Appendix

The agenda-setting studies in Turkey

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this study is to describe the agenda-setting studies in Turkey. The first study, which is a master dissertation and uses "agenda-setting" in its title, was completed in 1990. Later on there were written 11 master dissertations and 6 doctoral ones. The first scientific article, which was published in an academic journal, goes back to 1991, and later on there were two more published research articles. The total number of the papers, which were presented in academic meetings, is seven, and most of them were published in the books of International Symposium Communication in the Millennium. There are also four books on agenda-setting in Turkey.

KEYWORDS: agenda-setting, media-agenda, public agenda, policy agenda, Turkey

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THE AGENDA-SETTING STUDIES IN TURKEY

This article describes the agenda-setting studies in Turkey. Focusing on the doctoral and master dissertations, academic articles and papers and the books on agenda-setting theory, the work compares and evaluates the studies according to their format, methodology and main findings.

For the archive of the master and doctoral dissertations in Turkey on agenda-setting theory, the keyword research function of the online search database of Turkish Council of Higher Education has been used (Retrieved November 30, 2009, from http://tez2.yok.gov.tr). The search listed 119 dissertations for the keyword "gündem belirleme" and 11 dissertations for the keyword "agenda setting." The ones which belong to communication field and which have the word "gündem [agenda]" in their titles have been examined in this study. The selected 18 master and doctoral dissertations were gathered from the database of Turkish Council of Higher Education's webpage or from their authors or their advisers. The published scientific articles, papers and the books were gathered from the libraries as far as they have been reached.

MASTER DISSERTATIONS

There are 12 master dissertations in the list of keyword search of the database of Turkish Council of Higher Education, and the first dissertation in Turkey was written by Aykut Çelebi from Ankara University in 1990. Being the first agenda-setting study in Turkey, the title of the study is *Söylem Çözümlemesi: Gazetelerin "Haber" Oluşturma ve "Gündem" Belirleme İşlevlerine Eleştirel Bir Yaklaşım* [Discourse Analysis: A Critical Approach to the Newspaper's News Building and Agenda-Setting Function]. Focusing on the issue of immigrants from Bulgaria in Turkey, the study conducts a discourse analysis on news in *Cumhuriyet*, *Sabah*, *Milliyet*, *Hürriyet* and *Tercüman* newspapers, starting on May 22, 1989 and spanning three months. It does not directly test the traditional agenda-setting hypothesis since it is a critical discourse analysis of the news, but it is the first study which uses "agenda-setting" as a keyword and mentions the agenda-setting function of the newspapers.

As shown in Table 1, the second master dissertation which examines the traditional agenda-setting hypothesis was written by Çetin Murat Hazar in 1996. The study uses the findings of the content analysis for the press agenda that was conducted on *Cumhuriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Sabah* and *Hürriyet* newspapers between the days of December 25, 1995 and January 7, 1996. It also uses the data of a public survey among 901 university students that was conducted for the public agenda. Hazar says the findings of the study show that the media is not powerful on setting the public agenda. But İrvan (2001), who uses Hazar's data, correlates the order of issues instead of using the ratio of the issues in the agendas, and gets low but positive correlation (Spearman's rho = +.36).

There is no other master dissertation which tests the link between public and media agendas as it is done in the first agenda-setting study written by McCombs and Shaw in 1972. The rest of the studies have mostly mentions "agenda-setting theory" in their literature review part, but they mainly focus on media agenda conducting a content analysis and evaluating the findings. There are also some studies which conduct only a survey. As known, the traditional agenda-setting study correlates the findings of content analysis and the survey results (McCombs, 2004).

Zengin's (2000) master dissertation focuses on *Hürriyet*, *Zaman* and *Cumhuriyet* newspapers, which have different ideological publishing policies. The researcher conducts a content analysis on the first page news between the days of April 15 and June 15, 1999. The findings point out the concept of two associated agendas among the three different newspapers.

Dealing with the public relation field, Tosun's (2001) dissertation evaluates the relationship between the activities of Ministry of Justice and their appearance in *Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, *Milliyet*, *Yeni Binyıl*, *Akşam* and *Cumhuriyet* newspapers.

Şimşek's (2002) dissertation evaluates the findings of the content analysis of news of the web sites (*Radikal*, *Akşam*, *Güneş*, *Zaman* and *Star*) on the issue of the Philistine and Israel war in the days of April 1–15, 2002.

Table 1. Master Dissertations in Turkey

	Researcher	Title in Turkish	Title in English
1	Aykut Çelebi (1990) Advisor: Prof. Dr. Oya Tokgöz	Söylem Çözümlemesi: Gazetelerin *Haber* Oluşturma ve *Gündem* Belirleme İşlevlerine Eleştirel Bir Yaklaşım	Discourse Analysis: A Critical Approach to the Newspaper's News Building and Agenda-Setting Function
2	Çetin Murat Hazar (1996) Advisor: Prof. Dr. Cihat Özönder	Kitle İletişiminin Etkileri ve Sosyolojik İşlevlerden Gündem Kurma	Effects of Mass Communication and Agenda Building from its Social Functions
3	Ayfer Zengin (2000) Advisor: Prof. Dr. Nazif Akçalı	Ulusal Gazetelerin Yayın Politikalarının Türkiye Gündemine Etkileri	The Effects of National Newspapers' Policies to Turkey's Agenda
4	Şebnem Melek Tosun (2001) Advisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Seher Er	Gündem Belirleme ve Örnek Olay Adalet Bakanlığı'nın Halkla İlişkiler Çalışmaları	Agenda-Setting and Case Study of Public Relation Activities of Ministry of Justice
5	Sedat Şimşek (2002) Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Halil İbrahim Gürcan	İnternet Sitelerindeki Haberlerin Gündem Belirlemedeki Etkileri Üzerine Uygulamalı Bir Çalışma	An Applied Study on Web Sites' Effects on Agenda-Setting
6	Songül Karahan (2002) Advisor: Prof. Dr. A. Haluk Yüksel	*Hürriyet*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Zaman* Gazeteleri Örnekleminde Türkiye'de Gündem Belirleme Gücüne Sahip Gazetelerin İdeolojik Konumlanışına Dair Bir Değerlendirme	An Evaluation of the Ideological Positioning of the Newspapers, Which Have the Power of Agenda-Setting in Turkey and the Sample of *Hürriyet*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Zaman* Newspapers
7	Ali Canpolat (2006) Advisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Basri Barut	Elazığ'ın Kanal E ve Kanal 23 Televizyonlarının Şehir İnsanının Gündemlerini Tayindeki Rolü	The Role of Channel E and Channel 23 in Elazığ about Determining the Agenda of City People
8	Esra Abrak (2006) Advisor: Prof. Dr. A. Hülya Yengin	Gündem Belirleme Modeli Işığında Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliğine Giriş Sürecinin Haber Analizi	News Analysis of Turkey's Entrance Process to the European Union under the Light of Agenda-Setting Model
9	Olcay Uçak (2007) Advisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Zeynep Kadıoğlu	Gündem Haber İlişkisi Bağlamında Türkiye'de Basının Gündem Belirleme Rolü	The Agenda-Setting Role of the Turkish Press in the Context of Agenda News Relationship
10	Ebru Belkıs Kamanlıoğlu (2007) Advisor: Prof. Dr. Aylin Pira	Politik Gündem Oluşumunda Halkla İlişkilerin İşlevi	The Function of Public Relations to Setting a Political Agenda
11	Yener Önder (2007) Advisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Gonca Bayraktar Durgun	AB Sürecinde Kıbrıs Sorunu ve Medyanın Gündem Belirlemedeki Etkinliği	Cyprus Problematic of Turkey in Process of Access to the European Union and Power of Media in Formulating an Agenda
12	Gülenay Bulut (2008) Advisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Sirel Gölönü	Bir Halkla İlişkiler Aracı Olarak Televizyon Haberlerinin Gündem Kurmadaki Rolü	Agenda-Setting Role of the Television News as a Public Relations Media

Source: author's elaboration.

Karahan's (2002) dissertation deals with *Hürriyet*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Zaman* newspapers and evaluates the findings of content and linguistic analysis according to ideological positioning of the newspapers.

Conducting a survey, which has 44 questions, on 482 people in Elazığ, Canpolat's (2006) dissertation has three main categories, which are: the demography of the local television channels' viewers, their television watching habits and opinions on agenda-setting. According to one of the findings, 79.7% of the respondents says that television news overlaps with the real (public) agenda and the study investigates the respondents' opinions on most important issues of the last year in Elazığ. Finally, the researcher argues that local televisions have agenda-setting effect on people.

Focusing on the issue of Turkey's entrance process to the European Union, Abrak's (2006) dissertation deals with the content of *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Sabah* and *Zaman* newspapers between the dates of October 1 and 31, 2005.

Uçak's (2007) dissertation, which focuses on the content of *Hürriyet* newspaper, evaluates the first page news between the dates of August 31, 2006 and September 30, 2006. The author argues that the press is effective on setting public and policy agendas in the example of *Hürriyet* newspaper.

Dealing with the policy agenda, Kamanlıoğlu's (2007) dissertation evaluates the function of the public relations. This descriptive study evaluates the public relation activities during the election of the president of the republic in Turkey.

Önder's (2007) dissertation deals with the issue of Cyprus problem and evaluates the issue together with the media content, which is gathered by the literature review.

Focusing on the water shortage issue in Ankara, Bulut's (2008) dissertation evaluates the findings of a survey, which has three parts: media watching habits, opinions about the issue and Mayor, and opinions about the PR activities in television news. According to one of the findings from 151 respondents, the researcher says that the news in the media is seen in the public agenda, and demography is important for the importance of the issues on public agenda.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

As shown in Table 2, the first doctoral dissertations, which examine the agenda-setting theory in Turkey, were completed in 1997. Atabek and İrvan were the authors of the first dissertation theses in the same year.

Atabek (1997a) focuses on the time period of 10 years between 1985 and 1994 for the content of *Cumhuriyet*, *Türkiye* and *Milliyet* newspapers on inflation, traffic accidents and social security issues. The study compares the findings of the content analysis with the real world indicators, and with the findings of the former public opinion surveys, which were conducted by different private survey companies. The study points out that there is an inverse correlation between the real world indicator of inflation issue and *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet* newspapers' agendas. And the rela-

Table 2. Doctoral Dissertations in Turkey

	Researcher	Title in Turkish	Title in English
1	Nejdet Atabek (1997a) Advisor: Prof. Dr. Ali Atıf Bir	Gündem Belirleme Modeli ve Enflasyon, Trafik ve Sosyal Güvenlik Konularındaki Gerçeklerle Medya ve Kamu Gündemlerinin Karşılaştırılması	Agenda-Setting Model and the Comparison of Media and Public Agendas of Reality on Inflation, Traffic and Social Security Issues
2	Süleyman İrvan (1997) Advisor: Prof. Dr. Oya Tokgöz	Dış Politika ve Basın: Türk Basınındaki Dış Politika Haberlerinin Gündem Belirleme Yaklaşımı Açısından Çözümlenmesi	Foreign Policy and Press: An Analysis of Foreign Policy News in Turkish Press by Agenda-Setting Approach
3	Erkan Yüksel (1999) Advisor: Prof. Dr. Uğur Demiray	Türkiye'de Ekonomi Basını Gündemi ve Siyasal Gündem İlişkisi (Özelleştirme Örneğinde Bir Gündem Belirleme Çalışması)	The Relationship Between Economy Pages' Agenda and Policy Agenda in Turkey: An Agenda-Setting Study on Privatization Issue
4	Gülfem Gürses (2003) Advisor: Prof. Dr. Nurdoğan Rigel	Televizyon Haber Bültenlerinde Gerçekliğin Sunumu ve Gündemle İlişkisi	The Presentation of Reality in Television News Bulletins' and the Relationship Between the Agenda
5	Erkan Turan (2004) Advisor: Prof. Dr. Suat Gezgin	Türkiye'de Televizyon Ana Haber Bültenlerinde Gündem Oluşturma Süreçleri	Agenda-Setting Processes of Television Evening News Bulletin in Turkey
6	Banu Terkan (2005a) Advisor: Prof. Dr. Mehmet Küçükkurt	Türkiye'de Basın ve Siyaset İlişkisi: Basın Gündemi ve Siyasal Gündemin Karşılaştırılmasına Yönelik Bir Gündem Belirleme Çalışması	An Agenda-Setting Study on Comparison of Press Agenda and Policy Agenda

Source: author's elaboration.

tionship between the newspapers' reality and reality of social security issue is incoherent. The inflation issue is on the top of public agenda, and the social security issue is in the fifth place, but the traffic issue is not in the public agenda. The study evaluates these findings judgmentally and points out that the number of public surveys in Turkey was deficient.

İrvan's (1997) dissertation examines the foreign news of *Cumhuriyet*, *Türkiye* and *Milliyet* newspapers in the months of February, March and April in 1995. For the public agenda, the researcher conducts his own public survey among 350 university students in the first week of May. The findings show that the relationship between the media and public agendas was high for the foreign issues. Therefore, the study supports the traditional agenda-setting hypothesis.

Focusing on the privatization issue during the years 1988–1998 in Turkey, Yüksel's (1999) dissertation investigates the relationship between the media agenda, policy agenda an the real world indicators. The study conducts two content analyses

on six dailies (*Dünya*, *Finansal Forum*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, *Türkiye*), and on the Minute Books of Turkish Grand National Assembly. The findings show the high correlation between the real world indicators and the number of news. Also there is high correlation between the media and policy agendas for some years. Inter-media agenda-setting between the newspapers was also pointed out in the findings.

Gürses's (2003) dissertation does not test the agenda-setting process directly, but it largely focuses on the relationship between the concepts of news-reality-agenda, and it mentions agenda-setting theory in its literature review.

Also Turan's (2004) dissertation does not test the agenda-setting process directly, but conducting its own survey, the study asks its own questions about the issue of agenda-setting to 895 people in Istanbul. The answer to the question, "Do television channels build public opinion and agenda by their news?" is "yes" from 63.4% and "no" from 8.5% of the participants of the survey. For the second step of the study, the researcher evaluates the findings of the survey together with the news directors and editors of some television news channels (ATV, Kanal D, Kanal 7, Show TV, Star TV, TGRT, and TRT). News people say that televisions set the agenda and artificial agendas are built in Turkey. The answers gathered from news people are parallel to findings of the survey.

Focusing on the relationship between the media and policy agenda, Terkan's (2005a) dissertation conducts two different content analyses on three dailies (*Hürriyet*, *Zaman* and *Cumhuriyet*) and the Minute Books of Turkish Grand National Assembly. The research deals with the time interval of 11 months between October 1998 and August 1999. The findings show that the relationship between the press and the policy agendas is high. It is also pointed out that the concept of the power of the issues is important for the agenda-setting process in Turkey.

SCIENTIFIC ARTICLES

The first study on agenda-setting in Turkey is a scientific article, written by Semra Akdemir in 1991 (Table 3). It was published in the journal of Anadolu University, named *Kurgu*. The study examines both *Hürriyet* and *Cumhuriyet* newspapers during *Haliç* and *Gökova* environmental pollution. It focuses on the news published between the years 1953 and 1989 for *Haliç* issue. It also focuses on the news and articles published between June 1994 and August 1995 for *Gökova* issue. The study mentions the survey conducted by SİAR. Also, the study explains the historical development of the issues that can be evaluated as the real-world condition of the issues. Evaluating the findings judgmentally, the study defines the concept of "official-agenda."

The second article, written by Alpkaya and Çelebi (1995), examines the front page coverage of *Hürriyet* newspaper during the year 1994. It is a kind of study on agenda of *Hürriyet* newspaper.

The third article, written by Güz (1996) on agenda-setting, is one of the first traditional agenda-setting studies. The study compares the relationship between the media and public agendas. For the media agenda the study uses the findings of content analysis that was conducted on the first pages of *Sabah*, *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Zaman*, *Türkiye* and *Cumhuriyet* newspapers between the days of October 24, 1994 and October 31, 1994. For the public agenda the study uses the findings of its own survey that was conducted among 1202 people in Çorum. The results show that the correlation is not significant. Therefore, the researcher says that "Turkish press can't catch the public agenda." In other words, the study does not support the agenda-setting hypothesis and it indicates the readership patterns and the different agendas of the newspapers in Turkey.

Table 3. Scientific Articles in Turkey

	Researcher	Title in Turkish	Title in English
1	Semra Akdemir (1991)	Çevre Sorunlarına İlişkin Gündem Oluşturma Süreci ve Türk Basını: *Haliç* ve *Gökova* Örneği	Agenda-Setting Process on Environment Issues and Turkish Press: An Example of *Haliç* and *Gökova*
2	Faruk Alpkaya & Aykut Çelebi (1995)	Medya'da Gündem Oluşturma: *Hürriyet* 1994 Örneği	Agenda-Setting in the Media: Example of *Hürriyet* 1994
3	Nurettin Güz (1996)	Türk Basınında Gündem Oluşturma	Agenda-Setting in Turkish Press

Source: author's elaboration.

On the other hand, there are eight articles which do not test the agenda-setting hypothesis but mention or describe agenda-setting process theoretically in somehow (Atabek, 1997b, c; Atabek, 1998a; Atabek 1999; İrvan, 2001; Hawks, 2002; Yüksel, 2007; Yaşin, 2008a).

SCIENTIFIC PAPERS

There are six scientific papers, which were presented in international symposiums – especially at the Communication in the Millennium – and they are all published in English (Table 4).

The first paper, written by Maxwell McCombs and Erkan Yüksel (2001), is a re-evaluation and the summary of Yüksel's doctoral dissertation. The paper also points out the findings on inter-media agenda-setting.

The first "second level agenda-setting study" in Turkey was conducted by Yüksel (2003) and it was presented in the first International Symposium Communication in the Millennium (CIM). The study focuses on general elections on November 3, 2002. The public agenda data was collected by a survey among 363 Eskisehir voters in the days of October 24 and 25, 2002. And the media data was collected by the

content analysis of *Hürriyet*, *Posta* and *Sabah*, which were the most preferred newspapers by the survey participants. The correlations of the pictures of the candidates in newspapers' content and voters' mind were high, especially for candidates Bülent Ecevit ($r = +.97$), Mesut Yılmaz ($r = +.83$), and Deniz Baykal ($r = +.51$). Finally, the study supports the second level agenda-setting hypothesis.

Table 4. Papers in Turkey

	Researcher	The title of the paper
1	Maxwell McCombs & Erkan Yüksel (2001)	The Economic Privatization Issue in Turkey: A Four-Part Investigation of Agenda-Setting Theory
2	Erkan Yüksel (2003)	A Second Level Agenda-Setting Study in Turkish Parliamentary Elections
3	Maxwell McCombs & Erkan Yüksel (2004)	The Agenda-Setting Capacity of the National Security Council and the Education Reform Issue in Turkey
4	Aybike Pelenk & Öykü Gül (2004)	Examining the Role of Agenda-Setting in Public Relations Process as an Issue: A Case Study
5	Ayşen Akkor Gül (2005)	A Media Agenda-Setting Research: The Mardin Kızıltepe Event
6	Serra Görpe & Erkan Yüksel (2007)	A Media Content and Corporate Reputation Survey 2006 in Turkey: A First Level Agenda-Setting Study

Source: author's elaboration.

The paper presented in the second CIM by McCombs and Yüksel (2004) examines the issue of uninterrupted education for eight years, which was recommended by National Security Council (NSC) in the meeting on February 28, 1997. The research examines the link between the media, policy and NSC's agendas from February 1, 1997 to October 31, 1998. The content analysis is conducted on *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, *Türkiye* and *Milli Gazete* for the media agenda. The second content analysis is conducted on the Minute Book of Turkish Grand National Assembly for the policy agenda. And the third content analysis is conducted on the official press announcements of NSC meetings. The correlations of these three agendas show that NSC agenda leads the press and policy agendas for the education reform issue.

Pelenk and Gül's (2004) paper, also presented in the second CIM, examines the agenda-setting capability of public relation activities in the example of "Class of Stars" activity in December 2003. There are 123 news about the foundation, and 44 of them are about the special activity, and only 38 of them are "positive." Therefore, the researchers conclude that the actions of foundation are "positive" but not enough to set the press agenda.

Akkor Gül's paper (2005), presented in the third CIM, focuses on Mardin Kızıltepe event, which is the murder of Ahmet Kaymaz and his son by police officers on November 21, 2004. The study conducts a content analysis on *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal*, *Sabah*, *Yeni Şafak* and *Milli Gazete* newspapers between the dates of November 22 and December 12, 2004, and a discourse analysis on same news. The study evaluates that the different ideological points of view of newspapers effect the presentation of news.

Görpe and Yüksel's (2007) paper, presented in the fifth CIM, deals with the corporation reputation issue. The study uses the data of Capital magazine's survey of most admired companies in 2006, and it focuses on the news of the companies which were the top three of the "iron and steel," "cement," "banking," and "white goods" industries. Using the PRNet electronic media data bank, the study lists the number of news about these companies in 20 different newspapers. The results show that there is a strong relationship between the most admired corporations and the articles published about the corporations for the "iron and steel" and "cement" sectors.

On the other hand, there is another paper about agenda-setting, which was presented in a symposium in Turkey in Turkish. It describes the agenda-setting process and the agenda-setting studies in Turkey (Yüksel, 2000a).

BOOKS

The first book about agenda-setting theory in Turkish is titled "Medyanın Gündem Belirleme Gücü [Agenda-Setting Power of the Media]." Its author is Erkan Yüksel, and the publication year is 2001. It is not a research book, but it is a descriptive book, which explains the agenda-setting theory and classifies the studies in the world and in Turkey. Two other books on agenda-setting are the ones written on the basis of their authors' doctoral dissertations (Yüksel, 2000b; Terkan, 2005b).

The only research book on agenda-setting theory, titled "Medya Güvenlik Kurulu [Media Security Council]," is written by Yüksel (2004). The book focuses on the process of February 28, 1997 in Turkey. Online available book (http://home. anadolu.edu.tr/~eyuksel/MGK.htm) evaluates the process of postmodern military cup and the role of the media. The study uses the content analysis on five newspapers (*Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, *Türkiye* and *Milli Gazete*) and the content analysis of the official press announcements of the NSC meetings during the period of six months before and after the February 28 recommendations of NSC. The findings show that the agendas of *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet* and *Sabah* have similar points with the NSC agendas. Especially for the issue of uninterrupted education, NSC is the agenda setter.

The book edited by Yaşin (2008b) contains eight theoretical articles on agenda-setting, which were published in different journals or presented in academic meetings.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The researches on agenda-setting in Turkey mostly use different research methods and examine different variables, and most of them are media agenda studies, which deal with the findings of content analysis on the newspapers. There are also ones which conduct only their own surveys but do not ask the original public agenda question: "What is the most important problem facing this country today?"

There are only 3 researches which correlate the findings of media agenda (content analysis) and the public agenda (survey). Hazar's (1996) master dissertation and Güz's (1996) scientific article do not support the first level agenda-setting hypothesis, but İrvan (2001) gets positive results for Hazar's data. The other study, İrvan's (1997) doctoral dissertation, supports the hypothesis with high correlation ($r = .71$).

The only one second level agenda-setting study in Turkey also supports the hypothesis (Yüksel, 2003).

Also the study on corporate reputation correlates the list of the most admired corporations and the findings of the content analysis and it supports the first level agenda-setting hypothesis (Görpe & Yüksel, 2007).

The media agenda researches in Turkey mostly use newspapers. They are generally most circulated newspapers or newspapers from different points of view or newspapers which have different owners. Since the first agenda setting research uses five newspapers, two news journals and two television channels' bulletins (McCombs & Shaw, 1991), there is no research in Turkey which has such a broad media scope.

The methodology for the media agenda in Turkey is mostly the same – content analysis – but there are some studies which use discourse analysis or general observation for the media agenda (Yüksel, 2001). The methodology of content analysis conducted in Turkey can be seen as another issue because research mechanisms, sampling methods, categories, inter-coder reliability tests and the evaluation of the findings are the points which are open to discussion.

The biggest problem for the public agenda data in Turkey is that there is no tradition as Gallup researches in the U.S.A. Besides there is no systematic data on public opinion, the researches which were conducted in the former years had different kinds of question typologies from the traditional question of public agenda.

One of the most important points for the hierarchy approach is time lag. That means the discussion of when the content analysis should be done for the media agenda and when the survey should be conducted for the public agenda. There is no evidence for this issue in Turkey. Therefore, it is needed to conduct a study that will give an answer to this question.

There are several studies in Turkey about the real world indicators and media agenda relationship. As Dearing & Rogers (1996, p. 91) mentioned, "the real world

indicators are not important for the media agenda," the findings of the researches in Turkey support this generalization.

The researches in Turkey which examine the policy agenda usually use the data from the content analysis of Minute Book of Turkish Grand National Assembly. On the other hand, there are different variables used for the policy agenda, such as budget, offices, presidential speeches, but there are not any researches in Turkey that use different variables for the policy agenda yet.

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