that media interest could promote donations and various additional funding for the excavations (Brittain and Clack 26). In a similar vein, should we question the role of media in recent history for securing the future of archaeology and, in parallel, the cultural heritage sites? Even though there are different parameters in the case of Hasankeyf and the Ilisu Dam Project, the ways in which the idea of cultural heritage, the history and the importance of Hasankeyf is communicated can give an understanding of the perception of archaeology and cultural heritage in Turkish print media.

Recent debates on archaeological management have reassured that archaeological research should be conveyed to people in a way so that they benefit from it. Even though it is accepted as an inevitable element for ensuring the integrity of archaeological management, the direct transfer of intensive theoretical and scientific language used in archaeological analysis to “a consuming public” is problematic (Brittain and Clack 28). In order to overcome this challenge, there is a need for a creative style and a popular tone in the narrative to provide comprehensibility. As Locke relevantly asserts, “life itself is inaccessible, incomprehensible, meaningless, but the metaphors of science and the metonymies of literature, of all art, help to make it accessible, comprehensible, meaningful” (Locke 203).

It is a fact that popular narratives have a greater audience than academic textbooks. In this respect, archaeology is more likely to reach more people when an appropriate language is used in the communication process. For most of the time, the media’s translation of academic texts for a mass audience is criticized either for the “dumbing-down” of complicated and detailed research, or for the lack of accuracy (Brittain and Clack 30). In this context, we can conclude that there are two different kinds of authorship which are very distinct from each other: on one side there is the academic and scientific narrative, and on the other side there is

the popular and non-scientific one (Brittain and Clack). As a further conclusion, Brittain and Clack also claim that these two approaches are competing with each other “for overall recognition by the public mass and legitimacy to claims of ‘matters of fact’” (Brittain and Clack 30). However, in the conflict of narratives between the academic and the popular, Hilgarthner asserts that the flow of information is always from “high” to “low” culture, from academic to popular (1990). Furthermore, it should also be noted that, compared to other disciplines, the lack of confidence in the media in the translation process of archaeology for public consumption is less based on accusation of sensationalism and misinformation (Brittain and Clack 30).

As Brittain and Clack properly encapsulate the previous discussions, “the public communication of archaeology requires the art of storytelling, but the formal language of academic writing also tells a type of story, one that serves professional needs within the archaeological community” (Brittain and Clack 30). What is more, the representation of archaeology and cultural heritage inevitably acquires a political dimension, especially when that particular cultural heritage site is endangered by a government implemented project. Given the media’s power of creating public opinion and its perpetual relationship with politics, the media’s role in the case of Hasankeyf and the Ilisu Dam Project carries great importance.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAME FOR THE ANALYSIS OF THE NEWS MEDIA

3.1 Language and Representation

The fundamental objective of my research is to understand how the content in Turkish newspapers represents cultural heritage issues, using Hasankeyf as a case study. Hasankeyf and the Ilisu Dam constitute a very significant case in terms of media coverage, since the campaigns against the dam project in the press made the archaeological site of Hasankeyf very popular. This created a ground for the media to reach the public, employing the term “cultural heritage” and promoting the protection of cultural heritage. Nowadays, Hasankeyf is among the first thing that comes to mind concerning the protection of the cultural heritage when this term is mentioned to a Turkish audience.

In order to examine how Turkish newspapers contribute to the re-making of cultural heritage perception, the relationship between the fundamental tool of the media -- that is, language -- and its relationship with representation should be discussed first. Fowler describes representation as a *constructive practice* in all kinds of media and discourse, including the press. He argues that it is not possible for events or ideas to be communicated neutrally because the medium, which is the intermediary between the events or ideas and the people, always transmits by adding its own structural features (Fowler 25). In fact, the structural features of the medium already carry some social values which in the end affect the events reported from a certain perspective (Fowler 25). However, Fowler does not give all the credit

to the media, but also considers the effect of the reader in the meaning-making process. He states that the representation as a constructive practice is not intentional and not solely under the control of the newspapers; readers are not passive absorbers who receive the message which the newspapers give with the news reported which are purposely selected and molded with a certain ideology in mind. This kind of perspective gives newspapers an enormous power upon the readers (Fowler 41).

At this point, the term “discourse” and its connection to ideology should be clarified. According to Fowler, “discourse, in the present usage, is a socially and institutionally originating ideology, encoded in language” (Fowler 42). He also articulates his description by providing a quote from the critical linguist Gunther Kress:

Institutions and social groupings have specific meanings and values which are articulated in language in systematic ways. Following the work particularly of the French philosopher Michel Foucault, I refer to these systematically-organized modes of talking as DISCOURSE. Discourses are systematically-organized sets of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution. Beyond that, they define, describe and delimit what is possible to say and not possible to say (and by extension – what is possible to do or not to do) with respect to the area of concern of that institution, whether marginally or centrally. A discourse provides a set of possible statements about a given area, and organizes and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about. In that it provides descriptions, rules, permissions and prohibitions of social and individual actions (Kress 6-7).

Using these definitions of discourse as guidance, it becomes clear that different institutions or different newspapers in this case, have different ideologies that will affect the representation processes of certain events or ideas. In the scope of this research, I will look at four different

newspapers in Turkey to see how their coverage of Hasankeyf varies based on their ideological standpoints.

3.2 Discourse and Power

In *Language and Power*, Norman Fairclough discusses the power/language relationship from two different perspectives: power *in* discourse, and power *behind* discourse. The power *in* discourse is concerned with discourse as a place where the power relation is performed; Fairclough differentiates the power in discourse into three subtopics: power in face-to-face spoken discourse, power in cross-cultural discourse, and the hidden power of the discourse of the mass media (Fairclough 36). The power *behind* discourse focuses on the effects of power relations on the discourse and how the orders of the discourse are shaped (Fairclough 36).

Concerning the dynamics of power, Fairclough states that “the power of discourse is to do with powerful participants *controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants*”; he distinguishes the constraints about which he talks; these are: “*Contents*, or what is said or done; *relations*, the social relations people enter into in discourse and *subjects*, or the ‘subject positions people can occupy’” (Fairclough 38).

Among the aspects of power in discourse, the hidden power of the discourse regarding the mass media is the aspect on which I will focus in my research. According to Fairclough, different from the face-to-face discourse, the discourse in the mass media mostly takes place between participants who are “separated in place and time,” and this “one-sided” nature of the media discourse is what separates it from face-to-face discourse (Fairclough 41). Another distinction between the face-to-face discourse and the media discourse is that in the former the producers of the discourse have the possibility to adapt their language according to the feedback they receive from the people with whom they are interacting; however, in the media

discourse, which is designed to communicate to mass audiences, the producers do not exactly know whom they are addressing; this in the end leads the producers to address to the “ideal subject” so that the actual audience has to negotiate a relationship with that ideal subject (Fairclough 41).

The nature of the power relations in the media discourse is directly related to the fact that the producers are the ones who solely have the right to determine what to include and exclude in their reports and the ways in which the events are represented; this surely lets the producers exercise power over the consumers who are, in other words, the audience that the media address (Fairclough 42). However, the questions concerning who actually is the one holding and exercising power arises here. Is it the journalist who writes the news, the editor who does the editing of the news, the newspaper itself as an institution; or is the newspaper just a mediator conveying someone/something’s representation (Fairclough 42)? Fairclough also mentions the general attitude of news reporting, by pointing out the tendency of the media to fail to represent all social groups equally, such as the preference of reporting on government ministers rather than on unemployed people (Fairclough 42). Yet, even though it seems obvious who will be interviewed, the question of whose *perspective* is reported is still less clear (Fairclough 42). To clarify, he gives the example of a case in which strikes were mentioned as *trouble* or *disruption* in a systematic way; this would be reporting from the employer’s side in industrial news coverage (Fairclough 42).

The techniques used by the media to exercise power are also an important. Fairclough indicates one of those tools, being systematic repetition, as follows:

The hidden power of media discourse and the capacity of the capitalist class and other power-holders to exercise this power depend on systematic tendencies in news reporting and other media activities. A single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the

repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth. Thus through the way it positions readers, for instance, media discourse is able to exercise a pervasive and powerful influence in social reproduction because of the very scale of the modern mass media and the extremely high level of exposure of whole populations to a relatively homogeneous output (Fairclough 45).

Another question concerns arguments about the relationship between the wielders of power and the media: why is it so important for the powerful to have an effect on the media? The media is a very powerful communication tool in itself, and in order to construct a social reality, the wielders of power need the media to accomplish this. In *The Power of Discourse* Chimombo and Roseberry have also come up with a similar claim: social institutions, including the media, aim at creating a “social reality” in order to control others through the power of discourse (Chimombo and Roseberry 11). What is more, they also indicate that sources of discourse -- such as sermons, textbooks, newspapers, advertising and legislation -- are used for the legitimization of the social structure of the time, by providing an environment serving those who wield power (Chimombo and Roseberry 11). Accordingly, discourse becomes a tool to justify anything that the powerful do. In the end, this results in the construction of a social reality with respect to the wielders of power, to which everyone has to concede in the process. In other words, “language is a reality-creating social practice” (Chimombo and Roseberry 11). In fact, only one step further from constructing social reality is controlling society itself. Consequently, the media use language, or discourse, to do so.

There are different ways in which discourse is used to construct social reality and, in the end, to control society. Considering that the notion of control is the key to achieve power, there is a need to explain the understanding of control and how the media attain control. Altschull, in *Agents of Power*, mentions two ways of controlling the environment: control is

performed either by punishment or by a reward-pleasure system. According to Altschull, if the media, as an agent of power, takes any position in one of those systems, it would be gaining power from giving pleasure to people (Altschull 50). It is assumed that people feel more positively when they are knowledgeable about any subject. The media become a source of knowledge that people use. Thus, accepting Foucault's famous statement "knowledge is power," Altschull tries to validate that media controls society by giving people the sense of controlling their environment.

According to Grossberg, Wartella and Whitney, the *consensus* and *conflict models* help to explain the power that the media gain by controlling society. While the consensus model emphasizes the unity of societies in spite of their differences and the capability of people to get along, conflict theory points to the disparity among people and the controversies that different groups experience when trying to live together. The media can be seen both as an agent that unites people, and as an agent that creates or highlights the differences among various groups. This manipulation is directly connected to the discourse that the media use for this specific case.

Understanding the dynamics of power, especially the control mechanisms used by the media that create their power, is vital to my research. Rather than accepting that the media gather their power by giving people the sense of control or by manipulating either *consensus* or *conflict* to control society, I believe it is a combination of all the instruments and tactics that the media use to attain power.

3.3 The Notion of "News"

3.3.1 News Production and Media

Two problematics are of major significance to the debates in news studies: the first is to identify “what journalism is,” and the second is “to determine where the journalism practices are placed in the news production process” (Doğru Arsan 153). According to Doğru Arsan’s classification, while the macro approach to the practices of journalism and their outcome is interested in the organizational structures of the media institutions and their cultural models, the micro approach looks at the “dominant news values,” “news categories” and the role of “cultural affects” to the selection and rejection of news; a third approach draws the attention to the linguistic structure of the news rather than only focusing on the content of the news, considering all news have a discourse of their own (Doğru Arsan 153). In his book *Understanding News*, John Hartley makes a similar classification of the research areas in journalism: Since the media more widely report on two important topics, politics and economics, the political role of the media is essential to investigate. Secondly, there is another group of researchers who concentrate on the news-gathering and news-production mechanisms to examine whether there is an effect of the industrial and social position of the news institutions on the content of the news they produce. The third research type focuses on the objectives of the news themselves and their social function to see the reasons behind the enormous investment of money and prestige into this sector and why society needs news. The final type of research about the subject is historical in nature and looks at patterns of news production, the habits and traditions of how the news are made in previous time-periods; this kind of research also aimed to see whether the stylistic characteristics in news-writing are inherited (Hartley 8).

From the macro perspective, the main subject is the politics of economics from which the arguments are derived. These economic aspects concerning media are raising questions about “ideology, the ownership of the media institutions, pressure of advertisers on media, the control mechanisms and the effect of the government on media’s regulation” (Doğru Arsan

153; translation mine). As a matter of fact, the general assumption behind the first approach is that the monopolization of the media institutions owned by rich businessmen -- or politicians - - resulted in a media supporting the dominant ideology “to survive legal constraints of the government and to continue gaining profit” (Doğru Arsan 153). The emergence of media groups, also caused the decrease in the number of other media companies which provide variety in the sector which is contradictory in a liberal market developed in the 1980s that has been endorsing competitiveness (Çağlayan 25). In the end, this decrease has affected the variety of discourse. Yet, technological developments are another reason for the oligopolization in the media market. When the motive of profit maximization enters the arena, the function of the press changes and gains a new dimension. This dimension deflects the media from being just a “neutral” mediator and creates apprehension about the social and political power that the press holds and whether this power is exerted for the “public good” or not. This concern and the critical approach that comes with the concern about news institutions are plausible considering that “the news is, inevitably, largely what they say it is” (Hartley 9).

Researchers who employ the micro theoretical approach look at the news production and how it is affected by “bureaucratic and ideological processes”; they also develop their ideas on the assumption that “the media play a role in the socio-political control mechanism.” (Doğru Arsan 153). From a Marxist perspective, which is also shared by Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, the mass discourse is determined according to the ideologies of the owners of the media institutions; yet the concept that “news equals reality” is altered by the fact that news is a construction process influenced by “media ownership,” “control mechanisms” and “cultural factors” (Doğru Arsan 154). As a matter of fact, questions arise about ideological, social, economic and cultural factors affect journalists’ news-writing;

whom the media ask for their opinion to explain certain events and circumstances; and whom the media give a place or ignore in terms of events and people (Doğru Arsan 154).

3.3.2 The Truth of the News

There are no written rules for journalists how to utilize a statement as a fact in the news. The determination process varies from news organization to news organization; in fact, a story might be rejected for want of neutrality and another for lacking judgment by the same editor (Fuller 4). From a different perspective, the sources of the news should be carefully considered since the validity and the genuineness of the sources can be uncertain (Fuller 4-5). Another issue for journalists to assess is reporting the statements of authorities. Even though they seem to be skeptical, journalists generally report the opinions of experts such as scientists, economists or engineers without a question; however, when it comes to reporting government statements as facts, the journalists have to judge which ones should be debated and which ones be disregarded, and then pass them on to the public accordingly (Fuller 5).

When discussing the relationship between news and truth, a remark is needed about the term truth and its connection to knowledge and meaning. According to Gramsci, truth is solely made of perception and needs knowledge (social, cultural, moral and ideological) (Gramsci in Doğru Arsan 156). In the case of newspapers, journalists are the ones who construct and reshape the truth. If one wants to look at the proper standard of truth in the news, the question “What is news?” should be answered first.

An assertive definition would be to say that the news is what the news organizations report. However, this definition gives journalists an overestimated power (Fuller 6). As Hartley quotes from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the definition of the news is stated as “tidings; the report or account of recent events or occurrences, brought to or coming to one as new information; new occurrences as a subject of report or talk”; with this definition, the

news is interpreted merely as the *report* of an event rather than being the *newsworthy* event itself (Hartley 11). Even though there is no consensus on the definition of the news even among journalists, Fuller's statement narrows down the previous general definitions of "news" and touches upon the news values: "News is a report of what a news organization has recently learned about matters of some significance or interest to the specific community that news organization serves" (Fuller 6). In this definition, concepts like timeliness, interest for a given community and significance are highly dependent on the journalists' choices and, consequently, they are subjective and biased (Fuller 7).

The *timeliness (immediacy) bias* refers to the tendency of the journalists to report recent events and to ignore -- or briefly talk about the event occurring before -- older ones. This sacrifice of past events is sometimes compensated by the inclusion of "background" information in the news (Fuller 7). Secondly, Fuller explains the *bias of interest for a given community* as an answer to a common question asked in the United States: "Why don't other newspapers pay as much attention to international affairs as the *New York Times* does" (Fuller 9)? When compared to the *Times*, of which the readers are as related to international business or public policy as the readers of the *New York Times*, the *New York Times* reports more extensively about international affairs.³⁶ Finally, the *significance bias* -- this does not have to be necessarily called a bias -- arises from the social environment and the cultural background of the journalists, the economic circumstances of the news organization or the interesting issues at the time (Fuller 9-10).

Considering these circumstances, objective journalism has not been achieved; according to Fuller, it never will be. Even though the observer -- Fuller uses the word "observer" here instead of journalist or reporter -- does not embellish the details of the event while reporting, the selection process of the events, in which the journalists are involved,

³⁶ The same question can be asked for the specific topic covered in this research: "Why does a certain national newspaper put more emphasis on the Hasankeyf and the Ilisu Dam issue than other newspapers in Turkey?"

affects the objectivity of the news, together with the character and the experience of the journalist (Fuller 14-15). In fact, even in the case of a conscious attempt to correct it, when the bias is recognized by the journalist, the new outcome will still be subjective (Fuller 15). However, a good journalist should still try to avoid bias, and a good newspaper should not hide facts even when they contradict newspaper's interests (Fuller 16).

The general standard of neutrality as a concept also needs to be included in discussing the truth discipline that journalists acquire. Yet again, even though it is impossible for one to be entirely neutral, the term is compatible with the journalist's duty of *impartiality* and *acting without fear or favor* (Fuller 28). Even embracing this idea will lead journalists to reconsider and correct their own biases and to bring a fresh perspective while dealing with new incidents (Fuller 28).

Fairness is also one of the words that the journalists use to describe their discipline. In this context, Fuller quotes the saying "Journalism should comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable" (Fuller 33). According to the saying, the main concern of journalists should be to put forward the issues of the weak in society and to be bold enough to reveal the ugly truths about the ones who wield power. Yet, this premise can also bring bias when journalist always tries to discomfort the powerful when there is no need or constantly seek to report the truth about the afflicted when sometimes shading the truth would be a better option (Fuller 33).

Another discipline that the journalists are expected to acquire is intellectual honesty. According to Fuller, intellectual honesty means that "in presenting a news report a journalist may draw certain conclusions and make certain predictions about the consequences of a particular event, but it also imposes a duty to do justice to the areas of legitimate debate" (Fuller 31). Based on this description, news is separated from polemical writing; the journalist gains a responsibility to fully uncover a public concern, unlike a polemic writer who tries to persuade the readers of one opinion of a matter, accepting that is the only truth (Fuller 31).

What is more, even though journalists may draw conclusions about a particular subject about which they are reporting, there is a limit to the expression of personal opinion by journalists: modesty in judgment and restraining the last judgment concerning matters of value is deemed more appropriate (Fuller 35).

To return to the arguments in the beginning, how truthfully journalists report is highly dependent on the sources of information, since most of the time journalists do not have first-hand information about the matters in which they are reporting, which results in them having to trust their sources (Fuller 39). Previous experience with sources of information, either a person or an institution, is an indicator whether to believe them or not. However, the journalist should still be cautious even when their sources are reliable and check the validity of the information if possible.

3.3.3 News Values

According to Fowler, the news has to be more than just “what happens”; it has to satisfy complex criteria of newsworthiness, which basically turns events into news. Events need more than just “happening” to be in the news. As a result, events need to fulfill certain criteria to be seen as newsworthy and to be included in the newspapers (Hartley 75-76). These criteria, in which the news become more valuable as they satisfy more criteria, is referred to as “news values.” The main motivation of a journalist for defining an event as newsworthy is its potential of drawing the audience’s attention. However, the source of the events is also very important; a recognized event should be coming from a reliable source (Hartley 75). The news values and the selection process models of journalists have been devised by Galtung and Ruge as follows:

(F₁) Frequency

(F₂) Threshold

- (F_{2.1}) Absolute intensity
- (F_{2.2}) Intensity increase
- (F₃) Unambiguity
- (F₄) Meaningfulness
 - (F_{4.1}) Cultural proximity
 - (F_{4.2}) Relevance
- (F₅) Consonance
 - (F_{5.1}) Predictability
 - (F_{5.2}) Demand
- (F₆) Unexpectedness
 - (F_{6.1}) Unpredictability
 - (F_{6.2}) Scarcity
- (F₇) Continuity
- (F₈) Composition
- (F₉) Reference to elite nations
- (F₁₀) Reference to elite people
- (F₁₁) Reference to persons
- (F₁₂) Reference to something negative (Galtung and Ruge 62-72).

Even though some of these conditions are applicable to the news selection processes worldwide, some of them are argued to be “culture-bound” rather than general conditions (Hartley 76). The first eight factors are considered to be *natural* criterial factors that affect news selection processes:

Frequency: This factor represents the relationship between the duration of the events and the publication frequency of the newspapers. Events occurring suddenly, such as murders or plane crashes, are more likely to be reported in the newspapers rather than general phenomena (Fowler 14). Single events’ frequency complies with the nature of daily newspapers, so that there is something new to tell everyday.

Threshold: This refers to the size of an event to be newsworthy. While those events that are considered below the threshold are not reported, big events that can produce even more stories, such as wars, are included in the newspapers (Hartley 76). More simply, an incident involving five persons is less important than an event involving hundreds.

Unambiguity: This criterion represents the lucidness of an event and how easily the audience can grasp the idea within the news, even though this does not mean that the news should be simple; in the news-making, “the capability of the news generating many meanings” is tried to be reduced (Hartley 77).

Meaningfulness: Like the unambiguity factor, this is also related to the reader’s construing of the events. *Cultural proximity* is mostly related to the cultural background of the readers that is crucial for meaning-making. Fowler gives an example to explain this factor: In Great Britain, news about France, which is “geographically and culturally close,” is more likely to be reported than events concerning Albania. However, *relevance* negates the first assumption. If an event in Albania was to have any effect on Great Britain, then the news about that event would be meaningful to the readers as the interest in the country grows with the interest in the event (Fowler 14).

Consonance: If people have an expectation (e.g. excessive violence in wars) or a desire (e.g. celebrity weddings or royal births) for an event to happen, then the media report those (Fowler 14).

Unexpectedness: Sudden, unpredictable events (e.g. the death of young important figures) and rare, extraordinary events (e.g. unusual weather conditions) become more newsworthy (Hartley 78).

Continuity: This factor explains the fact that, if an event has become news once, then even though the magnitude of popularity of that event declines, it will continue to be counted as news for some time (Fowler 15).

Composition: The criterion refers to the balance-seeking of journalists between major and relatively insignificant events.

The first eight factors are the general news values that are widely accepted to affect the news selection process that supposedly shape the newsworthiness of events. However, according to Galtung and Ruge's classification, the last four are "culture-bound factors" that are relevant for western media (Hartley 78).

Reference to elite nations: Among the elite nations are accepted North America, Japan, Europe and Russia which are supposed to be the "superpowers" in the political and cultural arena (Fowler 15). Consequently, stories about these countries, news about disasters, elections and wars, are more emphasized than stories with the same contents from different parts of the world.

Reference to elite people: Elite people's stories are considered more newsworthy than ordinary people's; the assumption is that they "affect our lives" and their social activities --

such as weddings, opinions, habits in which ordinary people are interested -- are accepted as influential or representative (Hartley 78).

Personalization: The news is oriented towards people, and certain individuals are identified with certain things: for instance, “the government” can be personalized as “Mrs Thatcher.” This kind of approach is aimed to evoke certain feelings for certain concepts -- structures, forces or institutions -- by using individuals since individuals are easier to identify (Hartley 78).

Negativity: Negative news stories are always more interesting than good news; people are more excited about disasters, political disruptions, death and tragedy than about positive events. The negativity factor also fits with the *unexpectedness*, *unambiguity*, *frequency* and *consonant* factors that determine news values (Hartley 79).

In addition to Galtrung and Ruge’s factors, Fowler also considers social and economic factors in the news selection processes while referring to Greg Philo’s statement on the issue: “‘News’ on television and in the press is not self-defining. News is not ‘found’ or even ‘gathered’ so much as made. It is a creation of a journalistic process, an artifact, a commodity even” (Philo 135). Fowler questions the product mentioned here, as Philo emphasizes the artificial nature of the news (Fowler 20). From a commercial perspective, one of the main aims of a newspaper is to sell, assuming that we accept newspaper publishing as an industry which also has a relationship with other industries. This self-interest of making profit affects the events chosen as news and also the advertisements that receive a place in the newspapers. In fact, the industrial nature of the press not only affects the news chosen to be reported, but also has a connection with the way in which they are presented (Fowler 20).

According to Fowler, the most adequate sources of news come from institutions and people with official authority and/or financial power. Consequently, there is a certain discourse adopted by newspapers as they report about the so-called powerful institutions. There is a tendency to reproduce the attitudes of the powerful in the newspapers, which will result in advantages for the newspaper industry itself (Fowler 22-24). Fowler also argues that the media's attitude that affects the content and the discourse of the news is an automatic one concerning the economic circumstances and the working customs of the press (Fowler 24). From this perspective, the relation between the powerful institutions and the press can be concluded as a win-win situation where the powerful find a ground to reach the public in the way in which they want and where the newspaper industry manages to survive. This, in the end, makes them dependent on each other.

3.4 Effects of the Media on Public Opinion

3.4.1 The Agenda-setting Model

Agenda-setting is one of the major methods that the mass media use to affect public opinion. Given that the media are highly effective instruments for determining what people watch, read or listen, the model suggests that the media *set the public agenda* -- that is, they tell readers the important subjects for public debate which results in determining what people think about (Grossberg *et al.* 346). A group of people consisting of journalists, policy-makers and the public set the news agenda and the media become an intermediary as they select, redefine and overstate the issues of certain interest groups, targeting ordinary citizens and policy-makers (Çağlayan 35).

Zhu classifies five components of the term ‘public agenda’: *interest groups’ agenda*, *media agenda*, *audience members’ agenda*, *policy-makers’ agenda* and *policy agenda* (Zhu 825-826).

The subjects that are boosted by various interest groups are referred to as interest group agenda. The media agenda consists of the subjects highlighted in the news coverage. The prominence of these subjects comprehended by the targeted audience is the audience agenda. The choices of each policy-maker among these subjects constitute the policy-makers’ agenda; it differs from the policy agenda which refers to the subjects to which the majority of policy-makers pay serious attention (Çağlayan 36).

The extensive coverage makes certain issues notably more significant to the public, and subject featured less prominently in the media draw less attention; this mechanism constitutes the idea of agenda-setting theory (Çağlayan 36). As a consequence, the effectiveness of agenda-setting increases as more people are exposed to extensively covered subjects (Çağlayan 35). Studies about agenda-setting indicate that, if certain stories are repeated in the news, people tend to perceive those particular subjects important regardless of the content of the topic (Robinson). What is more, analyses on the relationship between the media and public agendas can be an indicator to see the impact of agenda-setting. For instance, if the ranking of the media coverage on certain topics matches with -- or look similar to -- the list of the problems that the public see as important according to surveys conducted, then it can be said that the media has set the agenda (Grossberg *et al.* 347).

3.4.2 Bandwagoning

The bandwagon effect refers to the fact that individual opinions are stimulated by public opinion, that is, if there is a belief that people support a certain political project, then this belief can influence others to support that idea, too (Edouard *et al.* 212). As a matter of

fact, the bandwagon effect suggests that people tend to follow what is popular and think parallel with the majority; people decide what is popular through media instruments since they believe that what they are extensively exposed to signifies the majority opinion (Çağlayan 40).

3.4.3 Spiral of Silence

The concept of *spiral of silence* was introduced by Elisabeth Noelle Neumann, and it suggests that people's behaviour -- and in a wider sense the society's -- varies with the media messages; in particular, Noelle Neumann is interested in how and when people express their opinions. The main assumptions of the *spiral of silence* theory are as follows:

- Society threatens deviant individuals with isolation.
- Individuals continuously experience fear of isolation.
- This fear of isolation causes individuals to try to assess the climate of opinion at all times.
- The results of this estimate affect their behaviour in public, especially their willingness to express opinions openly.³⁷

Noelle Neumann argues that people do not put themselves in a position where others will have a chance to make fun of them because of their ideas and that this keeps them from expressing their opinions before knowing what others think about the same issue; this is denoted as *fear of isolation* (Grossberg *et al.* 352). As a matter of fact, people are eager to reveal their views, for example their support to a specific political party, if they feel that they are dominant, and to conceal their ideas if they think they are in a minority (McQuail 462).

³⁷ Elisabeth Noelle Neumann, "The theory of public opinion: the concept of the spiral of silence," in *Communication Yearbook 14*, edited by J. Anderson (Newbury Park: SAGE, 1991) in McQuail pp.461-462.

The connection of this theory with the media is that the mass media are the easiest ways for people to perceive the prevalent conditions for almost every subject, and as a consequence, people tend to behave and express themselves according to the dominant view reflected in the media (McQuail 462).

3.4.4 “Third-Person” Effect

Similar to the spiral of silence, the third-person effect is also a concept related to human behavior and the effect of media messages. The third person model, coined by W. Phillips Davison, describes the belief that the impact of the media messages will not affect us or the people surrounding us, but only third persons. According to Davison’s suggestion, people tend to overestimate the effect of media messages on others when their behavior depends on their estimation (Grossberg *et al.* 351). When everyone assumes that people other than themselves are highly susceptible to manipulation and media persuasion, they behave accordingly. What is more, the *third person effect* also explains the strategic behavior of the political elite and their responses to each other and to the current events in accord with the anticipation of the public’s reaction (Çağlayan 42).

CHAPTER 4

THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAME AND CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE HASANKEYF COVERAGE OF TURKISH NEWSPAPERS: CUMHURİYET, RADİKAL, SABAH AND ZAMAN

In the most general sense, the methodology used in this research is document analysis. According to Altheide, document analysis can be defined as a method that aims to derive information from the documents for their *relevance, significance, and meaning* (Altheide 2). He classifies the relevant documents to be analyzed into three: *primary documents* (newspapers, magazines, TV newscasts, diaries, or archaeological artifacts), *secondary documents* (field notes or reports on primary documents), and *auxiliary documents* (sources that are not primary but instrumental in a research project for understanding the topic, complementary material) (Altheide 3). In this thesis, newspapers are used as primary sources for analysis. However, Altheide's way of classifying documents, which was published in 1996, has been extended in *Researching Communications* by Deacon, Golding, Murdock and Pickering, as media technology has expanded and more types of documentation styles to record people's ideas, beliefs and actions (Deacon *et al.* 14). In this recent work, major sources of documentation are listed as follows: *material artifacts* (physical objects, buildings and artificially created environments), *written and printed sources* (books, journals, newspapers, magazines, comics, diaries, letters, and minutes of meetings), *statistical sources*, *recorded sound* (radio programs, records, tapes), *visual media: single images* (paintings,

engravings, posters, photographs), *visual media: moving images* (films, television programs, video, DVD) and *digital media* (internet sites, email, blogs, CD-ROMs) (Deacon *et al.* 15). From a more recent document classification perspective, the data in this research consists of digital media, since rather than written and printed sources, the web-version of the news pieces have been used.

The analysis methods to be used for the data at hand should be selected according to the mission and the research questions that the researcher has designated. One might either take a more extensive panoramic view of the study material to look at occurrence patterns in news stories with the help of some form of measurement, or alternatively one might take a smaller sample and examine the news story in-depth by looking what the word, sentence and paragraph combinations reveal (Deacon *et al.* 117). The application of different analytical methods can be useful for different stages in a research so that “the weaknesses of any single method, qualitative or quantitative, are balanced by the strengths of other methods” (Williams, Rice and Rogers qtd. in Deacon *et al.* 117).

By using both qualitative and quantitative research methods, I intend to compensate for the deficiencies of the interpretive and positivist approaches and to build my arguments on a more substantial base. In the scope of my research, the historical and social context is essential. Consequently, in addition to quantitative content analysis, an in-depth qualitative content analysis is applied to the data for the analysis.

4.1 Content Analysis

Berelson describes content analysis as follows: “A research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Berelson 147). As the words “objective” and “manifest” are emphasized in Berelson’s description, content analysis has developed in the early twentieth century with the intention of

bringing the precision of scientific inquiry to the social sciences for the study of human and social phenomena (Deacon *et al.* 118).

For the effective usage of content analysis, researchers should know explicitly what they are investigating in advance, considering that content analysis is a method which only gives answers to the questions that the researcher poses by “supporting, qualifying or refuting” them (Deacon *et al.* 119). Given that content analysis is a highly directive method, it does not provide researchers with the means to deconstruct texts that enable them “to develop ideas and insights”; consequently, the method is not effective for studying deeper levels of meanings within texts, such as rhetorical or aesthetic nuances (Deacon *et al.* 119). It can be concluded that content analysis offers researchers “a big picture” of what is investigated, rather than giving them the opportunity to derive profound meanings from texts; as a matter of fact, it complies with the method’s nature of dealing with large quantities of research material (Gerbner, qtd. in Deacon *et al.* 119).

Even though content analysis is suitable for analyzing a large amount of texts, it is very rare that every single material relevant to the objective of that particular research is used (Deacon *et al.* 120). Therefore, constructing a sampling strategy is essential before moving on to the analysis. According to *Researching Communications*, there are three stages to be followed by the researcher to do sampling; after I sequence these stages, I will add the information of how I did my sampling according to the issues to be considered.

The first stage in developing a sampling strategy is defining the “total range of content” from which the researcher wants to draw conclusions; this refers to the “population” of the research and is related to the clarification of the compatibility between the sample and the topic (Deacon *et al.* 120). Secondly, a sampling unit, which is referred to as *unitization*, should be determined. Even though the sampling unit is self-evident while sampling people or institutions, the “unit of analysis” of texts is relatively harder to identify (Deacon *et al.* 120).

While some quantitative content analysis studies have more specific sampling units to study “the lexical contents and/or syntactic structures of documents” (Beardsworth, qtd. in Deacon *et al.* 120), others focus on certain themes in the texts: “Theme analysis... does not rely on the use of specific words as basic content elements, but relies upon the coder to recognize certain themes or ideas in the text, and then to allocate these to predetermined categories” (Beardsworth, qtd. in Deacon *et al.* 121).

In the final stage, the researcher should decide how much of the total population is needed to generate a representative sample for analysis. Representativeness is measured in two ways. Firstly, the time constraint is to be determined, meaning how the sampling period should be extended, either backwards or forwards. The second measure to be considered is the extensiveness of the sampling across the elements of the total population. For instance, if one wanted to study the news reporting of environmental crimes, the decision would be whether to involve all the newspapers that cover the issue or to be more selective in the time span one is sampling (Deacon *et al.* 122).

Even though there is no absolute number constraint about how big a sample should be, the bigger sample is always favorable for it gives clear results. Yet, for practical reasons such as time, costs, or the availability of archives, feasibility is very important to consider while conducting research (Deacon *et al.* 122).

According to the stages for defining a representative sample for my research, I began by gathering data for the newspaper coverage of cultural heritage in Turkish daily newspapers. To be specific, I chose Hasankeyf as a cultural heritage site in danger of being submerged in the Ilisu Dam’s reservoir. The data used in this research is composed of news on Hasankeyf as published in four Turkish newspapers: *Sabah*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal*, and *Zaman* between 2000 and 2009. Due to the limitations in the scope of this study, I have focused on these examples. The data is gathered from an online database, PRNet

(www.prnet.com.tr) which provides data for media monitoring and media analysis. For each year and newspaper, the keyword “Hasankeyf” is searched in the database, and among the results a selection process is applied according to specific criteria. I have selected news items that cover Hasankeyf as a cultural heritage site and are relevant to the Ilisu Dam, rather than including *all* news about Hasankeyf. Additionally, newspaper columns of columnists mentioning Hasankeyf – even when the theme of the content is cultural heritage – have been excluded. Due to the fact that the examination of the news items covers the content of the whole text, I excluded the information given about Hasankeyf and the Ilisu Dam by the columnists who also write about other topics in the same text.

After constituting a representative sample from the total population, the list of items to be quantified should be determined. However, there is no standard list for the researchers to follow. It depends on the study objectives and also the imagination of the researcher (Deacon *et al.* 122). Yet, one should reconsider that content analysis is a method that “gives answers to the questions that you ask”; consequently, the right questions should be asked and the right keywords should be determined for a proper interpretation (Deacon *et al.* 123). I ask the following questions to analyze newspaper articles about Hasankeyf:

1. Among the newspapers included in this research, which one shows the most interest in Hasankeyf? How does the included newspapers’ interest in Hasankeyf increase / decrease over time?
2. What are the main themes of the articles (archaeology, foreign interest, dam construction, cultural heritage, ethnography, etc.)?
3. Which types of references were used in the articles (scholars, locals, public figures, celebrities, government officials, NGO officials)?
4. Which civilizations or ancient time periods are referred to in describing the history of Hasankeyf (Byzantines, Ottomans, Romans, and so on)?

5. Does the newspaper article offer a solution for the protection of Hasankeyf (0 = no, 1 = yes)?

4.2 Description of the Data

The data used for this research is composed of the news on Hasankeyf as published in five Turkish newspapers: *Sabah*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal*, *Zaman*. In selecting these newspapers, the diversity of the discourse of the news was important in order to make a meaningful comparison. Therefore, the newspapers are specifically chosen for this research considering the diversity in their ideological background. Each newspaper is of a different nature, which consequently affects the discourse of the Hasankeyf coverage in itself. Giving background information on these newspapers is necessary in order to clarify what I mean by different ideologies and, consequently, it will be revealing to understand the data used in this research.

Sabah is an entrenched national newspaper with a high circulation rate; it was founded by Dinç Bilgin in 1985, and in 2008 sold to Çalık Grubu, which is known for its close ties to the AKP government. This handover of a newspaper reaching a considerable number of people is important because it allows observing the change in the discourse of Hasankeyf news after 2008. The second newspaper I chose for my research, *Cumhuriyet*, is one of the oldest national newspapers in Turkey and has been published since 1924. As a republican newspaper, which is anti-AKP, *Cumhuriyet*'s Hasankeyf coverage is also very crucial to this study when considering that the Ilisu Dam Project is carried out by the AKP government. Thirdly, I selected *Radikal* which was established in 1996 and is owned by the Doğan Group. *Radikal* is a liberal daily newspaper known for extensively covering culture and arts in Turkey. Consequently, *Radikal*'s attitude to Hasankeyf and how it reflects the site's relation with the Ilisu Dam Project is very significant. *Zaman*, the fourth newspaper, has been published since 1986; according to popular opinion, it is related to Fethullah Gülen and has a

tendency to promote the Islamist movement. *Zaman* is distributed in 35 and printed in 11 countries and was claimed to have the highest circulation rate in Turkey at the end of 2009. In fact, these two characteristics of *Zaman*, having a large readership and an Islamic identity, make its coverage of Hasankeyf interesting and also very essential for my research.

As for the time-span of my data, I decided to include Hasankeyf news after Zeugma was submerged under the Birecik Dam in 2000 and when Hasankeyf emerged as another cultural heritage site under the risk of a dam project. Therefore, my data covers the decade from 2000 to 2009 to observe the changes in discourse on Hasankeyf as a cultural heritage over the years. This time interval not only enables me to analyze the general change in the discourse of several newspapers over time, but also to see the change of discourse pattern within each newspaper. How each newspaper reacts to events related to Hasankeyf is the major question of my research.

Moreover, I chose a set of news which directly refers to Hasankeyf as cultural heritage site, rather than every piece of news related to Hasankeyf, and also the Ilisu Dam Project. In order to facilitate comparison, I put more emphasis on those events that were reported approximately at the same date by different newspapers.

4.3 The Analysis of the Data

In the scope of this analysis, I intended to derive information about the representation of Hasankeyf as a cultural heritage site, particularly about how the newspapers cover Hasankeyf with respect to the Ilisu Dam Project. It should be noted again that the news have been selected according to the following criteria: Columns of various columnists which do not mention up-to-date news about the subject, news items which are not related to Hasankeyf as a cultural heritage site, news items about the Ilisu Dam Project which do not mention Hasankeyf, or news about Hasankeyf which do not refer to any kind of problems related to the

dam project are not included. The research questions focus on the following subjects: the newspaper's interest in Hasankeyf over the years, the themes covered in the news, the references used, the civilizations that are mentioned to provide information about Hasankeyf's historical past, and the cases in which the newspapers propose solutions for the protection of Hasankeyf.

The coding sheet that is applied to the data is as follows. However, some of the subcategories are subjective items that need an explanation regarding the ways in which they are used in this research. On this account, more detailed information about the subcategories in main categories "themes" and "references" will be given in the particular analysis sections.

Main Categories	Subcategories	
Themes	Cultural heritage	1
	Foreign funding	2
	Archaeology	3
	Foreign interest	4
	Dam Costruction	5
	Law	6
	Ethnography	7
	Tourism	8
	Terrorism	9
References	Government Officials	1
	NGO Officials	2
	Scholars	3
	Media Representatives	4
	Celebrities	5
	Foreign deputies / Officials	6
	Activists	7
	Lawyers	8
	Locals	9
	Human Rights Officials	10
	Public Figures	11
Civilizations / Time Periods	Pre-Middle Stone Age	1
	Pre-pottery Neolithic Period	2
	Neolithic Period	3
	Chalcolithic Period	4
	Sumerians	5

1. Among the newspapers included in this research, which one shows the most interest in Hasankeyf? / How does the included newspapers' interest in Hasankeyf increase/decrease over time?

According to the distribution of the 261 Hasankeyf news that have appeared in four newspapers -- *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal*, *Sabah*, and *Zaman* -- over ten years between 2000 and 2009, *Radikal* showed the most interest in Hasankeyf, with 108 news items. In the percentage-based distribution over years, *Radikal* also remained the most interested newspaper except in 2005, when *Radikal* covered 3, *Zaman* 9 and *Cumhuriyet* 5 Hasankeyf news. The ranking of the newspapers' interest in Hasankeyf continues as follows: *Cumhuriyet* with 80 news, *Zaman* with 44 news, and *Sabah* with 29 news (see fig. 1).

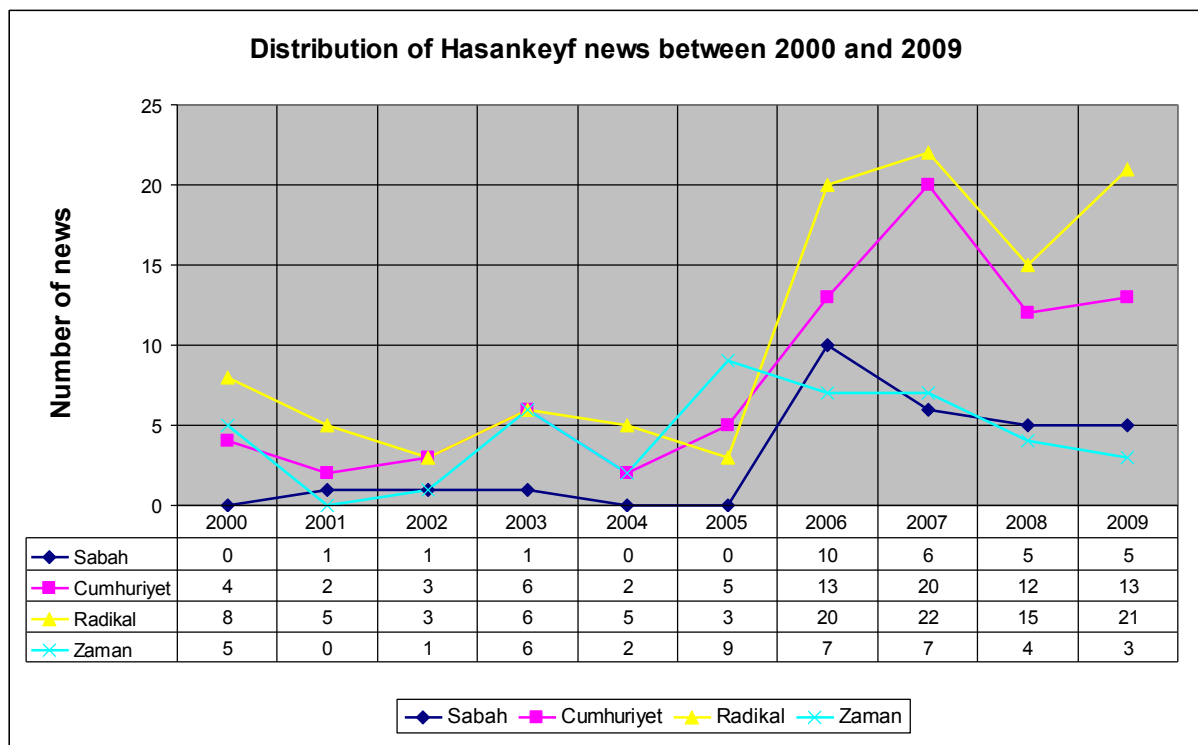


Figure 1. Distribution of Hasankeyf News between 2000 and 2009

The news distribution of Hasankeyf's coverage does not have sharp breaking points, except for a few occasions. In the first six-year period between 2000 and 2005, the newspaper

coverage of Hasankeyf was fairly limited. If a comparison is made within the first three-year period, it can be observed that the Hasankeyf coverage has the highest number in total. 2000 is particularly important because it was the year when Zeugma was inundated; in that respect it is the initial point where the discussions regarding the dam projects and the protection of cultural heritage began. As a result, Hasankeyf enters the discussions with a considerably higher number of news items in 2000 compared to the following two years.

The coverage trend of each newspaper stands out even when the newspaper coverage of Hasankeyf is in small numbers between 2000 and 2005. In Figure 1, *Zaman* draws attention, since it has considerable increases and decreases in the first six years. Even though it is normal to have significant drops and rises when showing changes in a small amount of data, *Zaman*'s distinctive trend compared to other newspapers included in the research should be noted (see fig. 1). On the other hand, *Sabah* is also significant for its disinterest in the issue in the first six-year period.

Even though a small amount of Hasankeyf coverage is observed for all newspapers between 2000 and 2005, this does not mean that there were no important events that took place during that time-period. For instance, in 2003, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan declared that Hasankeyf would not be submerged under the Ilısu Dam reservoir and that the site would be opened to tourism. This declaration was significant regarding the fate of Hasankeyf. However, in 2003, *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal* and *Zaman* covered only six news about Hasankeyf where *Sabah* remained with one.

In 2005, newspaper coverage of Hasankeyf started to change; this year can be considered a breaking point. *Zaman* reached its highest coverage, which is 9, and the numbers began to decrease until 2009. In 2005, a downward slope is observed in *Radikal*'s coverage which is the lowest news number for *Radikal* between 2000 and 2009. What is more, *Cumhuriyet* gained an upward pace, which in fact started in 2004, and continued until 2007.

Sabah remained more or less silent about Hasankeyf between 2000 and 2005; in total it covered 3 news items about Hasankeyf in 6 years. The year 2005 is also significant in that the first *Hasankeyf'e Sadakat Treni* was organized by the *Doğa Derneği* and *Atlas* Magazine. Considering that this event increased the awareness of the protection of Hasankeyf as a cultural and also natural heritage site, *Radikal's* decreased interest in the issue is surprising. However, in 2006, *Radikal*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Sabah* once again showed greater interest and an increased coverage (see fig. 1).

In addition to any effect that the *Hasankeyf'e Sadakat Treni* in 2005 may have had on the newspapers to talk more about Hasankeyf in the following years, the major event that gave rise to the significant increase in *Radikal*, *Cumhuriyet*, and *Sabah* was the laying of the foundation of the Ilisu Dam by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in 2006. From then on, the construction of the dam project was taken seriously. In the following year, 2007, the coverage of Hasankeyf continued to increase for *Radikal* and *Cumhuriyet*, and intensive news coverage about protests against the Ilisu Dam Project started again with the second *Hasankeyf'e Sadakat Treni*. However, *Sabah* began to lose interest in Hasankeyf, and news coverage continued to fall to a certain extent until 2009. Between 2006 and 2007, there was no difference in the coverage of Hasankeyf by *Zaman*; the newspaper coverage decreased in the last two years of the scope of this research (see fig. 1).

It can be observed that the trends of *Radikal* and *Cumhuriyet* are very similar from 2000 to 2004 and from 2005 onwards. Yet, *Radikal* produced more coverage of Hasankeyf. In the decade included in this research, *Sabah* does not seem very interested in Hasankeyf when compared to *Radikal* and *Cumhuriyet*. What is more, after the newspaper was sold to Ciner Group in 2008, nothing changed in terms of the quantity of the news published about Hasankeyf and the Ilisu Dam Project. When examining *Zaman's* coverage, one can see that the newspaper is consistent in its coverage, so that the major events related to Hasankeyf or

the dam project do not affect the quantity of the news covered when compared to *Radikal* and *Cumhuriyet*.

2. What are the main themes of the articles? What is the distribution of the various themes for the newspapers over the years?

In order to answer this question, I analyze various themes that the newspapers cover in the Hasankeyf news. For this purpose, I have determined nine themes that frequently occur in the Hasankeyf coverage: foreign interest, foreign funding, ethnography, archaeology, cultural heritage, dam construction, law, tourism, and terror. However, the contexts of these subcategories and how these themes are assigned to certain news items need to be specified.

- *Foreign interest*: Hasankeyf news that refer to foreign government officials, celebrities, human rights officials, and NGO officials are coded as foreign interest theme. Similarly, any kind of news about the exterior funding of the Ilisu Dam project including references to foreign banks, investment companies and governments are marked as “foreign interest.”
- *Ethnography*: Hasankeyf news which mention the local people, public figures, the demography of the area, or the effects of the Ilisu Dam on the people who live in the region are regarded as referring to “ethnography.”
- *Archaeology*: News items which give information about recent findings or any kind of updates about the excavation carried out in Hasankeyf, the history of the site, and the newly discovered ancient sites in the area are identified with the theme of archaeology.
- *Cultural heritage*: The “cultural heritage” theme is attributed to news which cover any kind of protests to save Hasankeyf, the conservation and preservation issues of the monuments of the site (references to monuments with respect to the integrity of the

cultural heritage are also included), statements mentioning the future of Hasankeyf after the Ilisu Dam, and discussions about the protection of cultural heritage.

- *Dam construction*: The “dam construction” theme is used to describe Hasankeyf news which give quantitative data about the projects and its outcomes.
- *Law*: The “law” theme is attributed to certain news which refer to any kind of legal practitioners (lawyers, human rights officials, etc.) who talk about the juridical aspects of the Ilisu Dam Project, the protected cultural heritage sites in the context of law, or the minority rights of the local people.
- *Tourism*: Hasankeyf news giving information about the annual number of tourist visits to Hasankeyf, the projects that are designed to attract both local and foreign tourists, and prospective tourism opportunities after the dam construction are listed under the “tourism” theme.
- *Terrorism*: Ultimately, the “terrorism” theme is designated to news which refer to the PKK (Kurdistan Workers’ Party) and its place in the discussions of the area where the Ilisu Dam is to be built.

Even though the different theme-based categories can be divided further, the most frequent nine themes used in the Hasankeyf coverage meet the objectives of this research. It should also be noted that one news item can carry more than one theme.

In Figure 2, one can find the total number of themes for each type covered in the selected newspapers between 2000 and 2009. According to this chart, cultural heritage is the most common theme with 127 occurrences. Even though the range of criteria for having a cultural heritage theme seems broader than others that might show this number as normal, this high occurrence is an indication of cultural heritage being a serious concern worth mentioning and a topic at the core of the discussion about the Ilisu Dam Project. In second place, there is the foreign funding theme with 62 occurrences. Having a funding theme in second among

nine places is significant in that the financial dimension of the Hasankeyf and Ilisu Dam issue is crucial. Thirdly, there is the archaeology theme, which is surprising to see following foreign funding with 49 occurrences. This shows that the newspapers are trying to create a strong foundation for their readers to follow the discussions about cultural heritage and why people want to protect Hasankeyf. Additionally, news about recent findings from the Hasankeyf excavations can be a measure of the intention to keep the topic up-to-date and also to demonstrate the site’s archaeological wealth.

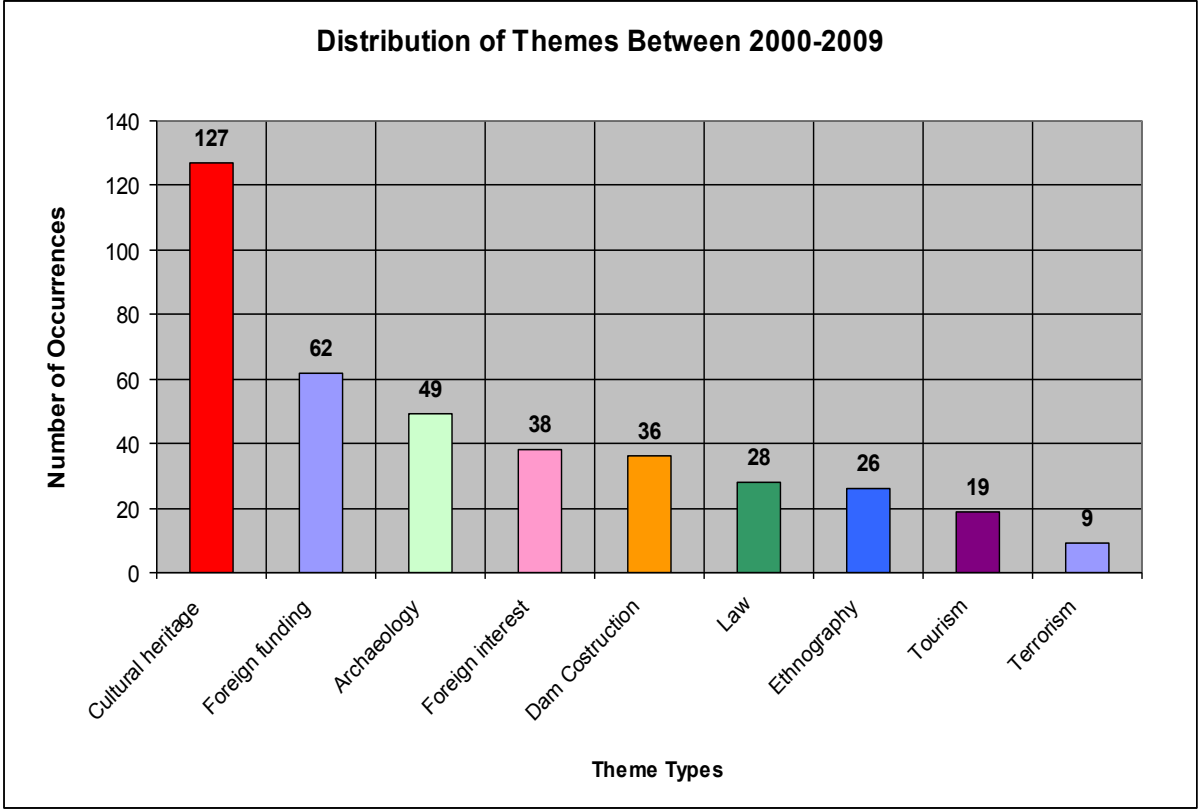


Figure 2. Distribution of Themes between 2000 and 2009

The ratio of occurrence of foreign interest and dam construction are very close: the foreign interest theme has 38 and dam construction has 36. The numbers of these themes are balanced in their own context and, considering that there are 261 news items used in this research, there is no excessiveness. However, it should also be pointed out that the foreign interest in the topic is not as high as expected, or that it is not expressed in the newspapers.

For the dam construction theme, however, the number of occurrences can be considered as expected. Given that the numerical details of the dam construction or the designated area for the project are constant, the news items including this information are distributed in a quite predictable manner between 2000 and 2009.

The law theme ranks sixth with 28 occurrences and is followed by the ethnography theme with 26. Given the importance of the legal discussions about the protected sites in the region and the Ilisu Dam project, 28 occurrences of this issue can be considered low. However, coverage of the ethnography issue is even lower; this is an indication of the lack of interest in and interviews with locals. Again, it may be a matter of omission, as it might be the case for the expression of foreign interest. In fact, this shows that the opinion of local people concerning Hasankeyf and the Ilisu Dam project is not valued enough.

.Tourism and terrorism are individually very important concepts within this framework. However, the least frequent themes are tourism with 19 and terrorism with 9 occurrences in the newspaper coverage of Hasankeyf. Considering that tourism is accepted as an alternative way to compensate for the developments of the dam project, the number of news items mentioning tourism is fairly low. Furthermore, in contrast to the cultural policies of Turkey which put tourism among the fundamentals of cultural heritage, it is observed that the tourism aspect of Hasankeyf is not reflected much in the newspaper coverage. Ultimately, the terrorism theme is particularly essential to consider given the sensitivity of the region. In addition, there were accusations by the government officials against the opposition from the Kurdish human rights perspective, claiming that the protests are fallacy and that it is a cover-up to protect the region where terrorists are hiding from flooding. Yet, this perspective was not also kept on the agenda by the newspapers. Still, even though the number seems low, in several articles connections are made between the Ilisu Dam and the conflict with the PKK.

3. Which persons were referred to in the articles (the opinions of academicians, local people, public figures, celebrities, government officials, NGO officials, etc.)? What is the distribution of the various references for the newspapers during the years?

In this part of the analysis, the stake-holders and individuals mentioned in the Hasankeyf coverage are examined. The purpose of this analysis is to see which segments of the community related to the issue are given most weight and how the percentage changes over the years. Eleven different groups of persons have been designated and the news items classified accordingly. However, the categories and the details of the coding process should be clarified prior to the analysis itself.

The categories used in the analysis are as follows: government officials, NGO officials, academicians, celebrities, public figures, locals, foreign deputies/officials, media representatives, human rights officials, environmentalists, and lawyers.

- *Government officials*: I have attributed to this group any kind of reference made to the representatives of Turkish ministries.
- *Foreign deputies/officials*: This subcategory refers to authorities from institutions, banks or companies related to the foreign funding of the Ilisu Dam Project. What is more, in this category I have also marked foreign government officials who have a connection to the project.
- *Locals*: Hasankeyf news which refer to people living in Hasankeyf and sharing their opinions concerning the issue have been classified as locals.
- *Public figures*: However, the category of public figures is attributed to prominent characters of Hasankeyf.
- *Lawyers*: This specification is not only attributed to the news which mention lawyers commenting on the issue, but also any kind of legal authority contributing to the discussion.

- *Media representatives*: In this category, all local and foreign journalists, editors, or solely newspapers without any particular names given are included.
- *Environmentalists*: News items which include references to environmentalists, whether protesting or commenting on the Ilisu Dam Project, are gathered under this category. In the coding process of the analysis, the word *çevreci* was used.
- *Celebrities*: The subcategory refers to writers, musicians, actors and other famous figures who are involved in the issue.
- *NGO officials*: The subcategory includes both single persons representing their organizations and NGOs themselves without the name of individual persons giving an opinion about the issue.
- *Human rights officials*: Similar to *NGO officials*, human rights officials who are concerned not only with resettlement issues and the prospective living conditions of the people living in Hasankeyf, but also with Hasankeyf as cultural heritage site are marked as such.
- *Scholars*: The category of scholars include references to people who have an academic background and give information about the excavation, the recent findings, or technical expert advice on the dam construction. There are also a few instances in which the references to government officials with a highlighted academic identity are marked under the category *academicians*.

Following the selection of these eleven categories for analysis, I have examined the quantitative distribution of these over ten years. The fact that one news item could carry more than one theme is valid for this analysis as well, as they usually do. However, there are also some rare occasions where no person at all is mentioned in a news item.

Figure 3 shows the distribution of the total number of references between 2000 and 2009. The most common category found over ten years is *government officials* with a total

occurrence of 137. From this statistical fact, it can be concluded that Hasankeyf came into prominence in the newspapers with the Ilisu Dam Project, resulting in the prevailing reference type to the *government officials* who give information about the project while also speaking of Hasankeyf. Given that government officials do not mention Hasankeyf apart from the Ilisu Dam Project, the news coverage on Hasankeyf substantially turns around the dam project discussions. In consequence of the high number of government officials' opinions included, their view³⁸ seems to become the dominant one among the readers. The high number of government officials' reference in this case is also underpinning the fact that "institutions and persons with official authority and/or financial power" turn out to be the most suitable sources for the journalists to report (Fowler 22). However, the next two reference types in the chart, *NGO officials* and *scholars*, balance the scene. Unlike the government officials' approach to Hasankeyf and the Ilisu Dam Project, which is in favor of building the dam, NGO officials and scholars are more protective of Hasankeyf. Certainly, NGOs oppose the government officials' opinions. Yet, the scholars' discourse is more informative, highlighting the importance of Hasankeyf or suggesting alternative projects to save the site; even though this is not direct, it is towards the protection of Hasankeyf.

³⁸ The Turkish government officials' point of view about Hasankeyf and the Ilisu Dam Project turns out to be in favour of the construction of the dam in the data used in this research.

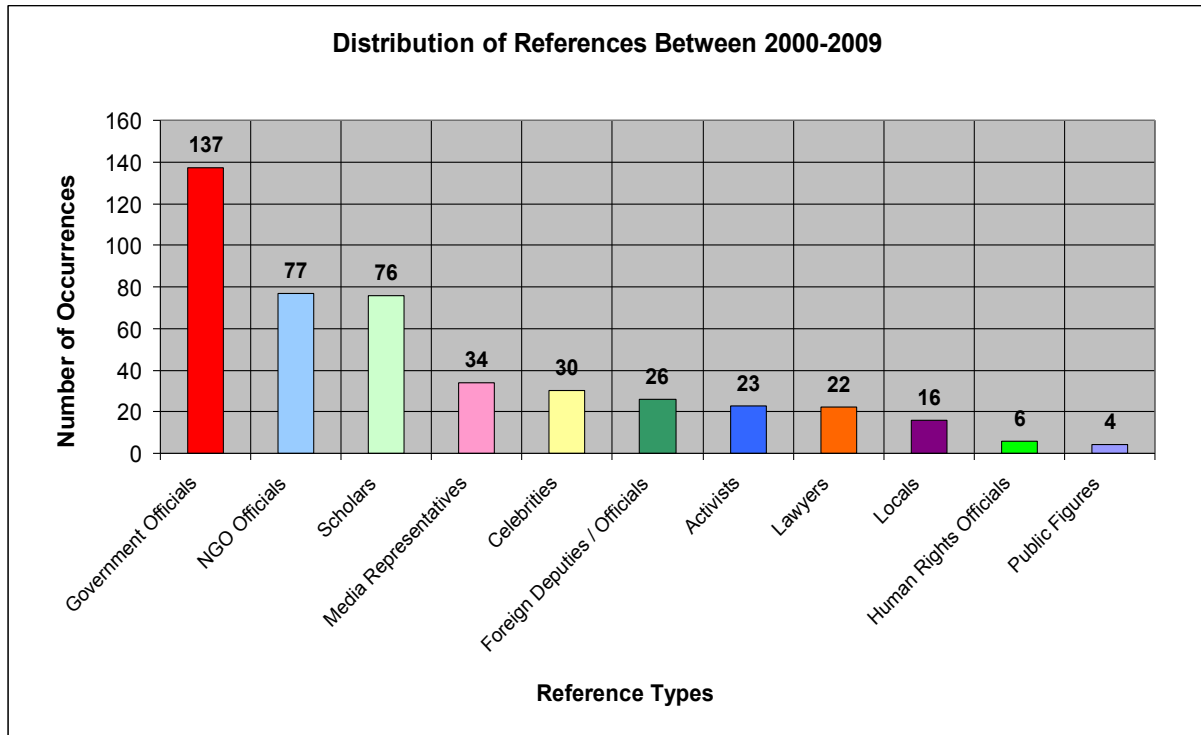


Figure 3. Distribution of References between 2000 and 2009

The second most common reference type is *NGO officials* with 77 occurrences among 261 news pieces (see fig. 3). Even though it has an occurrence number of half of the *government officials*, the NGOs appearing in the Hasankeyf coverage is significant. The NGOs' opinion is against the dam project, generally in the form of anti-dam propaganda, stating the inconsistencies of the project and putting forward the historical and natural values of the region. In the third rank, there are the *academics* with 76 occurrences (see fig. 3). Seeing academics as a highly referenced segment is also important since it shows that expertise in various related fields is a highly valued feature to be covered in the discussion. What is more, considering that most of the academics used as references in the Hasankeyf coverage are archaeologists, architects, and historians, it can be concluded that most of the news pieces referencing the academics are about the excavation and the historical and art historical background.

The vast majority of the *media representatives*' 34 occurrences over ten years consists of references made to the *Atlas* magazine, and, on very few occasions, to foreign newspapers. Apart from these, there are no cases where Turkish media representatives show partiality to one side in the discussion in the Hasankeyf coverage. Given that *Atlas* Magazine is the supporter of the anti-dam campaign,³⁹ the *media representatives* references are used in favor of the protection of Hasankeyf. Similarly, the *celebrities*, with 30 occurrences, are also used in the same way as *media representatives* since the celebrities -- both local and foreign -- are against the submersion of Hasankeyf under the Ilisu Dam Reservoir. In fact, when compared to media representatives, celebrities are likely to have a stronger impression on people. However, the *celebrities* reference number is relatively low. It may either be the case that celebrities are not very interested in Hasankeyf, or that the coverage of celebrities in the Hasankeyf issue is not represented enough.

Locals and the *public figures* references are among the least represented types in the Hasankeyf coverage. There are 16 references to locals and 4 to public figures between 2000 and 2009 (see fig. 3). This is proof of the fact that the local people's side in the Hasankeyf discussion is underrepresented in the newspapers chosen for this research; that is, the opinions of the people living in the region about cultural heritage and the dam project are not transferred to the readers through the Hasankeyf coverage. Even though the newspapers use second-hand information -- NGO officials, human rights officials, and the like -- about how the local people will be affected by the dam project, there is a lack of interviews conducted with locals and public figures for the newspapers, or there is a lack of reporting those interviews as news. As with the former two reference types, the *human rights officials*' reference number is equally low. The selected newspapers used 6 references from this

³⁹ In fact, the magazine is the co-organizer of the campaign, and the editor himself is one of the persons who applied to the European Court of Human Rights for the protection of Hasankeyf,

segment, and the main subject of the news pieces which include *human rights officials* references are about the issues of the local people in Hasankeyf.

26 references from this segment occurred in selected newspapers between 2000 and 2009. Unlike other reference types – such as locals, human rights officials, or NGO officials - - the trend of the *foreign deputies/officials* is not definite, with the result that it is not possible to cluster all the people used as references in this type as supporters or objectors of the project. However, this statistical fact can be interpreted as such: the foreign point of view about the Hasankeyf issue is considered a valued reference. In fact, this degree of valuation not only might have come from foreign funding and the political relationship with the project, but also the assumption that news coverage supposedly gains credibility and importance with the use of foreign sources.

Given that the *NGO officials'* references usually appear together with the *environmentalists'*, my inspection of the *environmentalists* references, which correspond to the actual word usage of environmentalists in the news coverage, aimed to see how the environmentalist debate fits in the Hasankeyf issue. What is more, the examination of this particular reference type is also intended to reveal the differentiation of the anti-dam arguments. The main two arguments revolve around the protecting Hasankeyf as a cultural heritage site and preventing the environmental destruction that is expected after the construction of the hydroelectric power plant. Even though all objectors carry both concerns, one of them is put forward in the news coverage. Therefore, in the news coverage in which *environmentalists* are mentioned, such concerns are highlighted more. In 261 news items, 23 references were made to environmentalists. Given that citing the environmentalists in the news items goes together with protests against the dam project, the environmental consequences of the dam project are highlighted in the selected newspapers.

As the last reference type to be analyzed, *lawyers* -- which in fact include all legal professionals – occur 22 times in the Hasankeyf coverage. In fact, the theme-based previous analysis has also shown that judicial information is not enough represented.⁴⁰ From this statistical fact, it can be concluded that the coverage of legal issues concerning Hasankeyf is fairly restricted. However, the legal background of the protection of cultural heritage by the government constitutes a very crucial aspect for the integrity of the discussions.

The reference-based analysis discloses a clear overview of the Hasankeyf coverage between 2000 and 2009. According to the general view, the reference types and their occurrence numbers do not show abnormalities. For instance, it is to be expected to see the government officials' references in the Hasankeyf coverage since the project is run by the government, and even though there are external factors, they are the decision-makers. However, it should also be noted that, with few exceptions, most of the government officials mentioned in the Hasankeyf coverage are from the governing party, the AKP. What is more, if a celebrity is involved in the Hasankeyf issue, it is understandable to cover related stories, since this is intriguing to readers. In fact, within the context of the notion of “news values” which has been explicitly discussed in the previous chapter, any reference to celebrities (or elites) increases the newsworthiness of the incident.

One aspect in this general overview is striking: The representation of locals and their presence in the Hasankeyf issue is certainly lacking. As of the ones most intimately familiar with Hasankeyf's cultural heritage, nature, and the difficulties of living in the area, the stories of local people should be covered much more.

⁴⁰ In the total of 261 news used in the research, only 28 news items discussed the legal aspects. With these statistics, the law theme ranked the sixth most common theme among nine.

4. Which civilizations or ancient time periods are referred to in describing the history of Hasankeyf?

The analysis of this question is based on the data collected concerning the references of certain time-periods and civilizations that are used to describe the history of Hasankeyf. The question is particularly important for understanding the perception of a cultural heritage site and how its history is channeled through Turkish newspapers. Notably, the results also lay the groundwork for finding some correlations between cultural heritage perception in the Ottoman Empire as well as in the Early Republican period. The data introduces comparative material about the ideological meanings of heritage under different governments. Consequently, the analysis will have two dimensions; yet, it should be added that the contemporary and historical interpretations are complementary.

From the contemporary perspective regarding the Turkish media, the higher frequency of certain civilizations or time-periods in the Hasankeyf coverage shows the ways in which the newspapers draw attention to and evaluate the importance of the site. For this purpose, all the civilizations and the time periods that the newspapers refer to in describing the history of Hasankeyf are listed and the frequencies of these elements are measured. While the idea that the results definitively reveal how the journalists themselves value the site is debatable, the content of the references or even the selection of the news is designed according to a number of different criteria before reaching the audience. Furthermore, news items are designed to address the audience. In that regard, it is expected that the content of the news are arranged based on the journalists' or the editors' insight into cultural heritage perception in Turkey.

Civilizations / Time periods	Total:
Pre-Middle Stone Age	1
Pre-pottery Neolithic Period	1
Neolithic Period	1
Chalcolithic Period	1

Sumerians	2
Assyrian Period	15
Early Iron Age	1
Uartian Period	2
Hellenistic Period	3
Romans / Roman Period	35
Late Roman Period	1
Antique Period	6
Early Sasanid Period	1
Sasanids	5
Early Byzantine Period	1
Byzantine / Byzantine Period	13
Christian Period	1
Islamic Period	9
Pre-Middle Ages	1
Middle Ages	15
Middle Ages Islamic Period	3
Umayyads	5
Abbasids	6
Hamdanids	3
Marwanids	3
Seljuks	2
Artukids	25
Ayyubids	13
Mongolians	2
Timurid Period	1
Qara Qoyunlus	2
Aq Qoyunlus	3
Ottomans /Ottoman Period	13
Republican Period	3

Table 2. Total Number of References to Civilizations/Time Periods in the Hasankeyf Coverage

The results underpin two assumptions, which are connected to each other, for the interpretation of the data. The first assumption is that certain references are given to reflect the general tendencies or the basic knowledge of archaeology of Turkish citizens to draw attention to Hasankeyf. Secondly, the data suggest that there is a continuation of a traditional perception of heritage: the feeling of pride about the fact that Turkish territory is located on the accumulation of various glorious Anatolian civilizations.

Assuming that journalists and editors choose to emphasize factual characteristics of a cultural heritage site in consideration of their audience, I began with the hypothesis that there would be a high number of references to the Islamic and Ottoman background of the historic

site. This expectation is, in fact, coming from the present political environment and the observations that the population in Turkey has become more and more conservative over the last decade. Some results are justifying the previous assumption: there is a large number of references to the Artukids (25), the Ottomans (13), the Ayyubids (13), the Medieval Islamic Period (3), the Islamic Period (9), and also the Muslim dynastic periods in total: Umayyad (5), Abbasid (6), Hamdanid (3), Sasanid (6), Marwanid (3), Aq Qoyunlu (3), and Qara Qoyunlu (2).

The number of references to the Artukids and the Ayyubids are to be expected, given that the “golden age” of the historical city happened under their rule and especially under the Artukid dynasty in the Middle Ages. As a matter of fact, a considerable number of the architectural remains visible on the most-traveled tourist route in Hasankeyf date from the Artukid and the Ayyubid periods. In this sense, the textual representation of the site also complements the photos used in the news, which enables the audience’s connection with the site as they read the text. The other references which highlight the characteristics of the Turkic-Islamic background of Hasankeyf are also used for the internalization of the cultural heritage site by Turkish citizens. Compared to references to other Turkish-Islamic periods in the Hasankeyf coverage, the references to the Ottomans / Ottoman period are the most ideologically charged. As far as is known, for the Ottomans Hasankeyf was not a major site, neither politically, nor in terms of architectural heritage. In fact, the references to the Ottomans do not include information about any significant archaeological findings or historical turning points concerning the site. Rather, the continuation of the settlement in the Ottoman period is the main subject in the news coverage, which supports the fact that the references to the Ottomans make it possible for the readers to connect themselves with the site.

An important result is the high number of references to the Roman Empire in the news items. It should also be noted that most of these references were given in *Cumhuriyet* and *Radikal* (Fig. 5). As is known, there are no monumental remains from the Roman period in Hasankeyf, or any major evidence that indicates the importance of the site in that particular period. The site is generally mentioned for its presence in the Middle Ages, and most of the visible monuments that attract visitors are also from this period. However, a total of 36 references were made to the Roman and Late Roman Period in the Hasankeyf coverage of the four newspapers. This number is well ahead of the references to the Artukids. The high number of references to Roman period can be interpreted in two ways, which are also inter-related.

	Total number of references to the Romans and the Roman Periods
Cumhuriyet	15
Radikal	18
Sabah	3
Zaman	0

Table 3. Total Number of References to the Romans and the Roman Periods

When speaking of archaeology in Turkey, it is mostly major sites, often from the Roman Period and constituting major tourist attractions, that come to mind. Consequently, the ideal archaeological site reminds of the kind of Roman settlements with temples, columns or mosaics. In the end, these are the sites that carry the most importance for many who are not familiar with the discipline of archaeology. Under these circumstances, giving references to Anatolia's Roman heritage and new findings from that time-period grabs the audience and conveys the idea that the site is important and worth preserving. There have been important findings from the Islamic period from the salvage excavations at Hasankeyf; however, the newspaper coverage does not mention updated information from the excavations' finds, except for the ones that belong to the Roman Period. In that respect, the presence of Roman

heritage on an archaeological site increases the newsworthiness, since it is intriguing to readers, mostly because they are more interested in remains from a well-known and “glorious” civilization that lived in Anatolia.

Secondly, the high number of references to the Roman Empire may be a conscious decision to remind what happened in Zeugma and to ensure that it will never happen again. As it has been discussed in the previous chapter, Zeugma is a Roman site, famous for its mosaics, which has been submerged in the Birecik Dam Reservoir. What happened at Zeugma and the publicity around the event has raised the awareness about the protection of cultural heritage in Turkey. At that time, the importance of the “Roman site” and the regret that it would be a shame to lose it in the dam reservoir was widely reported and much discussed. Based on this precedent, it may be the case that reporters tried to convey the importance of Hasankeyf by referring to Roman Zeugma. I argue that the previous two assumptions regarding the high number of references to the Roman period are already inter-related. Before Zeugma, there were many archaeological sites submerged in dam reservoirs; however, none of them triggered discussions about cultural heritage protection and dam projects in Turkey to such an extent. From that perspective, highlighting the Roman heritage of Hasankeyf is crucial in order to ensure its protection.

5. Do the newspaper articles offer a solution for the protection of Hasankeyf?

This question is intended to measure the contribution of the newspapers to the Hasankeyf and the Ilisu Dam Project debate by looking at whether they include suggestions for solutions in the news coverage. “Solution suggestions” in this context can be described as any idea that aims at providing for the protection of the archaeological site and, at the same time, ensuring the construction of the dam project. Therefore, highly criticized suggestions to remove the remains from Hasankeyf and reconstruct them in another area, or non-negotiable

anti-dam declarations are not considered solution suggestions. Most of the solutions circle around the themes of lowering the depth of the reservoir and building a number of other, small dams in the region, instead of one big dam that will submerge a larger area. In the news coverage of Hasankeyf, the sources of the solution suggestions are various academics or experts. The news items including solution suggestions that satisfy the criteria are coded as 1, the others as 0 (see fig. 6).

	Number of solution suggestions / Number of total news				
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Cumhuriyet	0 / 4	0 / 2	0 / 3	1 / 6	0 / 2
Radikal	1 / 8	1 / 5	0 / 3	3 / 6	1 / 5
Sabah	0 / 0	0 / 1	0 / 1	0 / 1	0 / 0
Zaman	0 / 5	0 / 0	0 / 1	1 / 6	0 / 2
	Total: 1 / 17	Total: 1 / 8	Total: 0 / 8	Total: 5 / 19	Total: 1 / 9

Table 4. Number of Solution Suggestions / Number of Total News (2000-2004)

In the five-year period from 2000 to 2004, the number of solution suggestions covered in the news items is low. *Radikal* has the highest number of news items that include solution suggestions for the protection of Hasankeyf; out of 6 news items in 2003, half offered solutions. While *Sabah* stands out by not making news out of the solution suggestions in this period, *Cumhuriyet* and *Zaman* remain with one relevant news item. Even though the coverage rate between 2000 and 2004 is fairly low, there was an increase in 2003, when the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan declared that Hasankeyf would not be submerged under the Ilisu Dam reservoir. In fact, the result is very compatible with the Prime Minister's declaration, such that the ways in which Hasankeyf could be saved is very much related with the solution offers for the Ilisu Dam Project.

	Number of solution suggestions / Number of total news				
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Cumhuriyet	0 / 5	1 / 13	2 / 20	0 / 12	0 / 13
Radikal	0 / 3	5 / 20	0 / 22	0 / 15	0 / 21
Sabah	0 / 0	2 / 10	0 / 6	0 / 5	0 / 5
Zaman	0 / 9	2 / 7	0 / 7	0 / 4	0 / 3
	Total: 0 / 17	Total: 10 / 50	Total: 2 / 55	Total: 0 / 36	Total: 0 / 42

Table 5. Number of Solution Suggestions / Number of Total News (2005-2009)

The second five-year period included in the data set seems more productive in terms of solution suggestions. However, the coverage rate is similarly low considering the high number of news items for the last five years of the data. Even though *Radikal* made news of solution suggestions only in 2006, the results show that *Radikal* is still the one newspaper that covered solution suggestions the most between 2005 and 2009. During this period, *Cumhuriyet* covered 3, and both *Sabah* and *Zaman* covered 2 news items with solutions.

In 2006, the solution suggestions coverage reached its peak with a total number of 10 news items. The year of 2006 is exceptionally important for the interpretation, since it is the year when it was decided to construct the Ilisu Dam Project in the way in which it was originally planned. Therefore, the newspaper coverage increased in order to remind people what other options exist regarding the issue. *Radikal* showed most interest in the issue with 5 news items; it should be highlighted that *Radikal* published 20 news items covering Hasankeyf, which is also a number higher than that of the other three newspapers. After the dam construction started in 2006, the coverage rates dropped and, except for *Cumhuriyet* with 2 news items, there were no solution suggestions offered in the Hasankeyf coverage by any of the four newspapers during 2007, 2008 and 2009. In fact, when compared to 2006 and 2007, the total Hasankeyf coverage is comparatively low in 2008 and 2009.

It can be concluded that, between 2000 and 2009, there were two years when solution suggestions were extensively covered by *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal*, *Sabah* and *Zaman*, which are 2003 and 2006. In the case of offering solution suggestions, the media content is very much

related to the decisions made about the Ilisu Dam Project. In that respect, the Prime Minister's declaration that Hasankeyf was not going to be submerged in 2003 and the starting date of the dam construction in 2006 became the triggering events that resulted in solution suggestions coverage in the news items.

4.3.1 What the data says about cultural heritage perception

This thesis seeks to investigate in detail the cultural heritage perception by using the media coverage of Hasankeyf by selected Turkish newspapers. As background information, the development of cultural policies, the construction of cultural heritage perception and its evolution over time, the practice of archaeology and the dam projects, and the relationship between media and archaeology have been examined in Chapter 2. Various topics that I have previously discussed can also be utilized to explain the cultural heritage perception through the Hasankeyf coverage.

From the position of cultural heritage in cultural policies, it is previously argued that the concept of tourism carries great importance and that it is very much involved in the cultural heritage discourse as well as the issue of privatization (see 2.1 and 2.3). The documents prepared by DSI and the GAP Administration highlight the fact that Hasankeyf should be a tourism center after the dam project, with the construction of an archaeological park and various facilities on the site. The media coverage of Hasankeyf also supports this fact by making visible the tendency of the involved government officials to put forward tourism and its promise of profit. A statement of the mayor of Hasankeyf at the time, Abdulvahap Kusen, about the refusal to use caves as hotels in Hasankeyf, which was published in *Radikal* in 2004 serves as a good example for this issue: "Our hands are tied due to the fact that the whole town is a conservation area. It is a shame for both Hasankeyf and Turkish tourism that the caves cannot be turned into apart hotels. Tourists should be put up at

Hasankeyf. Otherwise, there is no contribution to the town.”⁴¹ The rock caves of Hasankeyf are also a part of the cultural heritage of the site, and the discussions about turning them into hotels bring the questions of the privatization of cultural heritage onto the agenda. What is more, attracting tourists to Hasankeyf without financially profiting from them is seen as a loss. Cultural heritage is perceived, especially by government officials, as a tool for profit-making projects, and no other explanation regarding the importance of cultural heritage and the site is given in the declaration. In fact, this statement justifies Atakuman’s assumption of cultural heritage in Turkey as “things” to be protected for “international prestige and touristic consumption” (see 2.2).

In the previous sections, the evolution of the position of cultural heritage in identity politics has been extensively discussed and the changes in the cultural heritage perception over time have been demonstrated (see 2.3). While the heritage discourse in the Early Republican Era was focused on the non-Islamic periods, after the Second World War, an Islamist-ethnicist heritage discourse was embraced by the Democrat Party; from the 1960s and 1970s onwards, the heritage concept was more dependent on the international charters. However, regarding the current AKP era in Turkey, Gül Pulhan has argued that cultural heritage is affected by the governmentally endorsed Islamic practices in daily life (see 2.3). If the Hasankeyf coverage is reconsidered within this historical framework of heritage discourse in Turkey, it can be concluded that there is no Islamist-ethnicist discourse used in the news items in this conservative period. Apart from the rightful focus of certain periods which correspond to the prosperous times of Hasankeyf, there is no deliberate effort to highlight the Turkic or Islamic origins of the site. Rather, the importance of the site is communicated through elevating the Roman past of Hasankeyf. Furthermore, a high number of references are given to the Assyrian period. All in all, a more embracing discourse is used to describe

⁴¹ “İlçenin tamamı sit alanı olduğu için elimiz kolumuz bağlı kalıyor. Mağaraların apart otele dönüştürülememesi, Hasankeyf ve Türk turizmi için büyük bir kayıptır. Turist Hasankeyf’te konaklamalı. Aksi takdirde ilçeye katkısı olmaz” (<http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=120308>).

Hasankeyf's past, and a very wide range of time periods is included in the content. It is also important that the media bases the "significance" of a site which is introduced as worth protecting on its identification with Roman heritage. This can be explained again with the two-way relationship between the media and public opinion. The importance of a Roman heritage is already internalized by the public and then used by the media, and the public opinion shaped by the media content is considered valid.

Given the current conservative political state of Turkey, the discourse embraced by the selected newspapers while giving information about Hasankeyf's history is not discriminating in favor of an Islamic or Turkic background. There is a large number of references to the Artukids (25), the Ottomans (13), the Ayyubids (13), the Medieval Islamic Period (3), the Islamic Period (9), and also the Muslim dynastic periods in total: Umayyad (5), Abbasid (6), Hamdanid (3), Sasanid (6), Marwanid (3), Aq Qoyunlu (3), and Qara Qoyunlu (2). However, there is also a very high number of references to the Roman Period (35), the Byzantine Periods (14) and the Assyrian Period (15). As a matter of fact, the data indicates that various periods apart from the Islamic or Turkic background are also widely represented in the newspaper coverage. Furthermore, the data also shows that the examples of "instrumentalization" of culture, extensively discussed in the previous sections, constantly appear in the Hasankeyf coverage and the perception of cultural heritage is clearly observable from this perspective.

4.3.2 How the data demonstrates the applicability of the agenda-setting model

As discussed previously, the agenda-setting model is considered one of the most important models to describe the media's effect on public opinion. According to the agenda-setting hypothesis, "mass media news selects issues for more or less attention according to several pressures, especially those from interested elites, public opinion, and 'real world' events; the outcome in media (relative degree of prominence of issues) both gives public

recognition to the current agenda and has further effects on opinion and the evaluation of the political scene” (McQuail 457). What is more, McQuail also suggests that “the hypothesis presupposes a process of influence, from the priorities of political or other interest groups to the news priorities of media, in which news values and audience interests play a strong part, and from there to the opinions of public” (McQuail 456).

The data used in this research show that the Hasankeyf coverage of Turkish newspapers invites to apply the agenda-setting model. Cultural heritage is not a topic extensively covered in the media. However, the Turkish media’s interest in Hasankeyf has raised the general awareness of cultural heritage and also affected public opinion towards cultural heritage protection. This is also an indication that, in terms of news values, cultural heritage in danger has become a topic of interest for the Turkish media. The reference to various scholars in the cultural heritage coverage is also crucial in the media’s process of creating a public opinion. Figures of expertise are important in the construction of public opinion. Moreover, the Hasankeyf coverage also includes a level of information on the history of this cultural heritage site that puts forward the importance of the region. This is another characteristic of the Hasankeyf coverage which has triggered an awareness of the importance of cultural heritage protection for the public.

Even though it is suggested that the media coverage of Hasankeyf is an example of the agenda-setting model, the newspapers were not evenly successful in carrying Hasankeyf onto the agenda. Consequently, it should be noted that there is a difference in the levels of frequency of the Hasankeyf coverage in the different newspapers included in this thesis. In the general sense, Hasankeyf gained public recognition through media coverage. It is a fact that many other sites are also under the threat of various dam projects in Turkey; yet, not every single site is recognized by the public, or the media.

From McQuail's perspective on agenda-setting, it can be demonstrated that there is a two-way relationship between the interest of elites in the issue and public opinion on the one hand, and the media coverage of Hasankeyf on the other. Not only the interest of elites or the public opinion that is in favor of protecting Hasankeyf encourages media coverage of Hasankeyf, but also the media have an impact on the interest of the elites and the public opinion. The total number of references to celebrities in the Hasankeyf coverage is 30 and it stands in the fifth rank with this occurrence number (see 4.3). Most of the celebrities involved in the Hasankeyf coverage consist of various well-known actors, singers and writers such as Tarkan, Orhan Pamuk, and Yaşar Kemal and many more. The number of news items increased over the years as Hasankeyf gained more popularity; celebrities had a substantial impact on the popularization process of Hasankeyf (see 4.3).

CONCLUSION

In the contemporary world, people are extensively exposed to media coverage about various issues, and this clearly has an important effect on their perception of and thinking about these issues. Given that the media's effect on the public is very strong, the content of media coverage is a good way to observe the ways in which public opinion is shaped, or how the public's existing ideas are supported. Furthermore, it is also important to see whether the dominant ideology and its policies are reflected in the media coverage. As far as the issue of cultural heritage is concerned, the media coverage has both political and cultural aspects, making the issue even more important. Unfortunately, the examination of cultural heritage coverage by various media is an understudied topic in Turkey. However, the ways in which topics related to cultural heritage are covered and conveyed to an audience through media are important to examine in order to observe cultural heritage perception in Turkey. What is more, the evaluation of the cultural heritage coverage of media is an indicator of the interest in cultural heritage in Turkey.

In order to analyze the cultural heritage perception of news media as an indication of the cultural heritage perception of the public, and the ways in which the newspapers are involved in cultural heritage protection, the Hasankeyf coverage between 2000 and 2009 of four newspapers with different ideological backgrounds have been selected as a case-study. Newspapers with different characteristics were intentionally selected to make comparison according to the results. In order to arrive at concrete results about cultural heritage coverage by means of a content analysis with a sufficient number of news items, I found it useful to choose the news coverage of Hasankeyf as a case study. I also believe that looking at the

news coverage by newspapers with different ideological background of a cultural heritage site threatened by a governmentally implemented dam project would be interesting to study in order to observe the differences in the reflection of the political dimension of the issue.

While analyzing the Hasankeyf coverage of *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal*, *Sabah*, and *Zaman* between 2000 and 2009, I mainly examined the textual content of the news by conducting quantitative and qualitative content analysis, without taking into account the pictures accompanying the news items. In order to do so, I composed various questions to the data regarding its content and organized a coding frame accordingly. The analysis questions were designed to derive information about the changing interest of the newspapers in the issue over time, to understand which newspapers show the most interest in the issue, the general distribution of the persons and institutions mentioned in the news coverage and the themes that are covered in the Hasankeyf news, the frequency of the time-periods and civilizations that are mentioned while giving information about Hasankeyf's history, and the newspapers' solution suggestions for saving the cultural heritage site from the Ilisu Dam Project.

According to the content analysis results, the newspapers can be ranked in terms of their interest in Hasankeyf over ten years as follows: *Radikal*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Zaman*, and *Sabah*. This ranking shows that *Radikal*, generally considered a left-liberal newspaper shows the most interest in Hasankeyf throughout the decade included in this research, except for 2005. *Radikal* is followed by the Republican newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, which also extensively covers culture and arts; the conservative *Zaman*, which is considered to have close ties with the current governing party, the AKP; and, finally, the mainstream newspaper *Sabah*. The distribution of the news coverage shows that, even though there was no sharp distinction among the four newspapers between 2000 and 2005, *Radikal* and *Cumhuriyet* show similar activity, and both the Hasankeyf coverage of *Zaman* and *Sabah* started to decline from that

year onwards. Between 2000 and 2009, especially 2007 stands out as being the year when most news items covering Hasankeyf were published in total.

In terms of the themes coded in the Hasankeyf news items, the top three results that occurred in the data are: *cultural heritage* (127), *foreign funding* (62), and *archaeology* (49). As expected, the *cultural heritage* theme is the most common one, referring to the protests, protection, conservation and post-dam discussions about Hasankeyf. However, as is seen in the second most frequent theme, funding issues of the Ilisu Dam Project carry a significant role in the discussions surrounding Hasankeyf. Without a doubt, the funding of the dam project will determine the fate of the cultural heritage site, and this aspect is well-reflected in the Hasankeyf coverage. Thirdly, the *archaeology* theme which is attributed to news items that give information about the history of the site and the excavations stands out in the Hasankeyf coverage themes. This is an indication that the Hasankeyf coverage is well-supported with the necessary background information concerning the site, and that the newest information regarding the excavations is conveyed to the readership. The *tourism* theme also deserves note as being the second-to-last frequent theme, given that tourism is a highly important feature of cultural heritage discussions and current cultural policies in Turkey.

The distribution of the various references that are used in the news items is also another important aspect of the Hasankeyf coverage. Among the categories that are coded in the data for the analysis, the top three reference types are *government officials* (137), *NGO officials* (77), and *academics* (76). The references to government officials in the news items are far more frequent than those to any others. Due to the fact that Hasankeyf is threatened by a government-implemented project and that the declarations of the officials are significant for determining Hasankeyf's fate, the most weight is given to government officials' remarks as they are the authority figures on the issue. The high number of NGO references is a strong indicator of the coverage of the protests against the dam project and the efforts to protect

Hasankeyf in the press. The reflection of NGOs and their position in the protection of Hasankeyf in the news coverage is remarkable, as is that of academics. The opinions and comments of the experts regarding both the archaeological site and the dam construction are reflected in the content, and journalists attempt to convey information from reliable sources. In this regard, informative content makes up a considerable part of the Hasankeyf coverage, and this can be considered a positive indication for the cultural heritage coverage in the Turkish news media.

Another goal of the analysis was to see the variations in the news coverage of Hasankeyf's history and which findings from the salvage excavations were highlighted during this period. These results were particularly important to observe the cultural heritage perception in the media and to understand whether particular time-periods or civilizations were attached to Hasankeyf for nationalist concerns. The most significant number observed in the analysis is that of references to the Roman period (36), attributed to the cultural heritage site even though there are no remains from that time-period in Hasankeyf. The high number of references to the Roman past can be interpreted as an effort to put the site forward as "archaeologically important," as many people in Turkey value Roman remains, or as an effort to connect Hasankeyf with another submerged Roman site, Zeugma. Given the increasingly conservative political environment, the high number of references to the Byzantine past of Hasankeyf is also worth mentioning.

Here, the impact of the news media on the protection of Hasankeyf has been measured by means of the solution suggestions that are included in the coverage. The results show that solutions suggestions were not very common. However, in the ten-year period of the data included in this research, *Radikal* showed the most interest in suggesting ways in which Hasankeyf could be saved. Especially in 2006 the highest number of solution

suggestions was included in the news coverage, corresponding to the year when Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan laid the foundation of the Ilisu Dam.

In conclusion, it is evident from this study that Hasankeyf has received considerable publicity through news coverage. However, while *Radikal* and *Cumhuriyet* were more interested in the protection of Hasankef and consequently published more on the issue, it may be concluded that *Sabah* and *Zaman* significantly lacked interest and therefore under-represented the subject in their news coverage. In the light of the results, looking at the content of media coverage of cultural heritage is an efficacious way to understand the perspectives on cultural heritage issues and the ways in which they are presented to the public. I hope that this study will lay the groundwork for further research in the communication of cultural heritage through various media and contribute to the overall discussion of cultural heritage perception.

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APPENDIX

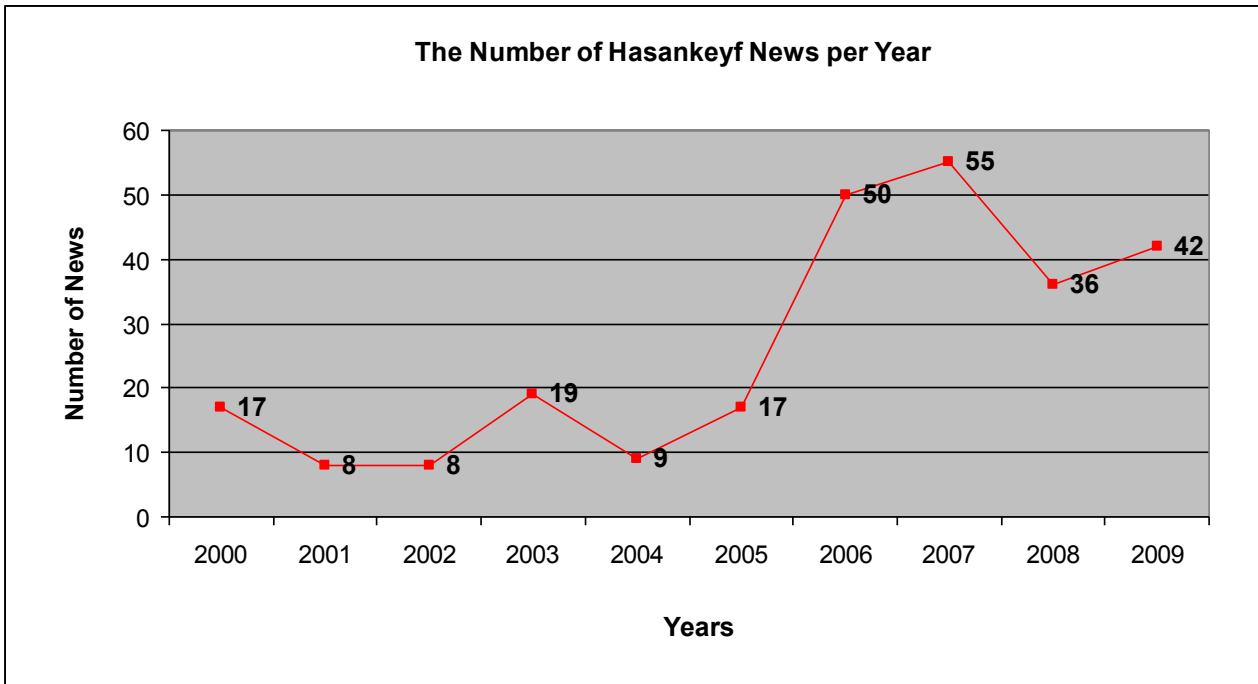


Figure 4. The Number of Hasankeyf News per Year

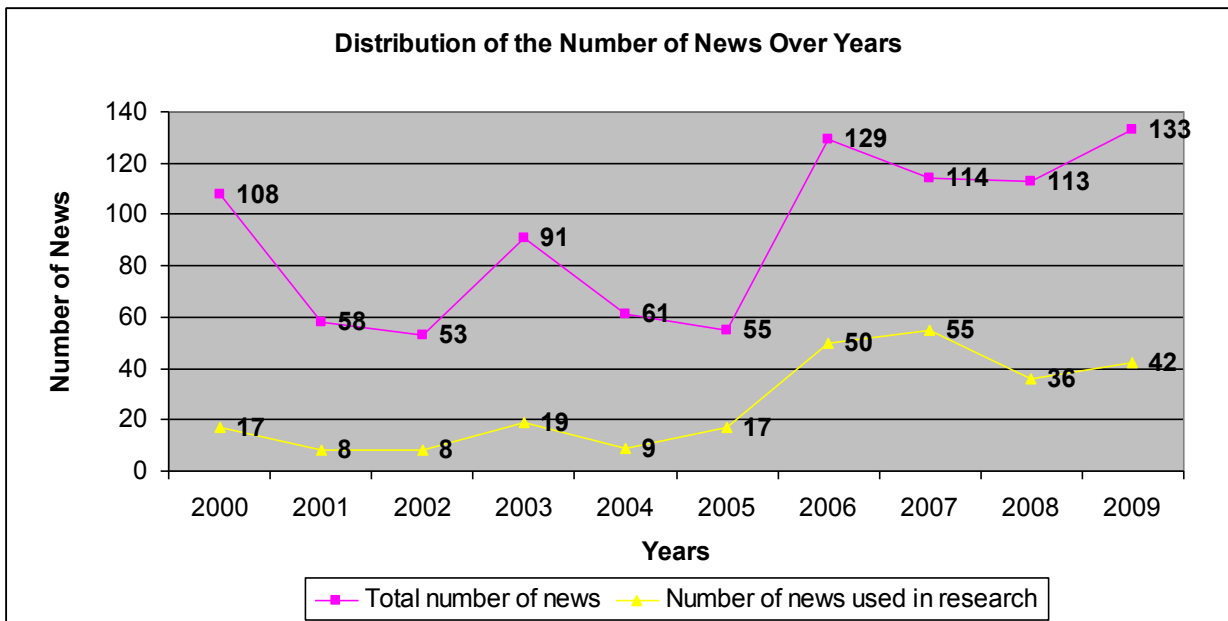


Figure 5. Distribution of the Number of News over Years

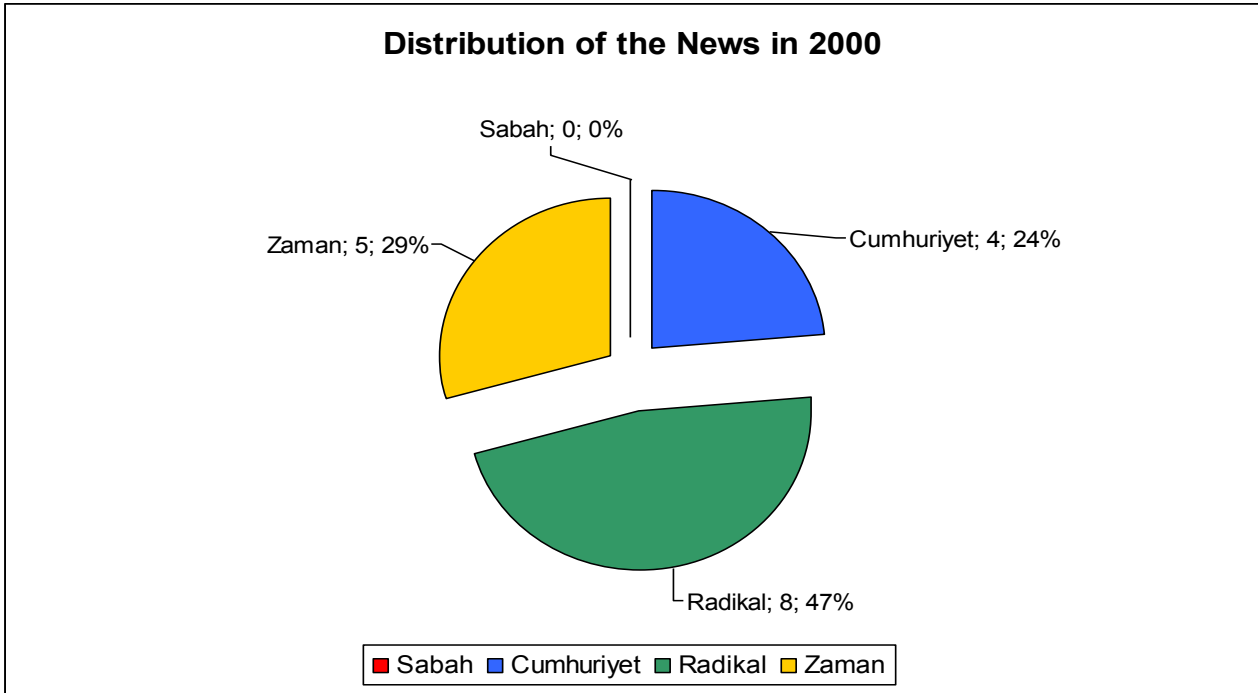


Figure 6. Distribution of the News in 2000

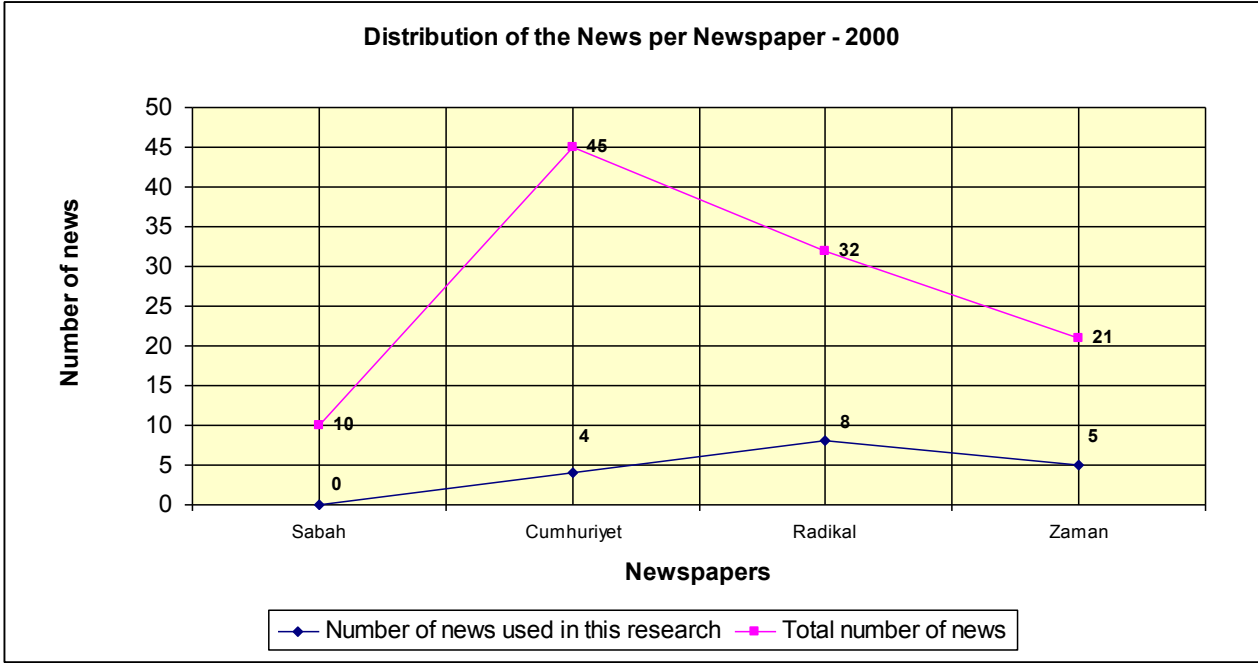


Figure 7. Distribution of the News per Newspaper – 2000

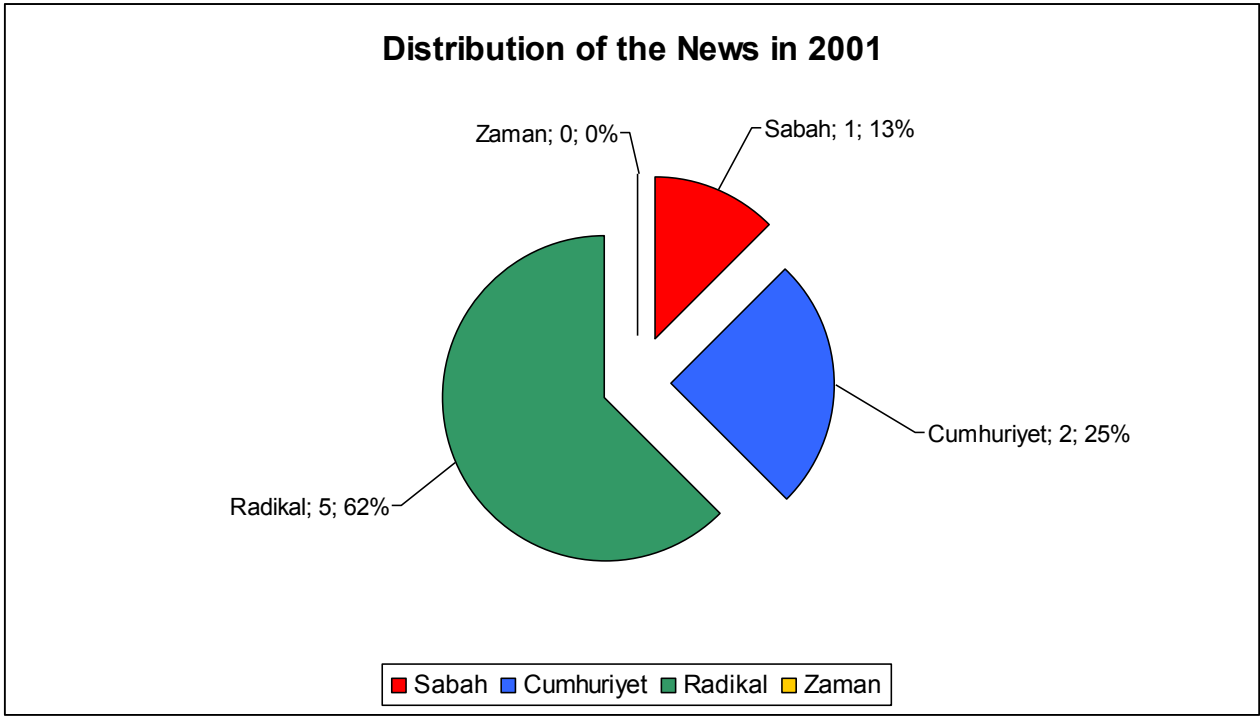


Figure 8. Distribution of the News in 2001

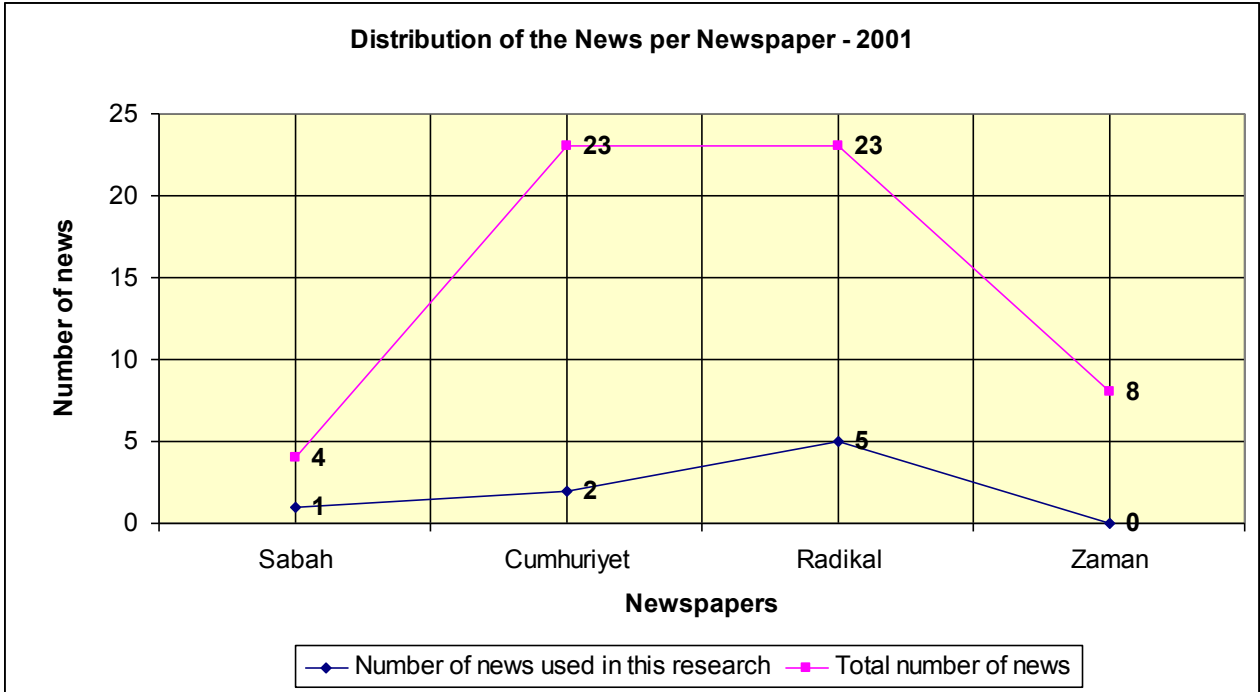


Figure 9. Distribution of the News per Newspaper - 2001

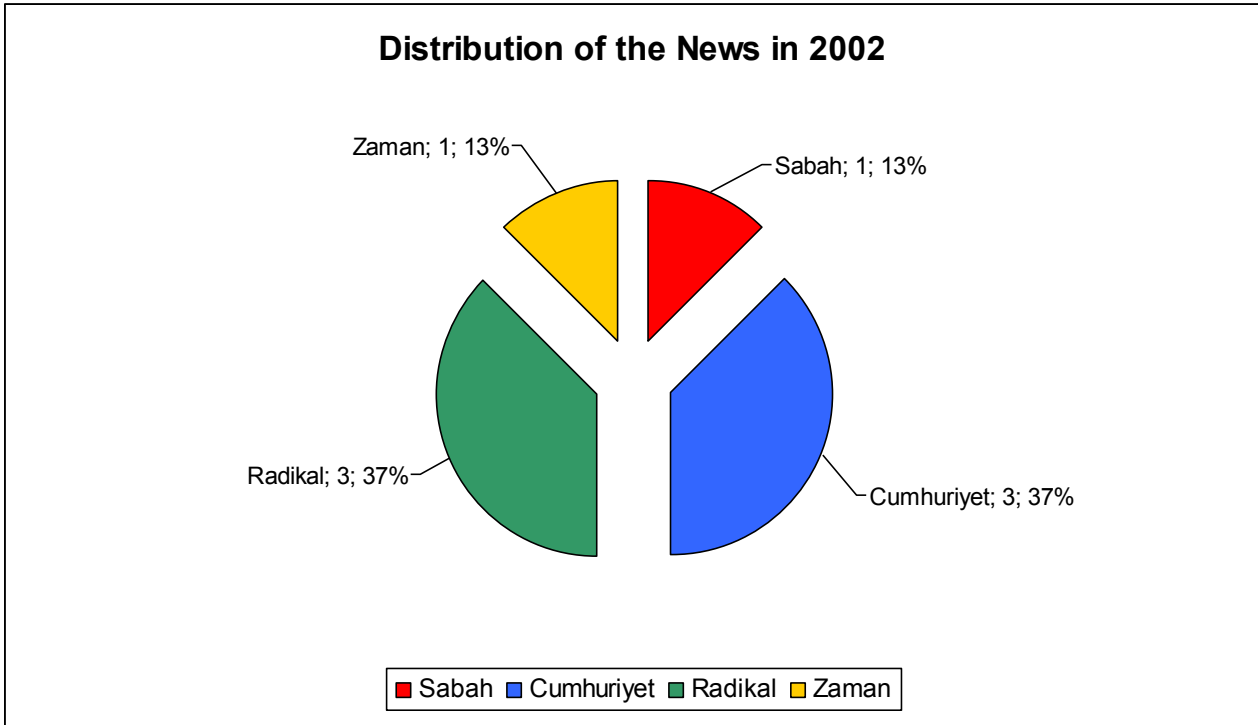


Figure 10. Distribution of the News in 2002

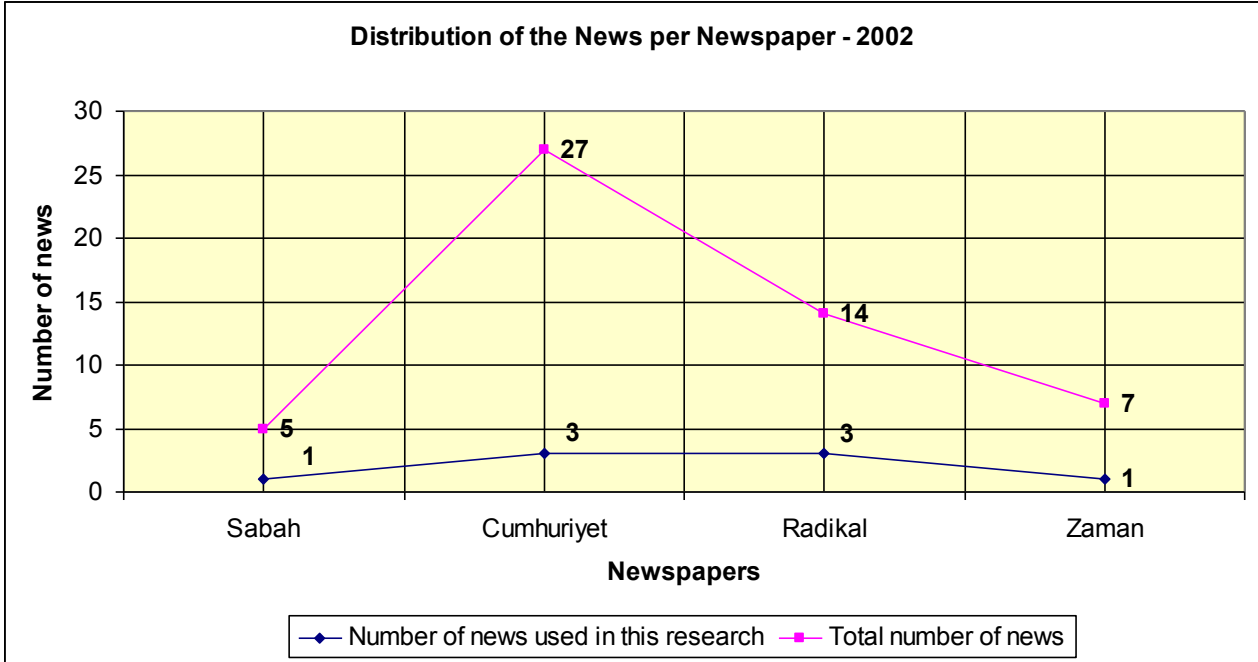


Figure 11. Distribution of the News per Newspaper - 2002

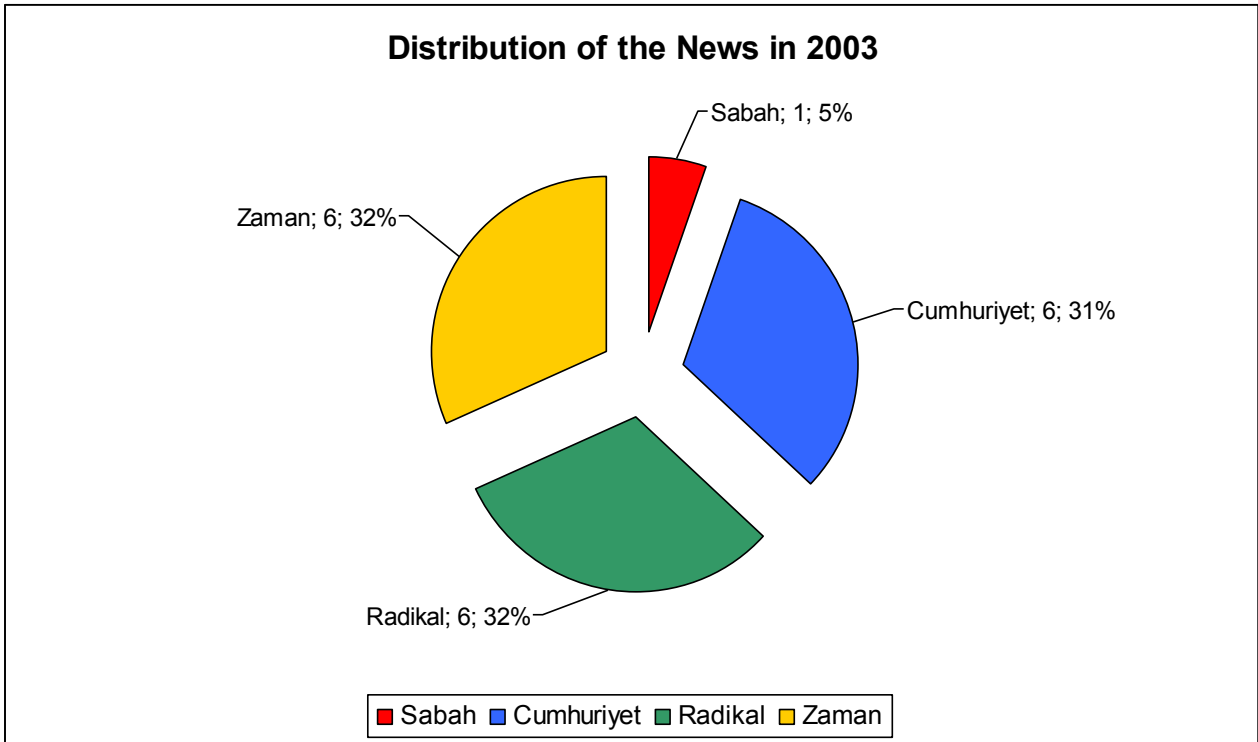


Figure 12. Distribution of the News in 2003

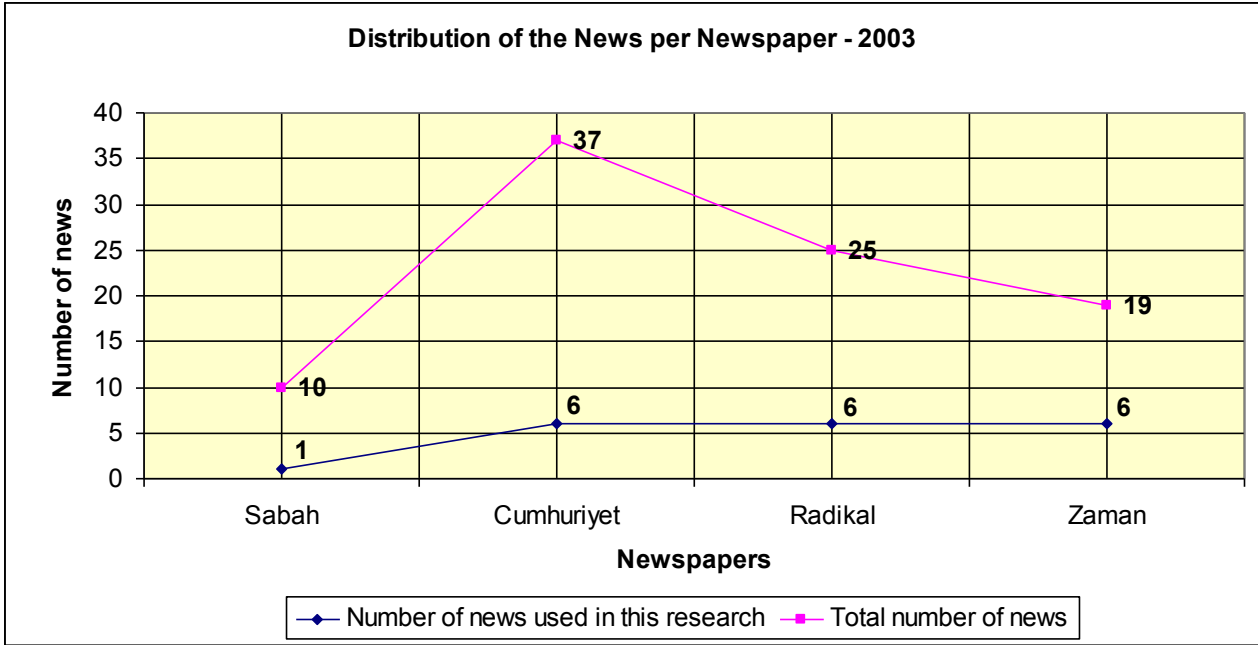


Figure 13. Distribution of the News per Newspaper – 2003

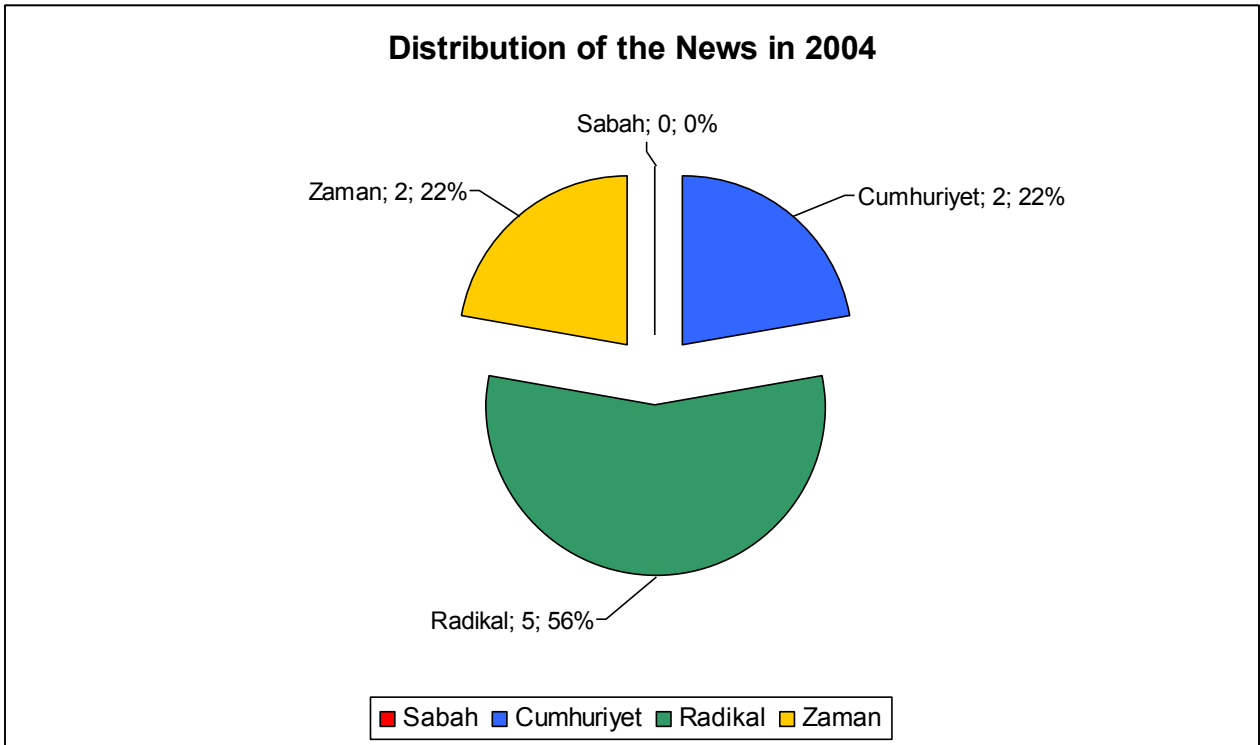


Figure 14. Distribution of the News in 2004

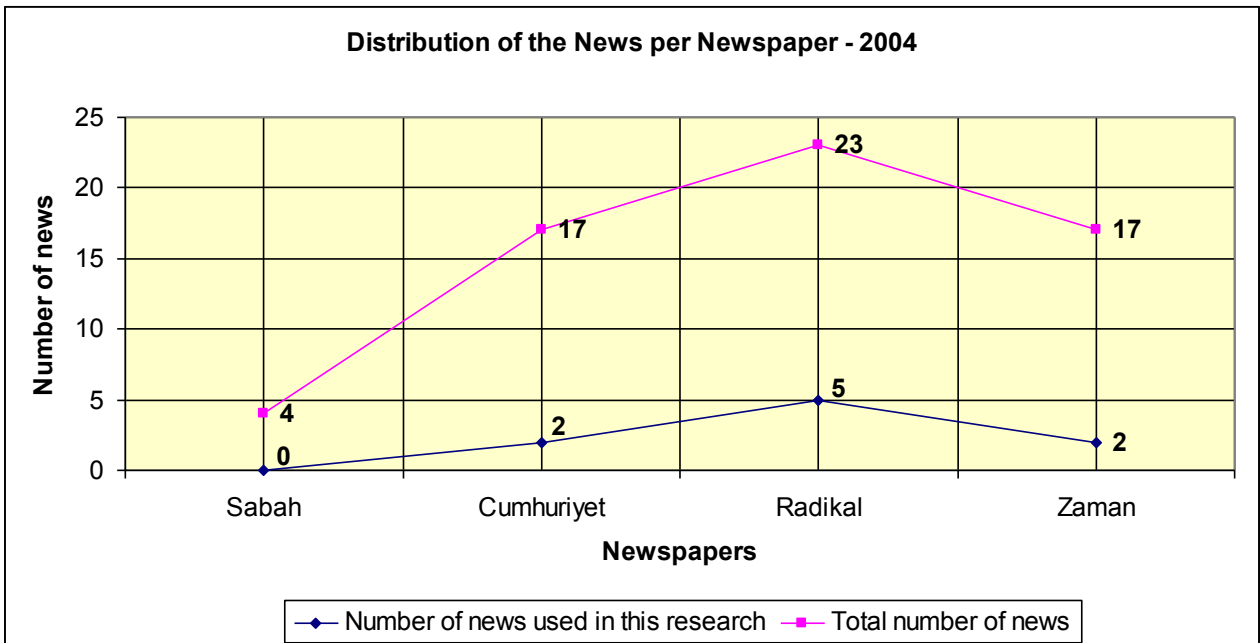


Figure 15. Distribution of the News per Newspaper – 2004

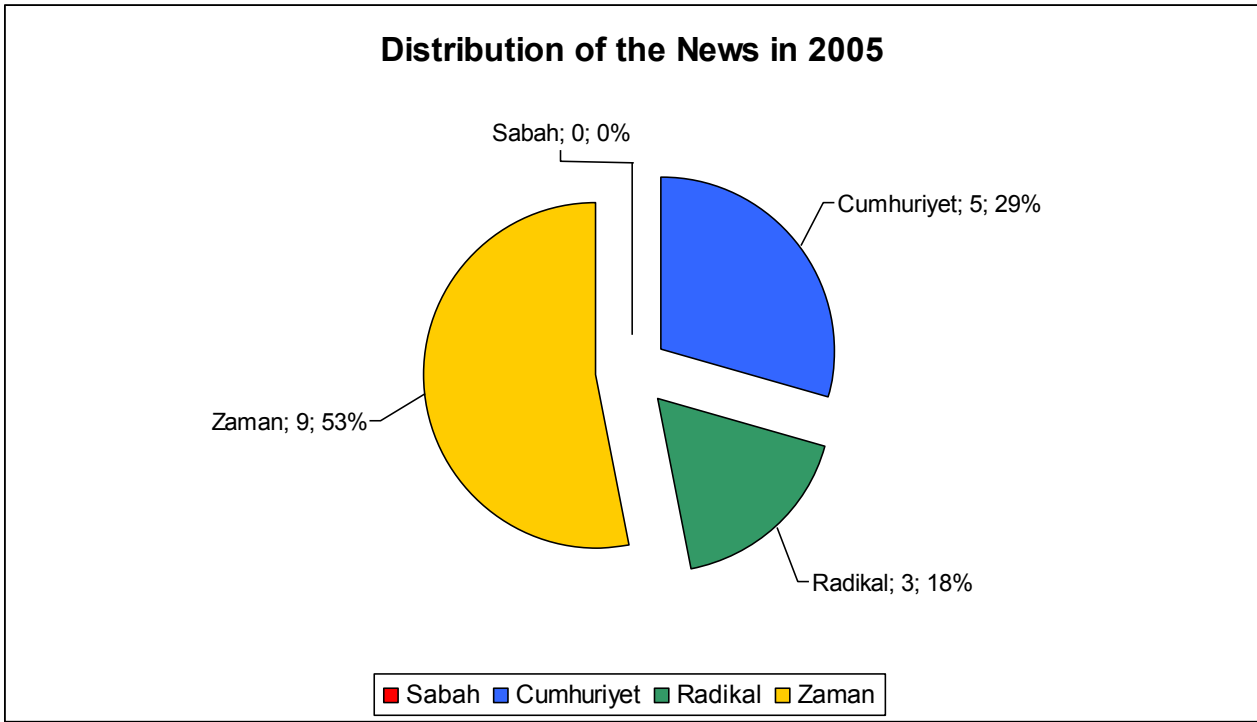


Figure 16. Distribution of the News in 2005

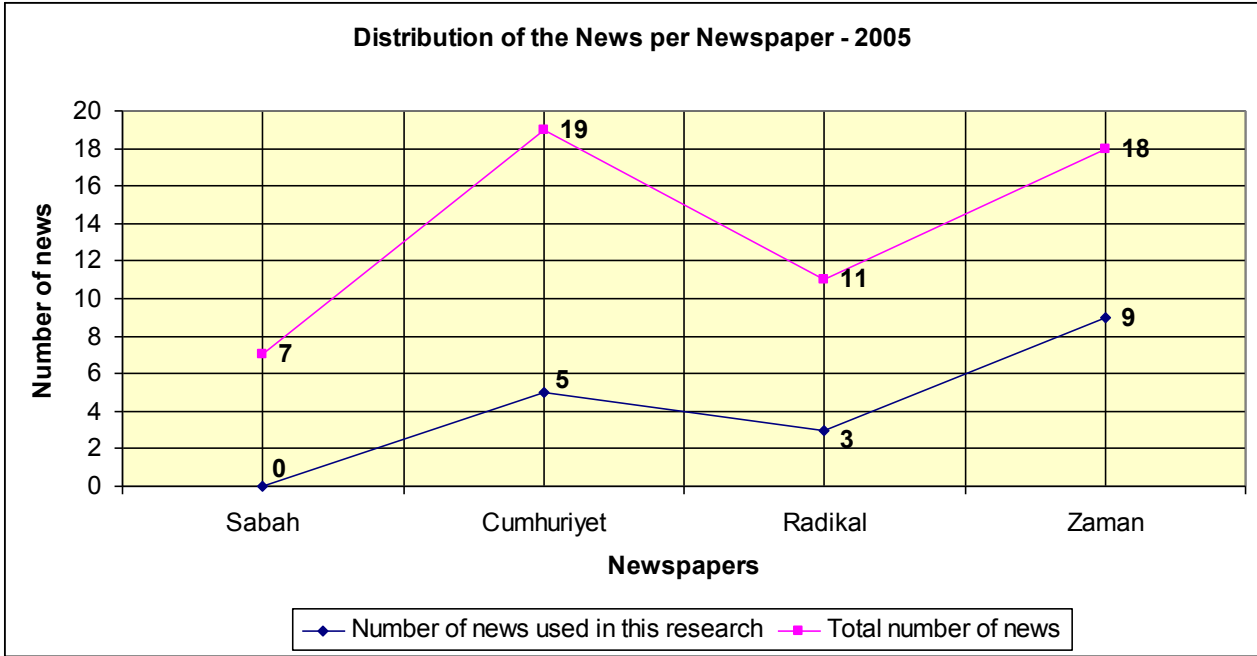


Figure 17. Distribution of the News per Newspaper – 2005

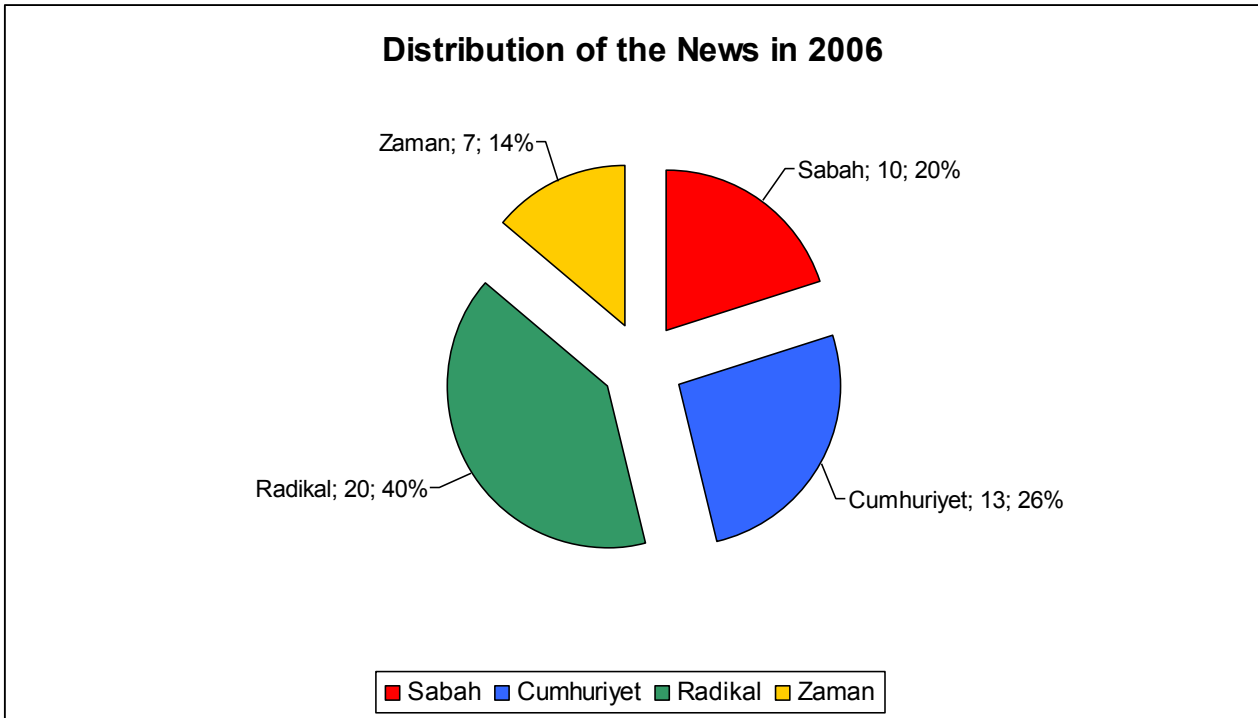


Figure 18. Distribution of the News in 2006

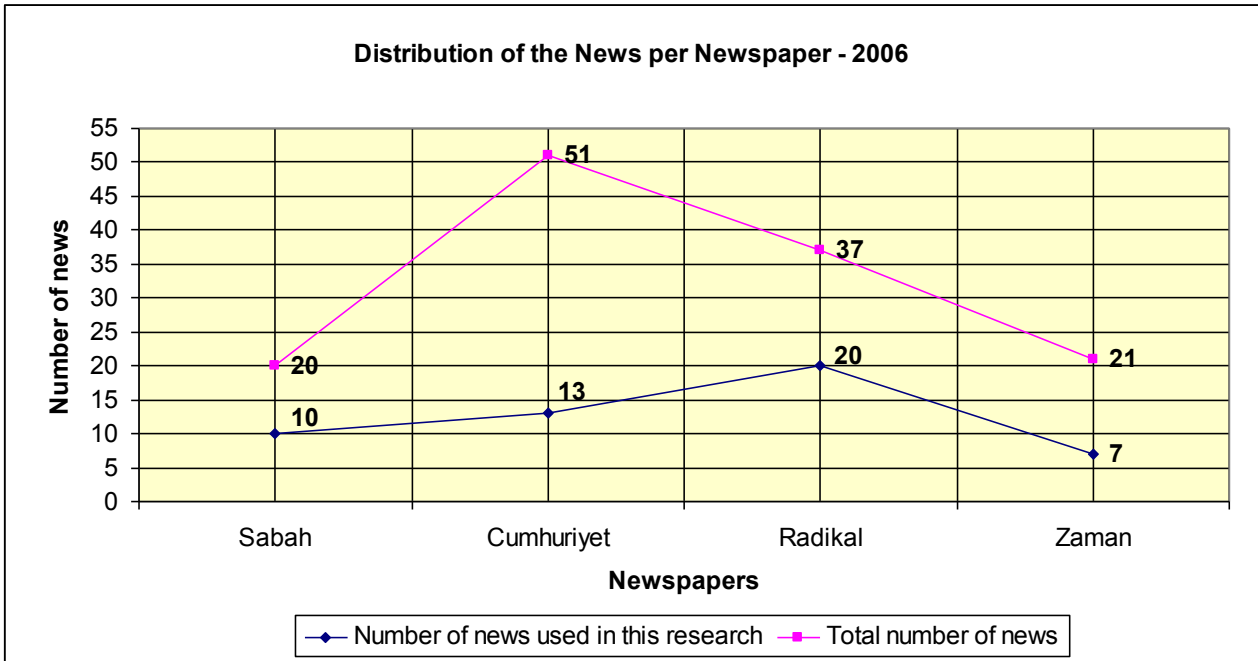


Figure 19. Distribution of the News per Newspaper – 2006

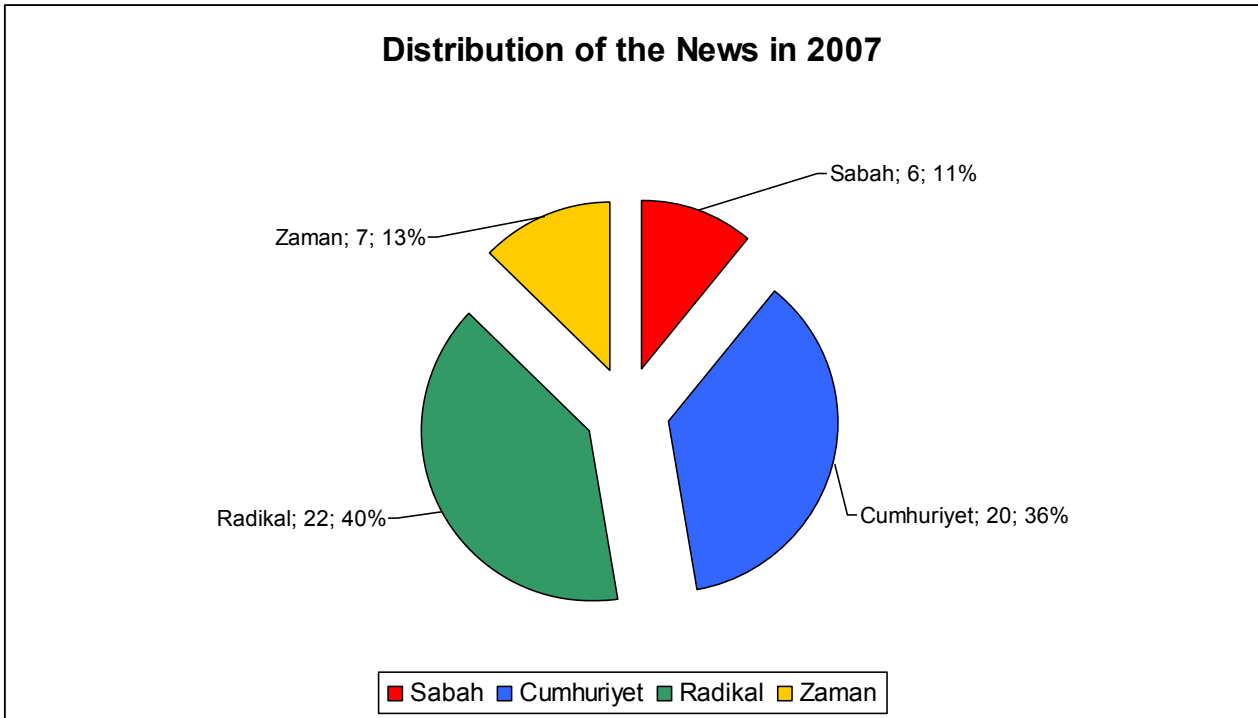


Figure 20. Distribution of the News in 2007

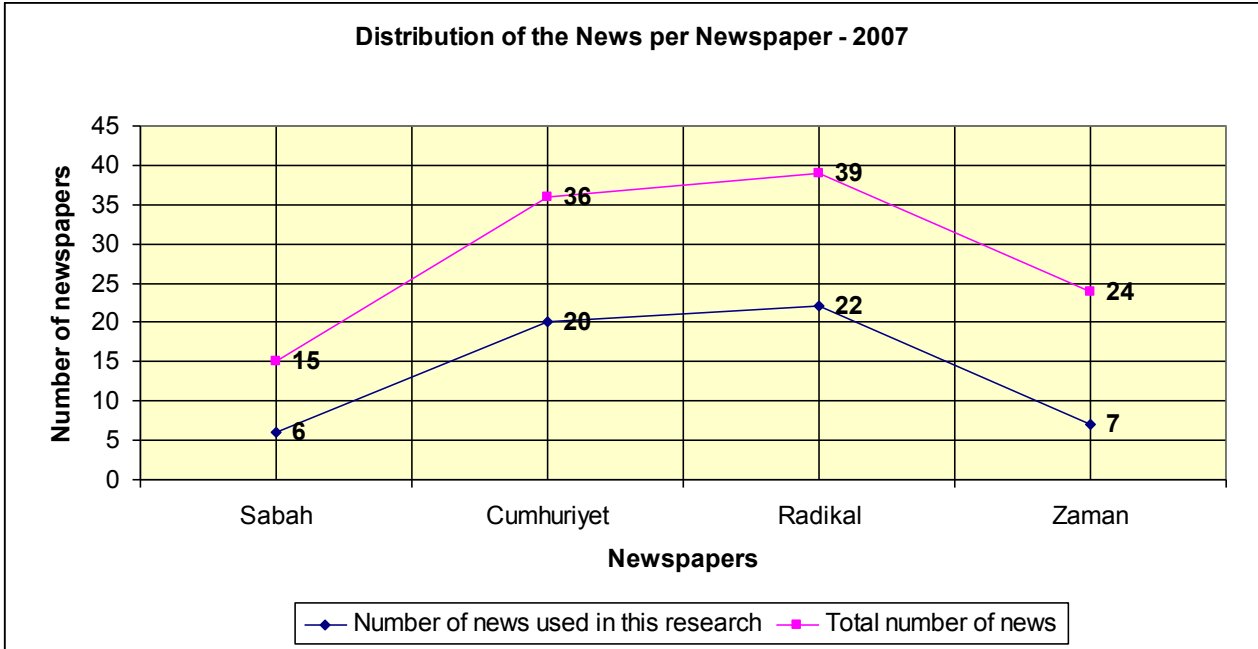


Figure 21. Distribution of the News per Newspaper – 2007

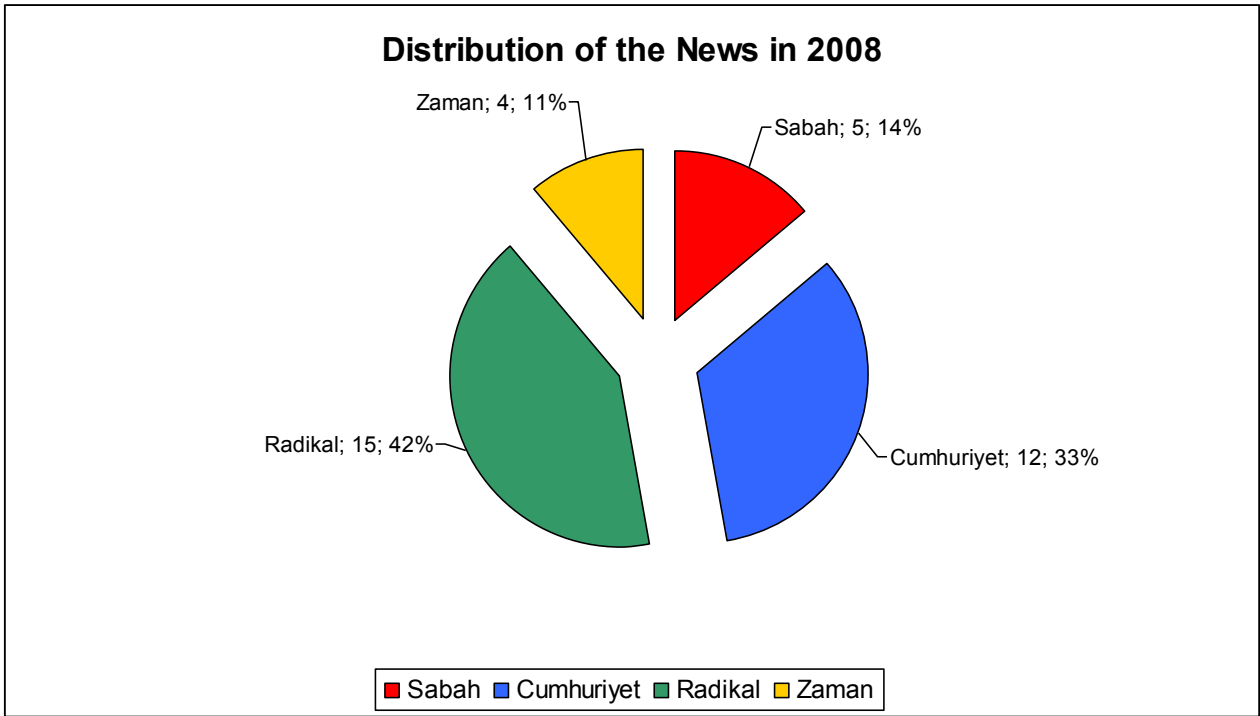


Figure 22. Distribution of the News in 2008

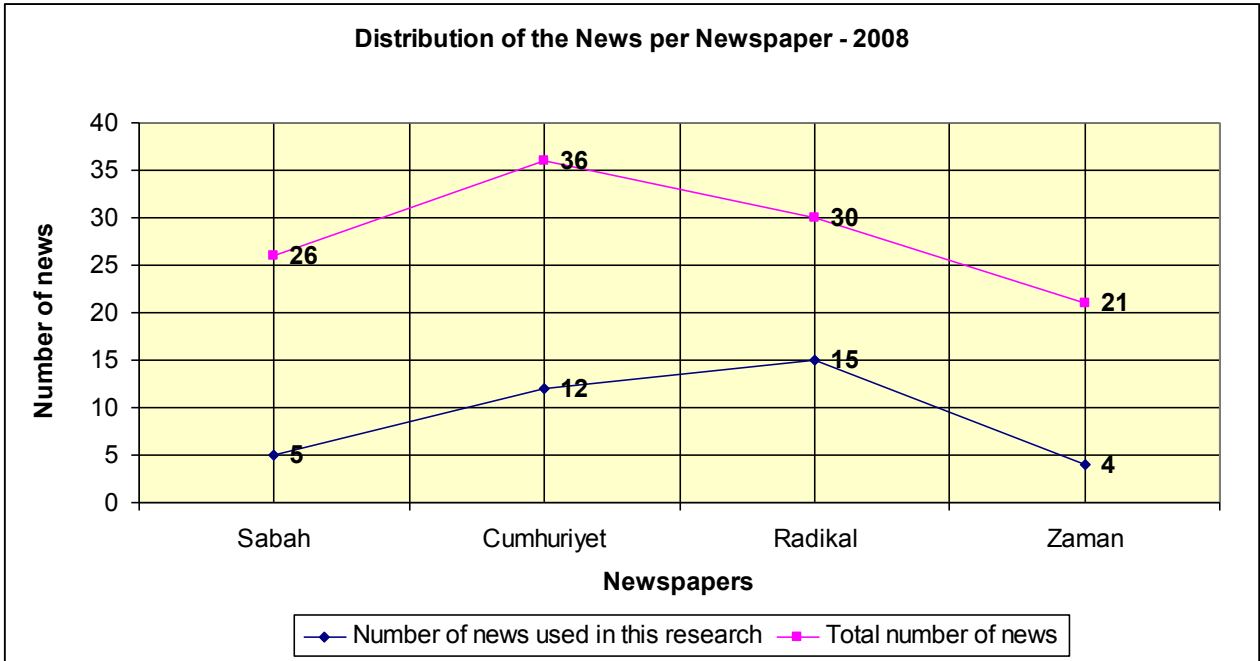


Figure 23. Distribution of the News per Newspaper – 2008

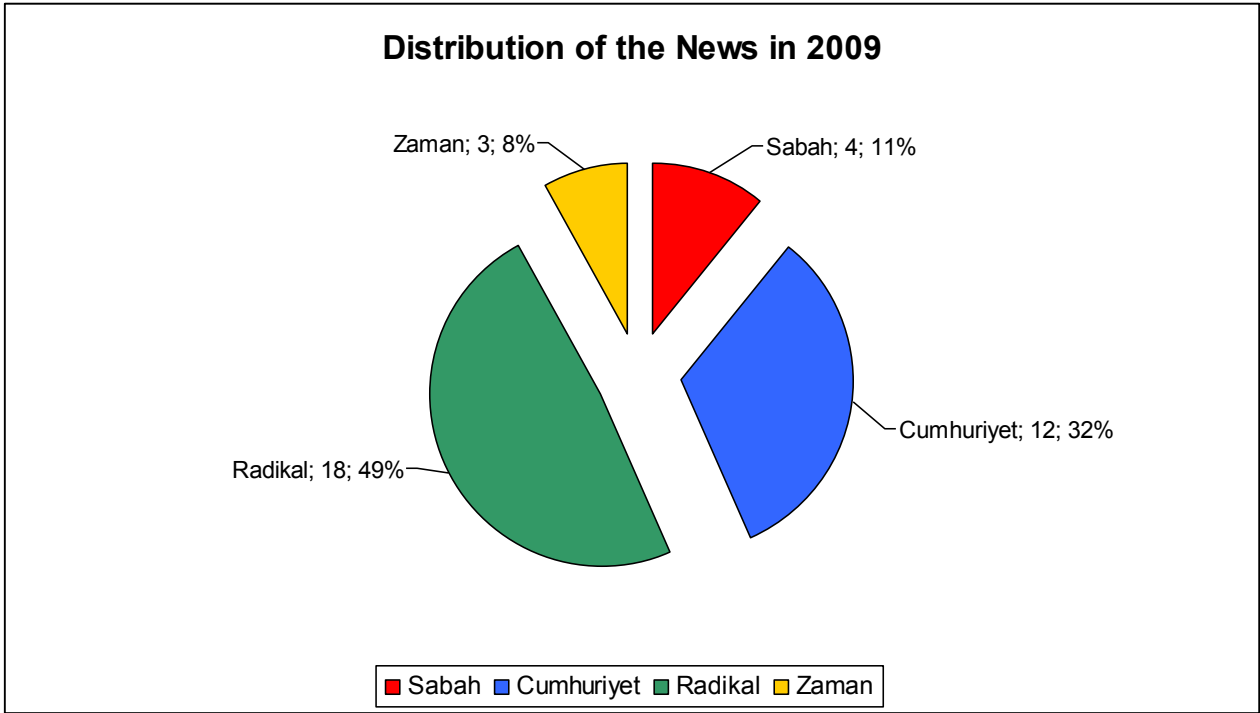


Figure 24. Distribution of the News in 2009

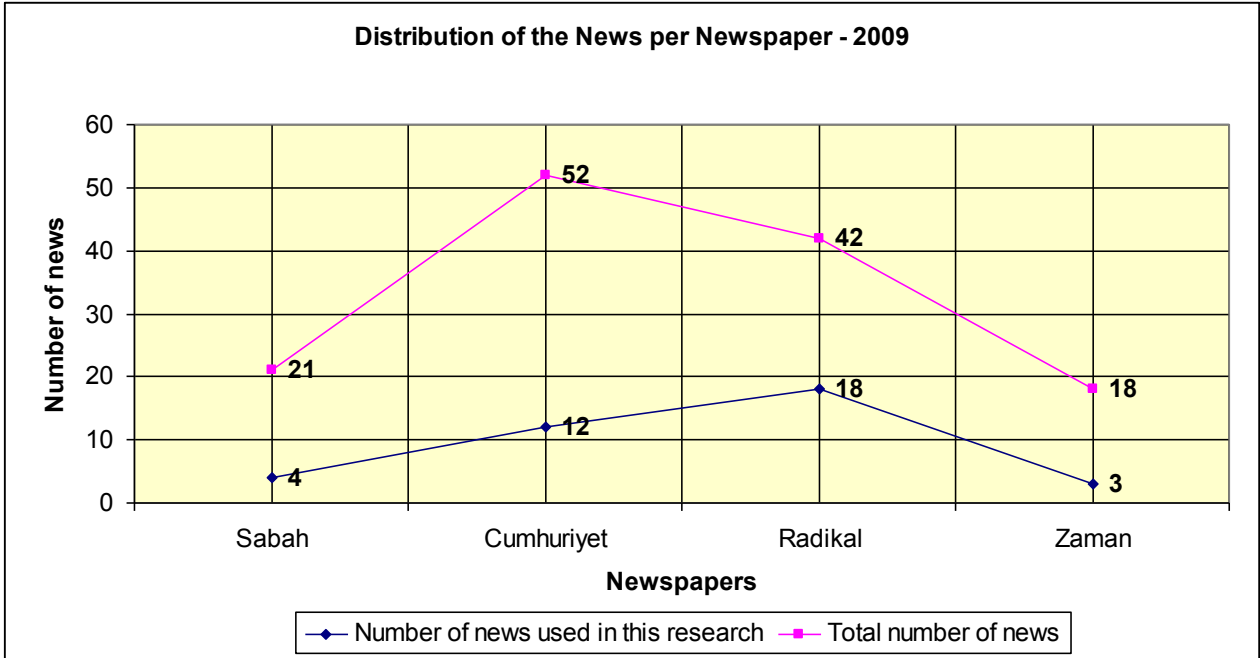


Figure 25. Distribution of the News per Newspaper – 2009

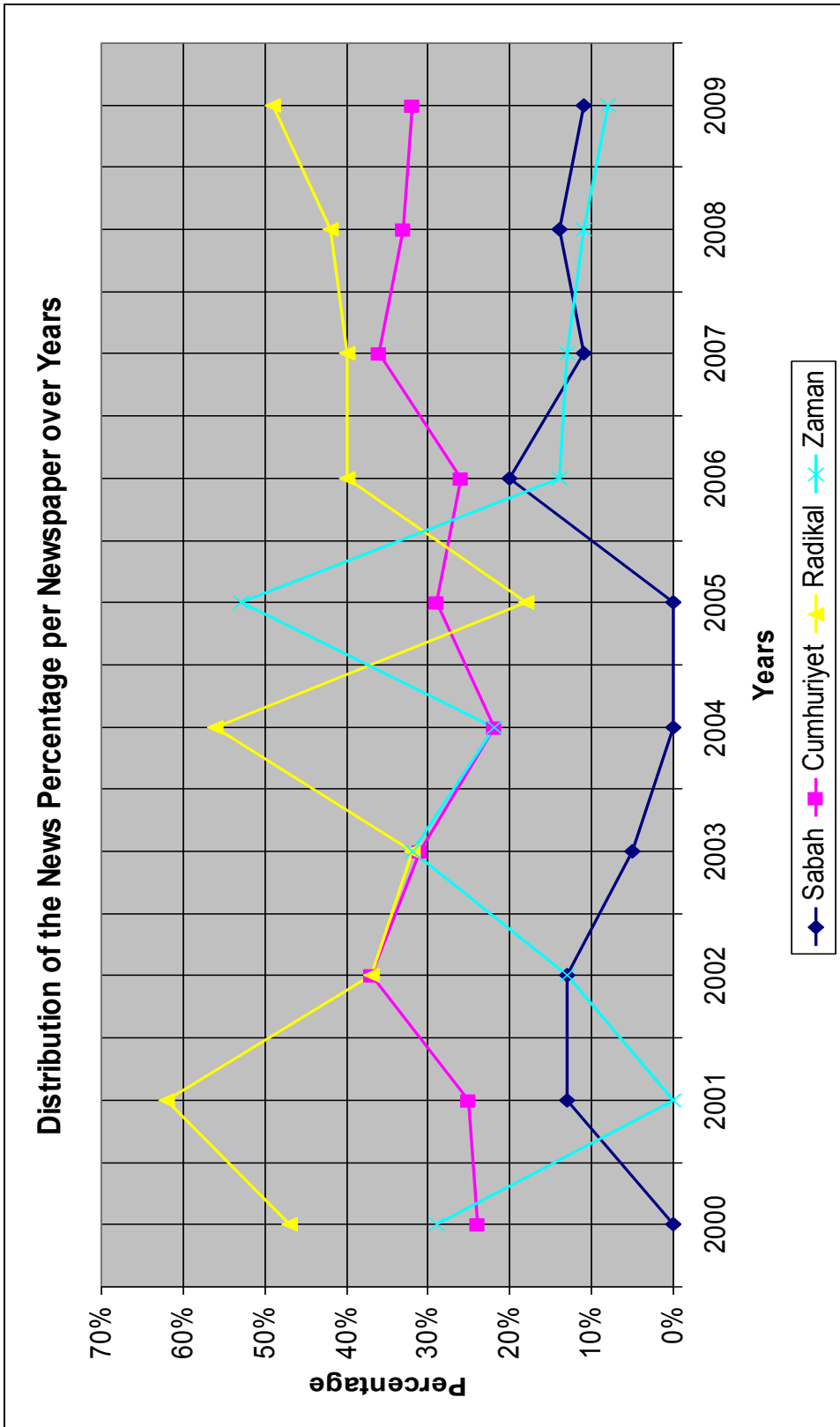


Figure 26. Distribution of the News Percentage per Newspaper over Years

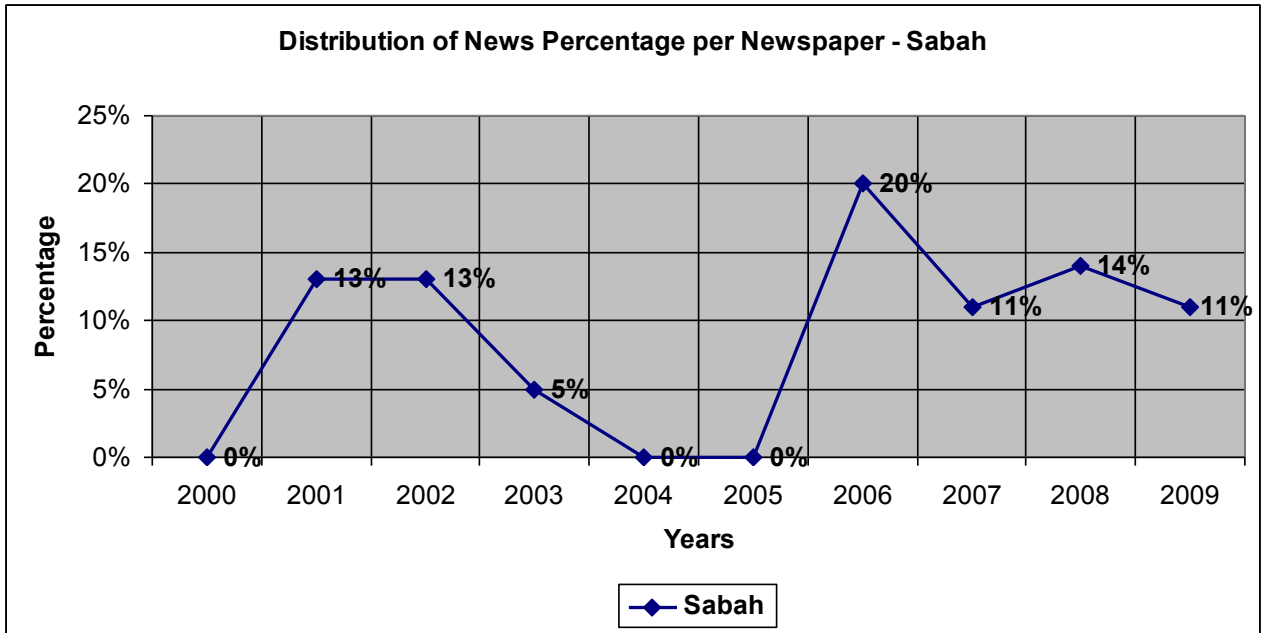


Figure 27. Distribution of News Percentage per Newspaper for Sabah (2000-2009)

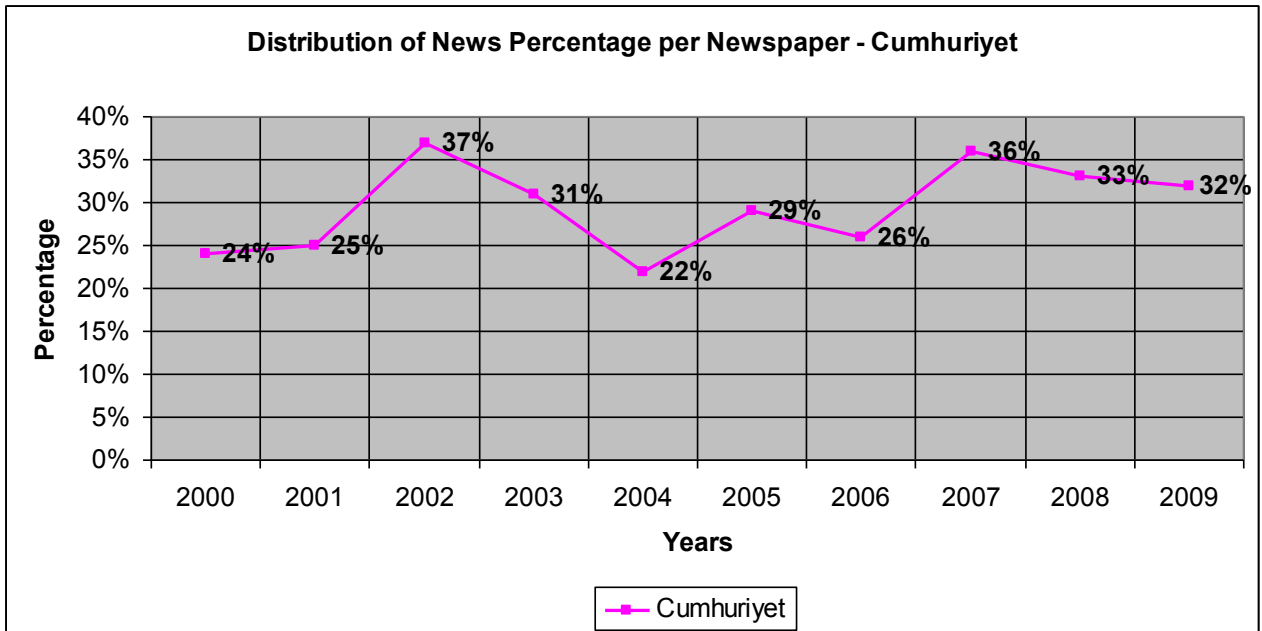


Figure 28. Distribution of News Percentage per Newspaper for Cumhuriyet (2000-2009)

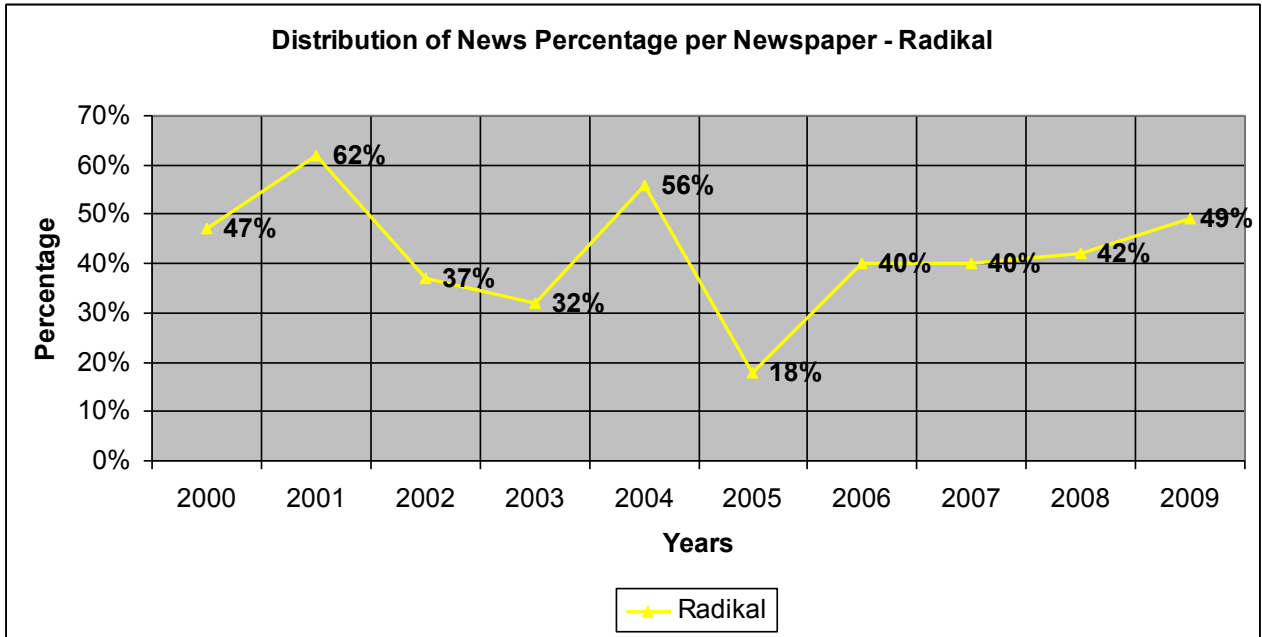


Figure 29. Distribution of News Percentage per Newspaper for Radikal (2000-2009)

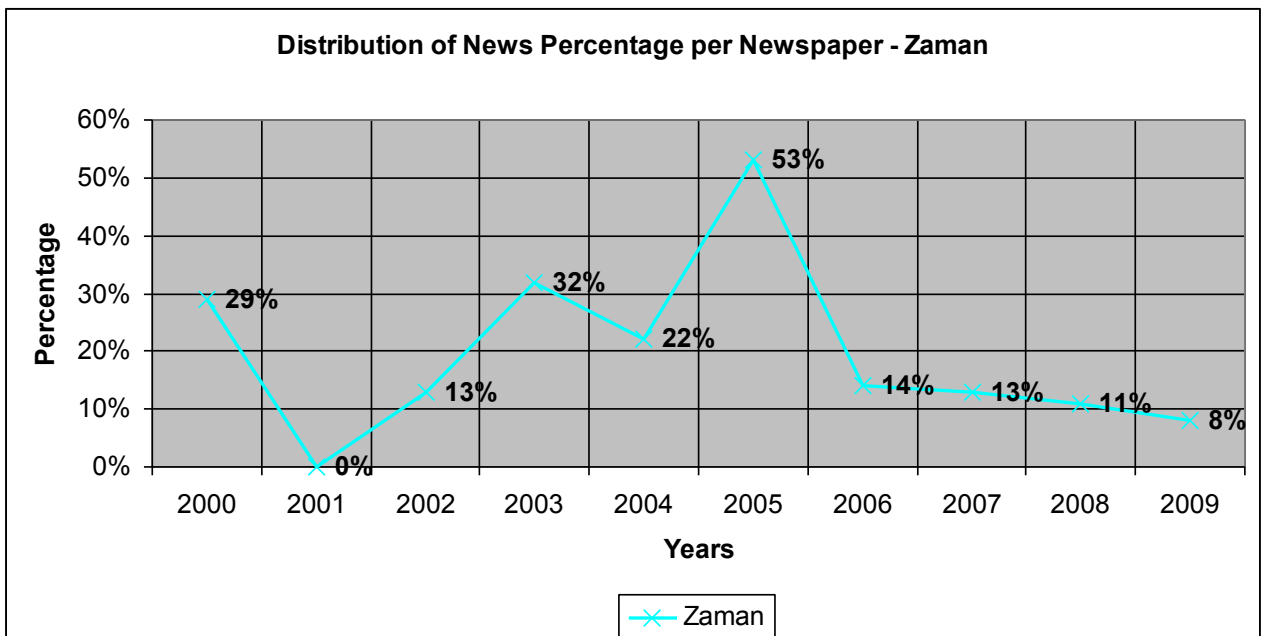


Figure 30. Distribution of News Percentage per Newspaper for Zaman (2000-2009)

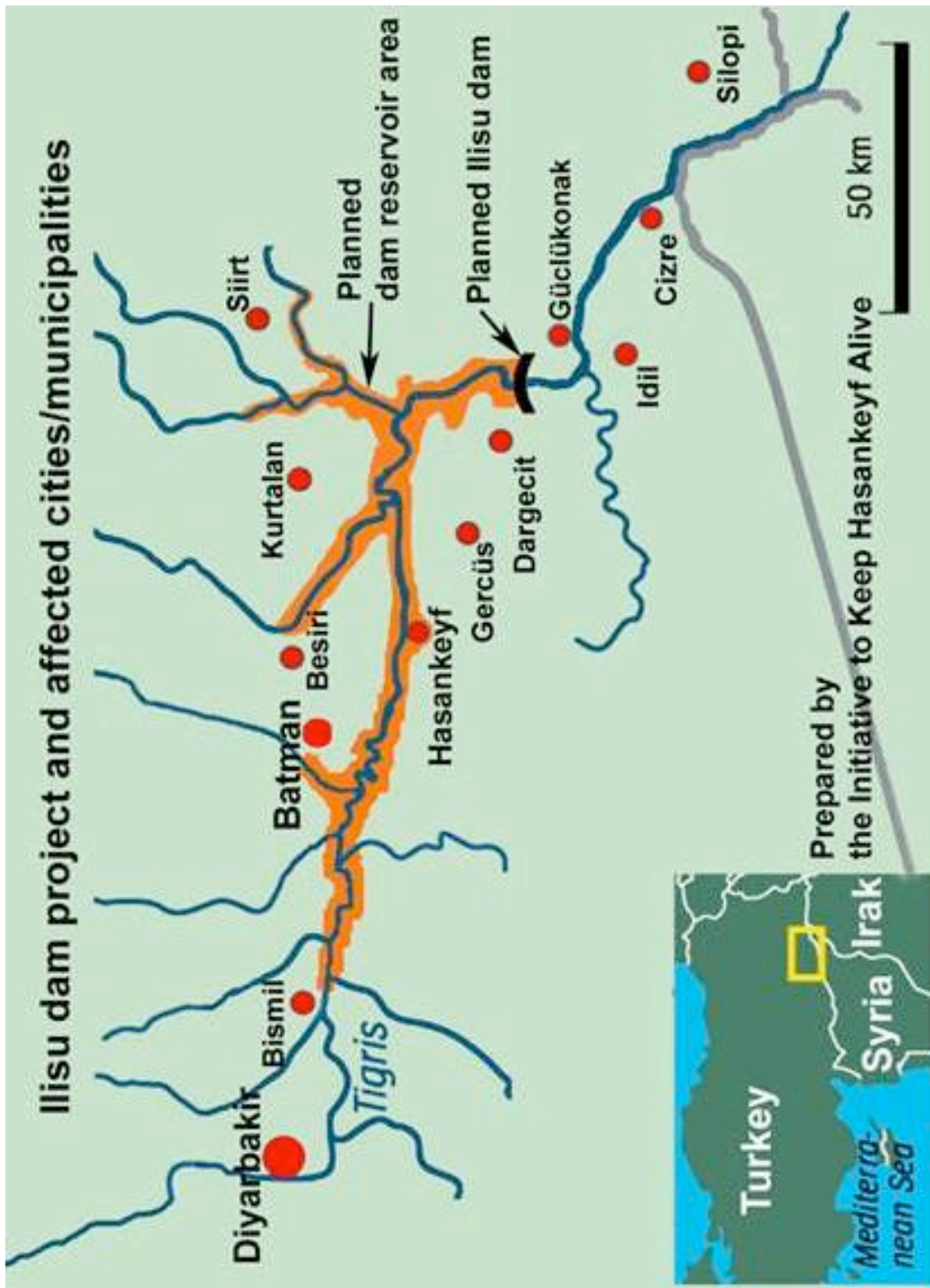


Figure 31. Ilisu Dam Project and affected cities/municipalities
 (Source: <http://www.eca-watch.org/problems/index.html>)



Figure 32. Hasankeyf and the Tigris River



Figure 33. The Artukid Bridge