Representation of Women Politicians in the Turkish Media

Ceyda Öztosun

Submitted to the
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts
in
Communication in Media Studies

Eastern Mediterranean University
February 2013
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

Approval of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research

_____
Prof. Dr. Elvan Yilmaz
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Communication and Media Studies.

_____
Prof. Dr. Süleyman irvan
Chair, Department of Communication
and Media Studies

I certify that I have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Communication and Media Studies.

_____
Prof. Dr. Süleyman İrvan
Supervisor

Examining Committee
_____

1. Prof. Dr. Süleyman İrvan   _____

2. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bahire Efe Özad   _____

3. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nurten Kara   _____

ABSTRACT

The aim of the thesis is to explore representations of women politicians of the 21st century in the Turkish national newspapers. The content of this study consists of examining stereotypical thoughts and judgments about women politicians in the newspapers.

Four different newspapers have been selected for the present study. These newspapers are Cumhuriyet (Republic), Hürriyet (Freedom), Sabah (Morning), and Zaman (Time). These newspapers are ideologically different from each other and they are in the top ranking of the most widely circulated newspapers in Turkey. The Fifteen women politicians from different continents of the world have been selected in order to analyze their representations in the news articles of the selected newspapers. These politicians are Angela Merkel (Germany), Cristina Kirchner (Argentina), Dilma Rousseff (Brazil), Ellen Johonson Sirleaf (Liberia), Johanna Sigurdardottir (Iceland), Helle Thorning-Schmidt (Denmark), Hillary Clinton (U.S.A), Hina Rabbani Khar (Pakistan), Julia Gillard (Australia), Mara Carfagna (Italy), Nimet Çubukçu (Turkey), Roza Otunbayeva (Kyrgyzstan), Sarah Palin (U.S.A), Segolene Royal (France) and Yulia Timoşenko (Ukraine).

In general, 'women' and 'women politicians' are represented to the readers/audience in a stereotypical fashion by the mainstream media. Based on this assumption, the news on the fifteen women politicians are analyzed on the websites of the four selected newspapers. The data is available through online news archive scanning

system of the newspapers. News articles about the politicians are selected according to each politician's beginning of the office time till the end of the office time. If there is any politician who is still in the office, time limitation is identified as the end of the year 2011 (December 31, 2011). In total, 540 news articles were selected as the sample of the study. The articles are analyzed according to stereotypical words like 'mother' and 'wife' as woman figure; 'clothing', 'accessories' and 'shoes' as appearance; 'sexy', 'attractive', 'beautiful' as sexually oriented words; 'motherhood', 'animal love' and 'cry' as emotional appeal; 'marital status', 'family' and 'housework' as private life; and 'gender' and 'age' of the politicians' are also highlighted in the news. This study used quantitative content analysis. The data were analyzed with SPSS to see how often stereotypical words are used to describe women politicians. Content analysis was applied on headlines, subtitles and contexts of the 540 news items. Moreover, pictures that accompany to the news articles were also evaluated according to the categorization ('sexuality', 'motherhood', 'emotional' and other) of the study.

The findings of the study indicate that there are statistically significant differences on the representation of the women politicians between the newspapers. Popular newspapers, Hürriyet and Sabah have given more stereotypical coverage on the women politicians than opinion newspapers, Zaman and Cumhuriyet. Furthermore, statistical results suggest that "age" and "gender" of the politicians are frequently highlighted in the news stories. Also, pictures of women politicians include sexuality.

Keywords: Woman, media, politician, stereotype, representation, politics.

ÖZ

Bu tez 21. yüzyılda kadın politikacıların Türkiye gazetelerindeki temsilini incelemeyi hedeflemektedir. Bu çalışmanın içeriği kadın politikacılara karşı oluşmuş basmakalıp düşüncelerin ve yargıların okuyuculara nasıl, hangi kelimelerle ve fotoğraflarla sunulduğunun incelenmesinden oluşmaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın araştırma kısmı için, ideolojik bakımdan birbirinden farklılık gösteren ve Türkiye'nin en çok okunan gazeteleri sıralamasında ilk sıralarda bulunan Cumhuriyet, Sabah, Hürriyet ve Zaman gazeteleri seçilmiştir. Amaç, bu gazeteler üzerinde dünyanın her bir kıtasından belirlenen on beş kadın politikacının nasıl temsil edildiğini saptamaktır. Bu kadın politikacılar şunlardır: Angela Merkel (Almanya), Cristina Kirchner (Arjantin), Dilma Rousseff (Brazilya), Ellen Johonson Sirleaf (Liberya), Johanna Sigurdardottir (İzlanda), Helle Thorning-Schmidt (Denimarka), Hillary Clinton (U.S.A), Hina Rabbani Khar (Pakistan), Julia Gillard (Avusturalya), Mara Carfagna (İtalya), Nimet Çubukçu (Türkiye), Roza Otunbayeva (Kırgızistan), Sarah Palin (U.S.A), Segolene Royal (Fransa) ve Yulia Timoşenko (Ukrayna).

Genelde medyada 'kadın' ve 'kadın politikacılar' basmakalıp bir çerçevede izleyicilere ve okurlara sunulmaktadır. Bu varsayımdan yola çıkarak, yukarıda belirtilmiş dört gazetenin internet sitelerinde mevcut olan online arşiv tarama sistemi kullanılmış ve söz konusu on beş kadın politikacı hakkındaki haberler, her bir politikacının görev başlangıç süresinden itibaren görev bitiş süresine kadar, eğer politikacının görev süresi devam halindeyse süreç; 2011 yılının sonuna kadar

(31.12.2011) sınırlandırılarak incelenmiştir. Gazetelerin internet sitelerinde mevcut olan arşiv tarama sistemi üzerinden belirlenen toplam 540 basmakalıp içerikli haber; kadın figürü olarak 'anne' ve 'eş'; dış görünüş olarak 'giyim', 'aksesuar', 'ayakkabı' cinsel yaklaşımlı kelimeler; 'seksi', 'çekici' ve 'güzel' duygu belirten durumlar; 'annelik', 'hayvan sevgisi' ve 'ağlamak' özel hayat; 'medeni hal', 'aile' ve 'ev işi' ayrıca 'kadın politikacı' vurgusu ve politikacıların 'yaş'larına vurgu gibi basmakalıp kelimelere göre sınıflandırılmış ve haberlerin başlık, alt başlık ve metni 'içerik analizi' metoduyla, değerlendirilmiş, sınıflandırılan bu kelimelerin, kullanım sıklığını, hangi kelimenin daha çok kullanıldığını, hangi politikacı için kelimelerin daha çok vurgulandığını, hangi gazetede hangi kadın politikacının daha çok veya daha az haber yapıldığını istatistiksel olarak belirlemek için ise SPSS İstatistik 17.0 programı kullanılarak analiz tamamlandırılmıştır. Sonuçlar, istatistiksel verilere dayanarak bu dört farklı gazetenin kadın politikacıları nasıl temsil ettiği, basmakalıp kelimelerin ne kadar sıklıkla kullanıldığı ve bu temsilin her bir politikacı üzerinde anlamlı farklılıklar gösterip göstermediği konusu ile ilgili değerlendirilmektedir.

Bu çalışmanın bulguları, kadın politikacıların temsili konusunda gazeteler arasında anlamlı istatistiksel farklılıkların mevcut olduğunu ortaya koyuyor; popüler gazeteler olan Hürriyet ve Sabah'ın, fikir gazeteleri olan Zaman ve Cumhuriyet'e oranla kadın politikacılarla ilgili haberlerde basmakalıp ifadelere daha çok yer verdiği sonucuna varılmıştır. Ayrıca, SPSS programı üzerinde gerçekleştirilen istatistiksel sonuçlar göstermektedir ki, haber metinlerinde öncelikle 'kadın' politikacı (kadının cinsiyeti politikacı kimliğinin önüne getiriliyor.) ve politikacıların 'yaş'ları sıklıkla vurgulanmakta ve haberlerde kullanılan politikacıların fotoğrafları çoğunlukla cinsellik içermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadın, medya, politikacı, basmakalıp, temsil, politika.

This thesis is dedicated to Sevim Ayten Öztosun

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The mainstream media create stereotypical perceptions in the minds of the audiences about women. If a politician is woman, media treat her in a very stereotypical way. Women politicians' appearance; beauty, hair style, brand of dress, make-up and traits of womanhood and motherhood are first anticipated news in the media rather than what they do related to politics and with their achievements. ''Appearance of the political player, particularly a female player, is highlighted by media coverage of the player's physical attractiveness and media image'' (Montalbano-Phelps, 2005, p. 190).

The present study examines how Turkish press represents women politicians in their coverage. As an opposite of male politicians, women politicians are generally represented with their womanhood and motherhood characteristics as a stereotype by the media. This representation creates different and negative perception in the audiences' mind. ''Media play a crucial role in the formation of voters' opinions and perceptions, given that few people have the chance to meet in person candidates aspiring for political office. Most people learn about the political candidates from media reports, not first-hand experiences'' (Ibroscheva & Raicheva-Stover, 2009, p. 115). In the news; headline, subtitle, context, and pictures are sign to form a judgment on the representation. These main components (headline, subtitle, text and

pictures) give clues to understand how women politicians have drawn as a figure in the news.

In the mainstream media, the best way to produce women's image for creating fascinating news will be more remarkable for readers than the usual news. ''Media presents a very fragmented view of women: women as a mistress, woman as a wife and woman as a mother'' (Estonia, 2004, p. 10). On the other hand, politics is male-oriented; in the political sphere, media prefer to emphasize the femininity of women politicians by using sexual-womanhood-motherhood images, and context with sexist language: According to Maggio (2012), sexism is also kind of coverage that focus on appearance, private life and personal things of women politicians. For male politicians sexism is a not a way of coverage that focus on their appearance, private life and personal things. Sexist coverage just applies for women politicians (p. 3).

1.1 Background of the Study

The present study is about the representation of women politicians in the Turkish media. Newspapers are taken as the source to analyze and evaluate the role of the women politicians.

Newspapers usually touch the femininity regarding women within their subtitles, headlines and texts supported by pictures besides the career, achievements and success of the women in the politics. Generally, newspapers like to use words such as sexy, beautiful, attractive, charming politician instead of successful, powerful, strong politician in the news. Then, these words lead to stereotypical representation of the women politicians. This representation does not reflect their carrier; instead it focuses on their femininity.

This thesis has five chapters. The first chapter is Introduction which leads the study and lays down what this thesis focuses on. In the second chapter, Literature Review deals with the related literature for the subject of the study. The third chapter is Methodology. This chapter elaborates on research on conducted for the study and how it has been tackled. The forth chapter is the Analysis and Findings of study. Finally, the chapter 5 Conclusion mentions the general findings and makes suggestions for further research.

1.2 Motivation for the Study

There are several reasons that have encouraged me to work on this topic. In the politics, women candidates increase year by year. Thus, women become arbiter, active and powerful in this area as much as men do. However, media coverage of women politicians does not reflect this change. Media exploit woman's body as sexual object, and women are mostly limited with domestic life in the media, however, for male candidates, media focus on their achievements and do not represent them with their private lives or with their physical appearances. Media is just cruel for women politicians and supporter of male politicians. In that case, even if women are in the serious and are powerful area such a politics, media still use stereotypes about women. For example, the previous Italian Equalities Minister Maria Rosaria Carfagna came to Turkey for a meeting on the 15th of April 2010 as a guest of the Republic of Turkey. Maria Rosaria Carfagna was a former showgirl and model. Between 08.05.2008 and 16.11.2011 she was the Equalities Minister in Italy. Incidentally, I checked the newspapers in Turkey between these dates, and a couple of headlines were: "Beautiful Italian Minister in Turkey" (Hürriyet, 2010); "The Most Beautiful Minister in Turkey" (Sabah, 2010); "They Make the Sexiest Minister Laugh'' (Taraf, 2010). All headlines have common words referring to the outlook of

the woman such as 'sexy and beautiful'. Why didn't readers see any news story about her being 'intelligent, smart and hardworking'? Based on this question, the study focused on representations of women politicians of the 21st century in the Turkish national newspapers.

1.3 Aim of the Study

The aim of the study is to examine news and compare newspapers which talk about the women politicians to understand how women politicians are represented. Four different national Turkish newspapers are identified for the study. These are Cumhuriyet Newspaper, Hürriyet Newspaper, Sabah Newspaper, Zaman Newspaper. The reason is for these specific newspapers to be selected is to analyze how the politically different newspapers represent women in the field of politics. For the study, fifteen politicians have been identified from different continent; Europe, Asia, North America, Australia, Africa and South America.

The aim of the present study is to examine how fifteen women politicians were represented by four different newspapers. Discrepancy will be compared between the newspapers according to the representation of the women politicians and determine if there are any statically significant differences between newspapers. Moreover, stereotypical content in the news stories will be evaluated in the study. The underlying reason is that media use stereotypical words to represent women politicians. News with stereotypical content means is news stories which use similar words, such as appearance (clothes, make-up, hairstyle, plastic surgery and accessories), private life, sexuality and emotional appeal (motherhood, womanhood, wife and sister).

1.4 Significance of the Study

There are still boundaries on women politicians in the area of politics; women are still considered as secondary gender and they are isolated with stereotypical judgments. "News content and style continue to contribute to stereotypical attitudes about women" (Dijk, 1992, p. 25) Also, media represent women politicians in a narrow and limited framework that is stereotypical and problematical which has attracted the attention of scholars. Accordingly, there are numerous studies on the 'representation of women politicians in the media' around of the world. However, this is the first study that deals with the representation of women politicians of the 21st century in the Turkish media.

1.5 Research Questions

This study is based on eight main questions. These questions are;

1) What is the distribution of the evaluated news according to the newspapers?

2) What is the distribution of the evaluated news according to the fifteen selected politicians?

3) What is the distribution of the hard news and soft news according to the newspapers?

4) What kind of news (hard news or soft news) has more stereotypical content related to the selected politicians?

5) Which stereotypical words are frequently used in the news stories according to the categorization of the study (appearance, privacy, emotional appeal, age of the politicians, 'woman politician' and sex appeal)?

6) Which part of the news (headline, subtitle and text) mostly referred stereotypical words?

7) What kinds of stereotypes applied in the picture of the news according to the categorization of the study (sexuality, motherhood, emotional and other) and what is the distribution of the pictures according to the newspapers?

8) Is there any difference between opinion newspapers (Zaman and Cumhuriyet) and popular newspapers (Hürriyet and Sabah) on representation of the women politicians?

1.6 Research Hypothesis

Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Sabah and Zaman Newspapers are top Turkish newspapers according to their circulation figures. Moreover, these newspapers have different political views from each other.

Representation of the women politicians could change according to the political view and the aim of the newspapers. If the newspaper is an opinion newspaper such as Zaman and Cumhuriyet, their aim is just emphasizing their political views to audience. Therefore, they don't need sensational news. In fact, there is no possibility to see half-naked woman pictures and less possibility to see just usual woman pictures in the newspapers. Hürriyet and Sabah are popular newspapers that rely on high circulated news; soft news/tabloid[1] news, therefore, Hürriyet and Sabah prefer to use more sensational pictures to attract readers' attention.

---

[1] The term "tabloid journalism", which, along with the use of large pictures, tends to emphasize topics such as sensational crime stories, astrology, celebrity gossip and TV is commonly associated with tabloid sized newspapers. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tabloid_(newspaper_format)

1.7 Assumptions of the Study

For the present study it was assumed that women politicians are represented with stereotypical words in the news. It is also assumed that there should be differences between opinion newspapers; Zaman and Cumhuriyet and popular newspapers; Hürriyet and Sabah on representation of women politicians in the news of the newspapers.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

This research has been limited with the four different Turkish national newspapers which have different political view from each other and name of these newspapers are; Cumhuriyet Newspaper, Hürriyet Newspaper, Sabah Newspaper and Zaman Newspaper. As political view, Cumhuriyet Newspaper supports Left/Kemalism, Hurriyet is Nationalist/Center, Sabah is Conservative/Center and Zaman supports Conservative/Liberal.

Second limitation is on the women politicians. This study focuses on fifteen women politicians of 21st century from different continents such as; Asia, Africa, Europe, North America, South America and Australia. According to alphabetic order, these fifteen women politicians are: Angela Merkel (Germany), Cristina Kirchner (Argentina), Dilma Rousseff (Brazil), Ellen Johonson Sirleaf (Liberia), Johanna Sigurdardottir (Iceland), Helle Thorning-Schmidt (Denmark), Hillary Clinton (U.S.A), Hina Rabbani Khar (Pakistan), Julia Gillard (Australia), Mara Carfagna (Italy), Nimet Çubukçu (Turkey), Roza Otunbayeva (Kyrgyzstan), Sarah Palin (U.S.A), Segolene Royal (France) and Yulia Timoşenko (Ukraine).

For research limitation, the present study is focused on the women politicians of the 21st century. Therefore, researches for news articles will start begin of the year 2005 and it will continue till end of the year 2011. News articles about the politicians are selected according to each politician's beginning of the office time till the end of the office time. If there is any politician who is in the office currently, time limitation is identified as the end of the year 2011 (December 31, 2011).

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

*"One of the most popular stereotypes in the world is
not about race, nationality or religion; it is about gender"*

Margaret Williams,
American journalist [2]

2.1 Introduction

The main objective of the study is to examine how women politicians are represented in the Turkish national newspapers. These national Turkish newspapers are Zaman, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, and Sabah Newspapers. The fifteen women politicians are Angela Merkel (Germany), Cristina Kirchner (Argentina), Dilma Rousseff (Brazil), Ellen Johonson Sirleaf (Liberia), Johanna Sigurdardottir (Iceland), Helle Thorning-Schmidt (Denmark), Hillary Clinton (U.S.A), Hina Rabbani Khar (Pakistan), Julia Gillard (Australia), Mara Carfagna (Italy), Nimet Çubukçu (Turkey), Roza Otunbayeva (Kyrgyzstan), Sarah Palin (U.S.A), Segolene Royal (France) and Yulia Timoşenko (Ukraine), as mentioned earlier in Chapter I.

---

[2] British Library. Sport and Society, The Summer Olympics and Paralympics through to Lens of Social Science, www.bl.uk/sportandsociety. Deer, Goddesses and Tractors: The Linguistic Representation of Female Gymnasts in the Russian Press. By Alena Ryazanova, M.A candidate, School of Languages, Linguistic, and Film-Queen Mary , University of London.

This part of the study is to look-over to the aim of the study within theoretical framework. Literature Review of the present study consists of three sub-sections. These headlines are 'Stereotype', 'Representation' and 'Journalism'. Firstly, the present study points out what the meaning of the stereotype is and then it focuses on what is the meaning of stereotypical image of woman in the media including which words may be evaluated as a stereotype, and how women are limited by stereotypical framework in media. Secondly, representation provides how women are represented in the media. Thirdly, journalism is given information on mean of journalism, on-line journalism, news value, type of news and woman in the newsroom and what is the connection between on-line journalism and the present study.

2.2 Stereotype

Stereotyping of every phenomena in the world exist in order to familiarize people and objects for where they came from, who they are and how they are. Having specific figures to generalize someone or something is explicit in this part of the study. "The idea of stereotype was introduced into English only in the 20th century; it is now widely used in ordinary parlance. In general, to call something a 'stereotype', or to say that someone is engaging in 'stereotyping', is to condemn what is so characterized"(Blum, 2004, p. 251). Also Blum (2004) stated that cultural and media studies are two fields that have wide area on the study of stereotype (p. 251).

Carter, Branston, & Allan (1998) emphasized that the meaning of stereotype is limited with standard mental image which is created by mind and this standard framework brings to sexist approach on women. In addition, Carter, Branston & Allan connect this opinion with minor position of the woman statues in patriarchal society (p. 6). There is a strong connection between patriarchal society and

traditionalism. This is because stereotype is a fact that comes with traditionalism and traditionalism comprises with the structure of community. Generally, communities are male-dominated which has patriarchal structure. In this structure, men are integrated with public sphere and all of sectors in business such as politics, media, management and driver belong to the sphere. Additionally, women are in the secret and special place, which is private sphere.

"Stereotypical beliefs regarding emotions are culture-specific and reflect shared notions regarding the prevalence of certain feelings and behaviors experienced and expressed by men and women" (Sene´cal, Kirouac, Herrera, Philippot, & Kleck, 2000, p. 610). Carter & Steiner (2004) generally feminist researchers assumed that limited portrayal of woman support and provide sexist and injury attitudes. By sexist stereotypes, people like to believe traditional sex roles of woman that to be mother, housewife, and wife therefore very difficult to draw strong, successful and careerist woman image on the people mind (p. 14). According to Carilli & Campbell (2005) advertisers, film writers and authors in the print media represent woman within narrow framework that women appear mostly as stunning, young, and attractive (p. xiii). Physical appearance of women is depicted on advertisements, magazines, movies and videos because the media uses women's body as a sexual object. Since Renaissance artists mainly draw women as naked (example: Giorgione, Sleeping Venus, approx. 1510, Guido Reni - Reclining Venus with Cupid). When Renaissance depicted perfect body of human, generally woman's body is used. Nowadays, term of the enlightenment on the art moved to on advertising, print media, film and much more material goods which are related to the purchase. Everything was for modernization in Renaissance while nowadays depiction of woman is for more and

more business. Carter & Steiner (2004) state that for Western media, stereotypes on masculinity and femininity is completely different than each other. In terms of biology, boys and girls are different than each other as well (p. 12). Some beliefs suit one's book of media because if media practically accept that women and men are equal, then media has to have same stereotypical approach on men as well.

2.2.1 Gender Stereotype

Stereotyping in this study explicitly shows how women figure is generalized with stereotypes regarding gender. For instance, Gallagher (2004) argues that meaning of gender is not the same with women issue. Concept of the gender is intended with relationships between women and men (p. 157). Bruin (2004) gender identity has lots of different meanings and forms (p. 3). According to Ifegbesan (2010) gender mean is not sex. Gender is dissimilar with sex. Sex belongs to field of biology but gender depends on socio-cultural norms and power (p. 29). In terms of biology, gender is just a sex difference between man and woman. How woman is a sex man is a sex as much as woman do.

From the viewpoint of Martin and Halverson (Cited in, Ifegbesan, 2010: 9) gender stereotype is one type of "*subjective perception of what a man or woman should be or how people should behave*" (Ifegbesan, 2010, p. 29). According to Hall (2000) as a concept, gender role and gender stereotype are similar. Gender roles can be described with attitude; a gender stereotype is based on belief about personality traits that is suitable with masculinity and femininity (p. 160). From childhood of the people, they grow up with some stereotype beliefs on how they should behave in the community; if baby is a girl, her position, status and attitudes becomes having a form from beginning of the her infancy. Girl should wear dress and skirt, have long hair,

play with dolls, has to be cute as a lady, learn how to cook by her mother and expect to be more emotional. On the other hand, boys should wear trousers, have short hair, play with cars, has to be strong and powerful, learn how to repair electronic materials and cars, and shouldn't be emotional.

In report of Fondazione Giacomo Brodolini, Italy, European Union on Mass Media in (Re) Distribution of Power (2004) describes sex roles, sex stereotypes, sex-role stereotypes, sex-trait stereotypes below:

> **"Sex roles** are defined in terms of activities of social significance in which the two sexes actually participate with differential frequency - that is, predominantly male activities, such as repairing cars and doing construction work, and predominantly female activities, such as keeping house and nursing. **Sex stereotypes**, on the other hand, have to do with general beliefs about men and women, and they may be conceptualized as operating at two different levels: **sex-role stereotypes**, which consist of beliefs concerning the general appropriateness of various roles and activities for men and for women; and **sex-trait stereotypes**, which consist of those psychological characteristics or behavioral traits that are believed to characterize men with much greater (or lesser) frequency than they characterize women" (p. 55).

Sex roles from point of patriarchal approach, to be mother, and housewife belong to social position of women: Being a leader, a manager, a politician belongs to men. Basically, a woman is just in position of a mother and rest of all other things which are related about private sphere such as; taking care of baby, cleaning and cooking. These are accepted duties of women by societies. The duties of men are to work, earn money and bring money to home. These two points identify sex-role stereotypes. Woman is not 'powerful' physically as she can't carry heavy things. She is 'emotional' and can 'cry easily', she has a tin body but men are strong, they can carry heavy things, they don't cry, they are not 'emotional' and they have 'powerful bodies'. This categorization comes up with sex-trait stereotypes.

Carlin & Winfrey (2009) mention sex object stereotype from the point of politics "Sex object stereotypes refer to both sexuality and sex roles; thus, everything from clothing and appearance, being seen as a sex object" (pp. 326-343). Clothes and accessories: 'bag', 'necklace', 'shoes', 'earrings' has promoter quality for sex object stereotypes. Politicians and their appearance will be presented in more details in part of the 2.2.3 Stereotype on Women Politicians in the present study.

2.2.2 Gender Stereotypes in the Politics

Stereotype exists in every part of the society; it also exists in the politics because of the women politicians expose to stereotype as well. This is also argued by Ellen K. Feder (1997) who mentions women and relationship between social and political circulation that:

> "In philosophy the history of the question of woman is an ancient one. Plato broaches it in his discussion of the ideal state when he includes women as members of the guardian class. The inclusion is equivalent to an abolition of the social roles of gender among philosopher-rulers, constituting a political indifference to the biological difference of sexual reproduction. Aristotle elaborates spheres of politics and friendship in which woman is not naturally suited to participate" (p. 1).

On the point of relationship about media and women, Carilli and Campbell (2005) state that as a word combination of woman and media had difficult duty because these words (media and woman) disagree with each other (p. xiii). Woman does not exist politically in the world of the media. In the media, woman is not just a woman; 'woman' also has many meanings inside of the media. First of all women contribute to sales graphic of the media. Media doesn't represent woman how they are, it represents them as getting shape on the women how they should appear. In order for women to be equal in the politics with men, they need to be shown as equal to the public firstly. This means that stereotyping women as part of the gender stereotyping

needs to be in the background of representation of women and women' career and success in the politics should be emphasized more. Larris & Maggio (2012) in 1970s several academic studies proved that male candidates are mentioned with their career, position and achievements but women candidates are generally mentioned with their appearance, individuality and private life. These differences between men and women candidates create just sexist language that damage on woman (p. 4). Montalbano-Phelps (2005) biological sex of the political candidate creates bias on gender acts which are suitable for man and woman by culture (p. 185).

According to Randall (1982), "Politics is about how people influence the distribution of resources." (p. 10). Moreover, for Randall (1982) politics as a science has been provide to focus on the position of women in the public sphere (p. 316). Generally life of women is limited with the private sphere that is included only home life.

Ross (2004) emphasizes the relationship between media, women, and politics; mostly media represents women politicians in stereotype (p. 68). "Women entering the political arena provide the news media with a problem. As women they embody a challenge to masculine authority. As active, powerful women they defy easy categorization. Often the media attempt to contain the threats they pose by trying to situate tem as 'women' rather than as 'politicians' " (Gallagher, 2001, pp. 80-81).

According to GidengilL & Everitt (2003):

> "To counteract this tendency and to show that they belong in the traditionally "masculine" world of politics, women running for elected office have attempted to emphasize stereotypically masculine traits by adopting strong stances on political issues and highlighting their toughness. However, this strategy of "talking tough" can backfire if media coverage focuses disproportionately on their counterstereotypical behavior" (p. 209).

Appearance of the women politicians highlighted in the media than their thoughts and achievement in the politics. Women politicians' duty reflected to audience limited by the stereotypical coverage in the media.

2.2.3 Stereotype on the Women Politicians

Women' image is stereotyped by their appearance. According to Montalbano- Phelps (2005) for women candidates' image, media focus on three categories. First one is perfect woman image such as mother and wife. This position is acceptable by traditional society. Second is woman presents same with male candidates such as there is no differences between women and male candidates only except dressing style of the women candidates. Lastly, as a member of the marginalized group, there are women (p. 195). From perspective of the media, probably politics is serious enough and in this area majority consists by men. Therefore, when women participate to the political area, the media mostly focuses on the appearance and private life.

Carilli & Campbell (2005) Clothing of the women politicians has become first preferred by the media (p.191). "Clothing and accessories are and important means of achieving the negation of the body: skirts, high-heeled shoes and handbags (all with 'feminine' styling for 'female' bodies and trousers (with pockets), ties, and flat shoes (all with 'masculine' styling) for 'male' bodies" (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004, p. 9). Also dressing style is categorized according to the sex which style suit on woman and which is for man.

In the media, concept of woman is used as a product. "The media also sells us 'normal' 'good' sex usually by association with some product to buy that will make

us more attractive: diets, fashion, cosmetics, exercise and even cosmetic surgery. Sex is very potent for the media because it sells twice: first the media text and second the products that it advertises" (Wykes, 2001, p. 145). For example, advertisements of shampoo are emphasizing that 'buy this shampoo and feel the differences'. Then text of advertisement appears with visual. After that, the visual is given by beautiful woman who has long and charming hair. For women audiences, there is a hidden message that 'you don't have hair like her if you use this shampoo then you will have hair like hers'.

Hole and Levine (cited in, Zoonen, 1994: 60) According to feminists, the media-created women is,

"(1) Wife, mother, and housekeeper for men,

(2) A sex object used to sell products to men,

(3) A person trying to be beautiful for men" (Zoonen, 1994, p. 60).

Woman just can be a mother; wife, sister, cook, tailor, nurse, teacher, and housekeeper all are related to stereotype. Also, women can't be a driver, leader, manager, doctor, prime minister, or minister, masculine and unfashionable. Media introduce and emphasize to audience this stereotypical approach.

Burrell, Huddy and Terkildsen (Cited in, Adams, 2011:4) also assert that women candidates in the politics covering with the stereotypical image such as mother and wife. Generally media focus on women candidates' appearance, dressing style, and private life but male candidates just evaluated with their issues (Adams, 2011, p. 4).

Related to male candidates, it is almost impossible to come across with stereotypical news on their private life, appearance, and dressing style. Male politicians portrayed as leaders and strong figures with their work by the media because appearance of male politicians is not remarkable, simply; enough to wear just suit, tie, brush hair as official style. An appearance of the women politicians ('accessories', 'shoes', 'hair style', and 'dressing style') is more remarkable than men politicians' appearances. In the social statue, even if woman is a politician, she is mother first, and wife if she is married. Then, profession of the woman becomes as a teacher, doctor, politician, or businesswoman in the public sphere. From perspective of the media, woman is a kind of object and product that inside of market. Therefore, media would like to use femininity face of the women. Social statue of the woman starts from motherhood. Then, her profession comes.

The approach of Larris & Maggio (2012) to politics and women is,

> "If Hillary Clinton had been a male presidential candidate of any race, her clothes and hair would have been far less written about. Therefore, it wasn't okay to discuss those in her case either, unless, of course, it was in the context of discussing other male candidates' hair and clothing in the same article" (p. 4).

Ross and Sreberny (Cited in, Ross, 2004:66) point out that when the media describe professions of women, sex is mentioned before her profession such as 'woman politician' (Ross, 2004, p. 66). Women politicians' chance is less for produce their success, and goals than men politicians in the media. These questions become first in the media for women politicians: which brand she is wear, which color is her shoes, she is blonde or brunette, which cosmetics she use on her face, how many children does she have, is she single or married, has she ever had plastic surgery? As a market

place, the media follows these questions about women politicians to make news more readable for audience. Media follows stereotypical way when it represents women politicians. There is a reality that sex always sell and sex plays important role of the media's tactic. By this approach, there is a question is looking for an answer. This question is 'why just woman's body is victimizing in the media and what about man?' Basically, first reason could be 'generally, owners of the media companies are man', second could be 'woman able to sell for woman and for man as well but man has weak position to sell for both; woman and man'. For example; in the perfume ads, doesn't matter perfume is for woman or for man; sexist approach is apply in the advertisements. Also, in the perfume ads (advertisements), generally the message is that 'if you use this perfume you will affect the opposite-sex'. Sexist approach always sells at a premium in the media.

According to Montalbano-Phelps (2005), women politicians' appearance is highlighted by media coverage (p. 190). Sometimes woman could create her own position on herself. If woman has attractive and feminine posture, it is kind of a signal for the media. Media expose potential facts out. If woman is politician, she also has to be careful about her side of femininity because every little thing about politician' womanhood carries news value and it creates stereotypical coverage in the media. According to Margaret Gallagher (Cited in, Jansen, 2007:212) in the news coverage of woman is mostly wife and mother. Headline of the news generally just consists by fashion and entertainment about women (Jansen, 2007, p. 212). Mostly, women are represents with stereotypical coverage; an appearance and private life of women is highlighted in the media.

2.3 Representation

Women's representation in the politics is argued differently by many writers and critics. For example, Hall (1997) explains:

> "One common sense usage of the term is as follows: 'Representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people.' Representation as an essential part of the process by which meaning is produces an exchange between members of a culture. It does involve the use of the language, of signs of images which stand for or represent things" (p. 15).

In report of Fondazione Giacomo Brodolini, Italy, European Union on Mass Media in (Re) Distribution of Power (2004) states that: "Representation of women and women politicians among them in the media is gendered and it reproduces the gender order and power relations of the society in a kind of black and white, stereotypical way. Women's role repertoire in the media content is much more narrow than in real life due to this biased portrayal from patriarchal point of view" (p. 3). Women are represent in the narrow framework by the media. From patriarchal point of view, women are limited with the duty of womanhood and motherhood.

In the media, women are represents stereotypical. Dominantly, woman is a mother, housewife, wife and housekeeper. "Media representations in general and of women in particular, are deeply embedded in political and economic contexts." (Gallagher, 2001, p. 6). Women are especially hidden in the context of the serious area such a politics and economy. Moreover, representation of women limited with the stereotype and the stereotypical representation has connection with the language of the media because language of the media effective factor on the representation.

2.3.1 Women Politicians in the Language of the Media

Media is a field of words and clichés that represent different parts of the world and people as media want it to. The Media has signs and symbols for this kind of representation because every each of word has connotation as a second mean of the words when news are emphasize to woman and generally these words are based on stereotypical words. "Signs are organize into languages and it is the existence of common languages which enable us to translate our thoughts (concepts) into words, sounds, or images, and then to use these, operating as a language to express meanings and communicate thoughts to other people" (Hall S. , 1997, p. 18).

Especially for professions, there are some words that integrated with the sex. In some name of professions sex become first. For example:

"COMMON GENDER	FEMALE
Doctor	woman doctor
Professor	woman professor
Engineer	woman engineer
Lawyer	lady lawyer
Reporter	girl reporter"

(Lei, 2006, p. 88).

At the beginning of the politics, there is an unfair struggle between women politicians and men politicians because in the any news, I have never seen any stereotyped on 'man politicians' that before their professions sex become first but for women politicians frequently sex is highlighted before the professions. In the text of the media, if politician is a woman, profession of woman is integrated with her sex.

2.3.2 Representation of the 20ᵗʰ Centuries Politicians

In the politics, there are women that show face of the power and to stamp of their name in the history of the politics. In the 20ᵗʰcentury; Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, Tansu Çiller, and Benazir Bhutto these politicians have occupied important status are and well-known politicians in their countries and in the whole word. This part of the study will briefly touch on the little nuances related to Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, Tansu Çiller, and Benazir Bhutto. Even if there is not much academic research and sources on representation of these politicians in the media, the present study seeks to provide some information about how politicians represented in the 20ᵗʰ century. Therefore, four important politic figures; Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, Tansu Çiller, and Benazir Bhutto will be as sample figures political.

2.3.2.1 Margaret Thatcher

Tenure (4 May 1979 – 28 November 1990) She is the first woman prime minister of the United Kingdom in the 20ᵗʰ century. Her nickname has been the 'iron lady' which is given by journalists. Gallagher (2001) argues that "When women disobey the rules of feminine behavior, they may be portrayed as 'iron women', aggressive or belligerent" (p. 81). Except political life, from the perspective of womanhood Margaret Thatcher is in the mind of the people with has blonde and monotype hair style, navy blue suits, pearl necklace and pearl earrings and brooch as her appearance. This appearance of Thatcher was highlighted in the media[3]. In the 2011,

---

[3]http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2116927/The-Iron-Lady-Margaret-Thatcher-good-spirits-public-outing.html,
http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/margaret-thatcher/8999746/How-Maggie-Thatcher-was-remade.html,
http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/politics/2012/09/margaret-thatcher%E2%80%99s-suits-fetch-%C2%A373000-auction,

a film was made with the name of 'The Iron Lady' [4]as a biographical movie. This movie was named after Margaret Thatcher because this biographical movie was based on her life. Margaret Thatcher portrayed was by Meryl Streep. In this movie, depict of Margaret Thatcher's appearance stand out by her dressing style, and accessories.

2.3.2.2 Indira Gandhi

Tenure (14 January 1980 – 31 October 1984) She is the first woman Prime Minister of India. She was assassinated on 1984 by Sheiks[5]. She is called, mother of the modern India. She is in addition to Margaret Thatcher named as the 'Iron Lady'[6] by the media. Obviously, Indira Gandhi was far from having as attractive appearance. According to her pictures, she looks immensely pure without make up or-accessories. Her photographs show that she wore Indian style dress with a shawl and she sometimes covers her head[7]. She appeared in the news just related to her achievements and what she did in politics. Moreover, her position, her power in the politics, and her masculine style present a serious portray in the media. Otherwise, if she put forward her femininity with her dressing style, make up and with hair style most likely media would make news about her appearance not about her political carrier. Also, her serious behavior, powerful appearance, masculine position played significant role in the representation of the media.

2.3.2.3 Tansu Çiller

Tenure (25 June 1993 - 6 March 1996) She is the first woman Prime Minister and the first woman Foreign Minister of Turkey. "A blonde, stylish woman stood behind a

---

[4] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Iron_Lady_(film)
[5] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indira_Gandhi
[6] http://www.sundaytimes.lk/111120/Timestwo/int015.html
[7] http://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/indira-gandhi-47.php

microphone at the Turkish Parliament in Ankara, on January 6, 1999" (Reinart, 1999, p. 80) "A book entitled Maskeli Leidy (The Masked Lady), an impeccably researched self-described "thriller" about Çiller written by Faruk Bildirici, a columnist in the daily newspaper Hürriyet, is a phenomenal best-seller in Turkey. It documents her family background, childhood, rise to power, accumulation of wealth and changes of political position. The "mask" refers to the winning smile on Çiller's face at each public appearance" (p. 80). Tansu Çiller was a popular political figure in Turkey. She has been the subject of the news with her appearance; hair style, and dressing style. Most recollective thing about Tansu Çiller is her speeches. In her speech she was address to women audiences like "Bacılarım" (my elder sisters). This statement emphasize to feminine approach.

2.3.2.4 Benazir Bhutto

Tenure (19 October 1993 – 5 November 1996) She is the first woman who had been president twice in Pakistan. She was assassinated in 2007. Her nickname was 'Iron Lady' like Indira Gandhi and Margaret Thatcher. In my evaluation, if a politician who had a nickname as an iron lady, means that she keeps herself far from fashion therefore media can't highlight on her appearance. Iron lady, portrayed by Benazir Bhutto showed simply a noble woman figure to audience.

In the 20th century, these politicians were internationally known. Research on the representation of the politicians in the media sources is limited. For this reason, the present study briefly tried to evaluate how these politicians were represented in the 20th century. This briefly evaluation shows that stereotypical representation on the women politicians is inevitable; their accessories, appearance, private life was preferred in the media. However, the present study asserts that even appearance of women politicians is focus the media, sometimes stereotypical representation

supported by women politicians because if dressing style of a politician is not official enough and her style bring sexuality to mind, politician could precipitate on the stereotypical representation in the media. Instead of the feminine side of Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, Tansu Çiller, and Benazir Bhutto, they were frequently in the news with their achievements in the politics therefore except Tansu Çiller, Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto are also named as 'Iron Lady' in the media. If a politician is named as 'Iron Lady' it may show that before her sex her profession comes first in the text of the news. By this part of the study, representation of the 21st century's politicians could compare with representation of the 20th century's politicians according to the output of the study.

2.4 Journalism

Journalism is a sort of profession that transmits the news for the whole world. Journalism is each and main profession of the media. People are easily aware about the world through journalism. "Journalism is both a profession and a craft, since journalists draw on specialized skills and adhere to common standards" (Potter, 2006, p. 2). Generally, when journalism, in mentioned print comes to mind of the people first but in the era of technology online journalism also valid through the internet.

People mostly spend their time in front of the computer because computer provides information about anything through the internet therefore digital newspapers are actively used by audiences as well. Nowadays, people would like to have information easily and quickly. Therefore digital newspapers are recently preferred more than traditional journalism (print newspapers) by people; with just a click it is

easy to reach updated news which gives on the point. "The Internet has made it possible for people all over the world to communicate with one another effectively and inexpensively. The Internet has brought new opportunities to government, business, and education. It has also become indispensable for the newspaper business" (Çakır, 2007, p. 124). Moreover, digital newspapers are free also if people want to search about any news in the history, online newspapers generally have archive scanning system tool on their websites through this system people can search for any news on the archive. For the present study, the news is collected from archive scanning system of the digital newspapers on the website of the selected newspapers.

2.4.1 On-Line Journalism

In the previous part; Journalism, digital low nations is briefly mentioned. "Journalism on digital networks, and specifically on Internet, is a relatively recent phenomenon, whose spread began in approximately 1994, in parallel to that of the World Wide Web" (Noci, 2007, p. 11). Digital media is a new communication channel for the media and the digital media is effective and strong channel therefore its instantly well-accepted by the people. For the newspapers, traditional journalism (print journalism) also moved to internet journalism (digital journalism) nowadays. Therefore, mostly newspapers have digital version of their print newspapers on the internet and the digital newspaper available through websites of the newspapers.

"The first representative of the Turkish press in Internet was the newspaper Zaman. Its first online issue was published on December 2, 1995, while the newspaper Milliyet was the second to take place in Internet, on November 26, 1996. Milliyet was followed by the newspapers Hürriyet, Sabah and Akşam" (Birsen, 2010, p. 3).

According to Çakır (2007), on-line journalism has many advantages. One of the advantages is people can easily reach the news in the archives (p. 140). Moreover, the digital newspapers are not directly reflection of the print newspapers. Generally, digital newspapers could contain different coverage than print one in the news and picture of the news could be more sensational; this discrepancy could observed between digital newspapers and print. Therefore news value may change according to coverage of the news.

2.4.2 News Values

News values are based on some criteria and it according to change socio-economic norms of the countries. "Definitions of news are not fixed. Many lists of news values have been drawn up, and news values can change over time, from place to place, and between different sectors of the news media" (Harcup, 2009, p. 171). For the news, important things are such proximity, emotion, impact and timeliness. The cliché statement is on news value that *"when a dog bites a man it's not news, but when a man bites a dog it is"*.

The present study is interested with stereotype content news because one of the aims is evaluate frequency of usage of the stereotypical words in the news according to section of the news (headline, subtitle and text) in the study. Women generally have narrow framework about their representation in the media and they are represents with limited and stereotypical words in the media texts. Generally, the media uses sexual coverage on the women for make more sensational news. For the women politicians, media apply sexual coverage as well.

Politics news are belong to hard news as type of the news and these news are mention on important and serious events but in the study stereotypical words are observed in the hard news on women politicians as well.

2.4.3 Types of News and Women in the News

In the study, hard news and soft news were analyzed as type of the news for the representation of women in politics as well. News are also categorize as two types. Hard news are generally male-oriented, soft news are for woman. Obviously, news shows importance of the differences between man and woman; more important news is male-oriented as a 'hard news' like politics, economy and for less important news are woman-oriented as 'soft news' like fashion, entertainment, education, and health "Women are still concentrated in sectors considered to be 'soft' news, such as those with an emphasis on 'human interest' stories, features and the delivery of a magazine style of journalism." (Chambers, Steiner, & Fleming, 2004, p. 1). It shows that how woman locate in to entertainment sector by media. Bruin (2004) classification of news as a,

> "Hard news includes issues believed to be important men because they relate to spheres in which men dominate such as politics, the economy, and business. Soft news includes issues related to social spheres, such as health care, education, child care, where women traditionally dominate and where they are defined as consumers (consumer news). The second logic assumes that women and men are interested in and derive pleasure from different subjects and topics. These gender divisions also draw on gender differences found in other areas of popular culture, science, and crime derive from a male logic and personal relations, human interest, fashion, and home-making are guided by a female logic" (Bruin, 2004, pp. 82-83).

"Soft news was the stuff of the 'popular' press, now dependent on larger audience, including women and the working classes, for advertising sales" (Wykes, 2001, p. 144). Soft news is for do keep far the audience from daily, routine, and stressful

things because during the day people are under stress therefore with the soft news which have entertainment, fashion, health, education makes audiences little relax. Soft news sells more than hard news because hard news is on the reality about the whole word. In the hard news, authors can't play in the news because hard news has to be an objective as much as possible. In the newsroom, at the preparation phase of the news male journalists are more effective than women journalists because as average male are more than women in the newsroom.

2.4.4 Women in the Newsroom

Media owners can't escape to reflect their ideology on their channels. "Media organizations, organized as individual companies, all have their hierarchies, practices, processes, and work routines, which more or less prohibit the use of alternative approaches to events and the use of different perspectives" (Bruin, 2004, p. 55).

Media companies are working together with their owners' ideology. Moreover, media companies can't be independent, free, and completely objective. According to Kitzinger (1998) process of news production is not a process that impartial and uncommitted (p. 186). Holland (1998) points out that "Consideration of the position of women in the popular press points to the need for an evaluation of the political implications of this interplay between fact and fantasy, 'information' and entertainment. This means that, the visual presentations of a newspaper, the size of the headlines, the style of language used are never side issues" (p. 29).

Agenda setting depends on men because media organization has commonly man worker such as editors, journalists, and authors therefore man hold to agenda in their

hand. "Editors and publishers regarded women as consumers rather than as producers of news." (Chambers, Steiner, & Fleming, 2004, p. 15). Moreover Dijk (1992) also states that journalist are generally men women still has narrow place in newsrooms such a senior editorial position (p. 24). According to Byerly & Ross (2006) in this world generally politicians, journalist, managers and leaders are men. And this male-dominated world will continue as a circle (p. 47). Stereotypical ideas has to move away from mind of the people first because already women can proof that they can be successful in the any area of the business. Stereotype is obstruct that reflection of the real and objective woman image therefore, position of the women is restrict in the media.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

In the present study, this chapter sets out the structure of research methodology in order to show 'how the study will reach its goals.' This chapter includes research methodology and design, research context, population and sample, data collection and analysis techniques and research procedures.

3.1 Research Methodology and Design

This present study has been chose quantitative research methodology. According to Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004) quantitative research is "Provides precise, quantitative, numerical data" (p. 19). "Quantitative research creates meaning through objectivity uncovered in the collected data" (Williams, Research Methods, 2007, p. 66). Quantitative method is suitable for the present study because most important aim is to provide objectivity with statistical results for conduct the study.

Quantitative methods include content analysis. "Content analysis review *forms of human communication* including books, newspapers, and films as well as other forms in order to identify patterns, themes, or biases" (Williams, 2007, p. 69). Content analysis used for understand which message wanted to give audience and which words are consisted of the text. "Content analysis is used to develop objective inferences about a subject of interest any type of communication" (Kondracki, Wellman, & Amendson, 2002, p. 224). "Content analysis is used to study a broad range of 'texts' from transcripts of interviews and discussions in clinical and social

research to the narrative and form of films, TV programs and the editorial and advertising content of newspapers and magazines" (Macnamara, 2005, p. 1). Macnamara (2005) also mentioned that "Quantitative content analysis collects data about media content such as topics or issues, volume of mentions, 'messages' determined by key words in context (KWIC), circulation of the media (audience reach) and frequency"(Macnamara, 2005, p. 4). In the web site of the news improved organization mentioned on content analysis works not just on the print, it can work on digital as well (www.newsimproved.com). Content analysis applied on the digital news in the present study.

For the present study the comparison is the research design. According to Bouma & Atkinson (1995) a comparative study is "involves comparing one measure of two or more groups" (p.117). In the present study, there are four groups that will be analyzed. These groups are; Zaman, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet and Sabah Newspapers. In these four newspapers, analyze is applied for how women politicians are represented and what is the differences between newspapers on the representation. Second comparison is on the newspapers; how opinion newspapers (Zaman and Cumhuriyet) and popular newspapers (Hürriyet and Sabah) are represented women politicians, is there any significant difference among them (opinion newspapers and popular newspapers)? Third comparison is on the stereotypical words. In the present study, stereotypical words are classified according to (appearance, private life, emotional appeal, age, 'women politician', sexual appeal). According to this classification aim is to explore which words are used frequently in the news. Last comparison is on section of the news because news is analyzed according to the section (headline, subtitle and text) to understand which section is frequently used stereotypical word.

The present study sets out to investigate whether there are any significant differences between four newspapers, opinion newspapers (Zaman and Cumhuriyet) and popular newspapers, stereotypical words and frequency of usage of the stereotypical words according to section of the news. For these comparisons fifteen women politicians of the 21st century are selected from Europe, North America, South America, Asia, Africa and Australia.

3.2 Research Context

This part of the study seeks to give information about the context of the study. This present study is selected four national newspapers which publish in Turkey. These newspapers are Zaman, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet and Sabah. Also, importance of the newspapers is Zaman and Cumhuriyet are opinion newspapers, Hürriyet and Sabah are popular newspapers; its means that they have different political view and purposes. Moreover, these newspapers are in the top ranking of the most widely circulated newspapers in Turkey.

In the present study, the digital newspapers are used for analysis. Digital newspapers are available on the website of the newspapers on the internet. The newspapers has digital version as print one on their website.

3.2.1 Cumhuriyet Newspaper

Cumhuriyet Newspaper started the publishing on 17 May 1924 in Turkey. This name of newspaper is given by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. "*Cumhuriyet* is leftist, strongly nationalistic, and secularist, critical of both the Fethullah Gülen sect and the AKP government" (Open Source Center Media Aid, 2008, p. 6). Cumhuriyet is a daily neswpaper.

3.2.2 Hürriyet Newspaper

Hürriyet Newspaper is a daily newspaper and was established in 1948 in Turkey by Sedat Simavi. Since 1994, this newspaper belongs to Aydın Doğan/ Doğan Media Group. Hürriyet supports Nationalism and Kemalism as political views.

3.2.3 Sabah Newspaper

Sabah Newspaper was founded in 1985 in Turkey by Dinç Bilgin and the current owner is Turkuvaz Media Group. Sabah is a daily newspaper and its political view is center-right and liberal democrat.

3.2.4 Zaman Newspaper

Zaman was started to the published in 1986 in Turkey. The Owner of this newspaper is Feza Gazetecilik (the newspaper business). Political view of Zaman is neoconservative- democrat.

3.3 Population and Sample of the Study

For Content analysis news are selected according to the fifteen women politicians of the 21st century. The fifteen women politicians are from different continents; Asia, Europe, North America, South America, Australia, and Africa. According to alphabetic order of their first name, these politicians are Angela Merkel (Germany), Cristina Kirchner (Argentina), Dilma Rousseff (Brazil), Ellen Johonson Sirleaf (Liberia), Johanna Sigurdardottir (Iceland), Helle Thorning-Schmidt (Denmark), Hillary Clinton (U.S.A), Hina Rabbani Khar (Pakistan), Julia Gillard (Australia), Mara Carfagna (Italy), Nimet Çubukçu (Turkey), Roza Otunbayeva (Kyrgyzstan), Sarah Palin (U.S.A), Segolene Royal (France) and Yulia Timoşenko (Ukraine). There is brief information about the fifteen politicians on the Table 1.

In the present study, the fifteen women politicians' news is evaluated which mentioned their name in the news. These politicians are selected according to continents of the worlds therefore distribution of the fifteen politicians is unequal. In the world, there are many women politicians especially in Scandinavia but these fifteen politicians' news are selected as sample in the study because mostly these fifteen politicians are highlighted in the Turkish news.

Sample of the study is important because sample helps to make generalization of the study. "Sampling provides a means of gaining information about the population without the need to examine the population in its entirety." (NAO National Audit Office, 1992, p. 4). The fifteen politicians and the politicians' news are identified as sample. Total 540 news are selected according to stereotype which are carried any stereotypical word or picture. Aim is the determine that which stereotypical words used more often in the news. In the selected news there is no equal distribution according to the fifteen politicians because time limitation is identified according to the beginning of the office time of the politician till end of the office time of the politician first. If politician still carry on in office, searching will go on till the end of the year of the 2011 (31.12.2011) already the present study is consisted 21st centuries politicians only therefore politician had to start her duty in the 2000 at least. Due to this reason, equality couldn't provide between distributions of the news according to fifteen politicians. "The target population is sampled using a sampling frame" (NAO National Audit Office, 1992, p. 6). In the present study, Nonproportional Random Sampling strategy applied for the selected sample.

Table 1: Selected fifteen women politicians of the 21st century for Analysis

NO.	NAME	COUNTRY	DATE OF STARTING	DATE OF END	POSITION IN THE POLITICS
1.	Angela Merkel	Germany	22 .11.2005	Present	Prime Minister and first woman prime minister in Germany.
2.	Cristina Kirchner	Argentina	10.12.2007	Present	President of Argentina. She is the first woman president of Argentina and she is wife of previous president of Argentina's Nestor Kirchner.
3.	Dilma Rousseff	Brazil	01.01.2011	Present	President She is the first woman president of Brazil
4.	Ellen Johnson Sirleaf	Liberia	16.01.2006	Present	President She is the first woman president of Africa.
5.	Johanna Sigurdardottir	Iceland	01.02.2009	Present	Prime Minister She is the first woman prime minister of Iceland and first lesbian head of government in the world.
6.	Helle Thorning-Schmidt	Denmark	03.10.2011	Present	Prime Minister She is the first woman prime minister of Denmark.
7.	Hillary Clinton	U.S.A	21.01.2009	Present	Minister of Foreign Affairs In history of U.S.A, she is the first woman candidate who was close to be president. Moreover, she is wife of 42nd president of U.S.A-Bill Clinton.
8.	Hina Rabbani Khar	Pakistan	13.02.2011	19.07.2011	Minister of Foreign Affairs She is the first woman Minister of Foreign Affairs in Pakistan
9.	Julia Gillard	Australia	24.06.2010	Present	President She is the first woman president of Australia
10.	Mara Carfagna	Italy	08.05.2008	16.11.2011	Minister for Equal Opportunity in Italy
11.	Nimet Çubukçu	Turkey	01.05.2009	06.06.2011	Minister of Education She is the first woman minister of education in Turkey. Moreover, she is the first woman minister who has been six years minister in Turkey.

12.	Roza Otunbayeva	Kyrgyzstan	03.07.2010	01.12.2011	President She is the third president of Kyrgyzstan, first woman president and first minister of foreign affairs. In history of Turkey she is second woman leader after then Tansu Çiller.
13.	Sarah Palin	U.S.A	2008 , election in U.S.A	20.01.2009 End of presidential poll	Governor of Alaska She was the candidate for vice-president in 2008 elected of U.S.A.
14.	Segolene Royal	France	2007 , election in France	16.05.2007 End of presidential poll	She is the first woman who was candidate for presidential poll in France
15.	Yulia Timoşenko	Ukraine	18.12.2007	03.03.2010	President She is the first woman president in Ukraine

3.4 Data Collection and Analysis Techniques

In the present study, news has been selected through the archive scanning system of the online newspapers on the internet and data has been collected through content analysis. Content analysis applied in the 540 news and the selected news identified according to stereotype because the selected 540 news contain any stereotypical word in the section of the news (headline, subtitle and text). Aim is to know that which word is used often in the news. In the study, some stereotype words are taken as the based for content analysis as key words/coding words. Stereotypical words are categorized such appearance; 'psychical appearance', 'clothing', 'accessories', 'hair style', 'plastic surgery', 'make-up', 'shoes' and 'other', private life; 'marital statue', 'love or relationship', 'family', 'health', 'cook or housework' and 'other', emotional appeal; 'motherhood', 'animal love', 'cry' and 'other', age, 'woman' politician and sexual appeal; 'sexy', 'beautiful', 'charming', 'attractive' and 'other' also picture of the news categorized; 'sexuality', 'motherhood', 'emotional' and 'other') and evaluated as well. According to categorization, the 540 news is entered in SPSS 17.0 program for analysis.
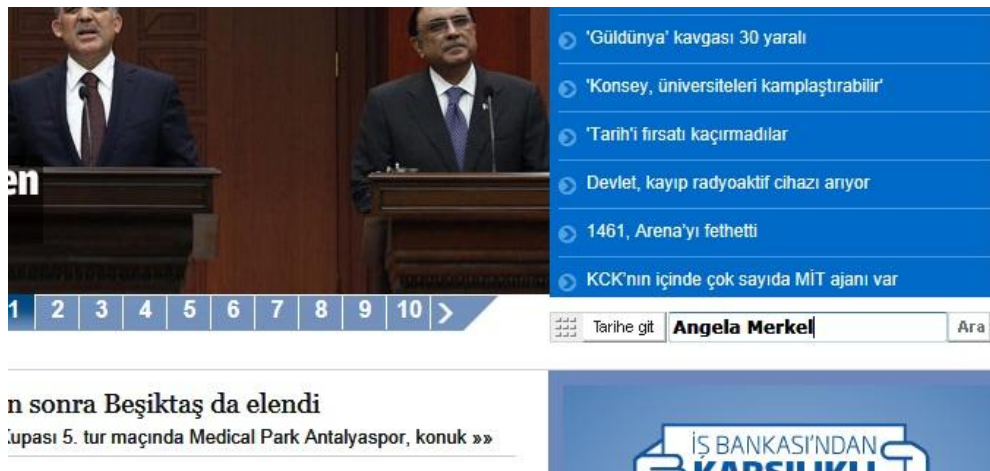
Figure 1: Website Appearance of the Zaman on the Internet
(Website: www.zaman.com.tr)

On the website of the Zaman, there is an archive scanning tool at the right side of the

screen.

Figure 2: Website Appearance of the Sabah on the Internet
(Website: www.sabah.com.tr)

On the web-site of the online (digital) newspaper of the Sabah, there is an archive

searching tool at top of the right side.

Figure 3: Website Appearance of the Hürriyet on the Internet,
(Website: www.hürriyet.com.tr)

Hürriyet Newspaper's archive scanning tool is at top of the right side of the screen.

Figure 4: Website Appearance of the Cumhuriyet on the
(Website: www.cumhuriyet.com.tr)

Cumhuriyet Newspaper's archive tool is at the right side on the top.

3.5 Data Analysis Procedures

The data are collected on the web site of the four newspapers; Zaman, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet and Sabah according to the fifteen politicians. The 540 news is identified according to the time limitation of the present study first. Then, the news is picked up if the news contains any stereotypical word inside of the news' sections (headline, subtitle and text). Afterward, content analysis is applied according to the stereotypical categorization of the study. Lastly, according to the categorization data (the 540 selected news) were entered on the SPSS 17.0 (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) program for analysis.

Chapter 4

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This section of the study analyzes the data which are obtained from newspapers, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Sabah and Zaman, according to the fifteen selected politicians. In the first step of analysis, the 540 news with stereotype content were collected by the scanning tool of online archives on the web sites of the newspapers (digital newspaper) and coded. For the present study, the aim is to analyze 'which of stereotypical words are frequently use in the headlines, subtitles, or text of the news according to the categorization (appearance; 'psychical appearance', 'clothing', 'accessories', 'hair style', 'plastic surgery', 'make-up', 'shoes' and 'other', private life; 'marital statue', 'love or relationship', 'family', 'health', 'cook or housework' and 'other', emotional appeal; 'motherhood', 'animal love', 'cry' and 'other', age, 'woman' politician and sexual appeal; 'sexy', 'beautiful', 'charming', 'attractive' and 'other') of the study, whether the news is supported with any stereotypical photographs according to categorization of the study ('sexuality', 'motherhood', 'emotional' and 'other') or not by content analysis on the SPSS program / Crosstab analysis.

The distribution of the selected fifteen politicians' news are unequal according to the four selected Turkish newspapers that reason is already mentioned more detailed in the Chapter 3 / Population and Sample of the Study.

In the present study, data will be analyzing according to the eight research questions. This reason is to know that test will support hypothesis of the study or not. Rests of the results of the research are available in the appendix part of the study.

In the present study, the selected 540 news is not equal according to the fifteen politicians and the four selected newspapers. Therefore there are also questions on the distributions as research questions of the study; *1) what is the distribution of the evaluated news according to the newspapers?* And *2) what is the distribution of the evaluated news according to the fifteen selected politicians?* The 540 news are selected according to stereotypical words. Each of the 540 news has any stereotype on the selected women politicians.

The distribution also will show that which politicians' news has more stereotypes in the newspapers (Cumhuriyet, Zaman, Sabah and Hürriyet) and which of the four selected newspapers is represented politicians with stereotypical words more.

The news of the politicians is selected according to beginning of politicians' office time till their end of the office time. Some of the politicians currently still carry on their office. Therefore, for those politicians time is limited from beginning of their office time till end of the year of the 2011 (31.12.2011). On the table below shows that evaluated news contains.

Table 2: Duration of the Politicians for Analysis

No.	POLITICIAN	BEGINNING OF THE OFFICE TIME	ENDING OF THE OFFICE TIME	TIME LIMITATION	YEAR
1.	Angela Merkel- Germany	22 .11.2005	Currently Continue	31.12.2011	7
2.	Ellen Johnson Sirleaf- Liberia	16.01.2006	Currently Continue	31.12.2011	6
3.	Cristina Kirchner- Argentina	10.12.2007	Currently Continue	31.12.2011	5
4.	Mara Carfagna- Italy	08.05.2008	16.11.2011	31.12.2011	4
5.	Yulia Timoşenko- Ukraine	18.12.2007	03.03.2010	31.12.2010	4
6.	Hillary Clinton- U.S.A	21.01.2009	Currently Continue	31.12.2011	3
7.	Johanna Sigurdardottir- Iceland	01.02.2009	Currently Continue	31.12.2011	3
8.	Nimet Çubukçu- Turkey	01.05.2009	06.06.2011	31.12.2011	3
9.	Dilma Rousseff- Brazil	01.01.2011	Currently Continue	31.12.2011	2
10.	Julia Gillard- Australia	24.06.2010	Currently Continue	31.12.2011	2
11.	Roza Otunbayeva- Kyrgyzstan	03.07.2010	01.12.2011	01.12.2011	2
12.	Segolene Royal- France	2007 , election in France	16.05.2007 End of presidential poll	31.12.2007	2
13.	Helle Thorning-Schmidt- Denmark	03.10.2011	Currently Continue	31.12.2011	1
14.	Hina Rabbani-Pakistan	13.02.2011	19.07.2011	31.12.2011	1
15.	Sarah Palin- U.S.A	2008 , election in U.S.A	20.01.2009 End of presidential poll	31.12.2008	1

Angela Merkel, the German politician has 7 years, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf 6 years, Cristina Kirchner's 5-year news has been the subjects are taken into consideration in the process on the total number of the news of Zaman, Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, and Sabah which are used in the study for analysis. Two politicians for 4 years, 3 politicians for 3years, 4 politicians for 2 years and 3 politicians for a year data of news used in the study. The table shows those durations of the politician for evaluations. This limitation is identified according to office term of the politicians.

Table 3: The Distribution of the Selected 540 News According to the Politicians and

the Newspapers

| | | NEWSPAPER | | | | |
		Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	Total
Angela Merkel	Count	9	59	20	5	93
	% within POLITICIANS	9,7%	63,4%	21,5%	5,4%	100,0%
	% within NEWSPAPERS	11,4%	21,0%	14,6%	11,6%	17,2%
Cristina Kirchner	Count	7	17	6	3	33
	% within POLITICIANS	21,2%	51,5%	18,2%	9,1%	100,0%
	% within NEWSPAPERS	8,9%	6,0%	4,4%	7,0%	6,1%
Dilma Rousseff	Count	14	19	7	5	45
	% within POLITICIANS	31,1%	42,2%	15,6%	11,1%	100,0%
	% within NEWSPAPERS	17,7%	6,8%	5,1%	11,6%	8,3%
Ellen Johnson Sirleaf	Count	4	7	3	1	15
	% within POLITICIANS	26,7%	46,7%	20,0%	6,7%	100,0%
	% within NEWSPAPERS	5,1%	2,5%	2,2%	2,3%	2,8%
Johanna Sigurdardottir	Count		5	6	2	13
	% within POLITICIANS		38,5%	46,2%	15,4%	100,0%
	% within NEWSPAPERS		1,8%	4,4%	4,7%	2,4%
Helle Thorning-Schmidt	Count	4	6	2	2	14
	% within POLITICIANS	28,6%	42,9%	14,3%	14,3%	100,0%
	% within NEWSPAPERS	5,1%	2,1%	1,5%	4,7%	2,6%
Hillary Clinton	Count	3	24	10	5	42
	% within POLITICIANS	7,1%	57,1%	23,8%	11,9%	100,0%
	% within NEWSPAPERS	3,8%	8,5%	7,3%	11,6%	7,8%
Hina Rabbani Khar	Count	1	7	4	1	13
	% within POLITICIANS	7,7%	53,8%	30,8%	7,7%	100,0%
	% within NEWSPAPERS	1,3%	2,5%	2,9%	2,3%	2,4%
Julia Gillard	Count	5	14	7	4	30
	% within POLITICIANS	16,7%	46,7%	23,3%	13,3%	100,0%
	% within NEWSPAPERS	6,3%	5,0%	5,1%	9,3%	5,6%
Mara Carfagna	Count	1	19	12	2	34
	% within POLITICIANS	2,9%	55,9%	35,3%	5,9%	100,0%
	% within NEWSPAPERS	1,3%	6,8%	8,8%	4,7%	6,3%
Nimet Çubukçu	Count	5	14	13	6	38
	% within POLITICIANS	13,2%	36,8%	34,2%	15,8%	100,0%
	% within NEWSPAPERS	6,3%	5,0%	9,5%	14,0%	7,0%
Roza Otunbayeva	Count	1	3	1	1	6
	% within POLITICIANS	16,7%	50,0%	16,7%	16,7%	100,0%
	% within NEWSPAPERS	1,3%	1,1%	,7%	2,3%	1,1%
Sarah Palin	Count	18	57	15	5	95
	% within POLITICIANS	18,9%	60,0%	15,8%	5,3%	100,0%
	% within NEWSPAPERS	22,8%	20,3%	10,9%	11,6%	17,6%
Segolene Royal	Count	6	24	29		59
	% within POLITICIANS	10,2%	40,7%	49,2%		100,0%
	% within NEWSPAPERS	7,6%	8,5%	21,2%		10,9%
Yulia Timoþenko	Count	1	6	2	1	10
	% within POLITICIANS	10,0%	60,0%	20,0%	10,0%	100,0%
	% within NEWSPAPERS	1,3%	2,1%	1,5%	2,3%	1,9%
Total	Count	79	281	137	43	540
	% within POLITICIANS	14,6%	52,0%	25,4%	8,0%	100,0%
	% within NEWSPAPERS	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 4: Chi- Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	72,349[a]	42	,002
Likelihood Ratio	74,825	42	,001
Linear-by-Linear Association	,840	1	,360
N of Valid Cases	540		

a. 29 cells (48,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,48.

What is the distribution of the evaluated news according to the fifteen selected politicians?

According to the distributions, Sarah Palin has most evaluated news (Zaman: 18, Hürriyet: 57, Sabah: 15 and Cumhuriyet: 5, Total: 95. The percentages within politicians are Zaman: 18,9%, Hürriyet: 60,0%, Sabah: 15,8% and Cumhuriyet: 5,3%. The percentages within newspapers are Zaman: 22,8%, Hürriyet: 20,3%, Sabah: 10,9 and Cumhuriyet: 11,6%) than other politicians. Then, the German politician Angela Merkel follows to Sarah Palin with total 93 evaluated news (Zaman: 9, Hürriyet: 59, Sabah: 20 and Cumhuriyet: 5. The percentage within politicians are Zaman: 9,7%, Hürriyet: 63,4%, Sabah: 21,5 and Cumhuriyet: 5,4%. The percentages within newspapers are Zaman: 11,4%, Hürriyet: 21,0%, Sabah: 14,6% and Cumhuriyet: 11,6%). At least news evaluated on Roza Otunbayeva; Zaman: 1, Hürriyet: 3, Sabah: 1 and Cumhuriyet: 1 as count. Total, the 6 news are evaluated for Roza Otunbayeva. Then, Yulia Timoşenko the Ukrainian leader follows to Roza Otunbayeva as last but one according to the analysis.

What is the distribution of the evaluated news according to the newspapers?

Distribution of the 540 selected news according to the newspapers; Zaman: 79, Hürriyet: 281, Sabah: 137 and Cumhuriyet: 45. The percentages are Zaman: 14,6%, Hürriyet: 52,0%, Sabah: 25,4% and Cumhuriyet: 8,0% within the politicians. This analysis shows that popular news (Hürriyet and Sabah) are given more stereotypical news about women politicians than opinion newspapers (Zaman and Cumhuriyet) in the selected 540 news because news are selected according to the stereotype content and the stereotype content means is a news has to be any words that stereotype.

According to the fifteen selected women politicians popular politicians are Sarah Palin first then Angela Merkel becomes for newspapers. The Significance differences were observed within politicians and newspapers according to the Chi-Square Test.

Table 5: The Distribution of the Hard News and Soft News According to the Newspapers

			Newspapers				
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	Total
Newscategory	Hard news	Count	67	156	67	32	322
		% within Newscategory	20,8%	48,4%	20,8%	9,9%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	84,8%	55,5%	48,9%	74,4%	59,6%
		% of Total	12,4%	28,9%	12,4%	5,9%	59,6%
	Soft news	Count	12	125	70	11	218
		% within Newscategory	5,5%	57,3%	32,1%	5,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	15,2%	44,5%	51,1%	25,6%	40,4%
		% of Total	2,2%	23,1%	13,0%	2,0%	40,4%
Total		Count	79	281	137	43	540
		% within Newscategory	14,6%	52,0%	25,4%	8,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	14,6%	52,0%	25,4%	8,0%	100,0%

Table 6: Chi- Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	33,236[a]	3	,000
Likelihood Ratio	36,257	3	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	5,671	1	,017
N of Valid Cases	540		

a. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 17,36.

What kind of news (hard news or soft news) has more stereotypical coverage related about the selected politicians?

In the study, the selected 540 news are classified and then evaluated according to the type of the news that 'hard news' and 'soft news'. The reason is to know that stereotype words are mostly given in the hard news or soft news for the politicians. Basically, expectation is soft news are has more stereotype because soft news are

included fashion, entertainment such feminine things than hard news. According to the analysis, table shows that in the selected 540 news stereotypical words are more referring in the hard news than soft news for the politicians because the politics news belongs to the hard news category. Therefore, politicians appear in hard news more with stereotypical words. According to the newspapers and news category, distribution of the news is; hard news; Zaman: 67, Hürriyet: 156, Sabah: 67, Cumhuriyet: 32 and Total: the 322 news belongs to the hard news category in the 540 news. From Zaman, total 79 news are taken for analysis and this 79 news are consists by total 67 hard news. Its means that Zaman is represented women politicians generally in the hard news. Moreover, it shows that for women politicians stereotypical words are mentioned in the hard news. Total 281 news are taken in the Hürriyet and the 156 hard news are referred any stereotypical words about the politicians. In the Cumhuriyet, total 43 news are evaluated and in the 43 news, the 32 news are belongs to the hard news category. For Sabah, total the 137 news are evaluated and in the 137 news, the 67 news are in the hard news category.

What is the distribution of the hard news and soft news according to the newspapers?

In the soft news category, Zaman: 12, Hürriyet: 125, Sabah: 70 and Cumhuriyet: 11news have. The percentages of soft news are Zaman: 5,5%, Hürriyet: 57,3%, Sabah: 32,1% and Cumhuriyet: 5,0% within news category. The percentages of the soft news are Zaman: 15,2%, Hürriyet: 44,5%, Sabah: 51,1% and Cumhuriyet: 25,6% within newspapers. According to the Chi-Square test there are significance differences between the news categories according to the distribution of the newspapers.

The opinion newspapers; Zaman and Cumhuriyet have more hard news in the selected 540 as percentage if the popular newspapers, Hürriyet and Sabah were referred stereotypical news in the soft news more than hard news for the politicians. This is kind of proof that the popular newspapers generally apply for more sensational news if aim of the Zaman and Cumhuriyet is political view issue.

Which stereotypical words are frequently used in the news inside of the categorization of the study (appearance, privacy, emotional appeal, age of the politicians, 'woman politician' and sex appeal)?

In the study, stereotypical words are categorized according to the appearance; 'psychical appearance', 'clothing', 'accessories', 'hair style', 'plastic surgery', 'make-up', 'shoes' and 'other', private life; 'marital statue', 'love or relationship', 'family', 'health', 'cook or housework' and 'other', emotional appeal; 'motherhood', 'animal love', 'cry' and 'other', age, 'woman' politician and sexual appeal; 'sexy', 'beautiful', 'charming', 'attractive' and 'other'. Also, these words are evaluated according to the section of the news (headline, subtitle and text). Aim is to know that which section of the news was referred stereotypical words more than other section of the news. Moreover, this analysis will show that which words are highlighted in the news inside of the categorizations.

First of all stereotypical words on the appearance will be indicated according to the section of the news. The categorization of the appearance is on these words; 'psychical appearance', 'clothing', 'accessories', 'hair style', 'plastic surgery', 'make-up', 'shoes' and 'other'.

The present study has taken digital version of the Turkish newspapers on the internet as source of the analysis. Therefore, the news' written language is in Turkish. In this study, Turkish words are translated in English. There are some words that emphasized stereotype but the word is just specific in the Turkish language. In following of the study, those words will be indicated in Turkish as well.

Table 7: Reference to Appearance in Headline

			Newspapers				Total
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	Total
Reference to Appearence in the Headline	Physical appearence	Count	0	1	1	1	3
		% within Reference to Appearence in the Headline	,0%	33,3%	33,3%	33,3%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	4,3%	14,3%	50,0%	8,1%
	Clothing	Count	0	9	3	1	13
		% within Reference to Appearence in the Headline	,0%	69,2%	23,1%	7,7%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	39,1%	42,9%	50,0%	35,1%
	Accessories	Count	1	2	1	0	4
		% within Reference to Appearence in the Headline	25,0%	50,0%	25,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	20,0%	8,7%	14,3%	,0%	10,8%
	Hair style	Count	1	2	2	0	5
		% within Reference to Appearence in the Headline	20,0%	40,0%	40,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	20,0%	8,7%	28,6%	,0%	13,5%
	Plastic surgery	Count	0	3	0	0	3
		% within Reference to Appearence in the Headline	,0%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	13,0%	,0%	,0%	8,1%
	Make-up	Count	3	5	0	0	8
		% within Reference to Appearence in the Headline	37,5%	62,5%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	60,0%	21,7%	,0%	,0%	21,6%
	Shoes	Count	0	1	0	0	1
		% within Reference to Appearence in the Headline	,0%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	4,3%	,0%	,0%	2,7%
Total		Count	5	23	7	2	37
		% within Reference to Appearence in the Headline	13,5%	62,2%	18,9%	5,4%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 8: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	18,133[a]	18	,447
Likelihood Ratio	20,275	18	,318
Linear-by-Linear Association	7,854	1	,005
N of Valid Cases	37		

a. 27 cells (96,4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,05.

In the total 37 headlines of the news are referred to any stereotypical words on the 'psychical appearance (fiziksel görünüm)', 'clothing (kıyafet; kıyafet ile ilgili her şey)', 'accessories (aksesuvarlar; kolye (necklace), yüzük (rings), küpe (earrings)', 'hair style' (saç stili,saç toplama şekli), 'plastic surgery (estetik ameliyat; genelde botox)', 'make-up' (makyaj ve makyaj tarzı; ruj(lipsticks) and other cosmetics), 'shoes'(ayakkabı) and 'other'. In the headline mostly clothing style of the politicians is referred; Zaman: 0,0%, Hürriyet: 69,1%, Sabah: 23,1 and Cumhuriyet: 7,7 within the newspapers. Then, make-up follows to clothing style. At least newspapers were focused on the shoes of the politicians in the headlines; Zaman: 60,0%, Hürriyet: 21,7%, Sabah: 0,0% and Cumhuriyet: 0,0% within the newspapers.

Table 9: Reference to Appearance in the Subtitle

| | | | Newspapers | | | | |
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	Total
Reference to Appearence in the Subtitle	Physical appearence	Count	0	2	1	0	3
		% within Reference to Appearence in the Subtitle	,0%	66,7%	33,3%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	7,1%	14,3%	,0%	6,8%
	Clothing	Count	1	16	4	2	23
		% within Reference to Appearence in the Subtitle	4,3%	69,6%	17,4%	8,7%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	20,0%	57,1%	57,1%	50,0%	52,3%
	Accessories	Count	1	2	2	1	6
		% within Reference to Appearence in the Subtitle	16,7%	33,3%	33,3%	16,7%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	20,0%	7,1%	28,6%	25,0%	13,6%
	Hair style	Count	0	1	0	0	1
		% within Reference to Appearence in the Subtitle	,0%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	3,6%	,0%	,0%	2,3%
	Plastic surgey	Count	0	3	0	0	3
		% within Reference to Appearence in the Subtitle	,0%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	10,7%	,0%	,0%	6,8%
	Make-up	Count	3	3	0	1	7
		% within Reference to Appearence in the Subtitle	42,9%	42,9%	,0%	14,3%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	60,0%	10,7%	,0%	25,0%	15,9%
	Shoes	Count	0	1	0	0	1
		% within Reference to Appearence in the Subtitle	,0%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	3,6%	,0%	,0%	2,3%
Total		Count	5	28	7	4	44
		% within Reference to Appearence in the Subtitle	11,4%	63,6%	15,9%	9,1%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 10: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15,651[a]	18	,617
Likelihood Ratio	16,496	18	,558
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,120	1	,145
N of Valid Cases	44		

a. 27 cells (96,4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,09.

As previous table, in the table 9 show that clothing style was highlighted in the subtitle of the news. The percentages are Zaman: 20,1%, Hürriyet: 57,1%, Sabah: 57,1% and Cumhuriyet: 50,0%. The result shows that popular newspapers; Hürriyet and Sabah had mentioned on the clothing style of the politicians in the subtitles more opinion newspapers.

Table 11: Reference to Appearance in the Text

			Newspapers				
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	Total
Reference to Appearence in the Text	Physical appearence	Count	1	7	2	0	10
		% within Reference to Appearance in the Text	10,0%	70,0%	20,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	7,7%	10,8%	5,7%	,0%	8,5%
	Clothing	Count	6	38	21	4	69
		% within Reference to Appearance in the Text	8,7%	55,1%	30,4%	5,8%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	46,2%	58,5%	60,0%	80,0%	58,5%
	Accessories	Count	2	5	6	0	13
		% within Reference to Appearance in the Text	15,4%	38,5%	46,2%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	15,4%	7,7%	17,1%	,0%	11,0%
	Hair style	Count	0	5	4	0	9
		% within Reference to Appearance in the Text	,0%	55,6%	44,4%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	7,7%	11,4%	,0%	7,6%
	Plastic surgey	Count	0	1	1	0	2
		% within Reference to Appearance in the Text	,0%	50,0%	50,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	1,5%	2,9%	,0%	1,7%
	Make-up	Count	4	7	1	1	13
		% within Reference to Appearance in the Text	30,8%	53,8%	7,7%	7,7%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	30,8%	10,8%	2,9%	20,0%	11,0%
	Shoes	Count	0	2	0	0	2
		% within Reference to Appearance in the Text	,0%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	3,1%	,0%	,0%	1,7%
Total		Count	13	65	35	5	118
		% within Reference to Appearance in the Text	11,0%	55,1%	29,7%	4,2%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 12: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15,869[a]	18	,602
Likelihood Ratio	18,315	18	,435
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,471	1	,225
N of Valid Cases	118		

a. 22 cells (78,6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,08.

Total, the 118 texts of the news has been written stereotypical words on the politicians' appearance. In the result of the analysis shows that stereotypical words are mostly applied in the text of the news than headline and subtitle. Moreover, the result also shows that again popular newspapers; Hürriyet and Sabah were preferred to use stereotype in the text of the news than opinion newspapers; Zaman and Cumhuriyet.

Table 13: Reference to Private Life in the Text

			Newspapers				Total
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	
Reference to Private Life in the Text	Marital status	Count	7	36	24	4	71
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Text	9,9%	50,7%	33,8%	5,6%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	43,8%	37,1%	42,9%	40,0%	39,7%
		% of Total	3,9%	20,1%	13,4%	2,2%	39,7%
	Love or Relationship	Count	0	5	7	0	12
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Text	,0%	41,7%	58,3%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	5,2%	12,5%	,0%	6,7%
		% of Total	,0%	2,8%	3,9%	,0%	6,7%
	Family	Count	5	26	11	2	44
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Text	11,4%	59,1%	25,0%	4,5%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	31,3%	26,8%	19,6%	20,0%	24,6%
		% of Total	2,8%	14,5%	6,1%	1,1%	24,6%
	Health	Count	2	2	1	0	5
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Text	40,0%	40,0%	20,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	12,5%	2,1%	1,8%	,0%	2,8%
		% of Total	1,1%	1,1%	,6%	,0%	2,8%
	cook or housework	Count	0	3	0	0	3
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Text	,0%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	3,1%	,0%	,0%	1,7%
		% of Total	,0%	1,7%	,0%	,0%	1,7%
	other	Count	2	25	13	4	44
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Text	4,5%	56,8%	29,5%	9,1%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	12,5%	25,8%	23,2%	40,0%	24,6%
		% of Total	1,1%	14,0%	7,3%	2,2%	24,6%
Total		Count	16	97	56	10	179
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Text	8,9%	54,2%	31,3%	5,6%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	8,9%	54,2%	31,3%	5,6%	100,0%

Table 14: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17,010[a]	15	,318
Likelihood Ratio	17,239	15	,305
Linear-by-Linear Association	,020	1	,888
N of Valid Cases	179		

a. 16 cells (66,7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,17.

Which part of the news (headline, subtitle and text) mostly referred stereotypical words?

In the study, category of the private life based on these words which are consists mean of the private life; 'marital statue' (single, married or divorce/ bekar, evil ya da boşanmış), 'love or relationship' (aşk ya da ilişkisi var), 'family' (aile), 'health' (sağlık), 'cook or housework' (yemek yapmak ya da ev işi; temizlik) and 'other' (other words that which are emphasized private life / özel hayatı vurgulayan diğerler kelimeler).

In the analysis, category of the private life was applied on the headline and subtitle of the news as well but just analyze of the text has showed here because significant differences is more appeared in the text than headline and subtitle. Rests of the analysis are available in the appendix.

The 179 texts of the news were mentioned on private life of the politicians. Mostly, marital statue of the politicians is highlighted in the text. Marital status becomes the object of newspapers' curiosity interest. At least cook or housework is highlighted in the text.

In addition, the result shows that again popular newspapers; Hürriyet and Sabah were used more stereotypical words about private life of the politicians than opinion newspapers; Cumhuriyet and Zaman in the texts as percentage. The total percentage, Zaman: 8,9%, Hürriyet: 54,2%, Sabah: 31,3% and Cumhuriyet: 5,6% within reference to private life in the text.

Table 15: Emotional Appeal in the Text

			Newspapers				Total
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	
Emotional Appeal in the Text	Motherhood	Count	14	45	26	4	89
		% within Emotional Appeal in the Text	15,7%	50,6%	29,2%	4,5%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	93,3%	91,8%	89,7%	80,0%	90,8%
		% of Total	14,3%	45,9%	26,5%	4,1%	90,8%
	Animal love	Count	0	0	1	0	1
		% within Emotional Appeal in the Text	,0%	,0%	100,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	,0%	3,4%	,0%	1,0%
		% of Total	,0%	,0%	1,0%	,0%	1,0%
	Cry	Count	1	3	2	0	6
		% within Emotional Appeal in the Text	16,7%	50,0%	33,3%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	6,7%	6,1%	6,9%	,0%	6,1%
		% of Total	1,0%	3,1%	2,0%	,0%	6,1%
	Other	Count	0	1	0	1	2
		% within Emotional Appeal in the Text	,0%	50,0%	,0%	50,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	2,0%	,0%	20,0%	2,0%
		% of Total	,0%	1,0%	,0%	1,0%	2,0%
Total		Count	15	49	29	5	98
		% within Emotional Appeal in the Text	15,3%	50,0%	29,6%	5,1%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	15,3%	50,0%	29,6%	5,1%	100,0%

Table 16: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11,606[a]	9	,236
Likelihood Ratio	7,734	9	,561
Linear-by-Linear Association	,802	1	,370
N of Valid Cases	98		

a. 13 cells (81,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,05.

In the analysis, category of the emotional appeal is included these words for evaluations; 'motherhood' (annelik; anneliği belirtecek bütün kelimeler / all words that which are emphasized motherhood), 'animal love' (hayvan sevgisi), 'cry' (ağlamak) and 'other' (diğer).

Emotional appeal mentioned in the text of the news more than headline and subtitle. Therefore, result of the reference to emotional appeal in text has taken as based for the analysis.

In the texts, stereotype is mostly based on motherhood. It means that newspapers are referred on motherhood trait of the politicians. The percentages are; Zaman: 15,7%, Hürriyet: 50,6%, Sabah: 29,2% and Cumhuriyet: 4,5 within emotional appeal in the text; Zaman: 93,3%, Hürriyet: 91,8%, Sabah: 89,7% and Cumhuriyet: 80,0% within the newspapers. At least, animal love was mentioned in the text; Zaman: 0,0%, Hürriyet: 0,0%, Sabah:3,4% and Cumhuriyet: 0,0% within the newspapers. Then, other words which are emphasized emotional appeal; Zaman: 0,0%, Hürriyet: 2,0%, Sabah: 0,0% and Cumhuriyet: 20,0% within the newspapers.

In addition, as total percentages on emotional appeal in the text are; Zaman: 15,3%, Hürriyet: 50,0%, Sabah: 29,6% and Cumhuriyet: 5,1% within the emotional appeal in the text. It shows that popular newspapers; Hürriyet and Sabah were mentioned on emotional appeal of the politicians than opinion newspapers; Zaman and Cumhuriyet in the text.

Table 17: Reference to Age in the Text

Crosstab

			Newspapers				Total
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	
Reference to Age in the Text	Yes	Count	25	88	40	11	164
		% within Reference to Age in the Text	15,2%	53,7%	24,4%	6,7%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	15,2%	53,7%	24,4%	6,7%	100,0%
Total		Count	25	88	40	11	164
		% within Reference to Age in the Text	15,2%	53,7%	24,4%	6,7%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	15,2%	53,7%	24,4%	6,7%	100,0%

Table 18: Chi-Square Tests

	Value
Pearson Chi-Square	.[a]
N of Valid Cases	164

a. No statistics are computed because Reference to Age in the Text is a constant.

In the news, the age of the politicians frequently highlighted. This is also kind of stereotype on the women because women are classified according to the age such as young and old in the media. Generally age is showed in the parenthesis.

In the analysis, texts of the news were more used age of the politicians than headline and subtitle. In the total 540 selected news, the 164 news has been mentioned on the age of the politicians in the text.

The percentages are according to the newspapers; Zaman: 15,2%, Hürriyet: 53,7%, Sabah: 24,4% and Cumhuriyet: 6,7% within the reference to age in the text. Percentages shows that in the popular newspapers; Hürriyet and Sabah age of the politicians are highlighted and frequently used than opinion newspapers; Zaman and Cumhuriyet.

Table 19: Use of the Woman in the Text

| | | | Newspapers | | | | |
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	Total
Use of Woman in the Text	Yes	Count	30	74	42	15	161
		% within Use of Woman in the Text	18,6%	46,0%	26,1%	9,3%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	18,6%	46,0%	26,1%	9,3%	100,0%
Total		Count	30	74	42	15	161
		% within Use of Woman in the Text	18,6%	46,0%	26,1%	9,3%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	18,6%	46,0%	26,1%	9,3%	100,0%

Table 20: Chi-Square Tests

	Value
Pearson Chi-Square	.[a]
N of Valid Cases	161

a. No statistics are computed because Use of Woman in the Text is a constant.

In the news, sex is become first before profession of woman. For example; for male politicians there is almost no sex is first and highlighted before their profession such as 'male politicians' but for women, their sex is become first in the politics such as 'woman politician'. There is no generalization; politician is politician even woman or man but there is classification; such as 'woman politician'. This is also kind of stereotype which the study was observed that in the news. Therefore, this analysis included in the study.

According to the analysis, in the selected 540 news, the 161 news are referred sex of the politician first before their politician's identity; Zaman: 18,6%, Hürriyet: 40,0%, Sabah: 26,1% and Cumhuriyet: 9,3% within the use of woman in the text. The result shows that popular newspapers; Hürriyet and Sabah were mentioned on the sex of the politicians first before their profession such as 'woman politician' in the text than opinion newspapers; Zaman and Cumhuriyet.

Table 21: Reference to Sex Appeal in the Text

			Newspapers				
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	Total
Reference to Sex Appeal in the Text	Sexy	Count	0	5	7	1	13
		% within Reference to Sex Appeal in the Text	,0%	38,5%	53,8%	7,7%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	15,6%	38,9%	33,3%	24,1%
		% of Total	,0%	9,3%	13,0%	1,9%	24,1%
	Beautiful	Count	1	4	3	0	8
		% within Reference to Sex Appeal in the Text	12,5%	50,0%	37,5%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	12,5%	16,7%	,0%	14,8%
		% of Total	1,9%	7,4%	5,6%	,0%	14,8%
	Attractive	Count	0	1	1	0	2
		% within Reference to Sex Appeal in the Text	,0%	50,0%	50,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	3,1%	5,6%	,0%	3,7%
		% of Total	,0%	1,9%	1,9%	,0%	3,7%
	Other	Count	0	22	7	2	31
		% within Reference to Sex Appeal in the Text	,0%	71,0%	22,6%	6,5%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	68,8%	38,9%	66,7%	57,4%
		% of Total	,0%	40,7%	13,0%	3,7%	57,4%
Total		Count	1	32	18	3	54
		% within Reference to Sex Appeal in the Text	1,9%	59,3%	33,3%	5,6%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	1,9%	59,3%	33,3%	5,6%	100,0%

Table 22: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11,193[a]	9	,263
Likelihood Ratio	9,759	9	,370
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,411	1	,235
N of Valid Cases	54		

a. 13 cells (81,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,04.

In the categorization of the sex appeal, these words are based for the analysis; 'sexy' (seksi), 'beautiful' (güzel), 'charming' (alımlı), 'attractive' (çekici) and 'other' (diğer).

As a word, 'sexy' is a cliché stereotype that frequently uses in the media texts. The percentages are according to the newspapers on the usage of the sexy for politicians; Zaman: 0,0%, Hürriyet: 38,5%, Sabah: 58,8% and Cumhuriyet: 7,7 within the

reference to sex appeal in the text. According to the newspapers, the percentage of the 'beautiful' in the text; Zaman: 12,5%, Hürriyet: 50,0%, Sabah: 37,5% and Cumhuriyet: 0,0% within reference to the sex appeal in the text. The percentage of the 'attractive' in the text; Zaman: 0,0%, Hürriyet: 50,0%, Sabah: 50,0% and Cumhuriyet: 0,0% within reference to sex appeal in the text. In the 'other' category; Zaman: 0,0%, Hürriyet: 71,0%, Sabah: 22,6% and Cumhuriyet: 6,5% within reference to sex appeal in the text.

Obviously, results show that popular newspapers; Hürriyet and Sabah were represented the politicians in the stereotypical framework than opinion newspapers; Zaman and Cumhuriyet.

What kind of stereotype applied in the picture of the news according to the categorization of the study (sexuality, motherhood, emotional and other) and what is the distribution of the pictures according to the newspapers?

Table 23: Usage of the Stereotype Pictures in the News

			Newspapers				Total
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	
Use of picture	Sexuality	Count	2	59	23	5	89
		% within Use of picture	2,2%	66,3%	25,8%	5,6%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	25,0%	73,8%	57,5%	35,7%	62,7%
		% of Total	1,4%	41,5%	16,2%	3,5%	62,7%
	Motherhood	Count	3	9	9	4	25
		% within Use of picture	12,0%	36,0%	36,0%	16,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	37,5%	11,3%	22,5%	28,6%	17,6%
		% of Total	2,1%	6,3%	6,3%	2,8%	17,6%
	Emotional	Count	1	2	1	0	4
		% within Use of picture	25,0%	50,0%	25,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	12,5%	2,5%	2,5%	,0%	2,8%
		% of Total	,7%	1,4%	,7%	,0%	2,8%
	Other	Count	2	10	7	5	24
		% within Use of picture	8,3%	41,7%	29,2%	20,8%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	25,0%	12,5%	17,5%	35,7%	16,9%
		% of Total	1,4%	7,0%	4,9%	3,5%	16,9%
Total		Count	8	80	40	14	142
		% within Use of picture	5,6%	56,3%	28,2%	9,9%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	5,6%	56,3%	28,2%	9,9%	100,0%

Table 24: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17,574ª	9	,040
Likelihood Ratio	16,463	9	,058
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,141	1	,143
N of Valid Cases	142		

a. 8 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,23.

In the news, sometimes pictures has stereotypical image as well and the images are also effective as much as words do. Therefore, the study also categorized to pictures such as 'sexuality' (cinsellik içerikli), 'motherhood' (annelik), 'emotional' (duygusal içerikli) and 'other' (diğer).

According to the sexuality, the percentages are; Zaman: 2,2%, Hürriyet: 66,3%, Sabah: 25,8% and Cumhuriyet: 5,6 within the use of pictures; Zaman: 25,8%, Hürriyet: 73,8%, Sabah: 57,5 and Cumhuriyet: 35,7% within the newspapers. According to the motherhood, the percentages are; Zaman: 12,0%, Hürriyet: 36,0%, Sabah: 36,0% and Cumhuriyet: 16,0% within the use of pictures; Zaman: 37;5%, Hürriyet: 11,3%, Sabah: 22,5% and Cumhuriyet: 28,6% within the newspapers. According to the emotional content pictures, the percentages are; Zaman: 25,0%, Hürriyet: 50,0%, Sabah: 25,0% and Cumhuriyet: 0,0% within the use of pictures; Zaman: 12,5%, Hürriyet: 2,5%, Sabah: 2,5% and Cumhuriyet: 0,0% within the newspapers. According to the other, the percentages are; Zaman: 8,3%, Hürriyet: 42,7%, Sabah: 29,2% and Cumhuriyet: 20,8% within the use of pictures; Zaman: 25,0%, Hürriyet: 12,5%, Sabah: 17,5% and Cumhuriyet: 35,7% within the newspapers.

Result of the analysis shows that sexuality content pictures are obviously applied in the popular newspapers; Hürriyet and Sabah.

4.1Discussions

Is there any difference between opinion newspapers (Zaman and Cumhuriyet) and popular newspapers (Hürriyet and Sabah) on the representation of the women politicians?

The representation of the women politicians in the Turkish media; as I hypothesis, popular newspapers; Hürriyet and Sabah have more stereotypical coverage on the women if opinion newspapers; Zaman and Cumhuriyet doesn't lead stereotypical way as much as Hürriyet and Sabah do. According to the analysis, total the 540 news are selected and evaluated. According to the newspapers, distributions of the 540 selected news are Zaman: 79, Hürriyet: 281, Sabah: 137 and Cumhuriyet: 43 news. This distribution also shows that which newspaper apply more stereotypical coverage than other. The result is proof for the hypothesis of the study because the hypothesis of the study is; Representation of the women politicians could change according to the political view and aim of the newspapers. If the newspaper is opinion newspaper such as Zaman and Cumhuriyet, their aim is just emphasizing their political views to audiences therefore they don't need to apply for the sensational news. In fact, there is no possibility to see half-naked woman pictures and less possibility to see just usual woman pictures in the newspapers. Hürriyet and Sabah are popular newspapers that they rely on high circulated news; soft news/tabloid news therefore sensational news is preferred and highlighted for the newspapers.

In the analysis, results are indicated that there are significant differences between the popular newspapers; Hürriyet and Sabah and the opinion newspapers; Zaman and

Cumhuriyet. Moreover, Hürriyet becomes first about stereotypical representation then Sabah follows to Hürriyet but Zaman and Cumhuriyet keep away sexist coverage and use less stereotypical words. The results show that in the Zaman and Cumhuriyet stereotypical words are generally based on the motherhood trait and almost impossible to see any sexist language. Sexist pictures and sexist language is dominant in the Hürriyet then, Sabah. In the headline, there is no any news that reference to sexual appeal in the Zaman if Cumhuriyet has only the 3 news that reference to sexual appeal in the headline.

In addition, this result is obtained; there are significance differences between sections of the news (headline, subtitle and text) as well because mostly texts of the news are referred on any stereotypical words than the other sections.

In the category of the appearance, most highlighted word is based on clothing in the headline, subtitle and text of the news. Generally, the stereotype was referred in the text of the news. In the category of the private life, marital status of the politicians is most mentioned situation in the all section of the news. In the emotional category, a motherhood trait becomes first stereotype than other words. Most stereotypical representation is on 'woman politician' sex becomes first before her profession and this categorization is all the time highlighted in the news. In the sex appeal category, categorization of the other and sexy is most preferred in the news. Which words are included in the 'other' category? These words are such as; 'lesbian', 'erotic', 'naked', 'low cut' and 'hottest'. In the picture category, obviously, picture with sexuality is more emphasized than motherhood, emotional and other.

According to the news categorization, stereotypical representation is observed in the hard news. This reason could be news on the politics belongs to the hard news category and women politicians belong to the public sphere as well. Therefore, women politicians generally represented in the hard news and in the hard news stereotype doesn't give directly in the headline or in the subtitle. Generally, stereotypical words are hidden in the text of the news.

Results of the analysis is indicated that popular newspapers; Hürriyet and Sabah were represented the women politicians with more stereotypical words than opinion newspapers; Zaman and Cumhuriyet as I hypothesis for the study.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter aims to gather the all chapters of the study. Firstly, conclusion drawn from the study is given. Then, suggestions for further research are made.

5.1 Conclusions Drawn from the Study

The analysis in the Cumhuriyet, Sabah, Hürriyet, and Zaman Newspapers about 'Representation of Women Politicians in the Turkish Media' is done by content analysis on the SPSS 17.0 program. For the analysis, the fifteen women politicians are selected and each of the politician's names scanned on the online archive system of the newspapers.

According to the duration of the politicians, Angela Merkel (7) years, Cristina Kirchner (5), Dilma Rousseff (2), Ellen Johonson Sirleaf (6), Johanna Sigurdardottir (3), Helle Thorning-Schmidt (1), Hillary Clinton (3), Hina Rabbani Khar (1), Julia Gillard (2), Mara Carfagna (4), Nimet Cubukcu (3), Roza Otunbayeva (2), Sarah Palin (1), Segolene Royal (2), and Yulia Timosenko (4); total the 540 news were selected in Cumhuriyet, Hurriyet, Zaman and Sabah Newspapers. The 540 news were identified according to the stereotype content because in the 540 news has at least one word that is stereotype. Aim was to know that women politicians were represented with which stereotypical words mostly and these words appeared in which newspapers; popular newspapers (Hürriyet and Sabah) or opinion newspapers (Zaman and Cumhuriyet).

Content analysis was applied in the 540 news. For content analysis, some main categories are identified such as key words. These main points/keywords are appearance; 'psychical appearance', 'clothing', 'accessories', 'hair style', 'plastic surgery', 'make-up', 'shoes' and 'other', private life; 'marital statue', 'love or relationship', 'family', 'health', 'cook or housework' and 'other', emotional appeal; 'motherhood', 'animal love', 'cry' and 'other', age, 'woman' politician and sexual appeal; 'sexy', 'beautiful', 'charming', 'attractive' and 'other' also picture of the news categorized; 'sexuality', 'motherhood', 'emotional' and 'other'

According to the research questions, these findings are obtained: Obviously, political view of the newspapers was reflected in the news. Especially, Zaman represents conservative part therefore almost impossible to see any marginal woman figure or woman figure as sex object. In the Hürriyet, representation of the women politicians goes with the completely stereotypical way: women were used as sex object in the pictures of the news. Hürriyet is the first on the stereotypical representation of the women politicians then, Sabah follows to Hürriyet. However, Cumhuriyet and Zaman avoid using woman figure as sex object in the pictures of the news. Moreover, these both newspapers almost don't have any words that create stereotypical approach about the women politicians. Except sexual words, frequently, Cumhuriyet and Zaman were referred to the age and 'woman' politician as well as Hurriyet and Sabah. In my opinion, when the news are highlighted on the age and sex of the politicians that is stereotype as well because for male politicians there is no any words that highlighted their age and the sex. In additionally, the news focuses on the past life of the women politicians as well. Especially, Mara Carfagna and Sarah Palin is popular source for the news because these two politicians was model

at their past life. This shows that women politicians can't escape from their past life. If women politicians had sensational life before, newspapers like to mention on it even if category of news belong to the politics (hard news). Generally, women were appear in the soft news but according to the analysis and the finding I observed that mostly women politicians were appeared in the political news which belongs to the hard news category. In the hard news, stereotype was secretly given with age of the politician which generally written inside of the parenthesis.

Younger women politicians are always perfect image for the media therefore generally inside of the newspaper younger women politicians had sustain stereotype words.

Lastly, I observed that politicians had nickname which given by the media. Angela Merkel (Iron Lady), Cristina Kirchner (Queen of Botox), Dilma Rousseff (Marxist Leader, Marxist Leader with Botox), Ellen Johonson Sirleaf (Iron Lady, Black Heart and Peaceful Woman), Johanna Sigurdardottir (Lesbian Minister), Helle Thorning-Schmidt (Gucci Helle), Hina Rabbani Khar (Minister like Bomb), Julia Gillard (Feminist-Atheist Leader), Mara Carfagna (Show Girl and Porn Star), Sarah Palin (Barracuda Woman), Segolene Royal (Sego and Socialist Leader), and for Yulia Timoşenko (Orange Princess). This part of the analysis can compare with the Representation of the 20th Centuries Politicians; Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi, Tansu Çiller, and Benazir Bhutto because except Tansu Çiller, rest of the other politicians had named as 'Iron Lady' because they were stamped their name in the history of the politics as the study mentioned it earlier in the Chapter II. In the 21st century, only the German leader; Angela Merkel has this nickname rest of the

fourteen politicians were generally named with their appearance in the news. This also shows that masculine trait affect to the politicians' representations in the media.

In my opinion, even if many research doing on the representation of the women politicians in the newspapers; stereotype will go on. Unfortunately, the stereotypical representation will never change. As American composer and singer-songwrite Frank Zappa said that *"Politics is the entertainment branch of industry."*[8] Women will be still object for the media because of for the media if politics is the entertainment branch; woman is the important figure for the entertainment.

5.2 Suggestions for Further Research

This present study, other academic researches and previous studies show that women politicians presents in a narrow framework by newspapers and stereotypical view identifies this framework. Even if woman is in public life with profession of politics, impossible to escape from stereotypical present. For further research, my suggestion is to analysis on comparison between Turkish newspapers and Europe or United States newspapers.

---

[8] Frank Vincent Zappa (December 21, 1940- December 4, 1993) was an American composer, singer-songwriter, guitarist, recording engineer, recording producer and film director. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frank_Zappa

REFERENCES

Adams, K. S. (2011). The Naked Truth: The Media's Role in Undermining Female Political Candidates. *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance ,* 1-23.

Birsen, H. (2010). Internet Journalism and Journalistic Ethics: New Journalist's Qualification and Working Conditions. *Online International Journal of Communication Studies ,* 1-14.

Blum, L. (2004). Stereotypes and Stereotyping: A Moral Analysis. *Philosophical Papers , 33* (3), 251-289.

Bouma, D. G. & G. B. J Atkinson (1995). *A handbook of Social Science Research. A Comprehensive and Practical Guide for Students.* Oxford University Press.

Bruin, M. d. (2004). Organizational, Professional, and Gender Identities-Overlapping, Coinciding and Contradicting Realities in Caribbean Media Practices. In M. D. Bruin, & K. Ross, *Gender and Newsroom Cultures: Identities At Work* (pp. 1-17). Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc.

Byerly, C. M., & Ross, K. (2006). Images of Women in News and Magazines. In C. M. Byerly, & K. Ross, *Women & Media: A Critical Introduction* (pp. 37-56). USA: Blackwell Publishing.

Carilli, T., & Campbell, J. (2005). *Women and The Media: Diverse Perspectives.* Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, Inc.

Carlin, D. B., & Winfrey, K. L. (2009). Have You Come a Long Way, Baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and Sexism in 2008 Campaign Coverage. *Communication Studies* , 326-343.

Carter, C., & Steiner, L. (2004). Mapping the Contested Terrain of Media and Gender Research. In C. Carter, & L. Steiner, *Critical Readings: Media and Gender* (pp. 11-37). England: Open University Press.

Carter, C., Branston, G., & Allan, S. (1998). *News, Gender and Power.* London: Routledge.

Chambers, D., Steiner, L., & Fleming, C. (2004). Early Women Journalists: 1850-1945. In D. Chambers, L. Steiner, & C. Fleming, *Women and Journalism* (pp. 15-35). London & New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Chambers, D., Steiner, L., & Fleming, C. (2004). *Women and Journalism.* London & New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Çakır, D. D. (2007). Internet Journalism Vs. Traditional Journalism. *Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi , 22*, 123-149.

Dijk, T. A. (1992). *Power and the News Media.* Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, Program of Discourse Studies.

Ellen K. Feder, M. C. (1997). *Derrida and Feminism.* New York: Routledge.

Estonia, M. O. (2004). *Mass Media in (Re)Distribution of Power.* Estonia: European Union and Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Estonia.

European Union. (2004). *Mass Media in (Re)Distribution of Power.* Italy: Fondazione Giacomo Brodolini.

Gallagher, M. (2001). Gender, Politics and the Media. In M. Gallagher, *Gender Setting: New Agendas for Media Monitoring and Advocacy* (pp. 80-91). New York: Zed Books.

Gallagher, M. (2001). The Case for Monitoring and Advocacy. In M. Gallagher, *Gender Setting: New Agendas for Media Monitoring and Advocacy* (p. 3). New York: Zed Books.

Gallagher, M. (2001). The Case for Monitoring and Advocacy. In M. Gallagher, *Gender Setting: New Agendas for Media Monitoring and Advocacy* (pp. 3-23). New York: Zed Books.

Gallagher, M. (2004). The Impact of Monitoring Media Images of Women. In C. Carter, & L. Steiner, *Critical Readings: Media and Gender* (pp. 148-162). Open University Press: England.

GidengilL, E., & Everitt, J. (2003). Talking Tough: Gender and Reported Speech in Campaign News Coverage. *Political Communication* , 209-230.

Hall, P. (2000, 11 07). Gender Stereotypes: Masculinity and Femininity. *The Stereotype Trap* , 159-185.

Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (Vol. 2). London: Sage Publications.

Harcup, D. O. (2009). News Values and Selectivity. In K. W. Hanitzsch, & S. E. Robert T. Craig (Ed.), *The Handbook of Jounalism Studies* (pp. 161-174). New York: Routledge.

Holland, P. (1998). The Politics of The Smile: ' Soft News' and the sexualisation of the popular press. In C. Carter, G. Branston, & S. Allan, *News, Gender, and Power* (pp. 17-33). London: Routledge.

Hürriyet Gazetesi. (2010, 04 15). 04 15, 2010 tarihinde Hürriyet Gazetesi: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/14429501.asp?gid=373 adresinden alındı.

Ibroscheva, E., & Raicheva-Stover, M. (2009). Engendering Transition: Portrayals of Female Politicians in the Bulgarian Press. *The Howard Journal of Communications* , 111-128.

Ifegbesan, A. (2010). Gender-Stereotypes Belief and Practices in the Classroom: The Nigerian Post-Primary School Teachers'. *Global Journal of Human Social Science , 10* (4), 29-38.

Jansen, S. C. (2007). International News: Masculinity, Paradox, and Possibilities. In S. C. Jansen, *Critical Communication Theory: Power, Media, Gender, and Technology* (pp. 211-235). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman& Littlefield Publisher, Inc.

Johnson, R. B., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004). Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time Has Come. *American Educational Research Association , 33* (7), 14-26.

Kitzinger, J. (1998). The Gender-Politics of News Production: Silenced voices and False Memories. In C. Carter, G. Branston, & S. Allan, *News, Gender and Power* (pp. 186-204). London: Routledge.

Kondracki, N. L., Wellman, N. S., & Amendson, D. R. (2002). Content Analysis: Review of Methods and Their Applications in Neutrition Education. *Journal of Neutrition Education and Behavior , 34* (4), 224-230.

Larris, R. J., & Maggio, R. (2012). Media Guide to Gender Neutral Coverage of Women Candidates + Politicians. *Name It. Change It. The Women's Media Center's* , pp. 1-29.

Lei, X. (2006). Sexism in Language. *Journal of Language and Linguistics , 5*, 87-94.

Macnamara, J. (2005). Media content analysis: Its uses; benefits and best practice methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal , 6* (1), 1-35.

Montalbano-Phelps, L. (2005). Performing Politics: Media Aesthetics for Women in Political Campaigns. In T. Carilli, & J. Campbell, *Women and The Media: Diverse Perspectives* (pp. 184-199). Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America.

NAO National Audit Office. (1992). A Practical Guide to Sampling. *Statistical & Technical Team* , 1-19.

Noci, M. P. (2007). *Online Journalism: Research Methods A Multidisciplinary Approach in Comparative Perspective.* (a. Zerbitzua, Ed.) Salvador de Bahía: Universidad del Pais Vasco & Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea.

Open Source Center Media Aid. (2008, October 07). *Turkey - Guide to Major Turkish Daily Newspapers 2008.* Retrieved from Open Source Center Media Aid: http://www.fas.org/irp/dni/osc/turkish-news.pdf

Pilcher, J., & Whelehan, I. (2004). *50 Key Concepts in Gender Studies.* London: Sage Publication.

Potter, D. (2006). *Hand Book of Independent Journalism.* U.S.: Bureau of International Information Programs.

Randall, V. (1982). *Women&Politics: An International Perspective.* London: The Macmillan Press Ltd.

Reinart, U. (1999). Ambition for All Seasons: Tansu Çiller. *Middle East Review of International Affairs , 3* (1), 80-83.

Ross, K. (2004). The Gendered Turn in Mediated Politics. In K. Ross, & C. M. Byerly, *Women and Media: International Perspectives* (pp. 60-81). UK: Blackwell.

Sabah Gazetesi. (2010, 04 15). 04 15, 2010 tarihinde Sabah Gazetesi: http://www.sabah.com.tr/Dunya/2010/04/15/en_guzel_bakan_turkiyede adresinden alındı.

Sene´cal, U. H., Kirouac, G., Herrera, P., Philippot, P., & Kleck, R. E. (2000). Emotional expressivity in men and women:Stereotypes and self-perceptions. *Cognition and Emotion , 14* (4), 609-642.

Taraf Gazetesi. (2010, 04 16). 04 16, 2010 tarihinde Taraf Gazetesi: http://www.taraf.com.tr/haber/firsat-bu-firsattir-dediler-en-seksi-bakani.htm adresinden alındı.

Williams, C. (2007). Research Methods. *Journal of Business & Economic Research ,*
5 (3), 65-72.

Wykes, M. (2001). Journalism, Justice, Gender and Violence. In M. Wykes, *News,*
Crime and Culture (pp. 138-164). London: Pluto Press.

Zoonen, L. V. (1994). Media Text and Gender. In L. v. Zoonen, *Feminist Media*
Studies (pp. 60-87). London: Sage Publication.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: SPSS 17.0 Analysis Form

1. **Women Politicians**
   1. Angela Merkel 2. Cristina Kischner 3. Dilma Rouseff 4. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf
   5. Johanna Sigurdardottir 6. Helle Thorning-Schmidt 7. Hillary Clinton
   8. Hina Rabbani Khar 9. Julia Gillard 10. Mara Carfagna
   11. Nimet Çubukçu 12. Rosa Otunbayeva 13. Sarah Palin
   14. Seqolene Royal 15. Yulia Timoşenko

2. **Newspapers**
   1. Zaman 2. Hürriyet 3. Sabah 4. Cumhuriyet

3. **News Category**
   1. Hard news 2. Soft news

4. **Appearance in the Headline**
   1. Physical appearance style 2. Clothing 3. Accessories 4. Hair
   5. Plastic surgery 6. Make-up 7. Shoes 8. Other

5. **Appearance in the Subtitle**
   1. Physical appearance style 2. Clothing 3. Accessories 4. Hair
   5. Plastic surgery 6. Make-up 7. Shoes 8. Other

6. **Appearance in the Text**
   1. Physical appearance style 2. Clothing 3. Accessories 4. Hair
   5. Plastic surgery 6. Make-up 7. Shoes 8. Other

7. **Privacy in the Headline**
   1. Marital status 2. Love 3. Family 4. Health 5. Other

8. **Privacy in the Subtitle**
   1. Marital status 2. Love 3. Family 4. Health 5. Other

9. **Privacy in the Text**
   1. Marital status   2. Love   3. Family   4. Health   5. Other

10. **Emotional Appeals in the Headline**
    1. Motherhood   2. Animal love   3. Cry   4. Other

11. **Emotional Appeals in the Subtitle**
    1. Motherhood   2. Animal love   3. Cry   4. Other

12. **Emotional Appeals in the Text**
    1. Motherhood   2. Animal love   3. Cry   4. Other

13. **Reference to Age in the Headline**
    1. Yes

14. **Reference to Age in the Subtitle**
    1. Yes

15. **Reference to Age in the Text**
    1. Yes

16. **Use of Woman in the Headline**
    1. Yes

17. **Use of Woman in the Headline**
    1. Yes

18. **Use of Woman in the Headline**
    1. Yes

19. **Sex Appeal in the Headline**
    1. Sexy   2. Beautiful   3. Charming   4. Attractive   5. Other

20. **Sex Appeal in the Headline**
    1. Sexy   2. Beautiful   3. Charming   4. Attractive   5. Other

21. **Sex Appeal in the Headline**
    1. Sexy   2. Beautiful   3. Charming   4. Attractive   5. Other

22. Picture

1. Sexuality　　　　2. Motherhood　　　　3. Emotional　　　4. Other

23. Stereotypical Content

1.Hard news　　　2. Soft News

Appendix B: Crosstab Data Comparisons and Chi-Square Tests

Table 1: Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
politician * Newspapers	540	100,0%	0	,0%	540	100,0%
Reference to Appearence in the Headline * Newspapers	37	6,9%	503	93,1%	540	100,0%
Newscategory * Newspapers	540	100,0%	0	,0%	540	100,0%
Reference to Appearence in the Subtitle * Newspapers	44	8,1%	496	91,9%	540	100,0%
Reference to Appearence in the Text * Newspapers	118	21,9%	422	78,1%	540	100,0%
Reference to Private Life in the Headline * Newspapers	51	9,4%	489	90,6%	540	100,0%
Reference to Private Life in the Subtitle * Newspapers	63	11,7%	477	88,3%	540	100,0%
Reference to Private Life in the Text * Newspapers	179	33,1%	361	66,9%	540	100,0%
Emotional Appeal in the Headline * Newspapers	13	2,4%	527	97,6%	540	100,0%
Emotional Appeal in the Subtitle * Newspapers	13	2,4%	527	97,6%	540	100,0%
Emotional Appeal in the Text * Newspapers	98	18,1%	442	81,9%	540	100,0%
Reference to Age in the Headline * Newspapers	2	,4%	538	99,6%	540	100,0%
Reference to Age in the Subtitle * Newspapers	22	4,1%	518	95,9%	540	100,0%
Reference to Age in the Text * Newspapers	164	30,4%	376	69,6%	540	100,0%
Use of Woman in the Headline * Newspapers	42	7,8%	498	92,2%	540	100,0%
Use of Woman in the Subtitle * Newspapers	82	15,2%	458	84,8%	540	100,0%
Use of Woman in the Text * Newspapers	161	29,8%	379	70,2%	540	100,0%
Reference to Sex Appeal in the Headline * Newspapers	44	8,1%	496	91,9%	540	100,0%
Reference to Sex Appeal in the Subtitle * Newspapers	24	4,4%	516	95,6%	540	100,0%
Reference to Sex Appeal in the Text * Newspapers	54	10,0%	486	90,0%	540	100,0%
Use of picture * Newspapers	142	26,3%	398	73,7%	540	100,0%
Stereotypical content * Newspapers	540	100,0%	0	,0%	540	100,0%

80

Table 2: Reference to Private Life in the Headline

			Newspapers				Total
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	
Reference to Private Life in the Headline	Marital status	Count	2	10	8	2	22
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Headline	9,1%	45,5%	36,4%	9,1%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	28,6%	50,0%	40,0%	50,0%	43,1%
		% of Total	3,9%	19,6%	15,7%	3,9%	43,1%
	Love or Relationship	Count	0	3	1	0	4
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Headline	,0%	75,0%	25,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	15,0%	5,0%	,0%	7,8%
		% of Total	,0%	5,9%	2,0%	,0%	7,8%
	Family	Count	1	2	2	0	5
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Headline	20,0%	40,0%	40,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	14,3%	10,0%	10,0%	,0%	9,8%
		% of Total	2,0%	3,9%	3,9%	,0%	9,8%
	Health	Count	3	2	1	1	7
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Headline	42,9%	28,6%	14,3%	14,3%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	42,9%	10,0%	5,0%	25,0%	13,7%
		% of Total	5,9%	3,9%	2,0%	2,0%	13,7%
	cook or housework	Count	1	1	1	0	3
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Headline	33,3%	33,3%	33,3%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	14,3%	5,0%	5,0%	,0%	5,9%
		% of Total	2,0%	2,0%	2,0%	,0%	5,9%
	other	Count	0	2	7	1	10
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Headline	,0%	20,0%	70,0%	10,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	10,0%	35,0%	25,0%	19,6%
		% of Total	,0%	3,9%	13,7%	2,0%	19,6%
Total		Count	7	20	20	4	51
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Headline	13,7%	39,2%	39,2%	7,8%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	13,7%	39,2%	39,2%	7,8%	100,0%

Table 3: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15,493[a]	15	,417
Likelihood Ratio	16,362	15	,358
Linear-by-Linear Association	,471	1	,492
N of Valid Cases	51		

a. 22 cells (91,7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,24.

Table 4: Reference to Private Life in the Subtitle

			Newspapers				Total
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	
Reference to Private Life in the Subtitle	Marital status	Count	4	14	4	2	24
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Subtitle	16,7%	58,3%	16,7%	8,3%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	57,1%	32,6%	44,4%	50,0%	38,1%
		% of Total	6,3%	22,2%	6,3%	3,2%	38,1%
	Love or Relationship	Count	0	2	0	1	3
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Subtitle	,0%	66,7%	,0%	33,3%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	4,7%	,0%	25,0%	4,8%
		% of Total	,0%	3,2%	,0%	1,6%	4,8%
	Family	Count	0	11	3	0	14
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Subtitle	,0%	78,6%	21,4%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	25,6%	33,3%	,0%	22,2%
		% of Total	,0%	17,5%	4,8%	,0%	22,2%
	Health	Count	3	2	0	0	5
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Subtitle	60,0%	40,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	42,9%	4,7%	,0%	,0%	7,9%
		% of Total	4,8%	3,2%	,0%	,0%	7,9%
	cook or housework	Count	0	1	0	0	1
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Subtitle	,0%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	2,3%	,0%	,0%	1,6%
		% of Total	,0%	1,6%	,0%	,0%	1,6%
	other	Count	0	13	2	1	16
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Subtitle	,0%	81,3%	12,5%	6,3%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	30,2%	22,2%	25,0%	25,4%
		% of Total	,0%	20,6%	3,2%	1,6%	25,4%
Total		Count	7	43	9	4	63
		% within Reference to Private Life in the Subtitle	11,1%	68,3%	14,3%	6,3%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	11,1%	68,3%	14,3%	6,3%	100,0%

Table 5: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23,670[a]	15	,071
Likelihood Ratio	22,630	15	,092
Linear-by-Linear Association	,022	1	,883
N of Valid Cases	63		

a. 21 cells (87,5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,06.

Table 6: Emotional Appeal in the Headline

			Newspapers			
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Total
Emotional Appeal in the Headline	Motherhood	Count	2	6	2	10
		% within Emotional Appeal in the Headline	20,0%	60,0%	20,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	66,7%	85,7%	66,7%	76,9%
		% of Total	15,4%	46,2%	15,4%	76,9%
	Animal love	Count	0	0	1	1
		% within Emotional Appeal in the Headline	,0%	,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	,0%	33,3%	7,7%
		% of Total	,0%	,0%	7,7%	7,7%
	Cry	Count	1	1	0	2
		% within Emotional Appeal in the Headline	50,0%	50,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	33,3%	14,3%	,0%	15,4%
		% of Total	7,7%	7,7%	,0%	15,4%
Total		Count	3	7	3	13
		% within Emotional Appeal in the Headline	23,1%	53,8%	23,1%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	23,1%	53,8%	23,1%	100,0%

Table 7: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,581[a]	4	,333
Likelihood Ratio	4,485	4	,344
Linear-by-Linear Association	,283	1	,595
N of Valid Cases	13		

a. 8 cells (88,9%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,23.

Table 8: Emotional Appeal in the Subtitle

			Newspapers			
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Total
Emotional Appeal in the Subtitle	Motherhood	Count	1	9	3	13
		% within Emotional Appeal in the Subtitle	7,7%	69,2%	23,1%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	7,7%	69,2%	23,1%	100,0%
Total		Count	1	9	3	13
		% within Emotional Appeal in the Subtitle	7,7%	69,2%	23,1%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	7,7%	69,2%	23,1%	100,0%

Table 9: Chi-Square Tests

	Value
Pearson Chi-Square	.[a]
N of Valid Cases	13

a. No statistics are computed because Emotional Appeal in the Subtitle is a constant.

Table 10: Reference to Age in the Headline

			Newspapers		
			Hürriyet	Sabah	Total
Reference to Age in the Headline	Yes	Count	1	1	2
		% within Reference to Age in the Headline	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%
Total		Count	1	1	2
		% within Reference to Age in the Headline	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%

Table 11: Chi-Square Tests

	Value
Pearson Chi-Square	.a
N of Valid Cases	2

a. No statistics are computed because Reference to Age in the Headline is a constant.

Table 12: Reference to Age in the Subtitle

			Newspapers			
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Total
Reference to Age in the Subtitle	Yes	Count	4	14	4	22
		% within Reference to Age in the Subtitle	18,2%	63,6%	18,2%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	18,2%	63,6%	18,2%	100,0%
Total		Count	4	14	4	22
		% within Reference to Age in the Subtitle	18,2%	63,6%	18,2%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	18,2%	63,6%	18,2%	100,0%

Table 13: Chi-Square Tests

	Value
Pearson Chi-Square	.a
N of Valid Cases	22

a. No statistics are computed because Reference to Age in the Subtitle is a constant.

Table 14: Use of Woman in the Headline

			Newspapers				
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	Total
Use of Woman in the Headline	Yes	Count	14	17	8	3	42
		% within Use of Woman in the Headline	33,3%	40,5%	19,0%	7,1%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	33,3%	40,5%	19,0%	7,1%	100,0%
Total		Count	14	17	8	3	42
		% within Use of Woman in the Headline	33,3%	40,5%	19,0%	7,1%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	33,3%	40,5%	19,0%	7,1%	100,0%

Table 15: Chi-Square Tests

	Value
Pearson Chi-Square	.[a]
N of Valid Cases	42

a. No statistics are computed because Use of Woman in the Headline is a constant.

Table 16: Use of Woman in the Subtitle

			Newspapers				
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	Total
Use of Woman in the Subtitle	Yes	Count	20	50	8	4	82
		% within Use of Woman in the Subtitle	24,4%	61,0%	9,8%	4,9%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	24,4%	61,0%	9,8%	4,9%	100,0%
Total		Count	20	50	8	4	82
		% within Use of Woman in the Subtitle	24,4%	61,0%	9,8%	4,9%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	24,4%	61,0%	9,8%	4,9%	100,0%

Table 17: Chi-Square Tests

	Value
Pearson Chi-Square	.[a]
N of Valid Cases	82

a. No statistics are computed because Use of Woman in the Subtitle is a constant.

Table 18: Reference to Sex Appeal in the Headline

			Newspapers			
			Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	Total
Reference to Sex Appeal in the Headline	Sexy	Count	7	3	1	11
		% within Reference to Sex Appeal in the Headline	63,6%	27,3%	9,1%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	22,6%	30,0%	33,3%	25,0%
		% of Total	15,9%	6,8%	2,3%	25,0%
	Beautiful	Count	0	1	0	1
		% within Reference to Sex Appeal in the Headline	,0%	100,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	10,0%	,0%	2,3%
		% of Total	,0%	2,3%	,0%	2,3%
	Attractive	Count	1	0	0	1
		% within Reference to Sex Appeal in the Headline	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	3,2%	,0%	,0%	2,3%
		% of Total	2,3%	,0%	,0%	2,3%
	Other	Count	23	6	2	31
		% within Reference to Sex Appeal in the Headline	74,2%	19,4%	6,5%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	74,2%	60,0%	66,7%	70,5%
		% of Total	52,3%	13,6%	4,5%	70,5%
Total		Count	31	10	3	44
		% within Reference to Sex Appeal in the Headline	70,5%	22,7%	6,8%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	70,5%	22,7%	6,8%	100,0%

Table 19: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,298[a]	6	,636
Likelihood Ratio	4,138	6	,658
Linear-by-Linear Association	,611	1	,434
N of Valid Cases	44		

a. 9 cells (75,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,07.

Table 20: Reference to Sex Appeal in the Subtitle

			Newspapers			
			Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	Total
Reference to Sex Appeal in the Subtitle	Sexy	Count	5	0	0	5
		% within Reference to Sex Appeal in the Subtitle	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	29,4%	,0%	,0%	20,8%
		% of Total	20,8%	,0%	,0%	20,8%
	Beautiful	Count	0	1	0	1
		% within Reference to Sex Appeal in the Subtitle	,0%	100,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	,0%	20,0%	,0%	4,2%
		% of Total	,0%	4,2%	,0%	4,2%
	Attractive	Count	1	0	0	1
		% within Reference to Sex Appeal in the Subtitle	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	5,9%	,0%	,0%	4,2%
		% of Total	4,2%	,0%	,0%	4,2%
	Other	Count	11	4	2	17
		% within Reference to Sex Appeal in the Subtitle	64,7%	23,5%	11,8%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	64,7%	80,0%	100,0%	70,8%
		% of Total	45,8%	16,7%	8,3%	70,8%
Total		Count	17	5	2	24
		% within Reference to Sex Appeal in the Subtitle	70,8%	20,8%	8,3%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	70,8%	20,8%	8,3%	100,0%

Table 21: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6,660[a]	6	,353
Likelihood Ratio	7,638	6	,266
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,303	1	,254
N of Valid Cases	24		

a. 11 cells (91,7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,08.

Table 22: Stereotypical Content in the News

| | | | Newspapers | | | | |
			Zaman	Hürriyet	Sabah	Cumhuriyet	Total
Stereotypical content	Hard news	Count	67	156	67	32	322
		% within Stereotypical content	20,8%	48,4%	20,8%	9,9%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	84,8%	55,5%	48,9%	74,4%	59,6%
		% of Total	12,4%	28,9%	12,4%	5,9%	59,6%
	Soft news	Count	12	125	70	11	218
		% within Stereotypical content	5,5%	57,3%	32,1%	5,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	15,2%	44,5%	51,1%	25,6%	40,4%
		% of Total	2,2%	23,1%	13,0%	2,0%	40,4%
Total		Count	79	281	137	43	540
		% within Stereotypical content	14,6%	52,0%	25,4%	8,0%	100,0%
		% within Newspapers	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	14,6%	52,0%	25,4%	8,0%	100,0%

Table 23: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	33,236[a]	3	,000
Likelihood Ratio	36,257	3	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	5,671	1	,017
N of Valid Cases	540		

a. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 17,36.

Appendix C: Pictures with Sex Appeal in the News

Figure 1: Angela Merkel, 10 May 2009, Cumhuriyet Newspaper
(http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/?hn=55782)

Figure 2: Julia Gillard, 21 September 2011, Cumhuriyet Newspaper
(http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/?hn=278806), and 21 September 2011, Sabah
(Morning) Newspaper (http://www.sabah.com.tr/Dunya/2011/09/21/avustralya-bu-fotografi-
konusuyor)

Figure 3: Angela Merkel, 17 September 2007, Zaman Newspaper
(http://www.zaman.com.tr/newsDetail_getNewsById.action?haberno=586953&1)

Figure 4: Angela Merkel, 7 December 2007, Zaman Newspaper
(http://www.zaman.com.tr/newsDetail_getNewsById.action?haberno=622060)

Figure 5: Angela Merkel, 15 June 2010, Sabah Newspaper
(http://www.sabah.com.tr/Ekonomi/2010/06/15/ab_ekonomi_hukumeti_kuruyor)

Figure 6: Angela Merkel, 11 January 2011, Sabah Newspaper
(http://www.sabah.com.tr/Dunya/2011/01/11/merkel_turklere_yuklendi)

Figure 7: Angela Merkel, 7 April 2011, Sabah Newspaper
(http://www.sabah.com.tr/Dunya/2011/04/07/filistini-tek-tarafli-tanimayacagiz)

Figure 8: Angela Merkel, 17 June 2011, Sabah Newspaper
(http://www.sabah.com.tr/Dunya/2011/06/17/avrupadan-suriyeye-sert-yaptirim-yolda)

Figure 9: Angela Merkel, 6 August 2011, Sabah Newspaper
(http://www.sabah.com.tr/Ekonomi/2011/08/06/zirvede-muthis-telefon-trafigi)

Figure 10: Angela Merkel, 7 August 2011, Sabah Newspaper
(http://www.sabah.com.tr/Ekonomi/2011/08/07/g7-euro-bolgesi-icin-toplaniyor)

Figure 11: Julia Gillard, 17 November 2011, Sabah Newspaper
(http://www.sabah.com.tr/Dunya/2011/11/17/obama-ve-gillardin-samimiyeti-dile-dustu)

Figure 12: Mara Carfagna, 13 September 2008, Sabah Newspaper
(http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2008/04/17/haber,1E1A279542D646549EEAAB13F039EA59.htm
l)

Figure 13: Sarah Palin, 29 September 2008, Sabah Newspaper
(http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2008/09/29/haber,9A518675F6734DA69CFBE4FF3B25D3F5.htm
l)

Figure 14: Sarah Palin, 28 August 2008, Sabah Newspaper
(http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2008/08/29/haber,880384383370476DB173B019925A8B26.html)

Figure 15: Sarah Palin, 31 August 2008, Sabah Newspaper
(http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2008/08/31/haber,5C3BCF57F62F4A57A0006463D51F3F8B.html
)

Figure 16: Segolene Royal, 19 August 2006, Sabah Newspaper
(http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2006/08/19/dun110.html)

Figure 17: Angela Merkel, 5 December 2011, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/19397505.asp)

Figure 18: Angela Merkel, 28 March 2007, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/17390160.asp)

Figure 19: Angela Merkel, 11 May 2009, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/11621816.asp)

Figure 20: Angela Merkel, 31 October 2009, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/12822146.asp)

Figure 21: Angela Merkel, 12 January 2009, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/10757353.asp)

Figure 22: Angela Merkel, 18 April 2006, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=4276182&tarih=2006-04-19)

Figure 23: Dilma Rousseff, 2 November 2010, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/16191353.asp)
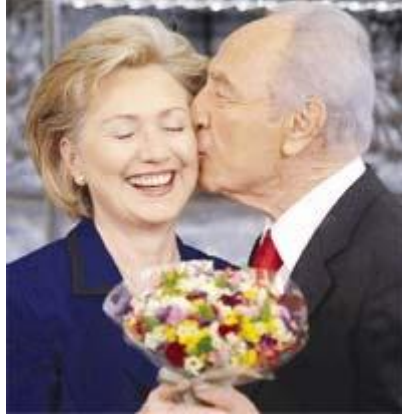
Figure 24: Hillary Clinton, 4 March 2009, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/11129660.asp)

Figure 25: Hillary Clinton, 17 June 2011, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/ShowNew.aspx?id=18272273)

Figure 26: Hillary Clinton, 20 March 2011, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/17320743.asp)
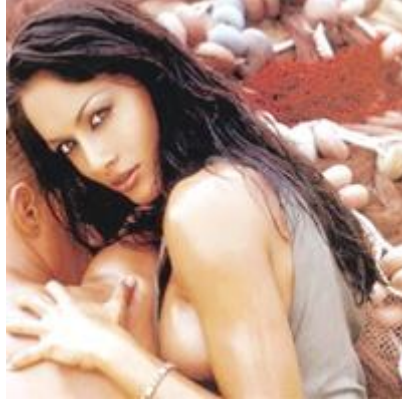
Figure 27: Mara Carfagna, 17 April 2008, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/ShowNew.aspx?id=8720101)

Figure 28: Mara Carfagna, 29 April 2008, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/8809919.asp?m=1)

Figure 29: Mara Carfagna, 22 April 2009, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/11479223.asp)

100

Figure 30: Sarah Palin, 12 September 2008, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/ShowNew.aspx?id=9882649)

Figure 31: Sarah Palin, 26 September 2008, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/9993263.asp)

Figure 32: Sarah Palin, 19 November 2008, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/10390740.asp)

Figure 33: Segolene Royal, 17 November 2006, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/5454634.asp?m=1)

Figure 34: Segolene Royal, 13 June 2007, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/ShowNew.aspx?id=6883163)

Appendix D: Pictures with Emotional Appeal in the News

Figure 1: Nimet Çubukçu, 24 September 2009, Cumhuriyet Newspaper
(http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/?hn=83808)

Figure 2: Nimet Çubukçu, 8 June 2010, Cumhuriyet Newspaper
(http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/?hn=147000&kn=7&ka=4&kb=7)

Figure 3: Nimet Çubukçu, 11 June 2010, Cumhuriyet Newspaper
(http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/?hn=148064&kn=7&ka=4&kb=7)

Figure 4: Nimet Çubukçu, 24 Semptember 2009, Zaman Newspapers
(http://www.zaman.com.tr/newsDetail_getNewsById.action?haberno=895821)

Figure 5: Nimet Çubukçu, 12 June 2010, Zaman Newspapers
(http://www.zaman.com.tr/newsDetail_getNewsById.action?haberno=994501)

Figure 6: Sarah Palin, 05 September 2008, Zaman Newspapers
(http://www.zaman.com.tr/newsDetail_getNewsById.action?haberno=734441)

Figure 7: Nimet Çubukçu, 03 July 2009, Sabah Newspaper
(http://www.sabah.com.tr/Gundem/2009/07/03/kasimda_sozlesmeli_yok)

Figure 8: Nimet Çubukçu, 12 August 2009, Sabah Newspaper
(http://www.sabah.com.tr/Yasam/2009/08/12/mudur_odalari_ozel_sinif_oluyor)

Figure 9: Nimet Çubukçu, 25 September 2009, Sabah Newspaper
(http://www.sabah.com.tr/Gundem/2009/09/25/andimizi_kaldirmak_icin_bir_calism
a_yok)

Figure 10: Nimet Çubukçu, 25 October 2009, Sabah Newspaper
(http://www.sabah.com.tr/Yasam/2009/10/25/bakan_cubukcudan_aleynaya_burs_mu
jdesi)

Figure 11: Nimet Çubukçu, 10 June 2010, Sabah Newspaper
(http://www.sabah.com.tr/Yasam/2010/06/10/ermeni_ogrencileri_bakan_mezun_etti)

Figure 12: Nimet Çubukçu, 12 June 2010, Sabah Newspaper
(http://www.sabah.com.tr/Yasam/2010/06/12/turkce_ve_rumca_ktibimin_ardindan_s
irtaki)

Figure 13: Nimet Çubukçu, 15 September 2010, Sabah Newspaper
(http://www.sabah.com.tr/Egitim/2010/09/15/minikler_okula_basladi)

Figure 14: Nimet Çubukçu, 31 December 2010, Sabah Newspaper
(http://www.sabah.com.tr/Gundem/2010/12/31/bakan_cubukcu_yibo_mudurunu_aci
ga_aldi)

Figure 15: Sarah Palin, 31 August 2008, Sabah Newspaper
(http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2008/08/31/haber,FDB51856DB394557BB8D6C89811963
57.html)

Figure 16: Segolene Royal, 11 March 2007, Sabah Newspaper
(http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2007/03/11/gun132.html)

Figure 17: Cristina Kirchner, 12 December 2011, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/planet/19442874.asp)

Figure 18: Sarah Palin, 23 October 2008, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/ShowNew.aspx?id=10187642)

Appendix E: Appearances of politicians in the News

Figure 1: Nimet Çubukçu, 16 June 2010, Cumhuriyet Newspaper
(http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/?hn=149242)

Figure 2: Cristina Kirchner, 22 January 2011, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/16824389.asp)

Figure 3: Hillary Clinton, 30 October 2009, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/12812643.asp)

Figure 4: Hillary Clinton, 29 September 2010, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/15860499.asp)

Appendix F: Private Life of the Politicians in the News

Figure 1: Mara Carfagna, 27 June 2011, Hürriyet Newspaper
(http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/planet/18115439.asp)