



## TRT DETAILED ANALYSIS

case008\_Kılıçdaroğlu addressed TRT viewers like this: "In the last 7 years, TRT invited me only once.tr

Broadcast: | Analysis date: 2026-05-07 18:58

Version 2.0-tr | Konverter 3.0 (2026-03-19) | Ölçüt: RTÜK Kanunu Madde 8

### TOTAL SCORE

**3.9/10**

*Slight imbalance*

## POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Classification according to Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) 2024

The Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES 2024) is an academic survey involving 609 political scientists from 31 countries. Each party is rated on a scale from 0 (far left) to 10 (far right).

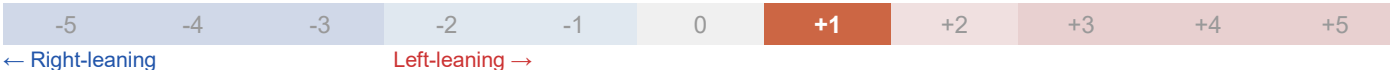
Party	TİP	HDP	CHP	İYİ	AKP	MHP
CHES	1.50	2.50	3.50	5.50	7.00	8.00
Spectrum	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Right</i>

Each party receives a bias score between  $-5$  (strongly disadvantaged) and  $+5$  (strongly advantaged) based on airtime, framing, critical questions, and moderation behavior. The tendency is calculated as follows:  $\emptyset$  advantage of left parties  $- \emptyset$  advantage of right parties (grouping according to CHES 2024). Example: If the left average is  $+1.0$  and the right is  $-0.33$ , the tendency is  $+1.0 - (-0.33) = +1.33$  (left-leaning).

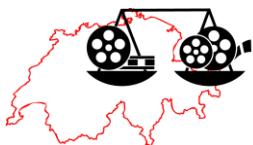
### TENDENCY (L - R)

**+1.8**

*Left-leaning*



Source: Chapel Hill Expert Survey 2024 — chesdata.eu | Jolly et al., Electoral Studies, 2024 | Threshold values: Pew Research Center, 2025



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## POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

# CASE #8 — TRT ELECTION SPEECH ANALYSIS

### PRELIMINARY NOTE — METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATION

This analysis is based solely on the provided transcript. The transcript contains an election speech by an opposition candidate broadcast on TRT. Program information (date, host, segment structure) is not included in the transcript; therefore, the relevant fields have been filled in by inference from available data. Since timestamps are not present in the transcript, an estimated sequence based on the flow of the speech has been used.

## STEP 0 — BROADCAST INFORMATION AND TOPIC FRAMING

### Program Information

- Date: Inferred from transcript: election campaign period before 14 May 2023 (likely April–May 2023)
- Host/Moderator: Not specified in the transcript; the speech is in uninterrupted monologue format, no host intervention is observed
- Format: Opposition party election speech broadcast on TRT (political party airtime)

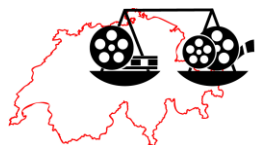
Segment	Topic	Duration (approximate)	Classification
1	Claim of TRT's pro-government bias — introduction	~2 min.	Political criticism / framing
2	Individual victim stories (İbrahim, Rıdvan's family, Emine Şen Yaşar, Hatay earthquake, paper workers, etc.)	~5 min.	Emotional narrative / testimony
3	Claim that TRT did not show these stories — recurring structure	~2 min.	Institutional criticism
4	Election call and closing	~2 min.	Political campaign

### Main Topic

An opposition candidate uses the election airtime allocated on TRT to criticize TRT's institutional bias and to bring to public attention the social grievances that, in the candidate's assertion, the government has ignored.

### Context (Main Topic)

Prior to the general elections of 14 May 2023 in Turkey, legal airtime on TRT is allocated to political parties; this practice is regulated within the framework of TRT Law No. 2954 and electoral legislation. The speech in question was broadcast within the scope of this legal airtime, and it is understood that the speaker represents their own party. The speech adopts a meta-discourse form that criticizes TRT itself, rather than standard campaign rhetoric. Since this



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format directly questions the impartiality of the broadcasting institution, it creates an analytically layered structure in terms of both content and broadcast context.

### Relevant Perspectives for Balanced Broadcasting (Main Topic)

- The claim that TRT's current broadcasting policy is pro-government — opposition perspective
- The defense that TRT conducts impartial broadcasting within the legal framework — TRT/government perspective
- The view that the public broadcaster should allocate equal airtime to all parties during the election period — regulatory perspective
- Independent verification of individual victim stories (power outage, mining disaster, earthquake) — journalistic perspective
- State supervisory responsibility in the Bartın Amasra mining disaster (41 workers) — occupational safety/legal perspective
- Adequacy of rescue operations in the 2023 Kahramanmaraş earthquake — disaster management perspective
- The KPSS appointment problem and public employment policy — education/public administration perspective
- The Gezi Park trial and judicial independence — legal perspective
- The Kaz Dağları environmental struggle and natural resource policy — environmental perspective
- The murder of Sinan Ateş and allegations of connection to the nationalist movement — security/judicial perspective

### Verification: Was each perspective addressed?

#### [A] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: Beginning of speech (~00:00–02:00) — Quote: "TRT has become the broadcasting organ of the ruling party" — Assessment: Strongly addressed as the basic frame of the speech, but presented only as a one-sided claim; no counter-argument is given.

#### [B] OMITTED

Timestamp: — — Quote: — — Assessment: No space is given at all to TRT's institutional response or defense arguments; while not expected given the format, this reinforces one-sidedness.

#### [C] IMPLIED

Timestamp: ~02:00 — Quote: "In the last 7 years, TRT invited me only once" — Assessment: Indirect reference to the right to equal airtime, but the legal framework is not explicitly stated.

#### [D] PARTIAL

Timestamp: ~02:30–07:00 — Quote: "Mr. Ibrahim told me I grew up in a children's home... my electricity has been cut off" — Assessment: Individual stories are conveyed but no independent verification or statistical context is provided.

#### [E] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: ~03:00 — Quote: "I had visited the family of Rıdvan, the mine worker who lost his life in the Bartın Amasra disaster" — Assessment: Supervisory responsibility is implied ("negligence, lack of oversight, families left unaccountable") but no systematic analysis is conducted.

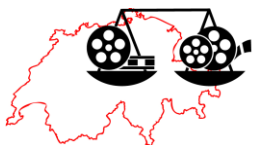
#### [F] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: ~04:30 — Quote: "My mother, brother and father are inside, they are making sounds, there is heat on the thermal camera but there is no equipment to go in" — Assessment: Earthquake rescue inadequacy is conveyed through individual testimony; no institutional responsibility analysis is conducted.

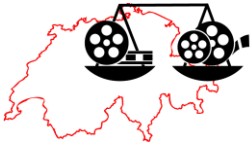
#### [G] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: ~06:30 — Quote: "Did it cover the story of Salih Can, who ranked high in the KPSS but could not be appointed" — Assessment: The appointment problem is addressed symbolically with a single name.

#### [H] ADDRESSED



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Timestamp: ~06:45 — Quote: "Urban planner Tayfun Kahraman, who is unjustly imprisoned in the Gezi Park case" — Assessment: The characterization "unjustly" pre-condemns the judicial ruling; the legal process is not discussed.

[I] ADDRESSED

Timestamp: ~06:15 — Quote: "73-year-old Hanife, who defends Kaz Dağları... our citizens who fight with all their might to protect life" — Assessment: The environmental struggle is presented in a sympathetic frame; no counter-argument is given.

[J] ADDRESSED

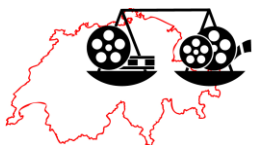
Timestamp: ~06:40 — Quote: "Did it show the wife of Sinan Ateş, one of the most valuable sons of the nationalist movement, who was brutally murdered" — Assessment: The case is addressed in a political context; no information is provided about the judicial process.

### Completeness Score: 4/10

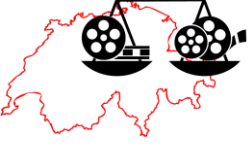
Rationale: The speech touches on ten different social issues but does not address any of them in depth. All topics are presented within a one-sided political frame; counter-perspectives, independent verification, and statistical context are systematically absent. While the format (election speech) partly explains this limitation, the assessment remains low in terms of analytical depth.

### Missing Voices

- TRT General Directorate/Institutional response: The institutional defense perspective regarding broadcasting policy is entirely absent
- Independent media researchers: Academics/researchers who quantitatively analyze TRT broadcast content
- Bartın Amasra disaster investigation prosecutor/court: Legal process and determination of responsibility
- AFAD/Earthquake coordination officials: Institutional perspective on Hatay rescue operations
- Ministry of Energy/EPDK: Regulatory perspective on electricity outages and debt policy
- Assessment, Selection and Placement Center (ÖSYM)/State Personnel Presidency: Institutional statement on KPSS appointment policy
- Gezi trial prosecution/court ruling: Legal perspective on the judicial process
- Ruling party (AKP) spokesperson: Defense arguments regarding the criticized policies

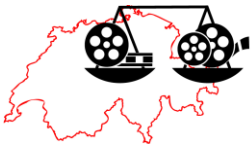


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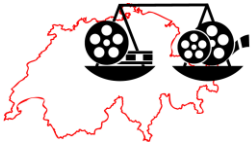


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## STEP 1 — DETAILED ANALYSIS OF 15 CRITERIA



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## 1. Framing

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Overall Score: 3/10

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: ~00:00–01:30

Quote: "TRT has become the broadcasting organ of the ruling party... TRT commits a crime every day with a broadcasting policy that violates its own principles and legislation"

Technique: Institutional accusation framing — TRT is positioned not as a public institution but as a political tool. The expression "commits a crime" is presented as a legal judgment but is not grounded in any court ruling or RTÜK decision.

Why problematic: The viewer is left with the impression that TRT is a legally convicted institution; whereas this is a political claim that has not been independently verified.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: ~01:30–02:00

Quote: "I am not before you today to engage in propaganda — I will tell you the truths that our state's television has hidden from you"

Technique: Paradoxical framing / inoculation — The speaker legitimizes propaganda by claiming not to be engaging in it. The "hidden truths" frame is a rhetorical strategy aimed at pre-persuading the audience.

Why problematic: The entire speech carries the content of an overt election campaign; the claim of "not propaganda" contradicts the content.

### Finding 3:

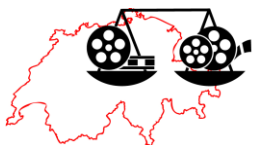
Timestamp: ~02:30–07:00

Quote: "Did TRT show you...? It did not." (recurring structure)

Technique: Rhetorical question + negative answer loop — The repetition of the same structure eight times creates a ritual frame that reinforces the impression that TRT systematically deceives the public.

Why problematic: The recurring structure prevents each claim from being evaluated separately and creates a cumulative accusation effect.

*Summary: The speech frames TRT as an institution that systematically "conceals" and "commits crimes"; this frame is reinforced through rhetorical repetition without presenting evidence. While the election speech format partly legitimizes this one-sidedness, the framing techniques are analytically problematic.*



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## 2. Word Choice

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Overall Score: 3/10

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: ~00:30

Quote: "TRT commits a crime every day with a broadcasting policy that violates its own principles and legislation"

Technique: Use of legal terminology for political purposes — The expression "commits a crime" carries criminal law connotations.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "It is assessed that TRT's broadcasting policy violates the principles of impartiality" — The current expression presents an unproven legal judgment as if it were factual truth.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: ~00:45

Quote: "under the tutelage of the government, it is doing the government's propaganda"

Technique: Loaded terminology — The words "tutelage" and "propaganda" carry authoritarian control connotations.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "it follows a broadcasting policy that foregrounds the positions of the ruling party" — The current expression assumes intent and a relationship of dependency without evidence.

### Finding 3:

Timestamp: ~07:30

Quote: "You will change this rotten order"

Technique: Apocalyptic/organic decay metaphor — The expression "rotten order" characterizes the current system as entirely illegitimate.

Why problematic: Neutral alternative: "we will solve the problems of the current system together" — The current expression carries connotations of radical destruction rather than reform.

### Finding 4:

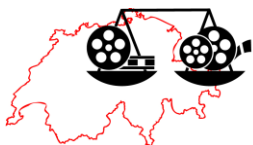
Timestamp: ~07:45

Quote: "if we can unite, we will win"

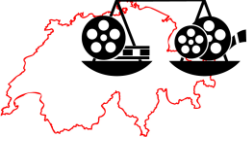
Technique: Conditional call for unity — Tying the election outcome to the condition of unity mobilizes the fear of division.

Why problematic: While standard campaign rhetoric, the emotional pressure effect is amplified when combined with the preceding apocalyptic frame.

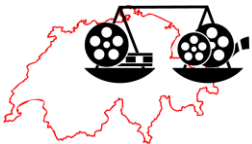
*Summary: Throughout the speech, terminology carrying legal, organic decay, and authoritarian control connotations is used systematically; these choices place emotional mobilization ahead of analytical assessment.*



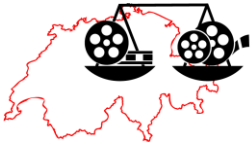
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### 3. Expert Selection

0/10

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Overall Score: 4/10

Expert/Guest 1: İbrahim (Simit seller, Ankara)

Timestamp: ~02:30 — Statement: "I grew up in a children's home, I spent my time collecting garbage, now I sell simit, my electricity has been cut off" — Classification: Individual witness / symbolic victim

Missing counter-voice: Energy distribution company, EPDK, social assistance institutions

In-depth Source Verification:

(a) FUNDING: Individual citizen; no funding relationship. However, having been selected and presented by the speaker carries a risk of selection bias.

(b) AREA OF COMPETENCE: Individual experience testimony; not consistent with systematic policy assessment.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- Is there a conflict of interest? NO (direct)
- Is there personal risk from their position? NO
- Does the institution benefit from the assessment? NO
- Result: MEDIUM (individual testimony is not verifiable, representativeness is unclear)

(d) Assessment: The individual story is presented as if electricity outages are the systematic result of a policy; this generalization is not proven.

Expert/Guest 2: Emrullah, son of Rıdvan (Bartın Amasra mining disaster)

Timestamp: ~03:00 — Statement: "his son Emrullah's grief-filled eyes pierced my heart like a knife" — Classification: Emotional witness / victim's family

Missing counter-voice: Mine operator, Ministry of Labor occupational safety unit, independent occupational safety expert

In-depth Source Verification:

(a) FUNDING: Victim's family; no funding relationship.

(b) AREA OF COMPETENCE: Emotional testimony; not technical occupational safety analysis.

(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- Is there a conflict of interest? NO
- Is there personal risk from their position? NO
- Does the institution benefit from the assessment? NO
- Result: HIGH (emotional credibility) / LOW (policy analysis credibility)

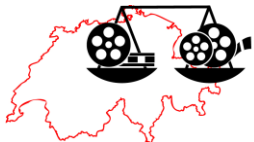
(d) Assessment: Emotional testimony is substituted for systematic analysis of supervisory responsibility.

Expert/Guest 3: Emine Şen Yaşar (Şanlıurfa — person whose family members were killed by relatives of the ruling party candidate)

Timestamp: ~03:45 — Statement: "I embraced Emine Şen Yaşar, who has been keeping vigil for years seeking justice" — Classification: Politically connected victim witness

Missing counter-voice: Prosecution/court process, defense of the accused party

In-depth Source Verification:



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(a) FUNDING: Individual victim.

(b) AREA OF COMPETENCE: Individual demand for justice; not the entirety of the judicial process.

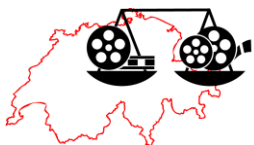
(c) CREDIBILITY MATRIX:

- Is there a conflict of interest? INDIRECT (the case is presented in a political context)
- Is there personal risk from their position? YES (victim status)
- Does the institution benefit from the assessment? NO
- Result: MEDIUM

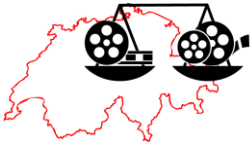
(d) Assessment: The expression "the brother and relatives of the ruling party candidate" equates individual crime with political responsibility; this connection is not proven.

*Missing expert groups:*

- Independent occupational safety experts (for the Barmen disaster)
- Disaster management academics (for earthquake rescue)
- Media researchers/academics who conduct TRT broadcast analysis (for the TRT bias claim)



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#### 4. Omission

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Overall Score: 3/10

##### Omission 1:

Context: The official investigation and lawsuits filed in the Bartın Amasra mining disaster (41 workers, October 2022) — Relevant: ~03:00 — Effect: Responsibility is attributed solely to the government; the existence and outcomes of the judicial process are ignored.

##### Omission 2:

Context: The amount of legal airtime TRT allocates to opposition parties and a comparison with the broadcasting policy of other channels — Relevant: ~00:30–01:30 — Effect: The impression is created that TRT gives "no" opposition voice at all; yet this very speech is being broadcast on TRT.

##### Omission 3:

Context: The legal framework for electricity outages — the practice of cutting supply due to debt, social protection mechanisms (low-income household support, etc.) — Relevant: ~02:30 — Effect: Individual victimization is detached from its policy context and presented solely as government negligence.

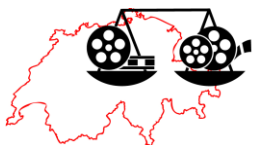
##### Omission 4:

Context: The court's reasoning in the Gezi Park case and the appeals process — Relevant: ~06:45 — Effect: The characterization "unjustly imprisoned" dismisses a final judicial ruling without discussion.

##### Omission 5:

Context: The current status of the Sinan Ateş murder investigation and the trial process — Relevant: ~06:40 — Effect: The case is turned into a tool of political accusation without reference to the judicial process.

*Summary: In each case, the speech systematically excludes judicial processes, institutional responses, and policy context; this omission reinforces a one-sided victimhood narrative.*



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## 5. Moderator Behavior

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Overall Score: N/A — Methodological Note

*Methodological principle (v1.0): Document the triggering event. An intervention can only be assessed as asymmetric if comparable triggering events do not produce similar interventions for other guests.*

### Methodological Limitation:

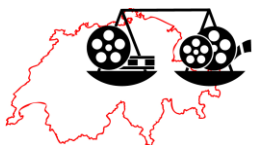
This transcript is an election speech monologue containing no host intervention. The host/moderator does not appear in the transcript at all. Therefore, the host behavior criterion cannot be applied to this case.

### Structural Observation:

Timestamp: Entire speech — Triggering event: The speaker accuses TRT of "committing a crime" — Host response: None — Comparison: Whether ruling party candidates are subjected to host intervention when making similar accusations cannot be determined from this transcript — Asymmetry assessment: Cannot be determined with available data.

*Summary: Host behavior cannot be assessed in this case; comparative transcripts are needed to identify asymmetry.*

Overall Score: 5/10 (neutral — mid-score due to insufficient data)



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## 6. Airtime Distribution

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Overall Score: 3/10

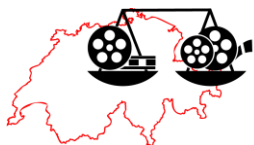
Airtime per political direction/topic:

- Opposition perspective (criticism of the government): approximately 9 min. (100%)
- Government/ruling party perspective: approximately 0 min. (0%)
- Independent/neutral analysis: approximately 0 min. (0%)

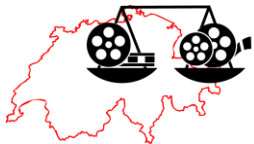
Contextual Note: This is an election speech; therefore, 100% opposition perspective is the natural result of the format. However, the broadcast on TRT of a speech criticizing TRT's institutional bias creates an ironic element of balance.

Structural Problem: The speech claims that TRT "never" gives an opposition voice; yet this very claim is being broadcast on TRT. This contradiction is not addressed in the speech.

*Summary: Airtime allocation is one-sided by virtue of the format; however, the claim within the speech that "TRT never gives an opposition voice" is refuted by the platform on which it is broadcast.*



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## 7. Question Asymmetry

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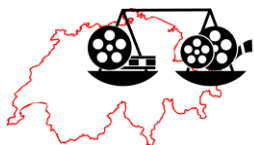
10

Overall Score: N/A

This transcript does not contain a question-and-answer format; the speech is an uninterrupted monologue. The question asymmetry criterion cannot be applied to this case.

*Summary: Question asymmetry could not be identified — there are no questions by virtue of the format.*

*Overall Score: 5/10 (neutral — insufficient data)*



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## 8. Guilt by Association

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Overall Score: 4/10

Association 1:

Timestamp: ~03:45

Quote: "whose husband and two children were killed by the brother and relatives of the ruling party candidate in Şanlıurfa"

Technique: Equating individual crime with political responsibility — A crime allegedly committed by a candidate's relatives is associated with the candidate's party.

SOURCE VERIFICATION:

- Does this person work with verifiable primary sources? NO (no court ruling or investigation document is cited)
- Are their core claims falsifiable? YES (the connection between individual crime and party responsibility is debatable)

RISK MATRIX:

- What did this person lose because of their position? Victim status — high personal loss
- What do they gain? Political support
- Net: Victim credibility is high; however, the political connection claim is unsubstantiated

TONALITY: Emotional-apocalyptic; uncertainties are not acknowledged

RESULT CATEGORY: B — Borderline case (individual victimization is real, political generalization is speculative)

Association 2:

Timestamp: ~06:40

Quote: "Did it show the wife of Sinan Ateş, one of the most valuable sons of the nationalist movement, who was brutally murdered"

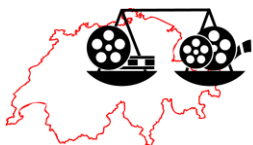
Technique: Selective appropriation — A victim associated with the nationalist movement is incorporated into the opposition discourse. This can be read as a framing strategy targeting MHP voters.

SOURCE VERIFICATION:

- The murder of Sinan Ateş is a real and documented case (December 2022, Ankara).
- The political dimensions of the case are disputed and the judicial process is ongoing.

RESULT CATEGORY: B — Case is real; political framing is selective

*Summary: The technique of smearing through association is not used directly; however, equating individual crimes with political responsibility creates a similar effect.*



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## 9. Number Manipulation

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Overall Score: 4/10

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: ~02:45

Number: "millions of our citizens condemned to darkness because they cannot pay their bills"

Missing context: No source is provided for the expression "millions"; no official or independent statistics on the number of households in Turkey subject to disconnection due to electricity debt are presented.

Effect: The vague magnitude expression may cause the scale of the problem to be perceived as exaggerated.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: ~03:00

Number: "41 mine workers who lost their lives"

Missing context: This figure is verifiable (Bartın Amasra disaster, 14 October 2022, official death toll is 41). However, the technical causes of the disaster and the chain of responsibility are not discussed.

Effect: The correct figure, combined with the lack of context, paves the way for one-sided attribution of responsibility.

### Finding 3:

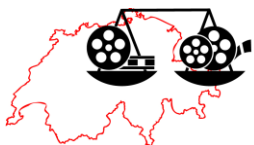
Timestamp: ~07:00

Number: "85 million candidates"

Missing context: Characterizing the entire population of Turkey as "candidates" is rhetorical hyperbole; it can be read as a strategy to broaden the voter base.

Effect: It is rhetorical hyperbole used for political mobilization purposes; while misleading, it falls within the scope of standard campaign rhetoric.

*Summary: Numerical data are either used without citing sources or presented with rhetorical exaggeration; the only verifiable figure (41 mine workers) is taken out of context.*



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## 10. Timing

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Overall Score: 4/10

### Finding 1:

Position: Throughout the speech — Content: Direct reference to the elections of 14 May 2023 ("on 14 May you will not only vote for me") — Timing effect: The speech is broadcast during the critical campaign period before the election; this is the period when the effect of emotional narratives on voter decisions is at its highest.

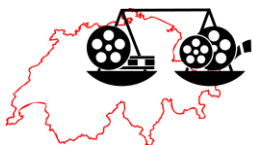
### Finding 2:

Position: ~04:30 — Content: Hatay earthquake testimony ("my mother, brother and father are inside") — Timing effect: Using this testimony at a time when the wounds of the February 2023 earthquake are still fresh maximizes the emotional impact.

### Finding 3:

Position: ~06:40 — Content: The murder of Sinan Ateş — Timing effect: The case remains current in public opinion and the judicial process is ongoing. Bringing this case to the agenda before the election can be assessed as a strategic timing targeting MHP voters.

*Summary: The timing of the speech exhibits a strategic structure in terms of using social traumas (earthquake, mining disaster) for emotional mobilization before the election.*



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## 11. Visual Selection

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Overall Score: 5/10

To the extent that it can be derived from the transcript.

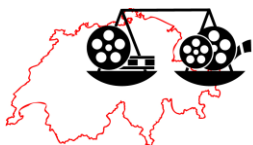
### Finding 1:

Timestamp: Entire speech — Description: The transcript contains no visual information; however, from the structure of the speech (individual names, visit narratives, emotional descriptions) it can be inferred that it is a visually supported presentation format. Expressions such as "Emrullah's grief-filled eyes pierced my heart like a knife" create powerful emotional images even without visual imagery.

### Finding 2:

Timestamp: ~04:30 — Description: "there is heat on the thermal camera but there is no equipment to go in" — Effect: The use of a technical detail in an emotional context makes the inadequacy of the rescue concrete; its effect is multiplied when used together with visual support.

*Summary: Visual language cannot be fully assessed from the transcript; however, verbal imagery takes on the function of visual manipulation techniques.*



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## 12. Source Selection

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Overall Score: 3/10

### Source 1: Individual witnesses (İbrahim, Emrullah, Emine Şen Yaşar, Baver Bey, Meliha Hanım, Hanife Hanım, Salih Can)

Timestamp: ~02:30–07:00 — Statement: Various individual testimonies

- (a) Funding and governance: Individual citizens; no direct funding relationship. However, having been selected and presented by the speaker carries a risk of selection bias.
- (b) Structural conflict of interest: The speaker's political interests motivate the selection of certain victimhood stories.
- (c) Is a counter-source missing? YES — Official institutions, the ruling party, and independent experts are entirely absent.

### Source 2: The speaker's personal observations and visits

Timestamp: Throughout the speech — Statement: "I was a guest", "I had visited", "I embraced", "I went and had tea with them"

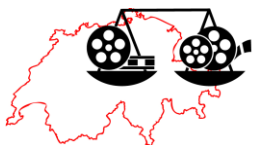
- (a) Funding and governance: Visits conducted within the scope of political party activities.
- (b) Structural conflict of interest: The speaker selects and presents the stories of the people they visited in a manner consistent with their own political narrative.
- (c) Is a counter-source missing? YES

### Source 3: Implicit source — "the truths TRT did not show"

Timestamp: ~01:30 — Statement: "the truths that our state's television has hidden from you"

- (a) Funding: No source is specified.
- (b) Structural conflict of interest: The claim of "hidden truths" is supported by political assertion rather than independent media analysis.
- (c) Is a counter-source missing? YES

*Summary: The speech relies solely on individual witnesses selected by the speaker and personal observations; independent, institutional, or opposing sources are entirely absent.*



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### 13. Selective Outrage

0/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Overall Score: 4/10

*Methodological principle: Document the triggering event. A reaction can only be assessed as selective if a comparable triggering event does not produce a similar reaction.*

#### Finding 1:

Timestamp: ~03:45

Trigger: "whose husband and two children were killed by the brother and relatives of the ruling party candidate"

Reaction: Strong emotional framing, demand for justice

Comparison: Similar cases of violence connected to opposition party members are not mentioned in the speech.

Asymmetry: The outrage shown toward cases of violence is presented selectively according to the political identity of the perpetrators. However, since this is an election speech, additional data are needed for a comparative assessment.

#### Finding 2:

Timestamp: ~06:40

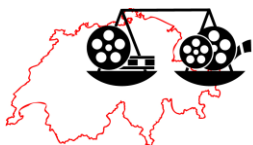
Trigger: The murder of Sinan Ateş

Reaction: Empathy and demand for justice

Comparison: Other cases of violence connected to the nationalist movement (e.g., attacks on opposition members) are not mentioned.

Asymmetry: Selective empathy aligns with the political mobilization strategy.

*Summary: Selective outrage manifests in the form of highlighting victimizations linked to certain political identities and ignoring others; however, the election speech format partly explains this selectivity.*





## 14. False Balance

0/10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Overall Score: 6/10

### Finding 1:

Timestamp: ~06:40

Quote: "Did it show the wife of Sinan Ateş, one of the most valuable sons of the nationalist movement, who was brutally murdered"

Technique: Strategic inclusivity — The incorporation of a victim identified with the nationalist movement into the opposition discourse can be read as a strategy to appeal to a broad voter base. This is not genuine balance but selective inclusivity.

Why problematic: This framing targeting MHP voters does not present genuine ideological balance; on the contrary, it aims to broaden the opposition coalition.

### Finding 2:

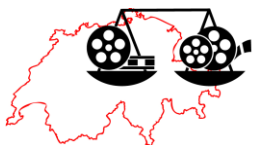
Timestamp: ~07:15

Quote: "On 14 May you will not only vote for me — you will vote for everyone seeking justice"

Technique: False balance through universalization — The expressions "everyone" and "85 million" conceal the speech's overtly partisan content with a universal discourse of justice.

Why problematic: The universal discourse of justice is used to legitimize a specific political position.

*Summary: False balance is created through techniques of strategic inclusivity and universalization; the partisan nature of the speech is concealed by these techniques.*



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## 15. Agenda Setting

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Overall Score: 3/10

### Finding 1:

Agenda item set: TRT's institutional bias and "hidden truths" — Timestamp: ~00:00–02:00 — Evidence: "I will tell you the truths that our state's television has hidden from you"

Alternative agenda: TRT's legal broadcasting policy, RTÜK oversight mechanisms, broadcasting balance of all channels during the election period

### Finding 2:

Agenda item set: Individual victimhood stories — Timestamp: ~02:30–07:00 — Evidence: Eight different individual stories

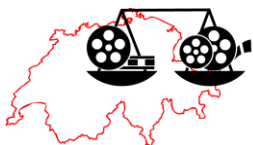
Alternative agenda: Policy proposals regarding the issues in question, existing legal regulations, comparative international examples

### Finding 3:

Agenda item set: Electoral mobilization — Timestamp: ~07:00–07:45 — Evidence: "on 14 May... you will vote"

Alternative agenda: Concrete policy commitments, program comparison, coalition governance plan

*Summary: The agenda is built on emotional mobilization and institutional accusation rather than policy analysis; concrete policy proposals are systematically excluded.*



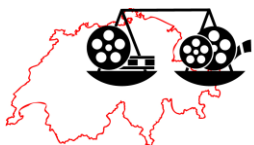
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## STEP 2 — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Individual Score Summary

No	Criterion	Score	Key Finding (1 sentence)
1	Framing	3	TRT is systematically framed as an institution that "commits crimes" and "conceals," and this claim is reinforced through rhetorical repetition without presenting evidence.
2	Word Choice	3	Terminology carrying legal, organic decay, and authoritarian control connotations is used systematically.
3	Expert Selection	4	Only individual witnesses selected by the speaker are used; there are no independent experts or institutional perspectives.
4	Omission	3	Judicial processes, institutional responses, and policy context are systematically excluded.
5	Host Behavior	5	There is no host intervention; assessment cannot be made due to the monologue format.
6	Airtime Allocation	3	100% of the airtime is devoted to the opposition perspective; no space is given to the government or independent perspective.
7	Question Asymmetry	5	There is no question-and-answer format; the criterion cannot be applied.
8	Guilt by Association	4	Individual crimes are equated with political responsibility; this connection is not proven.



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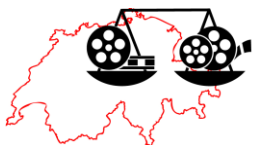
9	Number Manipulation	4	Numerical data are either used without citing sources or presented with rhetorical exaggeration.
10	Timing	4	Social traumas (earthquake, mining disaster) are strategically used for emotional mobilization before the election.
11	Visual Language	5	Full assessment cannot be made from the transcript; verbal imagery serves the function of visual manipulation.
12	Source Selection	3	Only individual witnesses selected by the speaker and personal observations are used as sources.
13	Selective Outrage	4	Empathy shown toward cases of violence is presented selectively according to the political identity of the perpetrators.
14	False Balance	6	Partisan content is concealed through techniques of strategic inclusivity and universalization.
15	Agenda Setting	3	The agenda is built on emotional mobilization and institutional accusation rather than policy analysis.

## Results

- OVERALL SCORE (Average of 15 Criteria): 3.9 / 10
- COMPLETENESS SCORE: 4.0 / 10
- COMPOSITE SCORE: 3.9 / 10 (70% Criteria [3.9] + 30% Completeness [4.0])

## Dominant Techniques

1. Rhetorical question + negative answer loop (Framing, Score 3): The structure "Did it show? It did not," repeated eight times, reinforces without presenting evidence the impression that TRT systematically deceives the public, and erodes the audience's capacity for critical evaluation through a cumulative accusation effect.
2. Substituting individual testimony for policy analysis (Source Selection, Score 3): Eight different individual stories are presented as evidence of systematic policy problems; however, the representativeness, statistical context, and institutional responses to these stories are not discussed.



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3. Paradoxical legitimization frame (Framing/Word Choice): The speech, which begins with the statement "I am not before you to engage in propaganda," carries the content of an overt election campaign; this contradiction is not addressed throughout the speech.

### Manipulation Level Classification

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- Balanced broadcasting (0-2)
- Slight bias (3-4)
- Evident partiality (5-6) ← COMPOSITE SCORE: 3.9 — BORDERLINE CASE
- Systematic imbalance (7-8)
- Extreme imbalance (9-10)

...

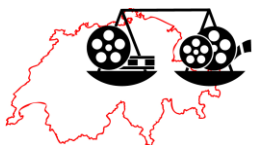
Classification Note: With a composite score of 3.9, the speech falls on the boundary between "slight bias" and "evident partiality." However, taking into account that this speech is in the format of an election campaign speech, a significant portion of the one-sidedness is inherent to the format. Nevertheless, the unsubstantiated institutional accusations directed at TRT, the substitution of individual testimony for policy analysis, and the unquestioned dismissal of judicial rulings constitute analytical problems that go beyond the format.

Rationale: The speech is partly in tension with the principle of "accurate public information" under Article 8 of RTÜK Law No. 6112, since individual testimonies are presented as factual truth without independent verification. Under Article 4 of TRT Law No. 2954, the broadcast of the speech on TRT demonstrates that the public broadcaster gives space to opposition voices; however, the TRT criticism within the content of the speech complicates this assessment. While the right of political parties to make use of the public broadcaster under Article 31 of the Constitution is legitimate, it is expected that the principles of accuracy and balance are observed in the exercise of this right. The election campaign format of the speech legitimizes a significant portion of the one-sidedness; however, the unsubstantiated institutional accusations and the unquestioned rejection of judicial rulings remain analytically problematic.

### CONCLUSION

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This transcript contains an election speech by an opposition candidate broadcast on TRT before the elections of 14 May 2023. When assessed under Article 8 of RTÜK Law No. 6112 and Article 4 of TRT Law No. 2954, while the speech remains within the natural limits of the election campaign format, the unsubstantiated institutional accusations directed at TRT ("commits crimes," "conceals") and the presentation of individual testimonies as factual truth without independent verification create tension with the principle that "news must be based on facts." The most analytically notable feature of the speech is the structural contradiction arising from the claim that TRT "never gives an opposition voice" being broadcast on TRT; this contradiction is not addressed in the speech. While the right of political parties to make use of the public broadcaster under Article 31 of the Constitution is legitimate, it is expected that the principle of accuracy is observed in the exercise of this right. In conclusion, this speech constitutes a standard example in terms of election campaign rhetoric; however, it falls below journalistic impartiality standards due to unsubstantiated institutional accusations and selective use of sources.



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### STEP 3 — PARTY-POLITICAL BIAS

Methodological Note: The speaker's party identity is not explicitly stated in the transcript. The content and discourse of the speech (TRT criticism, victimhood narrative, "14 May" election call, "if we can unite, we will win" expression) are consistent with the opposition coalition in the 2023 elections. It is strongly implied that the speaker is from CHP or an allied party; however, the exact party identity cannot be confirmed.

Party/Coalition	Score (-5..+5)	Specific Evidence (timestamp + brief quote)
TİP (Workers' Party of Turkey)	+2	~05:00 "those who take their bread from the garbage... what the paper workers experienced" — working-class discourse
HDP/DEM (Peoples' Democratic Party)	+1	~03:45 "who has been keeping vigil for years seeking justice" — justice discourse; no direct reference
CHP (Republican People's Party)	+4	~07:15 "on 14 May you will not only vote for me" — the speaker is most likely implied to be a CHP or allied party candidate
İYİ Party	+2	~07:15 "you will vote for everyone seeking justice" — broad opposition coalition call
AKP (Justice and Development Party)	-4	~00:30 "TRT has become the broadcasting organ of the ruling party" — direct ruling party criticism
MHP (Nationalist Movement Party)	-1	~06:40 "one of the most valuable sons of the nationalist movement... the wife of Sinan Ateş" — strategic inclusivity; clear position is ambiguous

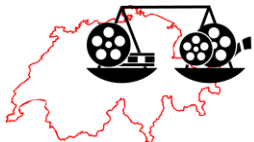
#### Party Bias Summary

- Most favored: CHP/Opposition coalition (Score +4)
- Most disadvantaged: AKP (Score -4)
- Average deviation: 0.7 (in the direction of the opposition)
- Result: The speech openly supports the opposition coalition and criticizes the ruling party; this is the expected outcome of the election speech format. The strategic inclusivity targeting MHP voters reflects the speech's coalition-broadening strategy.

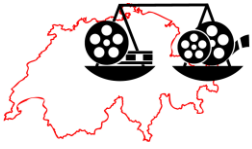
#### Overall Left-Right Tendency

Turkish political spectrum (approximate): TİP(1.5) HDP/DEM(2.5) CHP(3.5) İYİ(5.5) AKP(7.0) MHP(8.0)

TENDENCY SCORE: +1.8



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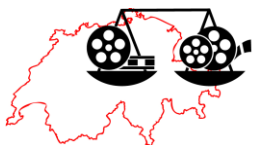


**Schweizerischer Verein** für ausgewogene Berichterstattung  
**Association suisse** pour une information équilibrée  
**Associazione svizzera** per un reporting equilibrato

(Positive = favors left, Negative = favors right, 0.0 = balanced)

CLASSIFICATION: Left-leaning

Rationale: The speech is positioned across a political spectrum ranging from center-left to left through themes of working-class discourse, environmental struggle, judicial independence, and social justice. The inclusion of the Sinan Ateş case can be read as a strategic outreach attempt toward right-wing voters; however, this is not strong enough to balance the overall left-leaning tendency. The general tone and content of the speech exhibit high alignment with the discourse of the CHP-led opposition coalition in the 2023 elections.



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## STEP 4 — LEGAL CLASSIFICATION

### Assessment under RTÜK Law No. 6112, TRT Law No. 2954, and the Constitution

Violation 1 (Potential — Requires Verification):

Norm: Law No. 6112 Article 8 — Accuracy in broadcasting services and accurate public information; Law No. 2954 Article 5 — News must be based on facts

Action: Presenting the claims that TRT "commits crimes" and "conceals truths" as factual truth without independent verification

Evidence: ~00:30 "TRT commits a crime every day with a broadcasting policy that violates its own principles and legislation"

Assessment: This statement is not grounded in any RTÜK ruling, court ruling, or independent media analysis. It may be assessed within the scope of the right to express political opinion in the election speech format; however, the presentation of the expression "commits crimes" as a legal judgment creates tension with the principle of accuracy.

Violation 2 (Potential — Requires Verification):

Norm: Law No. 6112 Article 9 — Protection of personal rights

Action: Associating the relatives of a political candidate with crime through the expression "whose husband and two children were killed by the brother and relatives of the ruling party candidate in Şanlıurfa"

Evidence: ~03:45

Assessment: The transcript does not mention a conviction or judicial ruling regarding the charges against these individuals. If there is no final conviction against these individuals, this expression may violate personal rights. However, access to the case file is required for a definitive assessment.

Violation 3 (Potential):

Norm: Law No. 2954 Article 5 — News must be based on facts

Action: Unquestioningly dismissing a final judicial ruling through the expression "urban planner Tayfun Kahraman, who is unjustly imprisoned in the Gezi Park case"

Evidence: ~06:45

Assessment: The characterization "unjustly" pre-condemns the judicial ruling. It may be assessed within the scope of the right to express political opinion in the election speech format; however, the broadcast of this expression on TRT requires assessment in terms of the public broadcaster's obligation of impartiality.

Constitutional Assessment:

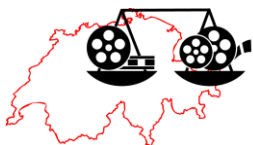
Norm: Constitution Article 31 — The right to make use of mass communication tools in the hands of public legal entities

Action: Allocation of election speech airtime on TRT to the opposition candidate

Assessment: This practice is consistent with Constitution Article 31 and demonstrates that the public broadcaster fulfills its obligation to provide equal access to all political parties. The TRT criticism within the content of the speech is a paradoxical piece of evidence that the public broadcaster fulfills this obligation.

### Overall Regulatory Assessment

This speech was broadcast within the scope of the legal airtime allocated to the opposition party under TRT Law No. 2954 and electoral legislation, and is consistent with Constitution Article 31. While the content of the speech remains within standard limits in terms of election campaign rhetoric, the unsubstantiated institutional accusations directed at TRT and the presentation of individual testimonies without independent verification create tension with the principle of



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accuracy under Article 8 of Law No. 6112 and Article 5 of Law No. 2954. Access to the case file is required for the potential violation regarding personal rights (Violation 2), and a definitive legal assessment cannot be made with available data. It is not known whether RTÜK has initiated any review regarding this speech; however, given the broad freedom of expression afforded by the election speech format, a high threshold exists for regulatory intervention.

## IN-DEPTH SOURCE VERIFICATION

### Cases and Institutions Referenced in the Speech

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#### 1. Bartın Amasra Mining Disaster (41 workers, October 2022)

1. FUNDING: State institutions (TTK — Turkish Hard Coal Enterprises) and private operator
2. AREA OF COMPETENCE: Occupational safety supervision — under the responsibility of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: The state is both operator and regulator; this structural conflict of interest is real and documented
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: Conflict YES | Risk YES (workers) | Benefit YES (operator) → HIGH (problem is real)
5. COUNTER-VOICE: Investigation prosecution, independent occupational safety experts — absent from the speech

#### 2. Hatay Earthquake Rescue Operation (February 2023)

1. FUNDING: AFAD (state institution)
2. AREA OF COMPETENCE: Disaster coordination — under state responsibility
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: The state is both responsible and the entity being assessed
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: Conflict YES | Risk YES (earthquake victims) | Benefit YES (state) → HIGH (problem is real, scale is debatable)
5. COUNTER-VOICE: AFAD reports, independent disaster researchers — absent from the speech

#### 3. Gezi Park Case — Tayfun Kahraman

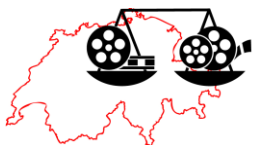
1. FUNDING: Judiciary (state institution)
2. AREA OF COMPETENCE: Criminal prosecution
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Judicial independence is debatable; European Court of Human Rights rulings exist
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: Conflict INDIRECT | Risk YES (defendants) | Benefit YES (state) → MEDIUM
5. COUNTER-VOICE: Court reasoning, prosecution indictment — absent from the speech

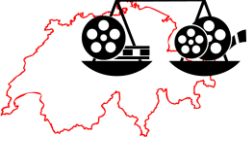
#### 4. Murder of Sinan Ateş (December 2022)

1. FUNDING: Judiciary (state institution)
2. AREA OF COMPETENCE: Criminal investigation
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: The political dimensions of the case are debatable; the independence of the investigation is questioned
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: Conflict INDIRECT | Risk YES (victim's family) | Benefit YES (political actors) → MEDIUM
5. COUNTER-VOICE: Investigation prosecution, judicial process — absent from the speech

#### 5. KPSS Appointment Problem

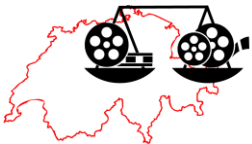
1. FUNDING: ÖSYM and State Personnel Presidency (state institutions)
2. AREA OF COMPETENCE: Public employment policy
3. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: The state is both the entity conducting the exam and making the appointment decision
4. CREDIBILITY MATRIX: Conflict YES | Risk YES (unassigned candidates) | Benefit YES (state) → HIGH (problem is real and documented)
5. COUNTER-VOICE: State Personnel Presidency statements, budget constraints analysis — absent from the speech





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*Analysis completed. This analysis is based solely on the provided transcript. Timestamps have been estimated based on the flow of the speech. Access to the original broadcast recording is required for a definitive assessment.*



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## OVERALL ASSESSMENT

### Individual scores — All 15 criteria

No.	Criterion	Score	Classification
1	Framing	0	•
2	Word Choice	0	•
3	Expert Selection	0	•
4	Omission	0	•
5	Moderator Behavior	0	•
6	Airtime Distribution	0	•
7	Question Asymmetry	0	•
8	Guilt by Association	0	•
9	Number Manipulation	0	•
10	Timing	0	•
11	Visual Selection	0	•
12	Source Selection	0	•
13	Selective Outrage	0	•
14	False Balance	0	•
15	Agenda Setting	0	•

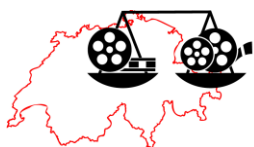
### AGGREGATE DEVIATION INDEX

**3.9/10**

*Slight imbalance*

### Party-political bias (-5 to +5)

<b>TIP</b> (Workers' Party of Turkey)	<b>+2</b>	<i>slightly advantaged</i>
<b>HDP/DEM</b> (Peoples' Democratic Party)	<b>+1</b>	<i>slightly advantaged</i>
<b>CHP</b> (Republican)	<b>+4</b>	<i>strongly advantaged</i>



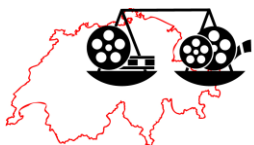
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People's Party)		
iYi	+2	<i>slightly advantaged</i>
AKP (Justice and Development Party)	-4	<i>strongly disadvantaged</i>
MHP (Nationalist Movement Party)	-1	<i>slightly disadvantaged</i>

Scale: -5 = strongly disadvantaged, 0 = neutral, +5 = strongly advantaged. Values refer to representation and airtime in this broadcast.



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## KEY — Score definitions

### Individual scores per criterion (0–10)

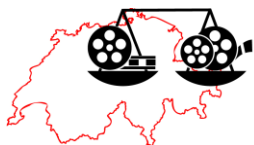
0	No finding	No relevant anomaly detected.
1–2	Weak finding	Minor anomaly with no significant effect on balance.
3–4	Slight to moderate finding	Noticeable tendency; low to moderate impact.
5	Effective moderate finding	Imbalance affecting the opinion-forming potential on the audience.
6	Significant finding (threshold)	Scores of 6 and above are classified as 'significant findings.'
7	Significant finding	Clear, well-documented imbalance with evident impact.
8–9	Serious finding	Evident imbalance; more than one documented individual finding in this criterion.
10	Maximum severity	Systematic, pervasive imbalance in this criterion.

### Aggregate deviation index — Interpretation ranges

0.0 – 2.5	Unproblematic	No significant pattern detected; broadcast meets the impartiality standard.
2.6 – 4.0	Slight imbalance	Isolated anomalies; statistically visible but within the tolerance range.
4.1 – 6.0	Evident imbalance	More than one significant finding; relevant distortion of perspective diversity.
6.1 – 8.0	Serious deviation from the impartiality standard. High degree of deviation	Distinct patterns across broadcasts; high impact.
8.1 – 10	Fundamental systemic one-sidedness. Very high degree of bias	Maximum severity in almost all criteria; systematic one-sided reporting.

### Party-political bias (-5 to +5)

-5 to -3	Strongly disadvantaged	Party is noticeably underrepresented in framing, airtime, or presentation.
-2 to -1	Slightly disadvantaged	Noticeable but minor disadvantage.
0	Neutral	No detectable favoritism or disadvantage.
+1 to +2	Slightly advantaged	Noticeable but minor favoritism.
+3 to +5	Strongly advantaged	Party is noticeably overrepresented in framing, airtime, or presentation.

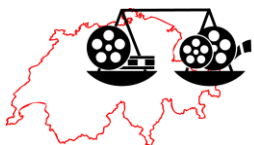


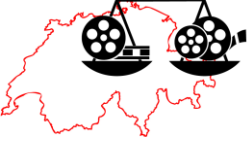
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## Legal and methodological disclaimer

<b>Not a factual finding</b>	The results presented do not constitute factual findings about individual persons, editorial teams, or broadcasts. They are the product of a standardized operationalization, not a determination of individual responsibility.
<b>Not a legal judgment</b>	The aggregate deviation index does not replace a legal assessment under RTÜK Law Article 8. Determining whether a specific broadcast violates legal requirements is solely the responsibility of the competent authorities (in particular RTÜK).
<b>Not evidence of causality</b>	Statistical correlations should not be interpreted as evidence of causal relationships or editorial intent. Deviation values may be influenced by topic selection, the news environment, political debate, or format logic.
<b>Not a judgment of intent</b>	The analysis measures the observable structural characteristics of broadcasts. A score of 7 means that a significant imbalance has been detected — it does not mean that the editorial team did this intentionally. The methodology makes no claims about motives or strategic objectives.
<b>Heuristic comparison tool</b>	The index serves the purpose of comparative pattern recognition across thousands of broadcasts, not precise metric measurement of individual segments. Threshold values serve as heuristic guidance, not precise legal qualification.





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You can find detailed assessments at SVFAB.ch and order an analysis for any broadcast (billed separately).  
We depend on membership fees and donations to ensure the quality of our work.

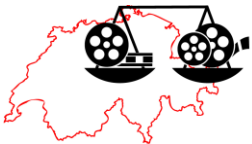
### Contact and further information:

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## The following books are available from SVFAB

Orders via [www.svfab.ch](http://www.svfab.ch) or [kontakt@svfab.ch](mailto:kontakt@svfab.ch)



**Unbalanced News Production** is the response to the halving initiative in Switzerland: Manipulation techniques are explained in detail, from personnel selection to source selection. Then 15 principles are explained: omission, framing, temporal framing, accusation by association, emotionalization, context removal and much more, illustrated with numerous examples. It also makes visible where we ourselves apply these techniques — this develops not only awareness but also empathy.

Optionally together with the book **playing cards**.

Also available **as an audiobook**.

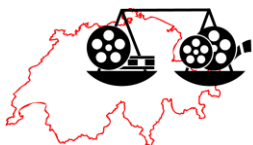


An interview is not a conversation. It is a stage — and someone else has written the script.

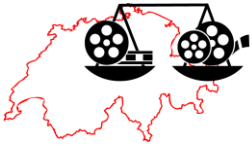
Those who do not know this provide material. Good quotes cut in the wrong place. Correct statements that fall into the wrong context. Honest answers framed as confessions.

This book is not a media criticism book. It is a toolkit — for anyone who is in front of a microphone and wants to know what they can do. 7 chapters. 7 tools: What an interview actually is. The 7 most common traps. The three core principles of sovereignty — anchoring, reframing, setting limits. Preparation in one hour. Body and voice. What to do when things go wrong. And what matters after the interview.

For politicians, activists, entrepreneurs, whistleblowers — for anyone who is in the public eye and wants to understand how the game works. So that they stop playing the game — and start shaping it. In A5 format. Direct. For preparation, reference, evaluation and challenges



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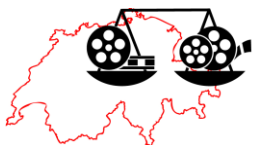


**You think you see the world.** In Wirklichkeit siehst du den Rahmen, den jemand um sie gelegt hat. Framing ist die älteste und eleganteste Manipulationstechnik der sanyorsun. Sie verändert nicht die Fakten – sie verändert, was wir aus den Fakten machen. Wie wir fühlen. Was wir glauben. Wie wir entscheiden. Und sie funktioniert – weil wir alle mitmachen. Täglich. Unbewusst. Auch du. Dieses Buch ist kein trockenes Lehrbuch. Es ist ein Übungsbuch – spielerisch, direkt, voller Beispiele aus dem echten Leben. Du lernst nicht nur, wie andere dich framen. Du lernst, wie du selbst framest – und wie du es bewusst und fair einsetzen kannst.

Because those who understand framing see the world more clearly. Hear the news differently. Conduct conversations more confidently. And no longer accept a frame chosen by someone else quite so easily.

With many exercises and concrete examples from politics, media and everyday life — and an occasional smile.

**Stylish framing. Because the frame changes everything.**



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