

The Presentation of International Women's Day on TRNC Media

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the objectives and importance of International Women's Day by considering the first activist, Clara Zetkin's arguments. The study aims to show how 8th March has started to be celebrated in most of the countries. Since International Women's Day is an opportunity to defend women's rights and the issues of gender, this study examines how the celebration of International Women's Day has been changed from its existence. Thus, 8 March presentations in 2012 are explained in this study.

Throughout the study, the journalists' views on women and 8th March are analyzed by considering the media texts in the four daily TRNC's newspapers which are Havadis, Yeni Düzen, Halkın Sesi and Vatan between March 1 and March 10 in 2012. The weekly newspaper which is Yeni Çağ has also been collected for 3 weeks to evaluate how the news, columns and advertisements about International Women's Day takes place on March 1, March 8 and March 15 in 2012. Furthermore, all presses in the newspapers are also taken into account to show how women are represented from the first of March to the tenth of March. By doing content analysis, all columns, news and advertisements which are about women in 5 TRNC's newspapers are examined in this study. Thus, this study aims to demonstrate different media presentations during 8th March week in the TRNC's newspapers.

Keywords: 8 March, gender, journalists, press, women, content analysis, media presentations.

ÖZ

Çalışma, Dünya Kadınlar Günü'nün hedeflerini ve önemini, ilk aktivist Clara Zetkin'nin görüşlerini göz önünde bulundurarak analiz eder. Bu çalışma aynı zamanda 8 Mart'ın birçok ülkede nasıl kutlanmaya başlandığını göstermeyi de hedefler. Dünya Kadınlar Günü, kadın haklarını ve cinsiyet konularını savunmak için bir fırsat olduğundan dolayı, bu çalışmada Dünya Kadınlar Günü kutlama şeklinin başlangıcından bu yana nasıl değiştiği araştırılmıştır. Bu yüzden 2012'deki 8 Mart sunumları da çalışmada yer almaktadır.

Bu çalışma, 8 Mart sunumunu ve kadınlar hakkındaki görüşleri günlük dört Kuzey Kıbrıs gazetesi olan Havadis, Yeni Düzen, Halkın Sesi ve Vatan gazetelerindeki haberlere bakarak 1 Mart ve 10 Mart 2012 tarihleri arasında inceler. Haftalık gazete olan Yeni Çağ gazetesi ise 1 Mart, 8Mart ve 15 Mart 2012 tarihlerinde Dünya Kadınlar Günü hakkındaki haberleri köşe yazılarını ve reklamları analiz etmek için toplanmıştır. Ayrıca, gazetelerdeki tüm basımlar 1 Mart ve 10 Mart tarihleri arasında kadınların nasıl gösterildiğini belirtmek için göz önünde bulundurulmuştur. Bu çalışmada, 5 Kuzey Kıbrıs gazetesindeki kadınlar hakkında olan bütün köşe yazıları, haberler ve reklamlar içerik analizi yapılarak incelenir. Bu yüzden bu çalışma Kuzey Kıbrıs Gazetelerinde 8 Mart etkisi altında olan farklı kadın sunumlarını göstermeyi hedefler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: 8 Mart, cinsiyet, gazeteler, basım, kadınlar, içerik analizi, kadın sunumları.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

International Women's Day is celebrated by many countries every 8th of March to articulate the achievements of women and promote women's rights. The aim is to draw attention not only to gender equality, but also to the problems that women have faced for many years. However, nowadays, International Women's Day is a celebration when men mostly buy flowers for women. Instead of raising consciousness about women's problems, people celebrate this date as an ordinary festival. As European Progressive studies also demonstrate, Clara Zetkin could not have predicted the number of flowers which would be sold on International Women's Day.

According to the Foundation for European Progressive Studies, International Women's Day is not linked to universal suffrage, social security or protection for women; it is linked to an ordinary celebration when men go to the flower shop for women. Even if men represent themselves as feminist individuals, they do not try to solve the problems of women directly, even on International Women's Day (Feps-europe 2012, p.1). Thus, March 8th should not be celebrated as an ordinary festival, because International Women's Day defends equal access to education, training,

science, voting and technology by improving women's economic, political and social conditions.

The media play an important role in shaping and constructing the opinions of people about women's issues and International Women's Day. Thus, this study aims to demonstrate how the media reflect International Women's Day and women's issues in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). The analysis of the media's approach to International Women's Day and women's issues will be explained in relation with the theories such as Critical Cultural Theory, Gramsci's concept of hegemony, and the Frankfurt School.

This study analyzes how International Women's Day and women's issues are reflected in four of the TRNC's daily newspapers – *Vatan*, *Havadis*, *Yeni Düzen* and *Halkın Sesi* – for the period between March 1 and March 10, in 2012. In addition, the weekly newspaper *Yeni Çağ* for March 1, March 8 and March 15 is considered. The aim is also to show how the weekly newspaper represents International Women's Day and women's issues. Throughout the study, the various characteristics and the dynamics of the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs dealing with women issues) in North Cyprus have been analyzed through interviews with the managers of NGOs dealing with women issues in North Cyprus to show whether these organizations' manifestoes, performances and objectives are represented directly or not in the TRNC's newspapers.

Lastly, media texts, comprising interviews, columns, hard news, soft news, horoscopes, sports and biography are examined to determine whether or not they

include content in areas such as health, the achievements of women, exhibitions/activities, visits/charity, NGOs dealing with women issues, products/promotions, women's rights, humorous stories, recipes/meals, culture-art, violence and immigration. A content analysis is carried out to show the topics highlighted during the week of March 8 and in March 8 presentations, in relation to women's issues and movements.

1.1 The Problem

Nowadays, March 8th which is expected to be a day for consciousness rising on the women issues, is being celebrated as an ordinary festival without enough reference to the issues such as equal rights, social security or protection for women in the media (Feps-europe 2012, p.1). Therefore, this study does not only attempt to investigate the media's approach to International Women's Day during the week of March 8th in North Cyprus, but also examines the subjects raised during this period related to women and women's movements. Additionally, it analyzes the media's impact on the presentation of non-governmental women organizations', beside their objectives and activities reflected in the five TRNC newspapers.

1.2 Research Questions

In this research study, the following questions will be answered:

1. Which subjects related to women or women's movements such as NGOs dealing with women issues in North Cyprus are highlighted most during the week of March 8th?
2. What are the women's problems voiced by women's organizations and movements in the TRNC during 8 March 2012?

3. Are the voices of women and/or NGOs dealing with women issues in North Cyprus presented/given a platform by the TRNC's newspapers?

4. What are the issues/subjects related to women's day and women's issues which receive the maximum coverage in the newspapers?

1.3 Aim of the Study

This study aims firstly, to find out the struggle areas and the problems defined by women movements and NGO's in TRNC and secondly to analyze how International Women's Day, women's issues and movements are represented in five TRNC newspapers. The study aims to reflect the views of journalists on International Women's Day and on women's issues, and also to explore the portrayals of women in media texts with the help of content analysis. Furthermore, this study aims to show the reflection of the mass media on International Women's Day, women's problems and the NGOs dealing with women issues in North Cyprus. Therefore, this study aims to present the analyses of data in a variety of ways by using content analysis.

1.4 Assumptions of the Study

This study assumes that the mass media has a masculine and a patriarchal point of view. Therefore, mass media create a hegemonic masculine culture beside a consuming culture. Media is also reproducing these cultural values not only in advertising or opinion columns but also in the hard news stories. Media can also be an important agent to redefining the meanings of special days and events. International Women's Day is also one of these days which media diverted its meaning from a struggle day to an entertainment day.

1.5 Method

Communication includes different disciplines, methods and theoretical approaches, like different types of content analysis and feminist approaches. This study includes interviews with the managers of the NGOs dealing with women issues to state their objectives and performances in North Cyprus. The study mainly focuses on content analysis beside the interviews used to define the activities of women NGO's. By using content analysis, the researcher can easily analyze the presence, meanings and relationships of words and concepts (Writing.colostate 2012, p.1). Content analysis also provides inferences about the messages within the text. It also provides important insights over time through analyses of texts. Throughout the study, content analysis offers observations via texts, so readers can easily understand the central aspect of this social interaction. In simpler terms, the analysis of columns in the newspapers by using content analysis simplifies the complex models of human thought and language use. The various representations of women in the media are examined to understand how they signify the concepts of gender and women. Thus, meanings and relationships of words are specifically brought out in this study through the use of content analysis.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

The study includes five national newspapers in the TRNC: *Halkın Sesi*, *Havadis*, *Yeni Çağ*, *Yeni Düzen* and *Vatan*. The study limits itself to four national daily newspapers in North Cyprus – *Halkın Sesi*, *Havadis*, *Yeni Düzen* and *Vatan* – and to specific dates, from the first to the tenth of March, 2012. The weekly newspaper, *Yeni Çağ* has also been examined for the dates of March 1, March 8 and March 15 in 2012. Therefore, the numbers of newspapers considered and the limited time-frame can be seen as limitations of this study. *Halkın Sesi* is selected to for the research

study because of its conservative and mainstream nature. *Havadis* is chosen because of having one of the highest circulation beside reflecting interesting representations of women through funny stories, specifications of NGOs dealing with women issues and International Women's Day in the newspaper journalists' columns. *Yeni Düzen* is selected for its supplement, which is called *Gaile*. *Gaile* has a feminist back page which focuses on women's issues like women trafficking in, gender inequality, patriarchal oppression, etc.. *Yeni Düzen* is one of the leftist newspapers which has a higher circulation. *Yeni Çağ* is selected to include a weekly newspaper to the research study. *Vatan* differentiates itself from the other newspapers by being a right wing newspaper and by having a masculine perspective which has a tendency to ignore women issues.

Beside the literature reviews on the publications the brochures of 17 NGOs dealing with women issues and their meeting minutes have been analyzed beside the interviews done with the NGO representatives and managers.

Additionally, the news categories and the issues which are highlighted in the five TRNC newspapers may also be considered as limitations of the study because the repeated issues do not completely reflect the essence of women's issues and March 8th representations in the newspapers.

1.7 Definitions of the Study

This study focuses on the important concepts such as discrimination, sexism, stereotypes, hard news and soft news.

Discrimination: Fowler (1991, p. 105) argues that people who are discriminated against by others are put into positions in which they enjoy less power than others.

Sexism: Duncan (2006, p. 1180) quotes Settembrini's statement that sexism is an assumption which defends the superiority of one sex to the other sex.

Stereotypes: Ladegaard (2011, p. 134) argues that stereotypes which are constructed culturally give people orientations in a complex world. Stereotypes not only produce fixed ideas about women, but also lead to gender inequality in society.

Hard News: According to White (2009, p.30) hard news is a type of report which is objective and consists of real news, in daily newspapers rather than in lifestyle magazines.

Soft News: Soft news is also one of the text types which includes "absence of a public policy component, sensationalized presentation, human interest themes and emphasis on dramatic subject matter" (Baum, 2008 p. 120).

1.8 Significance of the Study

An understanding of the mass media's approach to International Women's Day and women's issues is critical to examine the media's impact on people. The media texts reflect how the portrayals of women and women movements are presented. The way of presenting women's issues and International Women's Day in the newspapers influence people's perspectives. This impact has received a great deal of interest by the researchers. Therefore, this study attempts to understand how the mass media is effective while imposing their ideology based on women's issues and International Women's Day through the media texts. Furthermore, this dissertation provides important research findings by using content analysis for five TRNC newspapers.

This study will contribute to wide literature in several ways. First, this thesis will strengthen the understanding of mass media's approach to International Women's Day, women's issues and NGOs dealing with women issues in North Cyprus during March 8th week in 2012.

Second, this study examines the data which belongs to North Cyprus. Thus, findings of this dissertation will reveal how International Women's Day has been celebrated in North Cyprus and it has been reflected in five TRNC newspapers. Third, this study also shows how the aims and activities of NGOs dealing with women issues have not been presented comprehensively in the TRNC's newspapers.

1.9 Organization of the Study

The thesis is organized as follows: Chapter 1 starts with a general introduction about International Women's Day, its objectives and the way of celebrating this day for recent years. Then it continues by explaining the problem of the study, research questions, aim of the study, assumptions of the study, methods, limitations of the study, definitions of the study and significance of the study. In Chapter 2, a review of literature regarding the identification of discrimination, patriarchy, stereotypes and sexism, the social role of media, masculinity and patriarchy as ideology, women's images in media texts, the structure of media institutions, March 8th women's day and feminist movements have been explained to show previous studies on the effects of mass media on women's issues and women movements. Chapter 3 consists of the definition of content analysis and interview, the use of content analysis in media texts and feminist movements in North Cyprus. Chapter 4 is devoted to the presentation and interpretation of content analysis of data belonging to five TRNC's newspapers during March 8th week in 2012. Chapter 5 summarizes the basic findings and insights of the thesis.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter consists of three main sections. At first, identification of discrimination, patriarchy, stereotypes and sexism are discussed by explaining the social role of media and masculinity and patriarchy as ideology. Second, the media's approach to women's issues and movements are explained by arguing both women's images in media texts and the structure of media institutions. Third, March 8th Women's Day and feminist movements are included to show how International Women's Day is represented in the literature.

2.1 Discrimination, Patriarchy, Stereotypes and Sexism

Women are always under the control of men due to male domination in society. Society ascribes different roles and duties to women by imposing social standards on them. Women's identities are therefore determined according to the beliefs and concepts coming from a rule-based system. These beliefs and concepts produce generalized ideas about women's representations in society. For example, men's dominance and women's subordination are supported in popular culture, so women are depicted in most cases as vulnerable, emotional and weak, while men are defined as individuals who have power over women. Representations of women are generally shaped according to society's expectations. These expectations generally prevent

women from finding their identities and capabilities, because women are always associated with the domestic roles specified by various concepts and beliefs of society. Concepts like discrimination, patriarchy, stereotypes and sexism affect women's issues, women's rights and women's representations in society. In this section of the study, four concepts are explained to show how they are effective in determining the social roles of women, their portrayals in every sphere of social life and the attitudes of men towards women.

First of all, discrimination against women leads to inferior conditions for them. Fowler (1991, p. 105) argues that people who are discriminated against by others are put into positions in which they enjoy less power than others. In the case of discrimination against women in society, men exercise power directly over women. The power of men can be associated with many factors such as money, knowledge, status and the control of women's actions and liberties. Therefore, women are prevented from having opportunities and liberties in their lives.

According to Bergmann (1998, p. 26), economic and political discrimination also enhance the adverse effects of discrimination within the family. Legislation is thus always prepared to facilitate women's access to training and promotion, employment and production (Bergmann, 1998 p. 28). Furthermore, in most countries, where marriage and family property are taken into consideration, legislation has also been aimed at granting women equal rights with men.

Heath (2010, p. 28) has quoted from Hon that women also face more gender discrimination in society when they want to have equal job opportunities in their

occupational lives. Women's right and women's issues should be taken into account seriously in order to avoid the adverse effects of binary oppositions in gender. Women of all ages can become a part of their society by using their capabilities, dreams, loves, experiences, illnesses and wishes; through this, they can resolve women's struggles between familial duty and personal growth, which are determined according to the rules of society. Discrimination therefore prevents women from changing the impositions of laws, exercising their rights and playing a key role in their personal lives. Women should have equality and full access to positions in every economic and political situation; otherwise the fixed ideas which are imposed on women cause inequalities and their alienation in society.

Patriarchy is also another concept which defends male domination over women. Castells (2004, p.194) argues that patriarchy affects the structure of all contemporary societies in the case of the family unit. For Castells (2004, p.195), patriarchy is a system which is regulated by the enforced authority of men over women and their children in the family unit. Therefore interpersonal relationships, personalities and responsibilities are shaped by domination and violence originating from patriarchy. In simpler terms, patriarchy destroys the entire woman who experiences it, from her political power to the structure of her personality. Since women are not able to consider themselves equal to men in a patriarchal society, their rights and control over their bodies and lives are violated. In this situation, women are not represented equally in patriarchal families because these families are based on the stable exercise of male domination over women.

When the family structure in North Cyprus is taken into consideration, women are also not represented equally in families. There are also stable exercises of male

domination over women. However, patriarchy is not the only reason which prevents women from having opportunities as men have in North Cyprus. Lisaniler (2003, p. 134) noted that women in North Cyprus do not benefit from health, education and income to the same extent as their male counterparts in society. Due to the limitations on economic, social, cultural and political development in North Cyprus, gender inequality exists not only in education but also in economic and political life (Lisaniler, 2003 p.135). Despite the gender inequality in North Cyprus, the considerable improvements have also been made for women to take advantage of services in society, too.

Women who live in a patriarchal society are generally deprived of qualified training, gainful employment, self-realization and economic independence. In consequence, they experience difficulties while they are developing their personal identity, their path in life and their social integration (Bergmann, 1998 p.15). Strategies for women to avoid the obstacles facing them in social life are always based on the reasons behind the gender-specific breakdown in social life: In simple terms, the stereotypes which have been assigned to women by culture are applied prejudicially to every woman in society.

Alston and Robinson (2005, p.155) claim that in most countries, women are not entitled to individual rights on an equal basis with men. As a result, women's subordination and inequality are fostered by patriarchal society. Patriarchy has an impact on the entire organization of society in the areas of politics, law and culture (Alston and Robinson, 2005 p.155). Since patriarchy reinforces the idea that women cannot own property, women's invisibility, alienation, absence and ignorance exist as

important problems in society. Alston and Robinson argue that cultural limitations on women's life-conditions prevent them from having same opportunities and privileges as men have in their lives (2005, p.157). The contribution of women is not considered because patriarchal society always dictates women's invisibility in social life.

Peake (1993, p.416) also argues that patriarchal society always imposes social standards of femininity on women, to show how these standards are natural for femininity. Since women are characterized as individuals who serve the interests of patriarchy, women conform to the chosen standards that are imposed on them. Peake believes that women are excluded from areas of socio-political significance because of the distinctive social roles allocated to men and women (Peake, 1993 p. 417). As a result, the social standards imposed on women directly or indirectly are determined according to the differentiation between biological sex and social gender. For example, women's biological capacity for childbirth and their weak physical strength determine their social role in their houses. On the other hand, men are judged to be more rational than women, so they are characterized as individuals who are good at political decision making (Peake, 1993 p. 418). Peake (1993, p.416) defines society as a place in which there is an institutional structure of male-domination and the characteristic structures and social arrangements that foster women's oppression. The role of patriarchy is therefore inevitable in social roles which are determined according to the social classification of individuals as masculine and feminine.

Furthermore, stereotypes foster inequalities for women in society. The characteristics which are imposed on women are determined by the traditional stereotyping of social roles based on sex (Duncan, 2006 p.1180). Ladegaard (2011, p. 134) quotes from

Lippman's argument that stereotypes which affect the process of perception compose mental concepts and pictures in people's heads. Stereotypes generate fixed ideas about types of people or things which lead to discrimination, inequalities and alienation in society. Ladegaard (2011, p. 134) argues that stereotypes which are constructed culturally give people orientations in a complex world. Stereotypes not only produce fixed ideas about women, but also lead to gender inequality in society. In order to overcome the problems resulting from stereotypes, Wright (1992, p. 98) emphasizes that women attempt to fight gender equality to draw attention to women's rights in society. For Wright (1992, p. 99), gender equality does not mean that men and women become the same; women should be provided the same opportunities and privileges as men have. For example, Strathern (1981, p. 168) states that gender concepts which are decided by male members of a society generally create cruel stereotypes which have to be followed by women. For example, Strathern (1981, p. 166) chooses a case of incidents to highlight what men think about the understanding of gender concepts. For example, the social roles of women are associated with being as housewives who do not have any desire to earn money. In this way, because of the stereotypes, men who consider women as inferior individuals argue that women have to obey the rules of their society and the patronizing behavior of males.

O'Reilly (2006, p. 251) has quoted from Harp and Tremayne that the performances of genders change according to social and political perspectives. For example, the patriarchal notion of a public/private dichotomy which is associated with male and female roles can be found in the context of politics, public discourse and technology (Harp and Tremayne, 2006 p. 251). In this notion, while women are associated with

the private sphere of life which involves family, private relations and sexual reproduction, men are responsible for the public sphere, which includes government and commercial establishments. This dichotomy helps readers learn how the idea of a hegemonic conceptualization of politics has worked in society.

Finally, sexism affects women adversely while they are striving for their self-perceptions and self-identities in social life. Duncan (2006, p. 1180) quotes Settembrini's statement that sexism is an assumption which defends the superiority of one sex to the other sex. The inferior sex generally refers to the women and superior to men. Duncan quotes Settembrini (2006, p.1181) to argue that sexism is rooted in a patriarchal society where male domination occurs in every sphere of life. In finding self-identities and self-perceptions, women have difficulties while they are obtaining their needs and wants according to their own value judgments. Sexism should therefore not be fostered by male domination for the majority of women in society.

Frye (1983, p.845) also argues that sexism determines cultural and economic structures which specify rigid patterns for men and women. Frye aims to draw attention to domination and subordination which damage women's identities and perspectives. The sexualized individual is always relevant in sexist cultural and economic systems because sexism always marks the distinction between the sexes. For example, men are always empowered to be bosses in occupational lives. On the other hand, women are generally associated with being an ideal mother for their children and satisfying men's needs and desires in private lives. Since the acts and practices of men are sexist, women are always under the control of male domination

in their lives; and traditional gender role stereotypes such as being a good mother or being a beautiful wife need to be destroyed in order to diminish the suffering that comes with femininity. Calogero and Jost (2011, p.212) add that sexism can be either benevolent or hostile while conveying information about the division of structural power between men and women. Women are portrayed as weaker than men and as more suitable for domestic roles in society; they are thus portrayed as individuals who are less likely to recognize or challenge the events in their lives. Calogero and Jost also think that sexism always decreases women's cognitive performance due to the impact on them of doubt and worry (2011, p.213). In other words, sexism disables women from finding their identities and creates harmful consequences for women's self-body relations. Attitudes, manners, behavior, and even words should not imply the inferiority of women and their dependence on men because then women will become vulnerable and hostility, inequality and discrimination against women will automatically occur in society (Calogero and Jost, 2011 p.214).

Sexism can be avoided by focusing on individual equal rights issues, promoting vocational education and training programs, providing gainful employment, establishing institutions for the promotion of equal rights for men and women, encouraging the participation of women in politics and society, protesting violence against women/human rights violations, and supporting international cooperation on equal rights policy (Calogero and Jost, 2011 p.216).

As a result of such identifications, all of the above concepts adversely influence women's rights, issues and representations in society. All of these concepts should thus be destroyed in order to create an egalitarian society.

2.1.1 The Social Role of Media

Media play an important role while reflecting the structure of society, because they inevitably affect every aspect of social life for individuals. The concepts of discrimination, patriarchy, stereotypes and sexism affect the media's approaches to women's issues and their portrayals. The media demonstrate gender performances, women's representations and women's issues in productions such as newspapers, magazines, television, radio, etc. International Women's Day is also one of the issues which is covered in newspapers, supposedly to celebrate the special day for women every year. However, these days are not represented with its real objectives; International Women's Day should be linked to universal suffrage, social security and protection for women (Feps-europe 2012, p.1). Thus while considering the events that occur in a society, the impact of media on people cannot be denied.

Stankiewicz and Rosselli (2008, p. 579) have conducted research on representations of women in magazines where they evaluate whether or not women are presented as sex objects and victims. They state that one out of two advertisements represent women as sex objects in men's magazines and women's adolescent magazines, because in half of the advertisements people see women as defenseless while men are seen as powerful individuals (Stankiewicz and Roselli, 2008 p. 579). For example, Kilbourne, who is taken as an example by Stankiewicz and Rosselli, notes that the sexual victimization of women is seen not only in films and on television, but also in advertisements; the different genders' body positions, facial expressions and sexual power relations are clearly established in violent pornography (Stankiewicz and Rosselli, 2008, p. 581). Thus, people can easily see these kinds of discrimination and

stereotypes against women in news coverage, magazines, advertisements and journals.

Demerest and Garner (1992, p. 357) also provide explanations of portrayals of women in the mass media. In their view, film-makers represent female characters as passive, as homemakers and sweethearts. Demerest and Garner (1992, p. 357) quote McDonald and Godfrey's view that the depictions of women on television have been centered on images of their sex role. These arguments are used to show how books and magazines portray women as individuals who are degraded by the mass media. Lastly, some authors explain that newspapers and magazines have an impact on changing images of women. However, Demerest and Garner (1992, p. 358) note that these kinds of magazines focus only on physical appearance, rather than on equality of the sexes. Demerest and Garner thus point out that even media foster gender inequality through their productions. In the case of International Women's Day, the issues concerning women are also presented by incorporating discrimination against women in newspapers, in magazines, in film screenings and on television. For example, the film which is called *Julie Andrews* is the adorable governess for 7 mischievous children who has to match up to the stern father. Maria sang her way in to people's hearts. There is also a film which is called "Mother India" which depicts a perfect mother figure through a woman character (Ibnlive 2012, p. 4-5). These films show also that how women are only represented according to their traditional sex roles in society.

Fowler (1991, p.91) argues that in media productions, women are generally perceived as mothers, consumers and home managers in social life; their professional

and other capabilities are therefore not noticed in most cases. For Fowler, women also appear as housewives or sex objects in most of the news and advertisements (1991, p.92). As mentioned above, the stereotypes which are imposed on women come from attributing to them characteristics like mutability, capriciousness, proneness to tears, inferiority and subjectivity. In order to avoid giving women a reputation for charm, beauty and fragility, they are rarely presented as clever in the mass media (Fowler, 1991 p.104).

According to Meskin (2007, p. 134), stereotypes increase men's superiority and power when the media always repeat the same information regularly in the same way. These reproduced ideas therefore construct race, ethnicity, sexuality and gender by normalizing them in the news in popular culture. Meskin (1997, p. 135) quotes from Guzman and Valdivia to explain stereotypical and physical characters who have red lips, large hips and seductive clothing. The aim is to demonstrate how women are presented in terms of sexual desire and racial discrimination (Meskin, 2007 p. 135). Women who are represented through stereotypes are generally depicted as sexual objects. In other words, these stereotypes of women are aimed at the satisfaction of men, which affects gender equality in society.

Skov and Moeran (1995, p.147) argue that some magazines and newspapers reflect women's anxieties by presenting women as unsure of themselves and struggling for their social and private lives. In some cases, women are described as individuals who enjoy their freedom and develop themselves in order to gain recognition or acceptance. These two presentations bring a tension to the representation of women in the case of stereotypes. Curiosity and anxiety are the concepts which are prevalent

in newspapers and magazines, but there are generally different representations of women depending on their education, region and socio-economic status, due to the diverse experiences of women (Skov and Moeran, 1995 p.146).

Skov and Moeran also think that magazines and newspapers always idealize and standardize a woman who enjoys a rich life with goods, leisure and travel, opportunities and possessions (1995, p.148). In other words, money, bodies, sexuality, work, residence and attractiveness are specifications which foster stereotypes of women. The stereotypes, which are fixed ideas about women, affect their hierarchical spheres of work and family, so that women's sexuality and independence are expressed in the media in terms of consumer taste (Skov and Moeran, 1995 p.149).

According to Skov and Moeran (1995, p.151), stereotypes of women are also observed through the bodies of women that are associated with the international circulation of commodity signs in newspapers and magazines. Therefore, there is a generally sexualized identity which is used to describe women in the media. The media do not only offer ideas and images of women, but they also reinforce the impact of the dominant morality on women by reflecting women's participation in schools, families and work situations. Skov and Moeran (1995, p.151) also argue that the media have power over the ways that women are categorized according to their wishes for self-actualization, relationships and sexual desires. Thus the media easily establish a discourse of ideas and practices for women while representing them in dominant institutions such as the family, school and work. Consequently, the social roles are determined and stereotypes take on defined shapes.

According to Major and Coleman (2008, p. 316), people also see gender stereotypes in news coverage (p.316). Major and Coleman (2008, p. 317) quotes from Braden, Devit and Heldman to explain what newspaper reporters say about the gender stereotypes of women. The reporters explain that the appearances of women are opposite to men's appearances. Whatever opportunities men have, women cannot have. Women are not represented as having opportunities in the same way as men. Major and Coleman (2008, p. 318) explains that in most of the advertisements, men have more opportunities than women to do whatever they want. Major and Coleman (2008, p. 319) also quotes Huddy and Terkildsen to argue that even if women deal with social issues, they cannot manage the issues of the military and the economy because they are represented in the media as less viable individuals.

Moreover, as Devran (2010, p. 90) has argued, quoting from Usulate, people can see the presence of stereotypes of women in media productions, such as in some movies and television programs in popular culture. Foreign groups are represented in a biased way. Writers, directors, producers, reporters and editors make people accept the biases which they produce. The aim is to bring quick identity for some groups. Devran (2010, p. 90) also states that when people identify information which is followed through the media, the information can include stereotypes. Psychologists and media researchers claim that these people try to understand others by analyzing the specified stereotypes in the newspapers.

There is also much more news about women in the medium of television. However, this news generally makes use of conventional beliefs coming from stereotypes. Therefore, women are prevented from having opportunities as a result of the

representations of women on television. Gerbner (2000, p. 4) stated in Cultivation Theory that television affects people's daily lives. Gerbner also says that

“Television is the source of the most broadly-shared images and messages in history. It is the mainstream of the common symbolic environment into which our children are born and in which we all live out our lives.” (Gerbner, 2000 p. 5).

Televisions therefore also affect women who have conventional beliefs in a male-dominant society. A lot of women also have problems, inequalities and troubles in their traditional mass media because of the cultural limitations which prevent women from having the same opportunities as men: even if some of them try to change inequalities, they are pushed to be individuals who try to satisfy other people's needs. Zhang (2011, p. 64) quotes from Rubin, Perse and Taylor to demonstrate the media's pervasive effects on audiences and how media also construct messages and the perceptions of audiences. Zhang (2011, p. 64) refers to Gerber's cultivation theory to show how the media, media messages and television exposure shape, influence and maintain people's perceptions. This theory is also used to evaluate the effects of television when it shapes stereotypes in different countries (Zhang, 2011 p. 65).

Zhang uses Gerbner's cultivation theory to portray how racial groups are shown to targeted groups. Zhang (2010, p. 63) uses Perse's ideas about cultivation theory to show how this theory affects media content in terms of the acquisition of stereotypes. In this context, Shandhan and Morgan argue (Zhang , 2010) that the society has a more homogenized, centralized and standardized ideology when stereotypes are accepted as people's social reality. Zhang (2010, p. 22) also uses Joo and Morgan's ideas to demonstrate how violent television programmes are used to apply gender roles and racial stereotypes in magazines and newspapers. However, these stereotypes should not be accepted as social realities if one is to get rid of all

generalized ideas and create an egalitarian society. At that point, people should all have equal human rights necessary in order to survive without following the dominant ideology of the mass media.

The media thus reflect the importance of repetitive messages and the lessons of the television world (Signorielli, 1990 p.16). The mass media portray people who perceive the world in terms of the television programs which are produced by the mass media. These programs also emphasize sex differences by showing their income, education, occupation, race, use of time and social isolation or integration. People can easily analyze how television dominates people's consciousness, and they can also get the point of this analysis, because its goal is to differentiate the attitudes, beliefs and actions of light and heavy viewers when they reflect their beliefs. It is therefore the people who determine how the media and their products can change the viewers' concepts of social reality and emphasize both the world which is portrayed on television and the real world, itself (Signorielli, 1990 p. 17). In this situation, television becomes the things that we think about and what we do (Signorielli, 1990 p.23). However, the things which are shown on television should not be accepted as our own value judgments. International Women's Day is also presented on television in ways that raise concerns about stereotypes. In other words, March 8th is generally depicted according to the media's values and judgments, which generally foster inequalities between men and women.

Sexism is found in the mass media because the media always insist on presenting the image of an ideal woman in their productions. According to Berberick (2010, p.1) sexist media offer unattainable or objectified images of femininity. In other words,

ideal women are described by the media's objectification of women. Berberick (2010, p.1) also notes that media expand information to affect self-esteem. However, the ideal is not real due to the exploitative representation of women in the media. Therefore, Berberick (2010, p. 2) argues that the roles and privileges of women are inferior in patriarchal societies because of prevailing sexist beliefs. Thus, sexism which occurs in the media plays an important role in fostering the oppression of women. Berberick (2010, p.13) thinks that the patriarchal framework should be shaped and egalitarian standards should be determined in order to cope with the sexism and objectification that is found in media productions.

Jacobsen and Mazur (1995, p.12), in their analysis of sexism in the media, conclude that the messages of media productions share a common theme for women. The common theme shows the way to be a beautiful woman in each media production (Jacobsen and Mazur, 1995, p.12). Women thus find themselves in a prison of cultural ideals of beauty, which is determined by the forces of sexism. Since sexism defines the standards of femininity, the attitudes towards women are generally pervasive and harmful. Through the representation of women in the mass media, they are generally presented as individuals who are prone to consume more and desire luxury standards in their lives. These depictions strengthen the concept of sexism in the mass media. Jacobsen and Mazur (1995, p.14) also contend that representations of women in most advertisements are associated with commodities and are presented to encourage consumption such as buying perfumes, clothes, etc.. Thus, sexism, which is very active in the media's objectification of women, is always degrading women in society.

The media also reproduce mass culture through their productions in order to impose ideological domination on people. The media perform their activities according to the specifications of the culture that they want to specify in media products. McQuail (1994, p. 262) uses Care's definition of culture, according to Care (1975, p. 94), culture is a process and also includes a group of people's behaviors such as traditions, customs and practices at the same time. Moreover, he suggests that people develop a distinctive "culturalist" perspective on mass media in terms of literature, linguistics, and philosophy. The books, texts and their chapters have been written to develop social scientific perspectives and provide support for culturalist approaches. The codes in the media consist of commodities, clothes, language and structured social practices. Mass media surrenders to these productions by having many references which are used in the media. Thus, people should not separate culture and media texts, because media texts have existed within the culture for a long time. Media texts can also give shape to cultures when their news or images are accepted as our traditional beliefs. Journalists and writers should take responsibility and reject media texts which support male-dominated society, in order to change the common mentality about women through journalistic productions. The writers should also encourage women to seek their own human rights in media texts and destroy such fixed social and economical distinctions in culture.

Heibert discusses the relationship between media and culture. Heibert (1995, p. 413) argues that culture has two different definitions. The first definition demonstrates the quality of a society which comes with literature and art. The other definition characterizes a society in terms of civilization. When people want to extend culture, they use media, as in an electronic media society, to show everything as an aspect of

their own civilizations (Heibert, 1995 p. 413). For example, the media can play an important role in imposing the dominant and powerful ideology of men, as if women also have the same perspectives about the groups of people who are shown in mass media texts or productions. Thus, people should not believe whatever they see in media texts; they should check all these ideas to evaluate whether they can be accepted by all human beings or not.

Luhman (2000, p. 84) states that culture remodels each subject into a sign of culture; it is also a production of the mass media. Thus, what people have known is different from what they really see in the mass media through photographs. People can easily see how the mass media construct reality to reshape reality and change the perspectives of the community. McQuail (1994, p.94) also defines culture as a way of producing meanings by constructing social experiences. It is an ongoing process, so the meanings are offered to individuals through media products like television programs, books, songs, films, etc. In order to reveal the discourses that surround the meanings, the cultural approach looks into all aspects of production. According to McQuail (1994, p.95), the mass media provide particular meanings and cultural identifications for people through texts and symbolic artifacts, so mass culture is broadly spread through the mass media. The possible meanings are always disseminated through mass media's products.

Mass culture, which is reproduced by the mass media, characterizes every portrayal of social life. Critical cultural theory is an important approach which is extended to the issues of gender and subculture in relation to mass communication (McQuail, 1994, p.96). In most cases, the mass media have the power to articulate whatever

they want to impose on people. In other words, people become individuals who are not able to think beyond the limits of the system. The mass media thus inevitably reproduce products for the masses in order to maximize profit and create one-dimensional people under the effect of the culture industry. The mass media also compose a consumer culture in society. A consumer culture is a commodity culture because commodities are central to cultural meaning. The identities in society are constructed through the consumer products that inhabit individuals' lives. For example, clothing, music cosmetic products, etc, are commodities which people use to present their identities to those around them. Therefore, the mass media always encourage consumers to think of commodities as central means while conveying their personalities (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001 p. 191).

There is also a mass consumer culture in North Cyprus after 1980s because this decade has been a period of neoliberal privatization in North Cyprus (Hatay, 2008 p.148). For example, North Cyprus has become attractive for owners of business enterprises, as well as highly skilled professionals, lecturers who teach in the universities and businessmen who have made investments on the island. These opportunities take place in North Cyprus due to impact of the mass media on individuals. Therefore, the mass media is a vital dominant tool in the public sphere which creates subcultures in North Cyprus, too.

Mass culture does not encourage people to go beyond the borders of the present. The German intellectuals of the Frankfurt School analyzed the effects of mass media on culture and society at the beginning of the twentieth century (McQuail, 1994, p.98). The Frankfurt School begins to examine cultural production and consumption in

capitalist societies from a Marxist perspective. Individual consciousness and unconsciousness are then considered to determine the emphasis of critical theory. Consequently, the Frankfurt School claims that there is a necessity to develop a sociology of mass culture which does not increase the powerful role of mass media in shaping the opinions and manners of the population (McQuail, 1994 p.99).

Taylor and Harris (2008, p.65) refer to Adorno and Horkheimer as the intellectuals who argue against the adverse effects of mass media technologies on individuals. They believe that general identity is influenced by a life-defining system of commodities like basic commodities, images, people, environments, and processes in mass culture. Adorno claims that mass culture consists of a system of signals which signals itself (Taylor and Harris, 2008 p.65). In other words, the mass-media impose commodity values and create a broader notion of hegemony which affects people's consciousness.

Gramsci's concept of hegemony defines the ruling ideology in society. Gramsci states that

“The control of the elites, and in particular the intellectuals, is key to assuming power. These elements have direct influence over the shape of culture a society possesses” (Gramsci, 1975 p. 136)

McQuail (1994, p.100) also noted that the mass media do not specify reality on their own but provide different definitions belonging to the authority. Therefore, Critical Cultural Theory examines ideological domination by considering the importance of mass culture and the significance of media culture for the authority groups in society.

The media's approach to women's issues and women's representations is generally defined as sexist, negative and harmful because of the way women are represented in the media's products. Through the concepts of sexism, patriarchy, stereotypes and discrimination against women, women are portrayed as individuals who are, in most cases, subordinates.

2.1.2 Masculinity and Patriarchy as Ideology

Masculinity and patriarchy are dominant ideologies which determine the presentations of media. Their impact on individuals needs to be considered seriously. Hooks (1994, p.73) discusses the impact of patriarchy on the media to show how women are depicted in the mass media. Hooks (1994, p.74) argues that women would be free if they had the right to recover their bodies from sexual slavery and from the prison of patriarchy. For Hook, patriarchy fosters a bourgeois, sexist world of repression, order and fixed social roles (Hooks, 1994 p.74); therefore the bodies of women are defined as the occupied countries that they have liberated.

Hooks (1994, p. 75) contends that patriarchal ideology works effectively to set women up against one another in the mass media, because it encourages competition wars. Hooks (1994, p.76) also opposes the exploitative and hedonistic consumerism that damages women's place and rights in society. However, the media have been playing an important role in presenting views on everything for many years. Therefore, gender equality can only be maintained by a reformist and liberal mass media. Since the patriarchal-dominated mass media is not interested in promoting women's rights and their views on gender equality, the differences coming from race and class hierarchies lead to an unrealistic vision of commonality in society (Hooks, 1994 p.76). Moreover, the patriarchy-dominated mass media produce different

attitudes towards sexuality. In other words, patriarchy composes the structures of racism, sexism and class elitism negatively through its effect on the mass media.

Hooks (1994, p.74) also argues that patriarchy is well organized to attack imaginations and portrayals, because it automatically directs the media while documenting lives, experiences, ideas and discussions. According to Lanchover, and Brandes (2009, p. 306), patriarchal pressures play an important role in shaping the conventional idea of women. Thus, women should not be portrayed by taking into account society's patriarchal expectations. They also state that women should examine these media discourses to see whether or not they are patriarchal or ideological (Lanchover and Brandes, 2009 p. 306). Thus, even if their society imposes various duties and regulations on them, women should reject these restrictions. In other words, people have to destroy pressures and discriminations in their patriarchal society which are strengthened by media's productions. Moreover, according to Kim (2008, p. 393), feminists should advocate that woman's practices, interests and ideas should be equal to men's seriousness and respect. Thus, feminists should care how women are represented in the media. If this occurs, then all human beings will be able to evaluate the positions of women who are oppressed in a patriarchal capitalist society.

Masculinity defines the degree to which people see themselves as masculine. Masculinity is rooted in social differences rather than biological differences. If individuals have a masculine identity, they generally behave in a dominant, competitive and independent manner. According to Hanke (1998, p.8), masculinity organizes individuals, social interactions, organizations and cultures; in other words,

it affects the lives of men and women. Since in most cases masculinity includes stereotypical characteristics, beliefs and manners, it is effective in every social institution like governments, schools, courts and the media. In other words, masculinity appears as ideology in every aspect of social life.

Hanke (1998, p.9) therefore defines masculinity as hegemonic masculinity by signifying the meaning to be a man. For Hanke (1998, p.9), there are five features which show masculinity as hegemonic in media culture. The first feature is the definition of power by using physical force and control, especially in the representation of man's bodies. The second feature includes the specification that power is defined through the occupational success in industry. The third feature defines power in terms of familial patriarchy which defends sovereignty of father in family. The fourth feature symbolizes power as the power of the daring and romantic frontiers-man because women are restricted by their partners. The last feature symbolizes the power of masculinity when heterosexuality is defined by the representation of the phallus because men are always more independent than women in case of sexual intercourse (Hanke, 1998, p.10). Therefore, masculinity plays an important role in shaping consciousness, norms of conduct and events in the media's representations and objectifications. In the case of women's issues and women's presentations, the impact of masculinity on the media is inevitable because masculinity is central to society and culture. Gender roles are determined according to the differences between feminine and masculine, so that stereotypical specifications always influence the representation of women in the media. International Women's Day is also affected by masculinity because the media generally use stereotypical identifications for women that come from masculinity.

2.2 The Media's Approach to Women's Issues and Movements

Nowadays, the impact of media on individuals' lives cannot be denied. The mass media do not only reflect the events in social life, but also play a central role in shaping and reconstructing reality according to individuals' value judgments and the impositions of authorities. The reality which is presented by mass media does not always include all process and things. It is constructed socially by taking into account the discourses which reflect power. Individuals therefore interpret the messages according to their social background.

Women's issues and movements are also concerns which are presented in the media. Throughout the news, the representation of women and the dominant images of femininity are reflected in the media's products. While representing women and women's issues, the media construct images by considering the social roles of women in society. Therefore, the media always offer ideals for modeling women's identity. For example, Kellner (2003, p.305) argues that advertising, fashion and television always construct identities for women. These identities for women are generally more variable and unstable.

Damean (2006, p.89) believes that the issues about women are always presented with a feminine identity which is also associated with feminine behavior. The mass media are good at spreading the dominant discourse of power. Thus, each representation of women is accepted as natural and normal in the media. The social roles which are attributed to women also determine media approaches to women's issues and movements. For Damean (2006, p.91), for example, the aim of mass media is always to promote male domination by articulating specific standards for women. Damean

(2006, p.91) contends that mass media present women's issues which aim to create the perfect women by setting high standards to be reached.

The mass media also mention three feminist movements which are the first wave, the second wave and the third wave of feminism. These women's movements are presented in either a positive or negative way in media products, even while women's movements aim to bring about gender equality and equal rights for women.

According to Lotz (2003, p. 4), the first wave of feminism concentrates on the rights of voting, suffrage and political equality from the mid-nineteenth century through 1920. Lotz (2003, p. 6), quoting from Thornma, sees the second-wave of feminism as combining the feminist perspectives arising in the Post XX era through the beginning of the 1980s. Halbert (2004, p. 118) adds that the second wave of feminists stress the impact of male dominance on women's lives. Their efforts are aimed at making a place for women in education and employment, because there should not be social and cultural inequalities. Halbert (2004, p. 120) also mentions Firestone's ideas as a second-wave feminist thinker; according to Halbert, technology should be used to destroy sexism because the Internet can avoid a system of domination. Thus, women can decrease the adverse effect of gender inequality through the information or materials which are presented by the Internet.

The third-wave of feminism has also become an important concern for the researchers because this wave of feminism combines elements of anti-racism, women of color consciousness, girl power and individualist feminism. Third wave feminists also reject gender binary which sets standards for women (Maddux, 2009 p. 81).

Additionally, third-wave feminists encourage women to gain their individual choices in the cases of sexual freedom and equality; women are therefore able to make decisions about their private lives through the influences of the third wave of feminism. For example, Maddux uses a film, *Iron Jawed Angels*, to explain the third wave of feminist ideologies. The third wave predetermines individual agencies for women and for women in politics. The characters in the film are portrayed as individuals who have sexual freedom and family/career freedom, such as the freedom to wear lipstick and listen to misogynistic hip-hop (Maddux, 2006, p.82). In the film, the American woman achieves successes through professional development, career and family because the third wave of feminism defends the necessity of individual decisions. This film is also about voting rights, because it tries to change radical feminists' perspectives.

In the Turkish media, the representations of feminist movements are analyzed by the researchers, too. Kara (2006, p.37) states that during the second wave of feminism, there have been hostile arguments against feminist movements in Turkish newspapers such as *Zaman* and *Cumhuriyet*. In these newspapers, the journalists define these movements as a way of excluding men and demanding superior positions for women in society. The women are always shown as individuals who want to have better conditions than men have. These movements are represented in a way to show men as if they are considered only necessary in society for the purpose of having children (Kara, 2006, p.36). Kara's study clearly shows that there are negative representations about feminist movements in the media. These rejections of feminist movements confuse individuals when they evaluate the ideas and arguments based on inequality for women.

2.2.1 Women's Images in Media Texts

Representations of women are offered differently in newspapers and magazines. The representations of self and the body are closely related in most cases where women are presented. Skov and Moeran (1995, p. 199) argue that the female body and characteristics of women are generally shown in the mass media to promote the consumption of services or material objects.

Skov and Moeran believe that the pure aesthetic of the body is not considered by the media at first; the media always aim to create a female form which is presented within the realm of commodity aesthetics. Since there is an important relationship between the text and advertising, the presentation of the image is the second concern that is taken into account by the media (Skov and Moeran, 1995 p.200). Therefore, print media present direct images of women in the form of pictures. The biological body of women is presented through clothing, decoration, posture and location in order to draw others' attention. In this way, women are presented as visually attractive in advertising, graphics, layout and on paper.

Cruz (1988, p.42) also argues that most of the newspapers, magazines and dailies are published, owned and managed by men. Women are therefore presented in the contexts of health, science, education and advertisements, which do not convey prominent personalities and a sense of urgency for women. Cruz (1988, p. 41) contends that women have a place in front-page news when they are First Ladies, beauty queens, prominent personalities or women leaders, figures in headline stories and members of the First Family. Women are thus portrayed in newspapers either as celebrities and politicians or as victims of violence and rape. They can also appear in

the context of culture and art, recipes-meals, promotions, murder, fashion, and humorous stories.

Furthermore, according to Cruz (1988, p.42), women's magazines also include new products or services in the market and social happenings, where women are represented in traditional mass media. The subjects which reveal beauty and male-female relations are also included in magazines and newspapers when they are presenting women. Cruz (1988, p.69) draws attention to representations in which women belong to rich or prominent families, and opinions of them while they are looking for suitable qualities in a man. For Cruz, every woman does not aim solely to settle down to a quiet married life after finding the right man (Cruz, 1988 p.68).

After analyzing the adverse impact of mass media on people, it is clear that newspapers and magazines affect individuals' perceptions about women. Therefore cultural limitations need to be destroyed in these kinds of traditional media. On the other hand, some analysts talk about new media innovations where people expect new kinds of news coverage for women in media productions. For example, Yun, Postelnicu, Ramoutar, and Kaid (2007, p. 930) point out that gatekeepers talk about new technological innovations which supply more space and time for the female news. These innovations, which are hyperlinks, clickable elements, slide shows, interactive and multimedia features, and the news in the digital age, enable people to find much more news about women; gatekeepers' studies indicate that the Internet alters the community's expectations and journalists' value judgments (Yun, Postelnicu, Ramoutar, and Kaid, 2007 p. 930). However, Yun, Postelnicu, Ramoutar, and Kaid (2007, p. 930) realize, when they examine the news on the Internet, that

women are still represented as victims while men are being represented in leadership positions. The placements of the articles are similar to old articles where male domination appears.

Moreover, women are represented in a positive light when they are portrayed in domestic and family roles (Yun, Postelnicu, Ramoutar, and Kaid, 2007 p. 943). Therefore, Yun, Postelnicu, Ramoutar, and Kaid (2007, p. 943) emphasize that even online media coverage follows traditional media and traditional ideas, stereotypical framing and the placement. The reporters who have a better understanding of female issues are mostly women. So even in new media, productions remain under the effects of the traditional media. Nothing will be changed. The representations of women are still balanced in terms of stereotypical and non-stereotypical images (Yun, Postelnicu, Ramoutar, and Kaid, 2007 p. 940). Thus, women are always under the effects of the traditional media because of unchanging stereotypes in their community. Even if some journalists and writers try to represent women in positive ways, the change will take a long time; but both women and men should reject all these forms of discrimination by making sure that everyone in their communities receives education. People will then be able to differentiate the effects of traditional media and see the effects of traditional media on new media coverage.

2.2.2 The Structure of Media Institutions

Nowadays, people have started to evaluate media patrons to learn what kinds of ideology are imposed by them. When people analyze the mass media productions, they realize that the media patrons' ideologies are dictated. According to McQuail (1994, p. 259), Marxist analysis can be a perfect tool for showing the effects of media patrons, because it focuses on the news which ignores the exploitation of

society and on how the language which is used in the news is admitted as “natural.” Therefore, the news also causes harm to the subordinate classes and forces people to have a common agreement (Mc Quail, 1994, p. 259). McQuail (1994, p. 259) uses Marx’s theory of political economy to demonstrate how the media impose ideas on society: there is a relationship between the economic structure, media industries and the ideological content of media. McQuail emphasizes ownership of mass media and how the owners control the media, because the media institutions are related to the political system.

McQuail also describes how the media affects audiences who are concentrated on global integration of media developments (McQuail, 1994 p. 82). Lastly, he argues that owners of media reduce diversity in the mass media by not having many different productions. Diversity should be introduced for individuals to see what kinds of different perspectives people have had about any concern; if this happens, people will be able to choose which one is most suitable for their life-style. Furthermore, media structures always depend on the male images and language used to define obvious ideological examples. Put simply, male-dominant ideology has existed within the media text. As a result, media organizations, media structures and media content, which are usually constructed by men, shape the ideological effects in society. All these powers of media content, which are produced by media patrons who are male, prevent women from finding their self-identities. The stereotypes and generalizations in patriarchal society are maintained by males, such as their fathers, brothers or mass media patrons, to make women feel they are being discriminated against. Therefore, people should take some responsibility to change these stereotypes in society and in the media (McQuail, 1994, p. 83).

According to Okunna (2005, p. 130), a society should find some solutions to solve the problems in the media. For example, there should be an adequate media policy. Society should also have policy interventions to ensure accurate gender representations or portrayals by drawing attention to the problems of gender discrimination, the representation of women in media productions, ignored women and pornography, and by reacting against these assaults. Individuals should encourage changes through courses which teach gender sensitivity and gender equality to young journalists. Opportunities should be provided for women. Journalists should be advised to write about women by using gender-sensitive articles or assignments, and they should also be made to find data, sources, and story ideas which are useful for the analyses. Lastly, media monitoring should be done to see how gender bias is represented in media representations (Okunna, 2005 p, 130).

There is also a range of different approaches which emphasize media's effects on individuals. For instance, McQuail (1994, p. 262) describes Gender-Based Critique, in which mass media content actualizes inequality for class, gender, dominant ideologies and exploitation of individuals. The mass media should not disguise inclinations. This kind of critique makes people show the reality through mass media productions (McQuail, 1994 p. 262). Moreover, in Agenda-Setting Theory, Treman and McQuail state that

“People think about what they are told...but at no level do they think what they are told” (Mc Quail, 1994. p. 262).

In other words, the media have the power to make people talk about some specific subjects instead of making them change their ideas directly; the media can help people to define the terms and which subjects they will talk about, but the media do not care whether people agree or disagree. From analyzing all these ideas and

theories, people can easily understand how the media put various pressures on the community to make them follow their ideology. The media patrons and the mass media can change people's perspectives easily by bombarding them with ideas through productions such as newspapers, magazines, television channels, and books.

2.3 March 8th – Women's Day

The history of International Women's Day started in 1857. Women who were garment and textile workers protested low wages, workloads and voting rights in New York City. Their aim was to obtain equal rights and equal opportunities at their workplaces (Kaplan, 1985 p. 163). During this protest, many women were beaten in the streets and some of them were violently arrested by the policemen. Since many women were killed in 1857, Clara Zetkin, an activist, suggested a date for the equal rights of women at the International Socialist Women's Meeting in Copenhagen in August 1910 (Kaplan, 1985 p. 166). However, the first National Women's Day had already been celebrated on February 28, 1909 in the United States by the declaration of the Socialist Party of America. After Zetkin's suggestion in 1910, International Women's Day was first celebrated on March 19, 1911 in Austria, Denmark, Germany and Switzerland (Internationalwomensday 2012, p.3-4).

In 1911, in New York, there was a congress to discuss women's rights and the aims for the specific date. In this congress, Berta Fraser, who was an activist like Clara Zetkin, promoted a positive quality for citizenship (Kaplan, 1985 p. 167). When the First World War began, women could also declare their rights as wives, mothers and workers in society with the help of Marian Craig Wentworth's play (Kaplan, 1985 p. 168). In 1913, Russian women also celebrated their first International Women's Day because of World War I, campaigning for peace. International Women's Day was

transferred to March 8th in 1913 when it was specified as the global date for International Women's Day. In 1914, the importance of International Women's Day was understood across Europe because there were protests against the war and the unjust conditions of women. Furthermore, some women in Russia wanted to obtain their rights during World War I, so in 1915 many women came together to promote peace around the world. Lousie Saumoneau wrote tract mourning for her nephew who was killed in the First World War because her aim was to raise women's awareness of women's rights. In 1917, female socialists in Turin prepared a poster which emphasized both peace and equal rights for working class neighborhoods. In Russia, the feminist Alexandra Kollontai protested against the living conditions of women such as high food prices and the cost of living; this celebration was the saddest celebration of International Women's Day in the world. After the events of 1917 in Russia, Europe started to celebrate International Women Day on March 8, 1918 (Kaplan, 1985 p. 169). In 1922, International Women's Day was celebrated as a communist holiday. In 1936, people in Spain started to celebrate International Women's Day against the growing fascist threat. Until 1967, International Women's Day was celebrated as a communist holiday because feminists argued that it raised female consciousness and provided feminist internationalism all around the world. International Women's Day has been connecting women from all around world with the aid of social and cultural events, conferences and seminars because its aim since 1910 has been to provide a future for women that is bright, equal, safe and rewarding (Kaplan, 1985 p. 170).

Furthermore, 1975 was declared as International Women's Year by the United Nations. For United Nations, International Women's Day provides a global

opportunity to raise consciousness on gender equality, women's rights, women's empowerment and voting rights. Thus, International Women's Day is not only a celebration but also a promotion to influence communities and organizations while reflecting women's contributions and successes in political, social and economic activities (Internationalwomensday 2012, p. 3-4).

2.3.1 Feminist Movements

This part of the study explains feminist movements in the world by classifying them as first-wave, second-wave and third-wave. Feminist movements shape the objectives and ideologies of feminism. They are a set of campaigns which addresses issues about women like women's suffrage, sexual harassment, violence, equal pay and opportunities, reproductive rights, discrimination and women's empowerment (Freedman, 2001, p.17).

Freedman (2001, p.3) defines feminism as a set of objectives which aims to defend and establish equal rights for women in every sphere of life. These rights can be political, economic and social. Thus, these equal rights automatically provide opportunities for women in working areas, courts and educational centers (Freedman, 2001, p.3). Since feminist theory has emerged from feminist movements, three waves of feminism are discussed in this section. Freedman (2001, p.24) argues that first wave-feminism defends women's suffrage and political equality in society. First-wave feminism covers the period between the early 19th and the early 20th centuries. John Stuart Mill, Mary Wollstonecraft, Harriet Taylot, Sarah Grimke, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were the leaders of the first wave because they always articulated the necessity of women's right to vote, educational and legal reform, and abolition of slavery. First-wave feminism rejected the positions of

women in politics if they were under control of male domination. First-wave feminism was also used to state the arguments of radical feminists (Freedman, 2001, p.25).

Second-wave feminism was organized to avoid social and cultural inequalities. According to Harcourt (2006, p.28) the second wave attempted to destroy gender inequality between the 1960s and 1980s. Due to the representation of women as “the other” in society, the second-wave feminists campaigned against inequalities which were cultural and political. Alexandra Kollontai, Clara Zetkin, August Bebel, Emma Goldman, Rosa Luxemburg, Betty Friedan, Carol Hamish, Gloria Anzaldua and Bell Hooks are the prominent names of the second wave of feminism. Second-wave feminists did not accept power which had a sexist approach in its content; thus they are also called “Marxist feminists”. For Marxist feminists, private property leads to the struggle between the sexes if there are economic inequalities and dependence of women in society. Therefore, this struggle has become the root of women's oppression and isolation for many years.

Third-wave feminism began to defend greater equal rights for women in the early 1990s (Harcourt, 2006, p.34). For the third-wave feminists, the second-wave feminists did not specify gender equality comprehensively. Freedman (2001, p.24) asserts that there was a lack of attention to race, ethnicity, class, nationality and religion while considering the inequalities amongst women. Therefore, the third-wave feminists attempt to define the identities of women which avoid struggles between men and women. Third-wave feminists are also called “liberal feminists”

because of their broader emphasis on gender equality. The prominent names in third-wave feminism are Janet Halley, Naomi Wolf and Bell Hooks.

Moreover, according to Lotz (2003, p.2), feminists provide different ideas for women. For example, liberal feminists aim to inform women about their integration into the public sphere for gender equality in society. Lotz (2003, p.3) thinks that the radical feminists only consider pressures and oppressions in society, so they are not too open-minded for changes. Lotz (2003, p.4) also argues that Marxist feminists only aim to change class-based oppression amongst men and women. Additionally, for Lotz (2003, p.5), ideologies influence people to create broad perspectives for different topics in their lives. Thus, the feminist movement is defined as a set of objectives which improves women's mental skills and offers enlightenment for women. Due to the feminist movements in the world, all women are being informed about women's issues like equality, suffrage, slavery, equal pay, discrimination, harassment, violence, etc. Thus, the impact of feminist movements on the development of women's studies and women's rights cannot be denied.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

In this research study there has been two steps. In the first one the directors or a representative of various feminist movements and NGO's dealing with women issues in North Cyprus has been interviewed. The publications, booklets and brochures have been analyzed to find out the existing women movements and their activities in TRNC. In the second one a content analysis applied to five TRNC newspapers to see the media reflection of the women activities and struggle areas beside the meaning given to 8 March.

3.1 Research Method

In this study the research method consists of the interview with the managers of NGOs dealing with women issues and summative content analysis which is a qualitative technique while analyzing the data. The questions which have been asked the managers of NGOs can be found in Appendix I. In this section of the chapter, the definition of the interview and the summative content analysis are explained, respectively.

3.1.1 The Use of Interview

An interview is making a conversation which is to get information about one topic between two individuals. People can easily get what the person thinks about one specific topic because the person explains his/her ideas and thoughts during the interview by giving some examples, by telling some stories and by saying his/her

reasons. Therefore, the questions are asked by a researcher to obtain information about one topic. An informant replies the questions because he/she has information of interest on the subject. The researcher and the informant have a face-to-face relationship during the interview. The interview is also made by using telephone and the internet (Berger, 1991 p. 148).

The interview is a technique which is used by the researchers to obtain information. When the procedures and rules are followed correctly, the interview is beneficial to the researchers. The interviewer performs a great deal of work such as recording, transcribing and coding when he/she wants to offer a perfect interview. Since the interviewer is seeking for real information and factual matters, the way the informant represent himself/herself and how the questions are answered are very important during the interview. The interview makes the researchers learn new points of view belonging to the informant and provide new perspectives to influence other individuals. Therefore, this study aims to explore feminist movements in North Cyprus by making interviews with the managers. During the interviews with the directors of NGOs dealing with the women issues, the publications of the Woman's Organizations in the TRNC are obtained to state their objectives and activities specifically.

3.1.2 Feminist Movements in North Cyprus

This section of the study firstly explains the general roles for women on women issues in the world. Then the feminist movements in North Cyprus are discussed, considering their aims and activities. The NGOs dealing with the women issues determine their objectives according to the arguments of feminism. NGOs for women exist in most countries to defend equal rights, opportunities and conditions

for women. In North Cyprus, there are approximately seventeen NGOs dealing with the women issues whose aims and activities are directed towards raising consciousness on women's issues. In this study, these seventeen NGOs dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus are classified into four different classes by considering the explanations and information provided by each NGO's director.

The NGOs dealing with the women issues are formed to help individuals by focusing on different fields such as health, gender equality, human rights, environmental protection, literacy and social development, poverty, etc. Although NGOs communicate with heads of government, they are generally considered as self-motivated groups. Thus, they never operate to make profit (Samuel and Thanikachalam, 2003 p. 434). The NGOs dealing with the women issues are defined as groups which voluntarily encourage individuals to cope with the problems they have faced in every aspect of social life. Therefore, the NGOs dealing with the women issues help people to realize their potentials through the guidance they provide (Samuel and Thanikachalam, 2003, p. 435)

For Ergin (2006, p. 40), the non-governmental organizations are non-profit organizations which also struggle to convince society to work towards women rights. People who work in these organizations aim to strengthen women's issues, women's rights and women's empowerment. These NGOs dealing with the women issues defend the necessity of the opportunities that should be provided to women in social life. They also want to inform people in society about the decisions of authorities. People who participate in these organizations always act voluntarily and play an important role in reinforcing gender equality in society (Ergin, 2006 p. 40).

In North Cyprus, the general aim of NGOs dealing with the women issues which focus on gender equality and women rights is to attempt to raise awareness of women in society like other NGOs dealing with the women issues in the world. After conducting interviews with the directors of these NGOs dealing with the women issues, the explanations of NGO's managers dealing with the women issues articulate different objectives and performances for their organizations. These differences differentiate each NGO dealing with the women issues from each other. Thus, it was determined that there are four categories of these NGOs dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus. Although there are four categories for the NGOs dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus, the information based on their objectives and performances are stated according to the publications of each NGO dealing with the women issues and explanations of NGO's managers dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus. Therefore, the length of the information changes for each NGO dealing with the women issues.

The specific establishment date of the NGOs dealing with the women issues cannot be found because the performances of NGOs dealing with the women issues are not stable for recent years. The NGOs dealing with the women issues sometimes perform their activities about women's issues temporarily.

These are as follows:

1. **Academic Units:** The Center for Women's Studies (CWS) at Eastern Mediterranean University (EMU) and Cyprus Research Center (CRC) at Near East University (NEU).

- 2. Women's Organizations Supported by Unions:** The Turkish Cypriot Public Servants Trade Union (KTAMS) and Cyprus Turkish Public Servants Syndicate (KAMUSEN).
- 3. Women's Organizations affiliated with Political Parties:** Women's Branches of the Republican Turkish Party (CTP). The Women's Organization of the Social Democracy Party (TDP), The Women's Organization of the National Unity Party (UBP) and The Women's Organization of the Democratic Party (DP).
- 4. Independent NGOs Dealing with the Women Issues:** Cyprus Union of Home-based Working Women in Cyprus, Turkish Cypriot Human Rights Foundation (TCHRF), Akova Women's Association (AWA), Mormenekşe Women's Association (MKB), Yeniboğaziçi Women's Association (YBKD), Association of Women to Support Living (KAYAD), Feminist Workshop-Cyprus (FEMA), The Cyprus Turkish University Women's Association (KTUKD), Hands Across the Divide (HAD), Cyprus Turkish Women's Council (KTKK).

The two NGOs dealing with the women issues which are based at universities have been placed in the first category with the help of interviews. These NGOs dealing with the women issues perform their activities in the universities. They organize international conferences to enlighten women both at the universities and in society. The Academic Units also run research studies regularly. Furthermore, these NGOs dealing with the women issues provide MA programs at the universities. Thus the Center for Women's Studies (CWS) at Eastern Mediterranean University (EMU) is a research center, which is directed by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fatma Güven Lisaniler. In the

journal *Kadın/Woman 2000*, Dr. Güven Lisaniler states that the center is publishing this academic journal to discuss the issues concerning women from the perspectives of different discourses like sociology, psychology, anthropology, law and political science, economics, art history, archeology, literature and communication (Lisaniler, 2010, p.1). *Kadın/Woman 2000* has been published twice in a year in English and in Turkish since 2000. This journal is prepared with the help of activists in NGOs dealing with the women issues, academics, and researchers who focus on gender studies. During the interview with Dr. Güven Lisaniler, she stated that the CWS helps women to determine their own position in society in order to create an egalitarian society. For instance, the CWS supports a peaceful atmosphere for women by organizing some exhibitions. During the interview with Dr. Güven Lisaniler, she stated that women should start by believing in themselves to gain power against unjust conditions. She noted that on March 8, 2012, this center organized a program called “Bilgi Üretiminde Toplumsal Cinsiyet” (Societal Gender in Knowledge Production). In order to prepare this activity, the CWS at EMU worked with the Cyprus Turkish Civil Servants Union to state the importance of human rights and the ways of producing information to construct social gender. There were three presenters who discussed human rights, women’s issues and ignorance, to show the impact of information on social gender while sharing and improving information. The CWS at EMU also organized panels and workshops with the help of other women’s associations.

There is also an academic unit which is called the Cyprus Research Center (CRC) at Near East University (NEU). The director of this center is Dr. Senol Bektas. This center is interested in research about the culture of Cyprus. However, it also

organized a conference for March 8th to enlighten women about their economic, political and social conditions in society. The aim of this center is also to raise consciousness about women's issues.

The second category refers to women's organizations that are supported by unions. These unions in North Cyprus stress the necessity of the women's labor force. The first union is the Turkish Cypriot Public Servants Union (KTAMS). This union always supports gender equality between men and women. According to the director of this union, Ahmet Kaptan, women should play a role in governing the state, enacting rules and regulations, making decisions about political issues, and leading groups to raise gender awareness. Kaptan states that there are only four women in the TRNC's parliament, so women are not represented equally. In order to raise awareness of gender equality, women should be empowered in high positions at their workplaces.

KTAMS is against sexual exploitation and violence. This syndicate always organizes programs to inform women about women's rights and women's issues. Since KTAMS aims to encourage women to have a peaceful and comfortable social life, they have distributed DVDs and bags to women who are not rich. This syndicate is always attempting to create social, independent, virtuous and extrovert individuals amongst women. The activities and programs of KTAMS have always been appreciated by the Minister of Works and Social Security, Şerife Ünverdi. This union is supported by the government so that its members can organize more programs for women in society. On International Women's Day in 2012, KTAMS walked with other women's associations to advocate women's rights and celebrate women's day.

This category of NGO in North Cyprus can include both the Public Servants syndicate which works on the employment of women, and the theoretical NGOs which reject the unjust decisions regarding women made by the government.

The second union in North Cyprus is the Turkish Cypriot Public Servants Trade Union (KAMUSEN). KAMUSEN aims to offer equal job opportunities and women's rights. The director of this association, Ummure Umuroğlu, stated that women in North Cyprus should have equal rights and opportunities to represent themselves freely. KAMUSEN has therefore prepared a program called the "Economic Development and Information Sectors Program" to inform women about their legal rights and strengthen their views on gender issues and gender equality. Mrs. Umuroğlu also strictly defended the idea of economic equality between men and women. She stressed the importance of specific financial support for civil society organizations in order to develop training programs for women. Mrs. Umuroğlu further stressed that KAMUSEN is very successful because its projects have been realized internationally. On International Women's Day in 2012, KAMUSEN also walked with other women's associations in Nicosia. This association has also written a letter to Şerife Ünverdi, the Minister of Works and Social Security in North Cyprus, to specify complaints about gender inequality, rape victims, victims of violence and discrimination against women. The Minister has been informed by KAMUSEN about the conditions of Turkish women in North Cyprus. These activities of the association show how active and effective it is in North Cyprus.

The third category of NGOs dealing with the women issues is based on women's organizations which are affiliated with political parties. According to these NGOs

dealing with the women issues, women should have a place in the programs of political parties. Therefore, they prepare seminars, panels and symposiums to encourage women to participate in the political discussions. Women's Branches of the Republican Turkish Party (CTP) are placed in the third category because CTP is the political party which fights for women's rights. CTP rejects the idea of representing women as members of the working class. According to this association, women are exploited and do not have equal opportunities and rights that men have. Thus, it is always hard for women to occupy higher positions.

The members of this association always criticize the differences between poor people and rich people. They also attempt to raise awareness of women's rights and the sensitivity of the public to create a peaceful atmosphere in society. Women should all advocate their rights together, because coming together brings interactions and positively promotes the status of women. According to CTP, the future will be shaped by the possession of equal rights and responsibilities in every sphere of individuals' lives. Thus, this association distributed a manifesto on March 8, 2012 to declare their views on women's issues and women's rights. CTP has defended the idea that there should not be exploitation in society based on sex, nation or class. The labor force, the bodies of women and the identities of women should not be abused by others who never care about the existence of women in society. The aim of this association is to make women productive and effective to save their cultural values. CTP always makes women aware of their conditions, with the aim of living in a peaceful atmosphere. The association encourages women to establish a women's coalition for peace and reconciliation in North Cyprus. Since gender awareness training and gender-sensitive policies are the tools for developing awareness and

consciousness in society, CTP organized a program on March 11, 2012 to increase awareness of peace and reconciliation. The public has been invited to support the competitions, parties and live performances in this organization, because such events always help women influence others effectively. However, this party mostly tries to solve the problems related to discussions between the north and the south parts of Cyprus. Therefore, this party does not really care about the problems of the women directly, even if they seem to be a good example for NGOs dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus; however, the political party's ambitions or aims should not be dismissed completely.

The Women's Organization of UBP is also very active: the members of this organization not only participated in the walk on March 8th; they have also arranged meetings specifically for women. Their aim is to strengthen peace and reconciliation in society and inform women about gender issues. For example, on September 15, 2012 they organized a dinner for women to discuss women's rights in opposition to patriarchal society. They also attended one of the conferences at Cyprus International University to discuss politics and its impact on women.

The Women's Organization of TDP was established to promote equal rights for women. Its members organize exhibitions, symposiums and educational programs for women. They have written letters to the presidents of Cyprus, Mr. Christofias and Dr. Eroğlu, and to ministers like Şerife Ünverdi and Ersin Tatar to declare their views on freedom, gender discrimination and secularism. They also participated in the walk on March 8, 2012. The Women's Organization of DP also supports equal rights for women and defends the necessity of providing opportunities to women in

politics. They therefore organize seminars and meetings for women. The members of this organization also participated in the walk on International Women's Day in 2012.

In the fourth category, the women's organizations are described as "independent NGOs" dealing with the women issues. These NGOs dealing with the women issues differentiate themselves from those in the other categories by establishing women's organizations according to their own value judgments. In simpler terms, independent NGOs are not dependent on universities, political parties or unions. They perform their activities more freely compared to the NGOs dealing with the women issues in the other three categories. There are ten independent NGOs dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus. The Cyprus Turkish Women's Council (KTKK) is an independent NGO dealing with the women issues which was established in 1975 by Dr. Latife Birgen. According to Dr. Birgen, women should live and work in peace and tranquility in North Cyprus. She stated that the women in this council are against violence of any kind and form. She has written many letters to people from presidents to individuals in high positions at their workplaces, such as Ronald Reagan, Rauf R. Denktas, Kofi Annan, Catherina Porter and Perez de Cuellar. The aim is to reach a compromise between both sides and strengthen the awareness of gender equality in Cyprus. KTKK defends that there should be equal human rights for women. Raising women's consciousness about their human rights is the most important task of this association. It is also working together with various international women's organizations to improve the status of women in the world. Dr. Birgen states that due to the political embargo imposed on the north of Cyprus by the Greek Cypriot Administration, Turkish Cypriot women do not have equal social,

economic and political rights in their lives. KTKK has therefore organized many programs to raise women's consciousness in North Cyprus, such as training programs, international trips, conferences, panels, symposiums, exhibitions, etc. On International Women's Day in 2012, KTKK also acted with other women's associations in North Cyprus to declare their views on gender equality collectively. This organization works as both a practical and a theoretical NGO dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus, emphasizing both the identity of women in society and the need for the same rights for women as men have in political issues.

The Union of Home-based Working Women in Cyprus always organizes activities to stress the inequality between men and women in the areas of occupation, salary and working conditions in both the public and the private sector. This association, which sets a good example in North Cyprus, claims that the discrimination against women in sectors always makes the public ignore the rights of women; women should have the same rights and laws as men have in the economy. This NGO dealing with the women issues is against the specification of the "working class" because people who are called "working class" never possess the rights that they deserve; in other words, people who belong to the working class do not have enough money to satisfy their needs. Therefore, the economic situations which cause class distinctions among people should be avoided by governmental organizations and the bureaucracy. Since this women's association always criticizes the class differences that arise from economic decisions and regulations, it also participated in the walk with other associations on International Women's Day in 2012. Its aim is not only to protest gender inequality but also to declare its views on the working class, unjust conditions, and women's issues.

The Cyprus Turkish Human Rights Foundation (TCHRF) is also one of the NGOs which have just started to work on women's issues and studies in North Cyprus. During the interview, the director Hasan Yılmaz Işık stated that their work will be effective in defending the rights of women in society. The director views human rights as a social honor; thus the women who are a part of society should always defend their honor against the repressions of men in their social lives. Since women's rights are the essence of representing women independently, this foundation also participated in the walk in Nicosia to celebrate International Women's Day. Women should be equal in dignity and rights if they are to declare their identities; thus gender roles and sexual exploitation should be destroyed in order to prevent women from being victims of men's sovereignty. As mentioned before, this kind of practical NGO dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus helps women to discuss human rights, women's issues and ignorance, and to have equal rights for women without rejecting the rules of the government.

The Akova Women's Association (AWA), established by Aysel Bodi in 2001, fights for equal rights of women in society by rejecting the government's unjust decisions and rules. They always try to change unequal rights, laws and discrimination against women. AWA also emphasizes the role played by the government, because the government is responsible for unequal life conditions such as lower salaries and the disempowerment of women. The director of AWA argued that the imposition of gender roles on women should be destroyed because women cannot find their own identities, histories, bodies, duties and efforts. In other words, women should not be isolated from society because of the impositions of marriage and the roles of motherhood. AWA also advocates that quotas should be available to empower

women in high positions in political parties and in government. For this association, women can be more independent and individualistic if they have rights equal to those of men in every sphere of social life. In other words, women should be given the power and the ability to take their place in the chain of government. For this purpose, AWA organizes incentive programs such as training sessions, symposia and seminars for young women entrepreneurs. AWA has worked with the Cyprus Turkish Public Servants Union to solve the problems of gender inequality not only in Cyprus, but also in other countries in Europe. Its projects are expanded internationally to make women aware of their unjust conditions.

AWA also came together with other NGOs dealing with the women issues in Nicosia to participate in the walk on March 8, 2012. The aim of this association is to advocate women's equal rights and the empowerment of women in education. Lastly, AWA also provided financial support to women because this association aims to increase the welfare of women economically in 2011.

Another active NGO dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus is the Mormenekşe Women's Association (MKB). On March 8, 2012, Ersen Ummanel, the director of this association, organized a dinner to bring up the subject of women's rights. Ummanel also invited President Derviş Eroğlu's wife, Meral Eroğlu, to convince people about serious women's issues. This association's activities are generally organized to promote awareness-raising activities for women about their legal rights. It also joined in the walk with other civil society organizations on International Women's Day in Nicosia. Its aim is to stress the importance of women's legal rights, strengthen the place of women in society and raise the

awareness of people about the issues in rural areas. For MKB, women should be given power and opportunities to represent themselves independently in both private and public places.

The Yeniboğaziçi Women's Association (YBKD) is a good example of an independent NGO dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus. The director, Mrs. Hidayet Özerinç, stated that there should not be sexual exploitation in society; and she argued that the severe repressions which are imposed on women come from patriarchy. YBKD criticizes the characteristics of patriarchal society because the members of this association believe that the strict rules of men always prevent women from having opportunities. In order to stress the disadvantages of patriarchal society and make women aware of their unjust conditions, YBKD has always prepared different activities for women to raise awareness of their legal rights, and has tried to show women how their rights are violated in every sphere of their lives.

YBKD has also prepared research reports to show women how men exercise control over them. Mrs. Özerinç stated that there should be a community in which women can express their values, ethics, judgments and wishes independently. Thus, YBKD has preferred to use Internet sites and campaigns through the Internet. YBKD has also provided education programs on domestic violence and financial support. Mrs. Özerinç also discussed the importance of women's identity; in 2012, YBKD participated with other women's associations in the walk on International Women's Day in Nicosia. On that day, YBKD also screened a film called "Connecting Girls: Inspiring Features" in the Cyprus Community Media Center, located in the Nicosia Buffer Zone. According to Mrs. Özerinç, the film screening has helped women to

improve their vision through the representation of their society in the film; women had an opportunity to evaluate themselves by watching it.

The Association of Women to Support Living (KAYAD) is very effective, and is preparing research with the support of the European Union. The director of KAYAD, Meral Akıncı, is responsible for this project in which KAYAD aims to raise awareness about social gender roles. KAYAD has attempted to show the profile of women in North Cyprus by preparing a questionnaire about sexual exploitation and gender issues. In 2012 the questionnaire was distributed to women who were generally mothers and had jobs. According to the results, Mrs. Akıncı says that most of the women in the society unconsciously support gender discrimination and gender inequality in the public sector. The women in North Cyprus also do not believe in themselves when duties related to political issues are given to them. Mrs. Akıncı noted that ethical values are very important to women; according to the results of the published research project that KAYAD conducted in North Cyprus in 2012, 44% of women in the population want their sons and brothers to marry girls who are virgins. For Akıncı, some ethical values like this prevent women from determining their own preferences. In order to avoid physical and psychological violence, she said, the awareness of sexual exploitation should be increased in society. In her view, the patriarchal society makes women have low self-esteem and self-actualization because of the determined gender roles in society. Mrs. Akıncı also argued that there should be more quotas for women at high levels in government and in political parties, and criticized the prevailing violence against women. The KAYAD Community Center always organizes symposia and panels to promote the well-being of women in society. Since the KAYAD Community Center is comprehensively

aware of women's problems, this community center also walked with other women's associations in Nicosia on International Women's Day in 2012. Their aim is to declare their views on physical violence and sexual exploitation.

The Feminist Workshop-Cyprus (FEMA), directed by Doğuş Derya. FEMA criticizes anti-hierarchical policies because the conflict between the individuals always leads to problems which are known as the "Cyprus Problem". FEMA therefore does not support hegemonic forms of Cypriot patriarchy (Derya, 2010 p.30). In order to solve the problems, FEMA stresses that individuals should be independent to declare their ideas, even though they are always under the control of anti-hierarchy. FEMA is therefore interested in history as a record of how a social gender environment is constructed. By considering auto-ethnographic stories, FEMA aims to show how individuals behave, how they live, and how they fight to destroy hierarchy (Derya, 2010, p. 31). FEMA analyzes the social gender equality in North Cyprus by considering history, gender roles coming from biological differences between men and women, anti-hierarchical policies, masculine domination, gender differences causing contradictions, and gender equality leading to otherness for women (Derya, 2010 p. 32).

FEMA is against the unjust conditions which make woman subordinate in the case of job specification. FEMA has been very active for many years; for example, it established eleven charities in North Cyprus. In 1952, FEMA defended equal rights for women in education. In 1960, they organized seminars to promote equality in elections for women. In 1974, women started to get employment, but the traditional restrictions were not destroyed in North Cyprus; so FEMA has always defended

gender equality in society. In 1977, FEMA stated that they were against violence and ignorance of any kind and form; and in 1980 they demanded equal wages from the government. In 1990, the leftist women from FEMA took their place in the parliament for political issues. In 1996, FEMA offered an agreement, called the “Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women” (CEDAW). The aim was to avoid gender inequality; however, FEMA was not successful in achieving its goal of maintaining gender equality between men and women (Derya, 2010 p. 35). In 2008, fifteen women from FEMA came together in a meeting to talk about women in the community, motherhood, gender roles and social gender differences through a discussion of a book about feminism. In 2009, FEMA organized a walk on March 8th and May 1st to increase gender awareness in society. In 2010, they also organized a walk to defend the freedom of women’s bodies. On March 8, 2010, FEMA came together to criticize the laws in North Cyprus because they believed in freedom and equality in society (Derya, 2010 p. 40-47).

FEMA is always working to try and inform society about gender issues. Reşat Şaban, a FEMA activist has prepared a website for FEMA to state its ideas online. FEMA rejects nationalism, patriarchy and neo-liberalism. FEMA also rejects privatization; the association has sent a letter to the president of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, entitled “a voice that cannot be heard from outside”. FEMA argues that there should be shelters in which women can stay when they have no place to live. In other words, due to the violence, rape and restrictions in social life, women should be provided with places where they can stay in comfort; FEMA has created a shelter for women in Nicosia. FEMA explains that there have been approximately a hundred women

who have stayed in this shelter since 2008. Women who want to stay in the FEMA shelter can stay there for three months.

FEMA was established to argue that there should not be violence against women and sexual exploitation. For FEMA, gender roles should not lead to a repression which prevents women from representing themselves independently. FEMA believes that feminism is necessary to declare the necessity of women's rights in social life. Since feminism increases the awareness of women's issues, FEMA always organizes panels, symposia and training programs to educate women.

FEMA also criticizes the inequalities in determining payments and employment in the case of women. It advocates that women's endeavors should not be neglected by the order of economics. Women should possess whatever they deserve in social life. In order for them to survive and for women to be represented independently, discrimination against women has to be avoided by employers. Since the distribution of wealth should be equal for the best economic well-being, ways of making a living can also be maintained by considering women's rights (Derya, 2010 p. 47).

During the interview, Mrs. Derya who is the manager of FEMA mentioned the meeting that FEMA attended in Nicosia for International Women's Day, 2012. FEMA also encourages other non-profit organizations to organize effective activities in order to help women find their own social identity in society. FEMA also featured in a television program in 2012: its aim was to raise awareness of identity and the body for women. The women on the program had mirrors in their hands, and encouraged other women to have mirrors like theirs in their hands, because they

wanted all women to look at their clitorises using the mirrors at the same time; in this way FEMA differentiated itself from the other NGOs in North Cyprus.

The Turkish Cypriot Association of University Women (KTUKD) is also a community that always advocates the rights of women. KTUKD is strictly against sexual exploitation. The members of this association state that women should be independent like men in society and should possess the same rights and privileges as men have in social life. This association criticized the government because it organized dinners on International Women's Day. According to KTUKD, the government should be promoting incentive programs, establishing shelters for victims of violence, providing public childcare services, promoting gender awareness and providing psychological support to the rape victims; organizing expensive dinners cannot be the solution to these problems. The government, they believe, should also create quotas for women at high levels in government, political parties and the judiciary. KTUKD is also against inequalities which arise from class differences in society. The members of this association argue that there must be equal rights and opportunities for women while they are working; KTUKD also walked with other women's associations in Nicosia on International Women's Day (2012).

Hands Across The Divide (HAD) is a school which helps people discover different religions, languages, good or bad mankind (Bolayır, 2010 p. 108). After 2001, this organization had new meetings in London but in the end, they managed to influence people who agreed with each other's ideas and values in Cyprus, too (Bolayır, 2010 p. 110). Their aim is to live in a reunited country which should have gender equality

and equal access to resources. The individuals should also have a democratic society, to contribute their own culture, which should include peace and multiculturalism (Bolayır, 2010, p.111). In February 2002, they were accepted as an NGO dealing with the women issues in London. In a celebration in 2010, Neşe Yaşın's poem, "Keep it Until Peace Comes" was set to music by Aysun Kahraman (Bolayır, 2010, p.111). Moreover, HAD explains that people should also realize that the roles which are given to women make them second-class citizens. The association explains these kinds of myths to show how women have always been treated as second-class citizens from the beginning of history, and how women are always suppressed due to the obligations placed on them (Bolayır, 2010 p. 106).

Moreover, in the journal *Kadın/Woman 2000*, Selma Bolayır who is the manager of the HAD also stressed that Cypriot women have shared the same destiny as other women in history. Cahit (2010, p. 128) noted that Cypriot women were sold to the Arabs in the period between the First and the Second World War, even when they were still children, because the society in Cyprus was experiencing financial difficulties. Even the country of Cyprus shared a similar destiny to that of the Cypriot women who were sold, because Cyprus was given to Cleopatra by Mark Antony as a gift. The Ottoman Empire also rented the island to the British (Bolayır, 2010 p.106). HAD believes that workshops should be held to inform individuals about unjust conditions; they therefore organized some workshops to raise the awareness of women and the society. For example, "Basic Human Needs" focused on the need for women to have equal participation in decision-making during the peace process. These workshops' aims are also to raise awareness of the issue of the gender equality in society (Bolayır, 2010 p. 107). This NGO is very active in both North and South

Cyprus. HAD's aim is to create effective communication across the borders, so it organized a meeting for equal participation from both sides. This comprised a discussion by the first bi-communal women's groups about the obstacles to peace in the country from women's points of view (Bolayır, 2010 p. 108). Women who are members of HAD have been sent as women representatives to meet at the UN's "Fourth World Conference on Women" in Beijing in 1995. They have discussed core aspects of the Annan Plan. Then in 1997, HAD arranged a meeting called "Cyprus Link" at the Egmont Palace in Brussels, to raise the issue of women who should enter politics. Later, Bolayır noted that the women met at "Cyprus Link"; they also joined workshops in Ireland and in New York to gain experience for their lives (Hadjipavlou, 2010 p. 107).

HAD also creates activities and programs which are held in North and South Cyprus at the same time; this communication between the two sides facilitates effective interaction. HAD argues that women should be active and possess rights and opportunities equal to those men have in every sphere of their lives. The association is against sexual exploitation, gender inequality, gender discrimination, and violence. According to HAD, the law never reinforces gender equality, so women's rights are not preserved and maintained. In order to sustain gender equality and awareness of women's rights, women should be engaged in taking on responsibilities in the parliament, like the other women's associations in the world (Bolayır, 2010 p. 108).

In conclusion, this chapter has presented the aims and performances of NGOs dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus by using the explanations of the NGO's directors throughout the interviews. The most active NGO dealing with the

women issues in North Cyprus is FEMA because FEMA provides shelters for women until inferior women find jobs to satisfy their needs. FEMA also hires a psychologist for women in order to solve their problems. On the other hand, although political parties don't really care about the problems of women directly, the political parties' ambitions or aims cannot be dismissed completely because the political parties generally focus on political issues.

As stated above, there are approximately seventeen active NGOs dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus. In spite of the different ideologies of these NGOs dealing with the women issues, most of them always come together on March 8th to walk all together and to raise consciousness about women's issues, collectively.

3.1.3 Qualitative Content Analysis

In this study, the qualitative content analysis method is used to make clear statements of the research questions. Content analysis is a research method which focuses on the aspects of content that are relevant to the research. Berger (1991, p.25) argues that content analysis offers the systematic classification and description of communication content by measuring and counting certain things. Content analysis is generally used in communication, journalism, sociology and business. Kerlinger (1986, p.96) states that content analysis is a method which studies and analyzes communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the objectives of measuring variables. There are three types of qualitative content analysis that the researchers use in their researches such as conventional, directed and summative. In this study the summative content analysis is used because summative content analysis involves counting and comparisons, usually of keywords or content,

followed by the interpretation of the underlying context (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005 p. 1278).

Content analysis also inevitably gives an idea about the meanings, contexts and interests that are contained in the text. It also provides a set of procedures to make valid inferences from the text. According to Krippendorff, the inferences are about sender(s) of message, the message itself or the receiver of the message (1980 p.21). Since content analysis includes systematic and quantitative analysis of message characteristics, it includes attention to objectivity - intersubjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability and hypothesis testing (Neuendorf, 2002 p.10). In order to find the answers to the research questions (see p.3), a coding sheet was prepared and applied to five TRNC newspapers; this study aimed to answer such research questions as “who says what, to whom, why, and how?”

Moreover, Neuendorf contends that content analysis presents numbers, percentages and statistics to interpret the results (2002, p.14). Therefore, this study provides a highly reliable source of detailed information about texts in the newspapers through content analysis.

3.1.4 The Use of Qualitative Content Analysis

Content analysis is a very popular method in research methods. It is generally defined as the systematic, objective and quantitative analysis of message characteristics. Thus, content analysis is done to examine human interactions, the character portrayals in TV commercials, films and novel and the investigation of word usage in news, speeches, etc (Neuendorf, 2002 p.3). Content analysis is done to produce an account of key categories and measurements of the other variables. In

other words, it aims to present a numerical summary of a chosen message set. Therefore, the use of content analysis is preferred in many fields such as communication, journalism, sociology, psychology, and business. Content analysis helps researchers draw attention to the intentions of the originator of messages. Thus, it easily and comprehensively reflects social and cultural issues, values, and real events behind the facts.

Like other quantitative techniques, content analysis was developed in the early twentieth century and has been the fastest-growing technique over the past 20 years (Neuendorf, 2002 p.5) because it has been used almost always to monitor the cultural temperature of society, to establish long-term cultural indicators, and to monitor the economy by politicians. By doing content analysis, researchers are able to say something about the messages, images, representations of texts and their wider impact on the receiver.

Hansen says that there are six key steps to content analysis (1998, p. 98). For Hansen, content analysis consists of:

“(1) Definition of the researcher’s problem (2) Selection of media and sample (3) Defining analytical categories (4) Constructing a coding schedule (5) Piloting the coding schedule and checking reliability (6) Data preparation and analysis” (Hansen, 1998 p.98-99).

Content analysis is a method which examines texts; therefore the analysis always focuses on aspects of content, whether they answer research questions or not. The large bodies of the text are analyzed in a systematic and reliable fashion during content analysis, because it offers a set of procedures for valid inferences from the text. For the typical process of content analysis, the researcher firstly determines the content that will be examined, with its reason. Otherwise, certain theories or

perspectives cannot be consistent with the particular message content in the study. In other words, the variables are specified according to the content that the researcher aims to demonstrate. Therefore, the researcher always attempts to establish criteria and construct validity while during content analysis (Neuendorf 2002 p.51).

Neuendorf also views content analysis as a technique that conforms to the rules of science (2000, p.49). Sample representativeness, reliability, validity, the principle of maximum information, and objectivity are the main characteristics that are included in the research during content analysis. Furthermore, the goal of content analysis is to present a descriptive, inferential and predictive study for the readers (Neuendorf, 2002 p. 54).

The selection of variables for a content analysis is also very important because it increases the strength of research that differentiates it from that of other researchers. In order to select consistent variables, the researcher always considers universal variables, uses theory and past research for variable collection, focuses on emergent process of variable identification and attempts to find specific critical variables in content analysis (Neuendorf, 2002 p.96). Since the variables are always linked to the research questions in content analysis, the empirical reality is obtained easily by performing logical progression through the measurement of data.

3.1.5 The Use of Content Analysis in Media Studies

Content analysis is a method for the systematic analysis of communications content. According to Krippendorff (1980, p.35), there have been studies which use content analysis to examine the intentions of messages. These studies are based on German media broadcasts, troop movements and military campaigns. Therefore, the aim of

content analysis in media research is to show how news, drama, advertising and entertainment output demonstrate social and cultural issues, values and phenomena (Hansen 1998, p.91).

Hansen believes George Gerbner's cultural indicators program of 1969 is one of the most prominent examples of content analysis. The study reflects media roles in the cultivation of public consciousness. Therefore, content analysis has successfully shown the trends and developments in the symbolic environment of American television (Hansen, 1998 p.94). In other words, the content analysis of television programs shows how television cultivates certain world views for audiences. Another prominent type of research that includes content analysis is agenda-setting studies, first conducted by Rogers and Dearing in 1988. The aim is to determine the issues that dominate the media agenda. The study focuses on what the public "think about," and the most important issues of the day, through content analysis of media coverage (Hansen, 1998 p.95). Hansen (1998, p. 95) therefore views content analysis as a good research technique to specify the impact of the media on public beliefs, attitudes, opinions and behavior.

Moreover, content analysis has been an important component in studies of international media flows, concerns about a new world information and communication order, transnational information, and image flows (Hansen, 1998 p.96). Content analysis is very beneficial for examining the relationship between trends and changes in public opinion and beliefs by considering the changing cultural socio-political trends in the media. It is therefore used to identify and account for the occurrence of specified characteristics or dimensions of texts for the detailed

information on messages, images, representations and their social significance. In other words, while doing content analysis, the researcher always aims to examine the relationship between media and the realities which they reflect while doing content analysis.

Hansen (1998, p.100) notes that content analysis is not a method which is simply carried out for the purpose of counting the number of dimensions in media content. It is generally used to make clear statements of the research problem throughout the study. In other words, content analysis is not done to measure the column inches of newspaper articles or the duration of news items on television. It is done to show the nature of the content which is analyzed by the researcher.

Content analysis for media studies includes important issues which are taken into account by the researcher. The choice of media and title involves geographical reach, audience size, audience type, format and content characteristics of media and political stance, in most of the content analysis applied in media studies (Hansen, 1998 p.102). Furthermore, the date specification for content analysis is defined according to the dates of an event and term which covers both before and after the dates selected for a period of time.

The task of content analysis is always to examine a sampled body of texts by classifying the content according to the number of predetermined assumptions. In the case of media, the relevant content is always consistent with the research questions and the theoretical framework of the study. Although the counted variable in content analysis can be anything like the individual word, the sentence, the paragraph, the

article, the news program, the news items, an individual character, actor or source, the program, the science and so on, the analysis of communications content should be systematic to examine the intentions of messages, social and cultural issues, values and phenomena, etc (Hansen, 1998 p.124).

3.2 Research Procedure

This study firstly intended to collect information regarding the NGOs dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus by preparing questions to be asked the NGO's managers during the interview. These questions are determined to state the objectives and activities of NGOs dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus (Appendix D). Second, the summative content analysis is done after collecting the media texts belonging to five TRNC's newspapers in SPSS 11.0 software. Third, the content analysis is done by using cross tabulation for each media text. Fourth, the analyses and interpretations are presented as research findings after completing the summative content analysis.

3.3 Research Design

This study presents all analyses and research findings by doing qualitative content analysis in SPSS 11.0 software. The type of qualitative content analysis is based on summative content analysis in this study. Therefore, 723 media texts in *Halkın Sesi*, *Havadis*, *Yeni Çağ*, *Yeni Düzen* and *Vatan* are analyzed by doing summative content analysis. In order to differentiate the characteristic of each media text, the text type are classified as interviews, columns, hard news, soft news, advertisements, horoscopes, sports and biographies. The issues of text types are classified as health, achievements of women, exhibition and activity, visits/charity, about NGOs dealing with the women issues, products/promotions, women's rights, funny stories, recipes meals, culture/art, violence, immigration and the other. The media texts' approaches

are analyzed as sexist, not sexist and neutral. The characteristics of news approach are specified as negative, positive and neutral. The news gratification of media texts are presented as fully informative, general information and neutral in the sample.

3.3.1 The Sampling and Data Collection

This study uses purposive sampling method by mainly focusing on the content of five newspapers in the TRNC. These newspapers are *Halkın Sesi*, *Havadis*, *Yeni Çağ*, *Yeni Düzen* and *Vatan*. All newspapers except *Yeni Çağ* cover the period between March 1 and March 10 in 2012. Since *Yeni Çağ* is a weekly newspaper, it was obtained for March 1, March 8 and March 15 in 2012. *Halkın Sesi* is selected for the content analyses because this newspaper popularizes, normalizes and renders the news in a very common way. In other words, the mainstream of this newspaper is very usual and familiar to the masses by being more conventional in North Cyprus.

Havadis is chosen because of its interesting representations of women through funny stories, specifications of NGOs dealing with the women issues and International Women's Day in the newspaper journalists' columns. *Havadis* is also chosen for being one of the most circulated newspapers in the TRNC. *Yeni Düzen* is selected for its supplement, which called *Gaile*. This supplement has included women's issues like trafficking in women, gender equality, patriarchal oppression, etc., in its content. Thus, *Yeni Düzen* is also one of the leftist newspapers which provides useful sample for data. *Yeni Çağ* is selected to evaluate March 8th presentations and women's issues in a weekly newspaper. *Vatan* differentiates itself from the other newspapers by being a rightist newspaper and by ignoring women's issues in its content. The columns and news generally portray male domination in society. *Vatan* also does not offer a supplement to individuals.

The period of the sample covers 10 days for *Yeni Düzen*, *Havadis*, *Halkın Sesi* and *Vatan*. Since March 8th is International Women's Day between March 1 and March 10, the aim was to demonstrate the dynamics of the media's approach to International Women's Day, the NGOs dealing with the women issues and women's issues during, before and after March 8th. Additionally, March 1, March 8 and March 15 are the dates for the content analysis in *Yeni Çağ*. Therefore, the objective was to demonstrate weekly changes regarding International Women's Day and women's issues through *Yeni Çağ*. In this study, the aim was to examine March 8th presentations and women's issues by considering the content of five TRNC newspapers.

As a conclusion of this chapter, the interview is prepared to articulate the objectives and activities of NGOs dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus. The summative content analysis is done to show how the mass media's approach to International Women's Day, women's issues and NGOs dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus. While doing the content analysis, first of all text type, content, newspapers, sexism, new approaches and news gratification were determined in this study. Then, the data between the period March 1 and March 15 in 2012 was entered into a computer. These analyses were done using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). The SPSS program provides useful information to interpret March 8th and presentations of women in the newspapers. The results are illustrated in tables in order to offer interpretations about the research findings.

Chapter 4

ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATIONS

The chapter presents the analyses of data in a variety of ways. The aim is to show how International Women's Day is presented in TRNC newspapers. The data covers the period between March 1 and March 10 in 2012. In addition, March 15 is also taken into account for the analyses in a weekly newspaper.

Throughout the analyses, the objectives were to demonstrate the most highlighted subjects which were related to women or women's movements, the important struggles for the women's problems voiced by NGOs dealing with the women issues in the TRNC during March 8th, 2012, the presentations of NGOs dealing with the women issues and voices of women in the TRNC newspapers, and the important issues and subjects having the maximum coverage in relation to International Women's Day and women's issues. Therefore, content analysis was done to examine the objectives as stated above.

4.1 General Information of the Sample

This section shows the analyses of data regarding numbers of news items, text type, content, sexism, news approaches and news gratification. Through a presentation of the percentages, the analyses are explained by using media texts in the newspapers.

Table 4.1 Distribution of Media Texts According to Newspapers

Newspapers	Percentage
Yeni Düzen	25.2
Havadis	36.0
Yeni Çağ	2.8
Halkın Sesi	19.5
Vatan	16.5

There are 723 media texts in the newspapers. The percentages of media texts in each newspaper, *Yeni Düzen*, *Havadis*, *Yeni Çağ*, *Halkın Sesi* and *Vatan* can be seen in Table 4.1. The percentage of each newspaper does not guarantee that the news is presenting issues on women's problems. *Havadis* is the newspaper which presents the most media texts among the newspapers: 36% of the media texts are presented in *Havadis* because this newspaper includes much more women's issues in their contents.

Table 4.2 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their Text-Types

Text Type	Percentage
Interviews	1.9
Columns	6.4
Hard News	49.8
Soft News	8.9
Advertisements	23.7
Horoscopes	0.3
Sports	8.7
Biographies	0.3

The presented items are analyzed in terms of their characteristics such as interviews, columns, hard news, soft news, advertisements, horoscopes, sports and biographies.

As is seen in Table 4.2, most of the presented items are on hard news. 49.8% of the media texts are hard news. The journalists use hard news to specify and express their concerns without giving comprehensive information. Most of the news about the issues on women is therefore presented through hard news in the newspapers.

On the other hand, 8.9% of the media texts are represented as soft news in the newspapers. Although this percentage is not as high as hard news, the journalists prefer to use soft news while representing women's issues. Soft news is also one of the text types which includes "absence of a public policy component, sensationalized presentation, human interest themes and emphasis on dramatic subject matter" (Baum, 2008 p. 120). In simpler words, soft news is not informative and includes subjective matters in its content. For example, on March 8th, there is a soft news about Adriana Lima who is described as the most attractive model in the world in Havadis. Therefore, the soft news is generally composed to state the beauties of women. In the literature review, Skov and Moeran (1995, p. 149) articulate that women's sexuality and independence are expressed in terms of consumer taste in the media. In other words, soft news includes attractiveness, beauty and feminine characteristics of women by depicting them as consumers.

According to White (2009, p.30) hard news is a type of report which is objective and consists of real news, in daily newspapers rather than in lifestyle magazines. In other words, the events are only described, without articulating personal opinions. The aim is to inform the readers about any concern. Therefore, the hard news does not reflect the hard news on women. For example, on March 8th, the news about women's health conditions in *Halkın Sesi* is entitled "why are women's hearts getting too tired?" (2012, p.22, Appendix 2). Due to the stereotypical perception of women from the male point of view, there is always a perceived superiority of men over women by presenting women as passive, weak and emotional in the literature (Peake, 1993 p.418). Therefore, in most of the hard news, women are presented as individuals who are not strong enough to cope with their problems.

The second hard news addresses the opinions of the President, Mr. Derviş Eroğlu, about gender equality in society in Havadis (2012, p.32). By reporting whatever Eroğlu said about women's rights and gender equality on March 9th, this hard news includes the social standards which are imposed on women in a patriarchal society. According to Eroğlu, the male domination should not damage women's positions in society. In order to avoid discrimination against women in a patriarchy, women must have equal rights and opportunities as men have. As noted in the literature review, Wright (1992, p.96) has argued that women are being prevented from finding their self-perceptions and identifications due to patriarchy.

When the contents of the hard news are analyzed in the TRNC's newspapers, there are two findings. First, the hard news in the TRNC's newspapers does not reflect the importance of International Women's Day comprehensively. Second, women are generally presented either as inferior or as consumers in most of the hard news. Thus, the contents of the hard news in the newspapers are not informative for readers when they present women rights and gender equality.

Advertisements are the second text type, having the highest percentage for the media texts after the hard news. 49.8% of the media texts are presented in advertisements. Janust (1981, p.13) defines advertisement as a prominent item for the mass media because it creates a link between consumption and production. In simpler terms, the media use advertisements to attract consumers for consumption.

There are various products advertised in the newspapers. These advertisements are generally associated with women because they are represented as direct consumers

for each product. For example, on March 1, in *Yeni Düzen*, there is an advertisement for the discount festival both in Taşköy and in Famagusta (2012, p.13, Appendix 3). These advertisements present a picture of women shopping. Thus women are presented and motivated as consumers for the discount advertisements as well.

Table 4.3 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their Contents

Content	Percentage
Health	3.3
Achievements of Women	24.3
Exhibitions/Activity	13.8
Visits/Charity	5.5
About NGOs	10.5
Products/Promotions	26.0
Women's Rights	5.7
Funny Stories	2.2
Recipes/Meals	0.3
Culture/Art	4.4
Violence	3.3
Immigration	0.3
The Other	0.5

The 723 published items on women's issues during the research study period were also analyzed according to their approach to issues. These issues are classified as health, achievements of women, exhibition/activities, visits/charity, about NGOs dealing with the women issues, products/promotions, women's rights, funny stories, recipes/meals, culture-art, violence, immigration, and the other.

As seen in Table 4.3, most of the news items are about achievements of women, products/promotions and exhibitions and activity. 26% of the media texts come under product/promotions. This value shows how women are presented as individuals who are prone to consume during the week of March 8th. For example, on March 2, in *Halkın Sesi*, Algül Hairdresser offers a promotion for women in order to attract them (2012, p.17). On March 3 in *Havadis*, there is a promotion only for

women which introduces a prepaid card by Turkish Bank for International Women's Day (2012, p.4, Appendix 4). On March 4 in *Havadis*, one of the advertisements is presented to show the promotion of the Cratos Hotel for International Women's Day (2012, p.22, Appendix 4). On March 7 in *Havadis*, there is Samsung's promotional offer for International Women's Day (2012, p.9, Appendix 4) On March 8 in *Yeni Düzen*, the Bulut Construction offers an advertisement for the International Women's Day (2012, p.23, Appendix 4). In *Yeni Düzen* there is also a promotion by Red-Mix Hairdresser on March 8 (2012, p.36). Avon and Roventa also offer promotions for International Women's Day in *Havadis* (2012, p.13-15, Appendix 4).

When the products and promotions are examined, the women are generally represented as individuals who consume more and enjoy a rich life with goods, leisure, opportunities and possessions. By considering Skov and Moeron's arguments, it is obvious that the newspapers idealize and standardize women in society (1995, p.148).

The achievements of women are the second highest in content: 24.3% of the media texts include stories about successful and well-known women in society. As Cruz (1988, p.41) argues, women are portrayed in the newspapers when they are prominent personalities. For example, on March 9, 2012, in *Havadis*, the news about the successes of important women in North Cyprus lists names like Ufuk Taneri, the first woman university rector; Ruhsan Tugyan, the first woman member of parliament; Latife Birgen the first woman to get a PhD degree in Nuclear Energy, etc. (2012, p.29, Appendix 5). There is also an interview of Bedia Okan by Mete Tümerkan in *Havadis* on March 5th. Okan explains how she became the first woman

journalist in North Cyprus. The story of her father, Remzi Okan, the founder of *Halkın Sesi*, is also covered in the interview in order to demonstrate his effect on Bedia Okan (2012, p.32, Appendix 5). This attitude towards a woman reflects the male dominance over women as well as the hegemonic and conservative characteristics of masculinity that are imposed by the media. As Cruz (1988, p.68) notes, women's professional accomplishments are covered in the newspapers if they belong to rich or prominent families. Bedia Okan is an example of a depiction of a woman as successful and wealthier due to her family characteristics in North Cyprus.

There is also an interview on March 6 in *Havadis* which covers the achievements of the Minister of Works and Social Security, Şerife Ünverdi (2012, p.29, Appendix 5). Ünverdi explains that the government has founded an association for women's studies in Nicosia. During the interview, Ünverdi claims that this association provides new opportunities for women such as equality, employment, peace, etc. Ünverdi takes her place in the newspaper as an important politician. She is portrayed as a perfect woman who evokes enthusiasm in readers' minds. However, all women do not belong to rich or prominent families which are able to offer unlimited opportunities to their daughters. There are also some women who are under the repression of patriarchy in society. These examples show how women are presented in the TRNC newspapers.

Additionally, 13.8% of the media texts are belonging to exhibitions and activity in the newspapers. During 8 March week, there was an activity which was in Gönyeli. The media text which represented an activity was published on March 7, 2012 in *Halkın Sesi*. This media text shows how women are represented as consumers in

social life because the dress designer Hakan Akkaya articulated his ideas about being a perfect woman. Therefore, As Fowler (1991, p. 104) states in literature review, women are portrayed as consumers in the mass media.

The Other includes the news which is not related to the issues in Table 4.3. For example, the first news in *Vatan* on March 3 is about the celebrity of Tom Struddidge who buys toys for her baby (2012, p.21, Appendix 6). The second news item, in *Vatan* on March 3, is again about a woman, Kelly Brook, who is engaged with a famous men, Tom Evans (2012, p.22, Appendix 6). Lastly, the news in *Havadis* on March 7 introduces a book called “Allies & Enemies: How The World Depends on Bacteria” by Anne Maczulak (2012, p.25).

Table 4.4 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their Sexist Presentation

	Not-Sexist	Neutral
	49.8	39.3

The presented items are analyzed to show how sexism occurs while presenting the media texts in relation to approaches such as sexist, not-sexist and neutral. Since the journalists generally present women’s inferiority in their news, Table 4.4 demonstrates that most of the media texts in the newspapers are sexist. In the case of sexism, women are depicted through their bodies, clothes, shopping, beauty/attractiveness, sexuality, development, sensitivity/emotion, sex roles, and subordination in the newspapers. 49.8% of the media texts are presented as sexist in the entire sample. As Duncan (2006, p. 1180) states, sexism is an assumption which defends the superiority of one sex in relation to the other. Thus, the issues on women in the newspapers generally show a sexist approach. For instance, on March 6, in *Havadis*, there is a hard news item which introduces the world’s interesting toilet

designs. Throughout this news, the shapes of toilets are associated with the parts of women's bodies such as breasts, hips, legs and lips (2012, p. 10, Appendix 7). The representations show women as an instrument of sex object like the advertisement about Asok Cars in Vatan on March 6 (2012, p.17, Appendix 8). 10.9 % of the media texts are represented as not sexist in the newspapers. Not-sexist approach defines women's issues in a positive way in the media texts. In other words, if the media texts include a full of praise without mentioning women's body features and beauties, this approach is called not-sexist. 39.3% of the media texts are represented as neutral while analyzing sexism in their contents because these media texts do not represent any ideas about issues on women.

Table 4.5 Disribution of Media Texts According to Their News Approaches

Negative	Positive	Neutral
50.0	10.4	39.6

The items presented in Table 4.5 are classifying the collected data as negative, positive and neutral. The aim is to show how the approach of each media text is determined by the newspapers. As is seen in Table 4.5, most of the media texts have a negative news approach because they include sexist specifications in their contents. 50% of the media texts have a negative approach, as is shown in Table 4.5.

On the other hand if the media texts are not sexist then they have positive news approaches. For neutral news approaches, the media texts do not include any views on women's issues. They reflect the cases in the media texts without telling any idea.

Table 4.6 Disribution of Media Texts According to Their News Gratifications

Fully Informative	General Information	Neutral
2.2	77.5	20.3

As is seen in Table 4.6, the presented items which are fully informative, general information, and not-clear show the numbers of news gratification for each media text. The aim is to demonstrate that information in the news content does not reveal full information for the readers because media patrons give shape to the representations of women through their ideologies. As McQuail (1994, p. 259) argues, the media is powerful as it imposes ideas on society which are forced by the structure of media institutions. Therefore, only 2.2% of the media texts are presented as fully informative in the whole of the sample when depicting issues on women and International Women's Day in the TRNC newspapers. Fully informative media texts give complete and comprehensive information about the issues on women in the media texts. If the media texts provide general information about the events, the readers are only offered limited aspects of the cases. For the neutral news gratification, the media texts do not include any opinions of the journalists.

4.2 Research Findings

This section of the study presents four different categories for the answers to the research questions referred in p. 3. In the first section of the chapter, the aim was to provide general information about 723 media texts. In the research findings, the objective is to discuss the analyses by considering the issues on women and International Women's Day in the TRNC newspapers.

In the first category, examination shows how the media texts are prepared to present women as consumers and encourage them to purchase products. In the second category, the aim is to show how March 8th is represented as a celebration date for women. The third category aims to demonstrate that the objectives of March 8th news are not fully included in the TRNC's newspapers. Lastly, by comparing the media

texts for the week of March 8th, the fourth category explains how issues on women and International Women’s Day fade away day by day.

4.2.1 Women as consumers in the TRNC’s Newspapers

When analyzing the media texts in the TRNC’s newspapers, it is obvious that they are prepared to encourage women to consume during the week of March 8th. In other words, the media always specify the contents of the media texts by promoting products targeted at women through their institutions. Due to the adverse effects of the media on women, they lose their self-esteem in a patriarchal system (Carpenter, 2006, p. 122).

Table 4.7 Disribution of Media Texts According to Their Contents

Content	Text Type						
	Interw.	Colmn.	Hard N.	Soft N.	Advs.	Horos.	Sports Biogrhy.
Health		8.7	5.3	1.6			
Achv. Women	64.3	13	16.9	54	100	95.3	100
Exh./Act.			23.1	26			
Visits/Charity		4.3	9.7			4.7	
About NGO's	28.6	19.6	17.5				
Prd./Prmt	7.1	2.2	3.3	6.3	99.4		
Wom. Rights		23.9	7.2	4.7	0.6		
Funny Stories		10.9	3.1				
Rec./Meal		2.2	0.3				
Culture/Art		4.3	8.1	1.6			
Violence		8.7	5.0	1.6			
Immigration			0.6				
The Other		2.2		3.1			

As is seen in Table 4.7, the media texts of advertisements, horoscopes and biographies have the higher percentages while depicting the issues on women. However, the numbers of media texts including horoscopes and biographies are very low in whole of the sample. The number of advertisements is higher than the numbers of horoscopes and biographies. The contents of these text types dictate the

rules for being a perfect woman. In simpler terms, the way to be a successful woman is associated with consumption.

In Table 4.7, when the advertisements are analyzed, 99.4% of them are products/promotions. For the horoscopes and biographies, 100% of the media texts are about the achievements of women. These results show how the media make women buy more products as Lady Serif. For example, on March 5 in *Yeni Düzen*, the biography of Lady Şerif tells the successful story of a Cypriot woman in Nicosia (2012, p.17, Appendix 8). In the story, the journalist describes how to be an ideal Cypriot woman in Cypriot culture. Lady Şerif is defined as a blonde woman who likes using red lipstick. She is also portrayed as a woman who does not have a boyfriend before marriage. However, in the media text, the journalist points out that she attracts every man because of her dress, hair style and makeup (2012, p.17).

The second example is horoscopes, which impose some standards on women. Horoscopes provide information about how to be a perfect woman for a man. For example, on March 3–March 9 in *Havadis*, the media text include the story of famous women who are Eva Mendes and Jessica Biel. These women are given as ideal examples for women whose horoscope sign is Pisces (2012, p-25-26, Appendix 8). The aim is to encourage women to be an ideal woman like famous women.

Lastly, on March 10, in *Yeni Düzen*, the advertisement for the Madame Catalogue also encourages women to buy different styles of clothes (2012, p.5). These contents show how the newspapers play an important role in shaping individuals' decisions about product sales and women-targeted products. Additionally, women are

presented as individuals who always consume on International Women's Day, too. In other words, the media texts include attractiveness, beauty, and the feminine characteristics of women while depicting them as consumers in the newspapers.

4.2.2 8th March as a Celebration Date

Nowadays, March 8th is represented as a celebration date in the mass media. The aim is to show how March 8th is presented in relation to the issues on women in the TRNC's newspapers. For example, the Foundation for European Progressive Studies claims that International Women's Day is always linked to an ordinary celebration when men go to the flower shop for women (Febs-europe 2012, p.1).

There is only one column which criticizes the way of celebrating International Women's Day in whole of the sample (723). It is written by Davut Ulaş in *Halkın Sesi* on March 9 (2012, p.6, Appendix 9) about the celebration of March 8th and the objectives of International Women's Day such as gender equality, discrimination against gender, equal working conditions, empowerment, etc.

This columnist also argues that International Women's Day is not only a celebration for women but also a promotion of gender equality. Therefore, according to Ulaş, the way of celebrating this day should be changed. In order to raise consciousness on the International Women's Day, this kind of media texts should be published more in the newspapers.

Table 4.8 illustrates the analyses based on sexism according to the approaches categorized as sexist, not-sexist and neutral for each issue on women. By looking at the table, it is obvious that the media texts have sexism in their contents.

Table 4.8 Distribution of Media Texts According to Sexism in Content

Content	Sexism		
	Sexist	Not-Sexist	Neutral
Health	91.7	4.2	4.2
Achv. Women	27.3	23.9	48.9
Exh./Act.	37	10	53
Visits/Charity	7.5		92.5
About NGO's	23.7	3.9	72.4
Prd./Prmt	92.6	4.8	2.7
Wom. Rights	34.1	24.4	41.5
Funny Stories	100		
Rec./Meal		100	
Culture/Art	37.5	3.1	59.4
Violence	56.5	4.4	39.1
Immigration			100
The Other	100		

As is seen in Table 4.8, the higher percentages are for funny stories and product/promotions in the sexist approach. However, in whole of the sample, the numbers of media texts including funny stories are lower than the numbers of products and promotions. 100% of the funny stories and 92.6% of the products/promotions are presented as sexist. Additionally health (91.7%) and violence (56.5%) are the contents which are presented as sexist after products and promotions, too.

During the week of March 8th, the media texts still represent women as inferiors in funny stories, instead of emphasizing the objectives of International Women's Day. Through products/promotions in the newspapers, the mass media presents March 8th as a celebration date to attract consumers for International Women's Day. For example, funny stories are presented as content including the most sexist content, because 100% of them articulate the superiority of men to women. Calogero and Jost (2011, p.212) state that women are typically defined as individuals who are suitable

for domestic roles in society. For example, the funny story in *Havadis* on March 2, which tells the story of marriage between a man and woman, describes the woman in an inferior position (2012 p.20, Appendix 10).

One of the examples of products/promotions is the advertisements in *Halkın Sesi* in March (2012, p.20, Appendix 11) for Unal Shopping, which are illustrated with a naked woman's body. The aim is to attract consumers for March 8th. This presentation also shows how women are depicted in a prison of cultural ideals of beauty that is offered by the mass media (Jacobsen and Mazur, 1995, p.12).

Table 4.9 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their News Approaches in
Content

Content	News Approach		
	Negative	Positive	Neutral
Health	91.7	4.2	4.2
Achv. Women	27.8	22.7	48.4
Exh./Act.	37	10	53
Visits/Charity	7.5		92.5
About NGO's	23.7	2.6	73.7
Prd./Prmt	92.6	4.8	2.7
Wom. Rights	34.1	24.4	41.5
Funny Stories	100		
Rec./Meal		100	
Culture/Art	37.5	3.1	59.4
Violence	60.9		39.1
Immigration			100
The Other	100		

Table 4.9 demonstrates the examination of news approaches by classifying them as negative, positive and neutral for each issue on women. As is seen in Table 4.9, products/promotions, health, women's rights and funny stories have higher percentages. However, the numbers of funny stories are very low in whole of the

sample. Products and promotions are important contents while examining sexism in this study.

Due to the impact of sexism, as presented in Table 4.8, news approaches also give similar percentages in each category. Since product promotions broadly include sexism in their contents, these contents have a negative news approach which is exploitative, harmful and hostile for women's presentations. Therefore, the objectives on International Women's Day are not asserted constructively during the week of March 8th. When the women's rights (34.1%) are taken into consideration, this content also includes sexism, too.

Table 4.10 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their News Gratifications in
Content

Content	News Gratification		
	Fully Informative	General Information	Neutral
Health Achv.	8.3	70.8	20.8
Women Exh./Act.	2.3	80.1	17.6
Visits/Charity	2	75	23
About NGO's		85	15
Prd./Prmt	2.6	65.8	31.6
Wom. Rights		87.2	12.8
Funny Stories	7.3	78	14.6
Rec./Meal		6.3	93.8
Culture/Art		100	
Violence		71.9	28.1
Immigration	4.3	82.6	13
The Other		100	
		66.7	33.3

As is seen in Table 4.10, the analyses of news gratification show the percentages in three categories for the content. These categories define the characteristics of information in the media texts as fully informative, general information and not clear in the TRNC's newspapers. By considering the results in Table 4.10, the aim is to demonstrate that the information of the content is not fully informative. Therefore, March 8th is presented as a celebration date without giving full information about the objectives of International Women's Day. In other words, the contents of the media texts are full of joyful and ordinary details which do not promote International Women's Day completely. When the percentages are analyzed in Table 4.10, 87.2% of the media texts including products and promotions, 80.1% of the media texts including achievements of women, 75% of the media texts including exhibitions and 65.8 % of the media texts including NGOs dealing with the women issues are giving general information which does not include comprehensive information about issues on women.

4.2.3 No Importance given to NGO's Activities of March 8th

This section examines the media's texts' approach to March 8th while presenting the media texts in the TRNC's newspapers. The aim is to demonstrate whether the objectives of March 8th news are reflected fully or not through feminist movements in North Cyprus. As stated before, there are 17 NGOs dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus. The members of these organizations always organize activities, exhibitions and meetings which promote International Women's Day. These NGOs dealing with the women issues determine their objectives by considering feminist theory. The issues which are specified by NGOs take different specifications.

Table 4.11 Disribution of Media Texts According to NGO's Contents

NGO's Content	Percentage
Working Life Conditions	25
Equal Rights	50

Violence	9.2
Shelter for Women	2.6
Women Trafficking	5.3
Secularism	2.6
No Defined Objective	5.3

As is seen in Table 4.11, there are seven content areas which are determined by the NGOs dealing with the women issues in the newspapers. The NGOs dealing with the women issues address issues on women such as working life conditions, equal rights, violence, shelters for women, trafficking in women and secularism. There are seventy-six (76) media texts which are related to NGO's content in the whole of the sample (723). Most of the presented items are on equal rights, because 50% of the media texts come under this category in Table 4.11.

For example, there is a news item about equal rights for women on March 4 in *Yeni Düzen*'s supplement "Adress" (2012, p.18, Appendix 12). The FEMA activist Doğuş Derya articulates the importance of equality for women. For example, for FEMA, the quota for women in the parliament should be increased in order to avoid male domination in society. Feminist theory emphasizes that there must always be equal rights and opportunities for men and women. Thus, FEMA states that women should not defend male domination when they are provided opportunities to improve their skills and abilities. Due to the adverse impact of patriarchy on women rights, FEMA also criticizes the adverse impact of patriarchal society in which there is always a promotion of male privileges arising from male domination (Hassel, Reddinger and Slooten, 2011 p.1).

Additionally, working life conditions are also another important issue which is brought up by the NGOs dealing with the women issues in the TRNC's newspapers. 25% of the media texts are about women's working life conditions. The news about

working life conditions in *Yeni Düzen*'s supplement *Gaile* explains how domestic roles prevent women from being equal and independent. The news was prepared by FEMA activists on March 3rd to show the statistics provided by the State Planning Organization in North Cyprus. In the analysis of employment distribution for men and women in 2010, the results show that 32.3% of the employed people are women. On the other hand, 67.7% of them are employed as men in North Cyprus (Appendix 13). FEMA therefore aims to draw attention to the necessity of equal rights for women, not only in their social lives, but also in their occupational lives.

As is seen in Table 4.11, during the week of March 8th, there are only 76 media texts in the entire sample (723 data). The media texts including the ones on NGOs dealing with the women issues do not guarantee that all of them shed light on the issues of International Women's Day and on women. The category "no-defined objective" includes the news about the NGOs dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus without presenting their specific aims and activities which differentiate them from each other. For example, on March 8, *Havadis* presents news about the walk for International Women's Day (2012, p.14). This news does not explain the objectives and other activities of the NGOs dealing with the women issues. All NGOs dealing with the women issues are presented as if they have the same objectives for women's issues. In other words, the journalists generally don't want to inform the readers about issues on women and women rights.

Additionally, on March 7, *Halkın Sesi* also presents a hard news item that includes the NGOs dealing with the women issues without articulating their intentions (2012, p. 8, Appendix 14). These examples show that newspapers sometimes convey

inadequate information about the NGOs dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus and March 8th through their presentations.

Table 4.12 Distribution of Media Texts According to NGO's Content in Each Date

NGO's Content	Period between March 3 & 10 in 2012							
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Working Life								
Conditions	21.4	14.3		41.7	12.5		25	38.9
Equal Rights	42.9	28.6		25.7	87.5	87.5	62.5	44.4
Violence	14.3	42.9		16.7				
Shelter for Women	7.1						12.5	
Women Trafficking	14.3	14.3				12.5		
Secularism				16.7				
No Defined Objective			100					16.7

As is seen in Table 4.12, the content covering the 17 NGOs dealing with the women issues reveals an interesting distribution for the period between March 3 and March 10, in 2012. There is no available data including the NGO's content in Table 4.12 for March 1, March 2 and March 15. On March 3 and March 4, the media texts in the newspapers started to include NGOs' content dealing with the women issues and March 8th news. However, on March 5, the NGO's content dealing with the women issues is not presented comprehensively in the TRNC newspapers. Due to the impact of March 8th, the newspapers include content based on equal rights on March 7 and March 8. For example, in *Yeni Düzen*, there is a hard news about March 8th that has been written by Mrs. Güven Lisaniler who is the manager of CWS at EMU (2012, p. 14, Appendix 15).

The higher percentage, which is 87.5% for both days, shows how International Women's Day is represented as a date defending equal rights only by ignoring other contents such as trafficking in women, shelters for women, etc. Additionally, on March 9 and March 10, the percentages of the contents started fading because March

8th has already been passed. As McQuail (1994, p.96) states from the perspective of critical cultural theory, the mass media is powerful while articulating whatever they want to impose on people. Thus, it is obvious that the TRNC's newspapers prefer to reflect equal rights broadly on International Women's Day.

Table 4.13 Distribution of Media Texts According to Sexism in NGO's Content

NGO's Content	Sexism		
	Sexist	Not-Sexist	Neutral
Working Life Conditions	15.8	5.3	78.9
Equal Rights	13.2	5.3	81.6
Violence	85.7		14.3
Shelter for Women			100
Women Trafficking	75		25
Secularism			100
No Defined Objective	25		75

Table 4.13 shows how sexism is presented while reflecting NGO's content in the TRNC newspapers. The media texts' approach is generally neutral because the media texts including the NGO's content do not convey journalists' opinions and ideas comprehensively. The aim is not to inform individuals completely about issues on women and International Women's Day. As is seen in Table 4.13, shelters for women and secularism are the contents which have higher percentages in the neutral approach.

Most of the NGOs dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus argue that shelters should be provided for battered women. For example, *Yeni Düzen* presents a news item about the necessity of shelters for women on March 9 (2012, p.12). Throughout the news, the women's organization from TDP suggests that government heads should take into consideration women who are tortured under the repression of patriarchy; this organization is therefore demanding shelters for battered women in

society through the newspapers. The NGOs dealing with the women issues also argue that religious beliefs should not damage women's economic, social and political situations. For example, there is a news item about secularism in *Yeni Düzen*'s supplement *Gaile* on March 4 (2012, p.20, Appendix 16).

Throughout the news article, the women's organization from TDP argues that women should not be prevented from being equal and independent due to the imposition of religion on them. In *Yeni Düzen* on March 6, the members of TDP also criticize the establishment of a madrasah (religious school) in Nicosia (2012, p. 6). However, the numbers of the media texts including NGOs dealing with the women issues in their contents are not adequate to raise the consciousness on women's issues.

As is seen above, the journalists do not mention the director or members of the TDP Women's Organization in the media texts. They also do not articulate their ideas about the organization. The media texts including the NGO's content thus display a neutral approach to the issues on women and International Women's Day.

Table 4.14 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their News Gratifications in NGO's Content

NGO's content	News Gratification		
	Fully Informative	General Information	Not-Clear
Working Life			
Conditions	5.3	57.9	36.8
Equal Rights		71.1	28.9
Violence	14.3	57.1	28.6
Shelter for Women			100
Women Trafficking		100	
Secularism		100	
No Defined Objective			100

Table 4.14 shows the classification of information for the NGO's content. When news gratification is examined, the information about NGO's content is not fully informative. The information on NGOs dealing with the women issues is generally presented as general information. Therefore, Table 4.14 shows the mass media's approach to news gratification. For example, there is a hard news item about the film screening which depicts violence in its content. This event is provided by the CTP Women's Organization on March 3 in *Yeni Düzen* (2012, p.20, Appendix 17). Although the aim is to draw attention to violence through the film, the media text does not provide full information about the objectives of the CTP Women's Organization.

4.2.4 The Representation of Issues on Women and March 8th

Table 4.15 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their Contents for Each Date
in March

Date	Content												
	H.	Ach.	Ex/Ac	V/C	NGO's	Prd/Pr	W.R	F.St	Rec.	Cul.	V.	Im.	Ot.
1	6.8	38.6	2.3	9.1		36.4		2.3		2.3	2.3		
2	2.4	31.7	2.4	2.4		46.3		4.9		7.3	2.4		
3	2.8	18.1	6.9	5.6	19.4	27.8	2.8	2.8	1.4	4.2	5.6		2.8
4	7.5	23.9	4.5	1.5	10.4	32.8	1.5	3		9	6		
5	7.5	32.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	40	2.5	5		5			
6	3	28.4	22.4		17.9	22.4	1.5	1.5		3			
7	1.2	32.1	20.2	3.6	9.5	20.2	1.2	2.4		6	2.4		1.2
8	3.3	7.8	25.6	8.9	8.9	30	11.1	1.1		2.2	1.1		
9	2.2	30.3	18	5.6	9	20.2	4.5	2.2	1.1	4.5	2.2		
10	1.6	19.5	13.8	10.6	14.6	13.8	4.6	0.8		3.3	5.7	1.6	
15			16.7			16.7	50				16.6		

Table 4.15 shows the distribution of content for each date. The aim is to analyze the representation of issues on women and International Women's Day during the week of March 8th. In Table 4.15, the presented items show that the percentages of products/promotions are higher than the other contents' percentages except on March

1, March 7 and March 15. Before March 8th, products/promotions have the highest percentage on March 5.

On March 8th, 30% of the media texts are in products/promotions. On March 9 and March 10, the percentages start to decrease because March 8th has already been celebrated in North Cyprus. When the percentages of exhibitions and activity (25.6%) and NGOs dealing with the women issues (8.9%) are taken into consideration on March 8th, they are not as high as those of products/promotions. Therefore, the issues on women and March 8th start to fade away day by day. International Women’s Day is represented as a celebration date because of the higher ratios for products/promotions in the whole of the sample.

Table 4.16 Distribution of Media Texts According to Sexism in Each Date

Date	Sexism		
	Sexist	Not-Sexist	Neutral
March 1	61.4	11.4	27.2
March 2	65.9	9.8	24.3
March 3	66.7	4.2	29.1
March 4	70.1	7.5	22.4
March 5	80	7.5	12.5
March 6	40.3	6	53.7
March 7	42.9	9.5	47.6
March 8	44.4	5.6	50
March 9	43.8	19.1	37.1
March 10	29.3	17.1	53.6
March 15	16.7	66.6	16.7

As is seen in Table 4.16, the period between March 1 and March 5 has an increasing rate for the sexist approach when presenting issues on women and International Women’s Day because the media texts include the beauty and attractiveness of women in general. The media texts in the newspapers do not include NGO’s aims and activities comprehensively. Thus, the percentages increase from 61.4% to 80%.

When March 8th has begun, the period between March 6 and March 10 has a decreasing rate for the sexist approach. During these days, the media are biased on women's issues. However, there is a pseudo representation of 8 March. As McQuail (1994, p.26) argues, the mass media create their own culture. In simpler terms, through the media texts about March 8th, International Women's Day is presented as a celebration for women by only articulating equal rights in the TRNC's newspapers.

Table 4.17 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their News Approaches in Each Date

Date	News Approach		
	Negative	Positive	Neutral
March 1	61.4	11.4	27.3
March 2	68.3	7.3	24.4
March 3	66.7	4.2	29.2
March 4	70.1	7.5	22.4
March 5	80	5	15
March 6	40.3	6	53.7
March 7	42.9	8.3	48.8
March 8	44.4	5.6	50
March 9	43.8	19.1	37.1
March 10	30.1	16.3	53.7
March 15	16.7	66.7	16.3

Table 4.17 illustrates higher percentages for the negative news approach. Due to the increasing rate for the sexist approach between March 1 and March 5 as shown in Table 4.16, the news approach for this period is negative because sexism adversely affects both the representations of issues on women's beauty and feminine characteristics and International Women's Day (Calogero and Jost, 2011 p.214).

Additionally, the period between March 6 and March 10 has a decreasing rate for the negative news approach. Although the negative news approach is 80% on March 5, it is 44.4% on March 8. After March 6th, the media texts lose negative news approach when time gets closer to March 8th. Thus, there is a pseudo representation of March

8th in the TRNC's newspapers. For example, there is a hard news about the Women's Branches of the CTP on Havadis. This media text is presenting a negative news approach in its content even though this NGOs dealing with the women issues has written a letter to president Mr. Eroğlu to avoid problems for women (2012,p 20, Appendix 18). Table 4.18 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their News Gratifications in Each Date

Date	News Gratification		
	Fully Informative	General Information	Neutral
March 1	4.5	79.5	15.9
March 2		80.5	19.5
March 3	4.2	75	20.8
March 4	3	74.6	22.4
March 5		80	20
March 6		89.6	10.4
March 7	1.2	82.1	16.7
March 8	1.1	78.9	20
March 9	2.2	78.7	19.1
March 10	3.3	69.1	27.6
March 15	16.7	16.7	66.7

In Table 4.18, the news gratification of the media texts on each date generally presents greater percentages for general information. On the other hand, the media texts' information is not reflected as fully informative in the newspapers because the highest percentage for fully informative news gratification is 16.7%. Although the journalists prefer to use general information for their news gratification, the information in media texts is not illuminative for issues on women and International Women's Day. For example, there is a media text in *Vatan* on March 9 about the organizations of CWS at EMU (2012, p.25, Appendix 19). This news only presents the name of the panel, "Bilgi Üretiminde Toplumsal Cinsiyet" (Social Gender in Knowledge Production); it does not provide full information to inform individuals.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of the Study

In this dissertation, International Women's Day's presentation in the TRNC's newspapers has been analyzed. The study has examined not only the media's approach to International Women's Day during the week of March 8th, but also defined the feminist activities and struggles on women issues and the varieties of women's movements in North Cyprus. The media texts in the five TRNC's newspapers, have been analyzed to find out the reflection of women's problems; the most highlighted subjects related to women or women movements; the news coverage on the activities of women NGO's; the reflected meaning of 8 March women's day; and the way women and their activities reflected in the news.

The literature review part focused on the terms such as discrimination, patriarchy, stereotypes, sexism, beside the social role of media, masculinity and patriarchy as ideology. Women's images reflected in the media texts and its relation with the masculine media structures have been discussed. The tendency of media institutions to create a consumer culture is find out at the end of the research. The 8 March has been used as a day to boost consumption. While it is used by the market to sell products for women then the meaning of 8 March diverted from a struggle day to a celebration day. As stated in the literature review, the previous studies show how the

mass media is effective in imposing ideological domination through media texts. Thus, the media institutions have been analyzed to demonstrate their impact on people for a common agreement about issues on women and NGOs dealing with the women issues.

Throughout the study, it emerges that the NGOs dealing with the women issues and other women's organizations in the TRNC have been struggling in various fields for a better life for women. Some of them are academic units which provide academic studies by gathering data on women's problems; they also offer suggestions for solving these problems. These NGOs dealing with the women issues also aim to discuss women's issues in different programs which operate in academic units. There are also women's organizations which are supported by unions; these defend equal working life conditions for women because their aims are to offer equal job opportunities and equal rights in their occupational lives. The women's organizations from political parties are trying to get a higher status for women; they are struggling for women to get into decision-making positions. Additionally, the independent NGOs dealing with the women issues aim to provide better social lives for women in society; for example, these NGOs dealing with the women issues help women to recognize their bodies, their capabilities and their sexuality by providing programs on television.

Content analysis was used to obtain inferences about the issues on women and International Women's Day within the media texts such as hard news, soft news, interviews, biographies, horoscopes, advertisements and sports in the TRNC's newspapers. Content analysis was done to show the mass media's approach to

International Women's Day, women's issues and NGOs dealing with the women issues in the TRNC's newspapers. The analyses of data regarding numbers of news items, text type, content, sexism, news approach and news gratification have also been presented in this study. The sample consisted of 723 media texts from five of the TRNC's newspapers. According to the results, in the whole of the sample, *Havadis* is the newspaper which contains 36% of the media texts (Table 4.1, Appendix 20). Most of the media texts are in hard news and advertisements. While 49.8% of the media texts are hard news, 23.7% of them are advertisements (Table 4.2, Appendix 20). The media texts are generally about achievements of women and products/promotions for International Women's Day. 26% of the media texts refer to products/promotions. This finding shows that the mass media impose consumer culture through the media texts. Additionally, 24.3% of them include the stories of successful women (Table 4.3, Appendix 20). In the whole of the sample, 49.8% of the media texts are presented as sexist (Table 4.4, Appendix 20). When the TRNC's newspapers are presenting the media texts, 50% of them have a negative news approach (Table 4.5, Appendix 20). When news gratification is examined, most of the media texts do not reveal full information for the readers because only 2.2% of them are presented as fully informative in five of the TRNC's newspapers (Table 4.6, Appendix 20).

According to the research findings, most of the media texts are prepared to encourage women to consume during the week of March 8th in North Cyprus. 99.4% of the media texts are in products/promotions (Table 4.7, Appendix 20). By considering this result, it can be said that the consumer culture is disseminated through advertisements in North Cyprus. Therefore, women are depicted as

consumers in the TRNC's newspapers. When the presentation of International Women's Day is analyzed, the results confirm that March 8th is represented as a celebration date, because 92.6% of the products/promotions are presented as sexist (Table 4.8, Appendix 20). Furthermore, the media texts do not include adequate articulations about March 8th, because out of 723 data items, there are only 76 media texts about the NGOs dealing with the women issues. When the NGO's content is analyzed, 50% of the media texts are about equal rights. Additionally, 25% of them are about working life conditions (Table 4.11, Appendix 20). Thus the TRNC's newspapers prefer to reflect equal rights broadly in the media texts during the week of March 8th. The media texts about the NGOs dealing with the women issues use a neutral approach when they are presenting women's issues and movements for this period. For instance, 81.6% of the media texts are about equal rights, which are generally presented as neutral by the newspapers (Table 4.13, Appendix 20). Lastly, the information about the NGOs dealing with the women issues is provided by using general information in the media texts, because the media do not want to inform individuals about feminist movements in North Cyprus. For example, 57.9% of the media texts including working life conditions have general information in their news gratification (Table 4.14, Appendix 20). In addition, the issues on women and March 8th are not focused on comprehensively by the TRNC's newspapers. Therefore these issues fade away day by day during the week of March 8th. For example, on March 1, 36.4% of the media texts are in products/promotions. However, on March 15 this percentage decreases to 16.7% (Table 4.15, Appendix 20). The date analyses for the period between March 1 and March 15 show that the percentages of sexist and negative news approaches diminish from 61.4% to 16.7% when March 8th has started in the calendar of 2012 (Table 4.16, Appendix 20). Thus, there is a pseudo

representation of March 8th. When the news gratification for the issues on women and March 8th is analyzed, the results confirm that journalists do not prefer to enlighten their readers and use general information, because the news gratification of the media texts has greater percentages for general information than for fully informative and neutral news gratification. Therefore, in this research study, the social role of media has been articulated.

5.2 Recommendation of the Study

In this study, the readers find out interesting research findings which demonstrate the mass media's approach to International Women's Day, women's issues and NGOs dealing with the women issues in North Cyprus. Therefore, this dissertation can be improved by also examining the mass media's approach to the NGOs dealing with the women issues and women's issues in South Cyprus, too. The improved study can provide useful information if both sides are compared in relation to the presentations of International Women's Day and women's issues in the newspapers.

As a result, this study shows that the media are biased on women's issues. The media have male-dominated perspectives which support/reproduce a consumer culture while presenting issues on women and International Women's Day in North Cyprus. March 8th is used as an ordinary celebration date to promote consumption; however, it is not reflected as a day of struggle for women's rights in five of the TRNC's newspapers.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

The questions which are asked managers of the NGOs dealing with the women issues during the interview are represented below.

1. What are the aims of this woman's organization?
2. What are the characteristics of this woman's organization which differentiate this NGO from others?
3. What are the activities which are performed on International Women's Day?

Appendix 2

Kadın kalbi neden yorulur?

Bu sorunun yanıtı, kadın kalbinin özelliklerinde gizli. Kardiyologlar hastalıkları ve fizyolojik özellikleriyle farklılık gösteren kadın kalbinin neden yorulduğunu bakın nasıl açıklıyor

→ Kalp, antik dönemden bu yana aşkın ve sevginin sembolü olarak bilinir. Ancak kalp, bazen aşk bazen de hastalıklar nedeniyle yoruluyor. Günümüzde bilimsel gelişmeler sayesinde kalbe dair birçok bilgi edinildi, kalp hastalıkları hala ön önemli sağlık sorunlarının başında geliyor. Kardiyoloji Uzmanı Doç. Dr. Tayfun Açıl'a göre, her ne kadar erkek hastalığı olarak bilinsede kadınların vücutlarının genel yapısı bazı durumlarda kalp rahatsızlıklarına zemin hazırlıyor. Örneğin mitral kapak sorunları ya da tiroid fonksiyon bozukluğunun bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan kalp hastalıkları kadınlarda çok daha fazla görülüyor. Ayrıca aşk acısı, stres ya da iş yerinde yaşanan olumsuz durumlar kadınların kalplerinin daha çabuk et-

kilenmesine neden oluyor. Kardiyoloji Uzmanı Doç. Dr. Tayfun Açıl, kadın kalbini yoran nedenleri anlatırken, alınması gereken önlemler hakkında şu bilgileri veriyor:

1. Daha küçük bir kalp, hastalık riskini artırıyor. Kadın kalbi, erkeğe göre çok daha narin. Erkeklerde vücut yüzeyine göre kalbin ortalama ağırlığı 134gr/m² iken kadınlarda bu ortalama 110gr/m². Yani 60 kilogram ağırlığındaki bir kadının kalbi 176 gramken, aynı kiloya sahip bir erkeğinki 227 gram.

Kadınların kalp damarlarının çapı, erkeklere oranla daha küçük ayrıca kalp duvar kalınlıkları da daha dar. Bu nedenle kalp krizi geçiren kadınların kalp yetmezliğine girme ihtimalleri erkeklere oranla çok daha yüksek. Damar çaplarının küçük olması kadınların kalp damar hastalıklarına yatkın olmasına yol açıyor. Hastanelere çeşitli şikayetler ile gelen bazı kadınlara koroner anjiyografi yapılıyor. Ancak anjiyografide, zaman zaman gözle görülebilir olan kalp damarlarının tamamen açık olduğu ortaya çıkıyor. Bunun nedeni ise çoğu zaman gözle görülemeyecek incedeki kalp damarlarının hastalanmasından kaynaklanıyor.

2. Hormonal nedenler: Damar fonksiyonlarını etkiliyor. Kadınların damar fonksiyonları hormonal nedenlerle de farklılık gösteriyor. Bu farklılık kalp damar hastalıklarının tanısının doğru koyulmasında sorun yaratıyor. Öyle ki efor testinin güvenilirlik oranı bile kadınlarda daha düşük. Erkeklerde bu oran yaklaşık yüzde 80 iken, kadınlarda yüzde 65 civarında.
3. İnce damar yapıları: Bypass ameliyatlarını zorlaştırıyor. Kadınların kalp damarlarının daha narin olması, bypass cerrahisinde de zorluk yaratıyor. Özellikle vücut yüzeyi daha küçük olan kadınların bypass ameliyatlarında, kanama ve kalp yetmezliğine bağlı çok gibi komplikasyon oluşma ihtimalleri artabiliyor.
4. Duygusal yapı: Daha fazla aşk acısı çekiyor. Aşk acısı kalp sağlığını olumsuz yönde etkileyebilir. Aşk acısı ve sevgilinin ölümü gibi yoğun strese neden olan olaylar nefes darlığı ve göğüs ağrısı gibi belirtilerin oluşmasına zemin hazırlıyor. Bunun yanı sıra ani korku, depresyon ve doğal afetler de kalp hastalığı riskini artırıyor. Doğaları gereği erkeklere göre daha duygusal olan kadınlarda bu gibi sonuçların ortaya çıkma olasılığı daha yüksek.

Appendix 3

TAŞKINKÖY 3 MART CUMARTESİ
Saat 09.00 saat 21.00

İNDİRİM ŞÖLENİ

İNANILMAZ İNDİRİMLER

SÜPER PROMOSYONLAR
ÇOCUKLARA HAREKETLİ OYUNCAKLAR - KREP
MISIR - PAMUK ŞEKER
LOKMA-ŞAMIŞI -GÖZLEME - PALYAÇO



Konfeksiyon
Ayakkabı
Takı - Gözlük
Parfüm
Ev Aksesuarı
Ev Tekstili
Market

ADAS BEBE - AKAY OPTİK - ALTINBAŞ - ALTINBAŞ PERA - ASSOŞ ALTINBAŞ - ATAMEL - AYAKKABI DÜNYASI
BABLON (KIDANALI KOTUÇU) - BAYRAMOĞLU - BEYZİ İÇ GİYİM - BIANCA - CANADA OPTİK - CELAL CİN - D&P
PARFÜMERİ - DALYA İÇ GİYİM - DERVA BUTİK - FLASH FASHİON - GAG FASHION - GÖDERİ - HERREKA-HYPHOSE
COSMETİK & BİJUTERİ - İKSİR PARFÜMERİ - KARIZMA - MACİLA KUYUMCULUK - İMANI BEANS - METROKOL - MISS PCEM
- NAZO ÖZLEM BUTİK - PANÇO - POP MÜZİK - REŞAT KUYUMCULUK - RUDVANOĞLU - RODİ - SAYAL - SERENA
SEVEN HILL - SHOEGAR - SİMİT DÜNYASI - SNOPI - SO CHIC - ŞİK PRENGES - YEŞİLADA - WENICE

Metropol Yolu / Taşkinköy
CARŞI 09.00 - 21.00 saatleri arasında AÇIK olacaktır.

Appendix 4

09 - 10 MART 2012
CUMA - CUMARTESİ
09:00 - 22:00

MAĞUSA SURIÇİ

İNDİRİM ŞENLİĞİ



COOL FM'İN KATKILARIYLA

Men&Men / &Women / Jeans Center / Men&Men Women / Burberry (Malken) / Educational Toy Center
Akten / Fa Kebap / Cem Ticaret / Ulker Store / Zülfıye Konfeksiyon / Kıbrıs El İşleri (Kasım Ulucaylı)
Yağmur Konfeksiyon / Güven Konfeksiyon / Paradise Sports Wear / Butik Zeria / Uğur Butik / Arcan Giyim
Jale Altas Ticaret / Dünya Kuyumculuk / UK Women / Nihat Konfeksiyon / Argold Diamond / Altınbaş
Ekenel Saat (Watch Shop) / Niyazi Ziya / Assos / Orsen Çanta / Old City Kuyumcu / Mehmet Dal Konfeksiyon
Zaden Kuyumculuk / Canatan Ticaret / Ergin Kuyumculuk / Mustafa Altınbaş Kuyumculuk / D&B Restaurant
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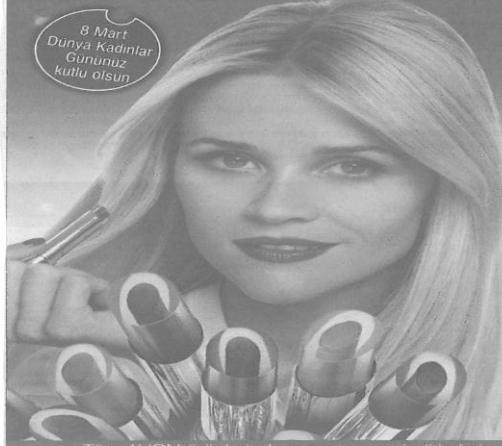
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- Ücretsiz
makyaj
uygulamaları
- İkramlar

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Mart Dünya Kadınlar Gününe Özel
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Kuzey Kıbrıs Turkcell'den "Öncü Kadınlarımız"a ödül

► 5 Mart Pazartesi akşamı, saat 19.00'da, Lefkoşa Merit Otel'de düzenlenecek etkinlikte, Kuzey Kıbrıs Turkcell, pek çok alandaki öncü kadınlarımızı ödüllendirecek

► Kuzey Kıbrıs Turkcell, 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü nedeniyle "Öncü Kadınlarımız" başlığı altında bir ödül töreni ve kokteyli düzenliyor. Kuzey Kıbrıs Turkcell'den yapılan açıklamada, "Hayatı Paylaşıkça Güzel" anlayışıyla düzenlenecek etkinlikte, "doğumdan ölüme, üretimden emeğe, bilimden özele" kadın kadınların yaşamın her alanına sevgi, hoşgörü ve değer kattığı üzerinde duruldu.

5 Mart Pazartesi akşamı, saat 19.00'da, Lefkoşa Merit Otel'de düzenlenecek etkinlikte, pek çok alandaki "öncü kadınlar"a ödül verilecek.

Kimler ödül alacak?

Eğitimci, araştırmacı, yazar Neriman Cahit'in araştırmaları kaynak alınarak belirlenen listede, bu yıl şu isimlere ödül verileceği açıklandı:

İlk kadın kimyager Ayşe Coşar, ilk kadın Polis Müdürü Pervin Gürler, ilk kadın Trafik Müdürü Şenay Kebapçı, ilk kadın Eğitim Bakanı Canan Öztoprak, ilk kadın Meclis Başkanı Fatma Ekenoğlu, ilk kadın bakan Onur Borman, ilk kadın Sağlık ve Çevre Bakanı Gülşen Bozkurt, ilk kadın rektör Ufuk Taneri, ilk kadın avukat Şefika Durduran, ülkemizde "nükleer tıp" konusunda doktora yapmış ilk kadımız Latife Birgen, ilk kadın Turizm Bakanımız Ayşe Dönmezler, ilk kadın Kurucu Meclis Üyesi Fatma Azgin, KKTC Meclisi'ne giren kadın milletvekilleri Ruhsan Tuğyan, ilk kadın Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanı Şerife Unverdi, Türk Ajansı Kıbrıs'ın ilk kadın müdürü, gazetesi Perihan Aziz, ilk kadın kaymakam Beran Bertug. Ayrıca, bu çalışmaya ışık tutan Neriman Cahit'in de gecede



ödüllendirileceği belirtildi.

Kuzey Kıbrıs Turkcell'in açıklamasında, bir süre önce, girişimci kadınların da ödüllendirildiği anımsatılarak, "Kültürden sanata, spordan eğitime daha pek çok

öncü kadımız vardır. Amacımız, bu özel etkinliği gelenekselleştirerek, her yıl, ülkemize değer katan öncü kadınlarımızı toplum önünde alkışlamak, onlarla onurlanmaktır" görüşüne yer verildi.



Kıbrıs Türk basın tarihine damga vuracak bir mülakat. Atatürk'ün gönderdiği paralarla yayım yapan Söz Gazetesi'nin sahiplerinden Kıbrıs'ın ilk kadın gazetecisi Bedia Okan, Havadis'e anlattı:

Atatürk'ün desteği ile Söz ve Halkın Sesi

► Remzi Okan 1916 yılında Söz Gazetesi'ni yayımlar. Cumhuriyetçi ve Atatürkçü bir çizgidedir. Atatürk Remzi Okan'ın yazılarını takip eder ve "Takdir ediyorum devam etsin" diye haber gönderir. Türkiye'deki dil devriminin Kıbrıs'ta uygulanması için Atatürk matbaa ve düzenli olarak para yardımı yapar

► Remzi Okan ani hastalığı sonrası vefat edince gazetenin başına 19 ve 22 yaşlarındaki kızları geçer. Türkiye para yollamaya devam eder fakat Söz Kapatılır

► Kıbrıs'ın ilk kadın gazetecisi Bedia Okan o günleri şöyle anlatır: "Yeni bir gazete çıkartmak istiyorduk fakat imtiyaz sahibi olmamız için yaşımız tutmuyordu. Fazıl Küçük yeni doktora. Türkiye Konsolosu bize onun imtiyaz başvurusu yapmasını önerdi. Kabul ettik ve Halkın Sesi'ni çıkarmaya başladık"

► Mete Tümerkan'ın mülakatı sayfa 32 ve 33'te

Bakan Ünverdi bir yenilik için daha kolları sıvadı

Çalışma Bakanlığı Kadın Çalışmaları Dairesi faaliyete geçiyor



Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı bünyesinde faaliyete geçecek olan "Kadın Çalışmaları Dairesi"nin tanıtımı yarın yapılıyor.

Çalışma Bakanlığında verilen bilgiye göre, dairenin tanıtımı, Lefkoşa Merit Otel'de saat 10.00'da gerçekleştirilecek kokteyl ile yapılacak. Tanıtıma Başbakan İrsen Küçük ile Eşi Gülün Küçük de katılacak.

Kadınların sosyal, ekonomik, kültürel ve siyasi yaşamdaki işlevlerini güçlendirmek, kadının toplumsal yaşamda etkin, güçlü ve eşit bir şekilde yer almasını sağlamak amacıyla faaliyete geçecek olan Kadın Çalışmaları Dairesi, toplumda ciddi mağduriyet yaşayan, psikolojik destek başta olmak üzere, sosyalleşmek ve yeniden topluma kazandırılmak adına yardım almak isteyen her kadının kapısını çalabileceği, başvurabileceği bir yer olacak.

Appendix 6

Kelly nişanlandı

Yuvarlak hatlarıyla dünya çapında şöhrete kavuşan Kelly Brook, uzatmalı sevgilisi Tom Evans ile nişanlandı.

Önceki gün arkadaşlarıyla yemeğe giden Brook'un evlilik parmağındaki yüzük dikkatlerden kaçmadı. Brook yüzük hakkındaki sorulara gülümsemekle yetindi.



Sokakların altını üstüne getirdi!

(soft news)
Bir süre önce sevgilisi Tom Struddidge'dan bebek beklediğini açıklayan Sienna Miller, zamanının çoğunu oyuncakçılarda geçirmeye başladı.

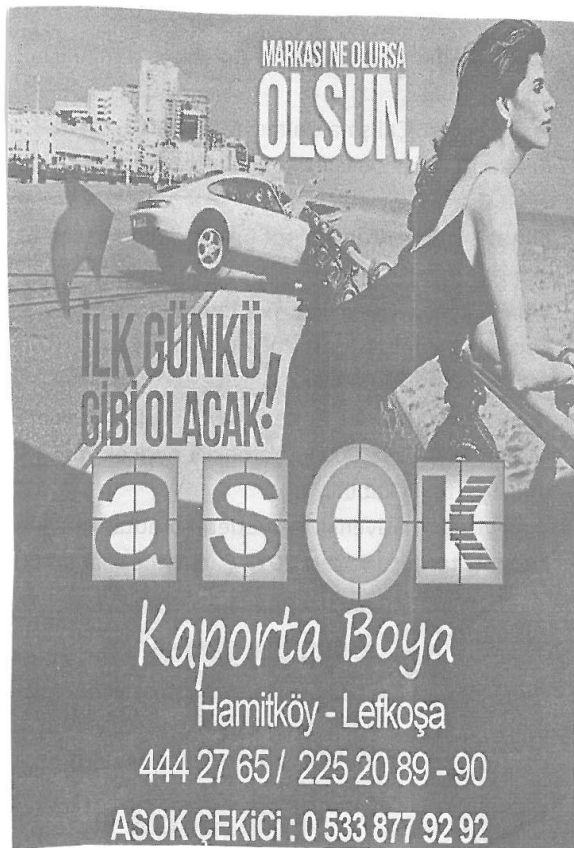
Önceki gün New York sokaklarının altını üstüne getiren güzel oyuncu, paketler dolu oyuncak evine döndü.

Kendisinin de oyuncakları çok sevdiğini belirten Miller, "Annelik çocukluğuma geri dönmem için büyük bir fırsat. Bunu değerlendirmek için şimdiden kolları sıvadım" dedi.

Appendix 7



Appendix 8



Appendix 9

Kadınlar Günü için hazırlanan çiçekler, dün kapış kapış alıcı buldu

Gün, çiçekçilere yaradı

Davut ULAS çiçekleri alarak eşlerine götürdü. Yani günün sonunda en kârlı olan yine çiçekçiler oldu.

8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü nedeniyle dün ülke genelindeki çiçekçiler yoğun bir gün geçirdi. Her özel günde olduğu gibi dün de çiçekçiler hazırladıkları çiçekleri paket paket çiçekler sattı. Evli bayanların eşleri kendi cilleriyle çiçekleri alarak eşlerine götürdü. Yani günün sonunda en kârlı olan yine çiçekçiler oldu.

HALKIN SESİ'ne konuşan çiçekçiler de, çalışan kadınların gerek işyeri sahipleri veya müdürleri tarafından ziyaret edilerek onlara çiçekler hediye edildiğini söyleyerek, günü kazançlı olarak geçirdiklerini vurguladı.

Çiçekler müşteri akınına uğradı.

Kadınlar, Zübeyde Hanım Büstü'ne çelenk bıraktı

Kadınların yoğun günü

Dün 8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü'ydü. Gün nedeniyle birçok etkinlik düzenlendi. Kadınlar dün Lehiye'de Atatürk Büstü, Anıttepe'de İderimiz Dr. Fazıl Küçük'ün kabrine ve Zübeyde Hanım Büstü'ne çelenk bıraktı.

Appendix 10

Fıkra... Fıkra... Fıkra...

Mektup

Delikanlı yeni evlenmiştir ve askere gider. Aradan zaman geçer, eşinin hamile olup olmadığını soracak ailesine, ama direk yazamaz utanır..

En iyisi bir mani şeklinde babama yazıyım, o bana cevap gönderir diye düşünür.. Mektuba başlar selam, sabahtan sonra derki; Yürü mektubum yürü, Düşü hayra, yorda gel. Bir iken, iki olduk, Uç oldukmu, sorda gel.. Aradan zaman geçer, mektup gelir, heyecanla açar bakar, gelen mektup babasındandır, gelen cevapta; Bu mektup iyi mektup, Böyle mektup, gene yaz, Tarlan ürün vermedi, İzinli gel gene

Appendix 11

Ünal İç Giyim

- Korseler
- Bay-Bayan
- Çocuk
- Pijamaları
- Çoraplar
- Bebe takımları

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Appendix 12

8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü öncesinde, Feminist Atölye'nin üç ismi Doğuş Derya, Aslı Murat ve Fezel Nizam ile konuştuğumuz röportajın özetini sunuyoruz.

Üç kadından biri şiddet görüyor...

"Çok abartılı" demeyiniz... Bu şiddet ile ki "istemese" değil... Fiziksel okuyuş kadar duygusal, ekonomik ya da cinsel şiddet de bunun içerisinde. Evli kadınlar, kocası ile "istemese" de sanki "sevmişsek zorundayız" gibi bir tepki görmesi mesele...

Çank Mutluküçük: Feminist hareketin çok dar bir çerçeveye sığdırılması, sadece kadınların, hep belirli insanlara üzerinden tanımlanması gibi bir sorun var mı?

Doğuş Derya: Örneğin, feminist söylemler (işlenmiş) olarak durduğunda çok fazla sorun var ama değil. Çok daha geniş bir yere dahil olabiliriz. Çünkü kadınlar sadece evli kadınlar değil, evsiz kadınlar da var. Evli kadınlarda da çok farklı sorunlar var. Evli kadınlarda da çok farklı sorunlar var. Evli kadınlarda da çok farklı sorunlar var.

C.M. Peki ama feminist hareket içerisinde hep aynı insanlar, aynı kavramlar, aynı söylemler... Nasıl ilerleyebiliriz, kadınlarla nasıl iletişime geçebiliriz?

Aslı Murat: Bu sadece feminist hareket için değil, her şey için geçerli. Her şey için geçerli. Her şey için geçerli. Her şey için geçerli.

D. Derya: Her şey için geçerli. Her şey için geçerli. Her şey için geçerli. Her şey için geçerli.

C.M. Kim bu 75 kadın? Nasıl seçtiğiniz?

D. Derya: Her şey için geçerli. Her şey için geçerli. Her şey için geçerli. Her şey için geçerli.

Röportaj

Feminist hareket... Ya da "Feminist Atölye"... Kimin için? "Kadın hakları için" diyorlar. Ya da "Kadın hakları için" diyorlar. Ya da "Kadın hakları için" diyorlar. Ya da "Kadın hakları için" diyorlar. Ya da "Kadın hakları için" diyorlar.

C.M. Peki ama feminist hareket içerisinde hep aynı insanlar, aynı kavramlar, aynı söylemler... Nasıl ilerleyebiliriz, kadınlarla nasıl iletişime geçebiliriz?

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C.M. Kim bu 75 kadın? Nasıl seçtiğiniz?

D. Derya: Her şey için geçerli. Her şey için geçerli. Her şey için geçerli. Her şey için geçerli.

Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitsizliği

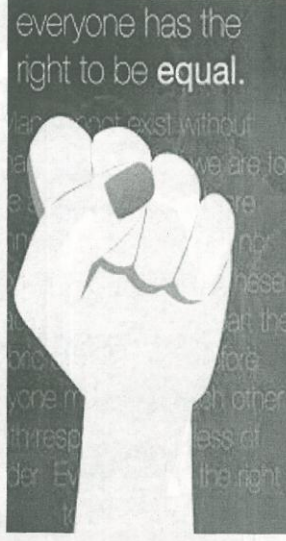
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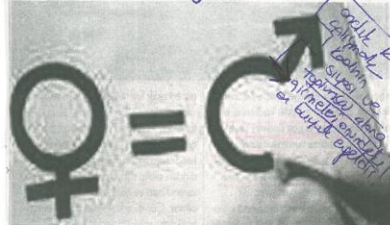
1970

lerden itibaren, kadınlar sosyolojide "İlgisiz" ve "mesru" araştırma nesnesi olarak görülmeye başlandıktan hemen sonra feminist yaklaşımın kendisine özgü terminolojisi ile oluşmaya başlamış ve bu çerçevede "toplumsal cinsiyet" kavramı bu yaklaşımın merkezine oturmuş ve gerçeğe daha derinlemesine nüfuz etmenizi sağlayan bir analiz aracı olmuştur. Toplumsal cinsiyet kavramının yükseldiği dönem 1970'lerin sonu 1980'lerin başıdır. İltiham literatürde mevcut cinsiyet yerlerine ek olarak "toplumsal cinsiyet" kavramı sosyoloji literatürüne kazandıran feminist yaklaşıma göre cinsiyet, bireyi bir rol veren erkek ve dişiye ayrıt eden esaslı bir yapıdır olarak tanımlanırken; toplumsal cinsiyet, kadın ve erkeklerin biyolojik farklılaşmalarına kültürel taraflardan yüklenen anlamlar ve değerler ya da kadınlar ve erkekler için toplumsal olarak oluşturulmuş roller ve öğrenilmiş davranış ve beklentiler olarak tanımlanır. Kadın ve erkeklerin sosyal farklılaşması, nesli geleceğini düğündüğümüzde ilk aklı gelen kadın ve erkekleri oynayan biyolojik niteliklerdir. Yani cinsiyet. Toplumsal cinsiyet ise Hirschi'ye göre biyolojik değil toplumsal bir nitelik. Batı'da geliştirilen ve feminist yaklaşımın en önemli analiz aracı olan "toplumsal cinsiyet (gender)" kavramı, sosyo-psikolojik ve kültürel olarak uygulanan ve biyolojik

lik olandan ayrılmak üzere kullanılmaktadır. Bhasiri'e göre, her toplum erkek ve kadın farklı nitelikleri, davranış modelleri, sorumlulukları, hakları ve beklentileri olan eril ve dişiye yavaş yavaş dönüşür. Biyolojik cinsiyetten farklı olarak erkeklerin ve kadınların toplumsal cinsiyet özellikleri psikolojik, toplumsal ve kültürel olarak oluşturulmuştur. Özellikle, kadın ve erkek tanımlanmalarının rolleri bizzatın sosyalleşme süreçleri içerisinde toplumun kurumları tarafından öğretilmekte ve benimsenilmektedir. Toplumun aile, okul, hastane, cami ve kütüphane gibi kurumlarının oluşumunu düşünürken, bu kurumlar içinde öğretilen içeriklerin, rollerin taraflarında ve hangi amaçlarla kurulduğunu ne kadar önemli olduğunu anlayabiliriz. Bir örnek vermek gerekirse, ilköğretim kitaplarına bakacak olursak, kadının evde çocuk bakıp yemek pişirmesi, erkeğin ise işte, mağazada veya toplumsal hayatta aktif olduğu öğretilir. Buna ek olarak, Kibrisliler toplumunun toplumsal gelişimi, egemen ataerkilli sistemi ve sosyo-kültürel yapı bakımından cinsiyetimize oluşturan en önemli etkenlerdir. Kıbrıs Türk toplumunda toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin olmadığı, Kibrisliler haklarını okunmuş, bilgili ve modern ve eşit bir halk olduğu yönünde de bazı okullarda ve sivil toplum kuruluşları tarafından öğretilmiş, benimsenmiştir. Ayrıca bilinmesi gerekir ki en gelişmiş denilen ülkelerde bile toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği varlığını sürdürmektedir. Zaman geçtikçe, değişen gereksinimler, kapitalist sistemin yayılması ve (uzun) işgücüne gerek duyulması kadınlarında çalışmaya başlamasına neden olmuştur. Kadınlar öncelikle "kadınlar" denilen işlerde (bakıcılık, temizlik, öğretmenlik vb.) çalışmaya başlamışlardır daha sonraları okuma oranlarının artması ve iş olanaklarının çoğalması ile diğer işlerde de yer almaya başlamışlardır. Bu gelişmelerin Kibrisliler toplumunun ilerletmeye çalıştığı modern toplum olgusu ve Kibrisliler toplumunda cinsiyet eşitsizliği olmadığı yönünde desteklemektedir. Genellikle ataerkilli (patriyal) sistem kadını kişisel durumda kalmasını sağlama yönünde sürdürmeye devam etmektedir. Bu yolların en boyunda kadının hem "eril" hem de "dişi" özelliklerini taşıması gerekir. Kadınlara bu durumda giriş yapmaları durumunda kalmaktadır. Hem ev işleri konusunda ilgilenmek hem de iş hayatını sürdürmek zorundadır. Bu açıdan, kadınlara diğer taraftan toplumsal cinsiyet özellikleri en büyük engeldir. Ataerkilli sistemin getirdiği bu diğer taraftan sosyal yapı-kadınların en başta gelen sosyal konumu getirmesidir. Kadın ve erkek eşitsizliğinin en büyük göstergesi ise diğer taraftan kadına uygulanan şiddettir. Kadına yönelik şiddetin Kibrisliler toplumunda olduğu, Ebru Çoçuk, Meltem Çoçuk & Selma Düzgünler'in çalışmaları açıkça görülmektedir. Bu çalışmaya göre Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta cinsel, fiziksel ya da



psikolojik şiddet türlerinden birine maruz kalan kadınların oranı %80'leri aşmaktadır. Kibrisliler toplumunda toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin varlığı sosyal araştırmalarda da açıkça görülmektedir. Devlet Planlama Kurulu İstatistik ve Araştırma Dairesi tarafından Ekim 2010 tarihinde uygulanan Hanehalkı İlgisiz Anketi sonuçlarına göre, Ekim 2010'da istihdam edilenlerin, yalnızca %32,3'ünü (30 201 kişi) kadınlar oluşturmaktaken %67,7'sini (63 298 kişi) erkekler oluşturmaktadır. Burada kadın ve erkek arasındaki istihdam farkı açıkça görülmektedir. Kadınlara pek çok iş yanında erkeklerden daha az maaş almaları, hamile olmaları istisnalarla dahi tercih edilmesileri ve üst seviyelere ulaşmakta zorlanmaları problemler ancak eşitsizliği neden olan ataerkilli sistemi içinde orijinaldir. Son olarak, dâle getirmek istem ki, yaratan toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği ve ataerkilli sistemin değişimlerine bağlı olarak, sadece kadınların değil, erkeklerin de bu konuda bilinçlenmesi ve değişimi kalemleme olacaktır. Bu konuda bazı yollar önerilebilir. Yaşamın boyunda bahsettiğimiz gibi, toplumsal cinsiyetin oluşumunda toplumun kurumları çok önemli rol oynar. Dolayısıyla, ataerkilli sistemin getirdiği eşitsizliği yok etmek için sosyal kurumları değiştirmek de yapımızda gerekmektedir çünkü bu kurumlar ataerkilli sistemi içerisinde oluşturulmuşlardır ve enil sistem normalleşmemize neden olmaktadır.



8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü etkinliklerle kutlanacak

8 Mart Dünya Emekçi Kadınlar Günü, etkinliklerle kutlanacak.

19 örgütün oluşturduğu "8 Mart Organizasyon Komitesi" basın toplantısı düzenleyerek eylem ve etkinlikleriyle ilgili bilgi verdi. KTOEÖS Lokal'i'nde yer alan basın toplantısında komite adına konuşan Mine Kanol, kadınların kamusal ve özel alanda uğradığı eşitsizlikler ile sosyal ve politik alanda yaşadığı sorunların devam ettiği görüşünü ortaya koyarak, "8 Mart'ta yine sokakta olacağız ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği talebimizi bir kere daha haykıracağız" dedi.

"8 Mart yürüyüşü"
"Kadınlar, her geçen gün daha kötü yaşam koşullarına mahkum edilmek isteniyor ancak biz buna artık yeter diyoruz" diyen Kanol, bu çerçevede, 8 Mart Perşembe günü saat 16.00'da Dereboynu Pronto önünden, saat 17.00'de ise Meclis-Etlik önünden Selimiye Meydanı'na yürüyüş gerçekleştireceklerini açıkladı.

Kanol, saat 18.00'den itibaren ise Selimiye Meydanı'nda konserler, konuşmalar, şiirler ve slayt gösterileri gibi etkinliklerin yer alacağını, "Sesini Al Da Gel" sloganıyla yapılacak bu et-

19 örgütün oluşturduğu "8 Mart Organizasyon Komitesi" basın toplantısı düzenleyerek, eylem ve etkinliklerle ilgili bilgi verdi

kinlikte katılımcıların kendi sözlerini söylebileceği bir de serbest mikrofon olacağını kaydetti. Kanol, "duyarlı örgütleri ve başta kadınlar olmak üzere tüm halkı" etkinliklere katılmaya çağırdı. Kanol, komitedeki örgütlerin ayrıca, mart ayı boyunca panel, konferans, film gösterimi, sergi gibi çeşitli etkinlikler de gerçekleştireceklerini kaydetti.

"Hedef eşit ve özgür bir ülke, ayrımcılığın olmadığı bir dünya.."

Hedeflerinin, eşit ve özgür bir ülke, cinsiyet ayrımcılığının olmadığı bir dünya yaratılabilir olduğunu ifade eden Kanol, kadınların ayrımcılığa uğradığı, çalışma koşullarının geriye gittiği, sendikalaşma ve güvensizleşmenin yaygınlaştığını belirttiği KKTG'de özelleştirmeler, zamlar ve özel sektör çalışanlarının uzun çalışma saatlerinin de kadınların olumsuz etkilediğini söyledi. Kanol, şiddet, taciz ve tecavüz olaylarının da gerek kadınları gerekse toplumu mağdur ettiğini belirterek devleti, kadınların yardım alabileceği nitelikli kurumları oluş-

turmadığı gerekçesiyle eleştirdi ve "Kadın sığınma evlerimiz yokken şehirlerimiz külliyele, camiler inşa ediyor" dedi. Kadınların özgürleşmesinin önündeki engellere bir yenisi daha eklenerek "toplumda, din baskısı yaratılmasının koşullarının hazırlandığını" savunan Kanol, öte yandan "ülkenin yüz karası" diye nitelediği gece kulüplerindeki insan hakları ihallerine yönelik tepkilerini de ortaya koydu. Kanol, Büyükşehir bölgesinde yapılması düşünülen petrol dolu tesisiyle ilgili tepkilerini ise, "Kadınlarımız geleneksel bilgilerimizle ekoturizm ve ekoturizm yaptıığımız bölgelerimiz petrol dolu tesislerine teslim ediyor" sözleriyle dile getirdi.

8 Mart Organizasyon Komitesi'ni oluşturan örgütler şöyle açıkladı: "Baraka, Basın-Sen, BES, DAU-BİR-SEN, DAU-SEN, Dev-İş, FEMA, HASDER Gençlik Kulübü, Kıbrıslı Türk İnsan Hakları Vakfı, KTAMS, KTOEÖS, KTÖS, Management Centre, Mec-Sen, POST Araştırma Enstitüsü, Sınır Aşan Eller, TDP Kadın Örgütü, Yurtsever Kadınlar Birliği ve YKP-Fem."

8 Mart ve çizginin dışına çıkabilenler

Fatma Güven Lisanler (DAU-KAEM Baskan)

8 Mart Dünya Kadınların Birlik Dayanışma ve Mücadele Günü günümüzde neredeyse tüm kadınların ortak sevinç ve birliktir. Ancak bu günün doğuşu, uzun bir süreçtir. Bu anlamda doğrudan doğruya bir kadının yaşadığı sorunlar, diğer kadınların yaşadıkları sorunların yansımasıdır. Kadının yaşadığı sorunlar, toplumsal yaşamın yansımasıdır. Kadının yaşadığı sorunlar, toplumsal yaşamın yansımasıdır. Kadının yaşadığı sorunlar, toplumsal yaşamın yansımasıdır.

muhtemel yitilerini karşılamak için, protestolar düzenlemek istenmemiştir. Kazancı bir grup sonucu, kadınların sığınma evlerinde yaşadıkları sorunları ifade ederek topluma kadınlar için çözüm önerileri sundu. Kadınlar, toplumsal yaşamın yansımasıdır. Kadının yaşadığı sorunlar, toplumsal yaşamın yansımasıdır.

şüpheli medikal maske kullanılmaktadır. Çiğdem hem iddialarını onaylıyor hem de iddialarını destekliyor. Çiğdem hem iddialarını onaylıyor hem de iddialarını destekliyor. Çiğdem hem iddialarını onaylıyor hem de iddialarını destekliyor.

Yaşadığı Yaralanma	Kadın Sayısı	Kadın Sayısı (%)
Kızılören	406	4,3
Başkent	11.664	12,5
İzmir	1.712	18,3
Antalya	3.538	38,1
Sakarya	1.005	10,8
Adana	756	8,1
Ordu	312	3,3
Samsun	215	2,3
Tunceli	36	0,4
Yüksekova	5	0,1
Tatvan	1	0,01
Toplam	21.369	228,7

19 örgüt, Kadın Çalışmaları Dairesi'nin ihtiyaçlara cevap vermeyeceği görüşünde

"İhtiyaçlara cevap vermekten uzak"

19 örgüt, yeni oluşturulan Kadın Çalışmaları Dairesi'nin ihtiyaçlara cevap vermekten uzak olduğunu belirtti.

Siyasi parti, kadın örgütleri ve bazı sendikaların içinde bulunduğu 19 örgüt tarafından Çalgıma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanı Serdar Ünverci'ye gönderilen ve başına dağıtılan mektupta, dairenin kuruluş yasasının hazırlanış aşamasında örgütler tarafından gönderilen önerilerin dışlandığı ifade edilerek "Bu yasanın toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğini ortadan kaldıran ne yeterliliği ne de yetkisi vardır" denildi.

"Sıkıntılara cevap vermeyecek"

Söz konusu yasanın kadın erkek eşitliği, AB uyum çalışmaları, kadınlara istihdam, kadına şiddet, sığınma evi, gece kulübelerinde kadın istismarı sıkıntılarına cevap vermeyeceği görüşü dile getirilen mektupta şu ifadeler yer verildi:

"Türkiye'de, Güney Kıbrıs'ta ve dünyanın birçok yerinde uygulanan, AB direktifleri ve BM raporlarıyla işlevselliği vurgulanan bu mekanizmayı kurmak yerine, hiç kabul görmemiş Kadın Çalışmaları Dairesi'ni yürürlüğe

sekarak yanlış bir adım atılmazın irtarıyoruz."

Mektupta, Akademi Kadınlar Derneği, BASIN SEN, ÇİĞ-BG Kadın Örgütü, ÇAG-SEN, Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Federasyonu, Eşraf ve Zanaatkarlar Birliği, Feminist Atölye, Fikrim ve Hükukuk Üstünlüğü Hareketi, Homofobye Karşı İniyatif-Queer Kıbrıs, Kıbrıs Türk Arme Memurları Sendikası, Kıbrıs Türk Gazeteciler Birliği, Kıbrıs Türk İnsan Hakları Vakfı, Kıbrıs Türk Kadın Dayanışma Kuruluşu, Kıbrıs Türk Orta Eğitim Öğretmenler Sendikası, Kıbrıs Türk Öğretmen-



ler Sendikası, Sınır Aşan Eller, Sosyal Riskleri Önleme Vakti, TDİP Kadın Örgütü, Yurtsever Kadınlar Birliği'nin imzası bulunmaktadır. (TAK)

Appendix 16

8 Mart Dünya Emekçi Kadınlar Günü, etkinliklerle kutlanacak...

19 örgüt tarafından 8 Mart Örgütlenme Komitesi'ne başta olmak üzere gönderilen mektupta, dairenin kuruluş yasasının hazırlanış aşamasında örgütler tarafından gönderilen önerilerin dışlandığı ifade edilerek "Bu yasanın toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğini ortadan kaldıran ne yeterliliği ne de yetkisi vardır" denildi.

19 Mart'ta yapılacak etkinlikler arasında "Yaşasın 8 Mart" sloganıyla yapılan toplantılar, konferanslar, panel ve söyleşiler yer alacak. "Yaşasın 8 Mart" sloganıyla yapılacak etkinlikler arasında "Yaşasın 8 Mart" sloganıyla yapılacak toplantılar, konferanslar, panel ve söyleşiler yer alacak.

8 Mart Dünya Emekçi Kadınlar Günü etkinlikleri kapsamında, 8 Mart Örgütlenme Komitesi tarafından düzenlenen "Yaşasın 8 Mart" sloganıyla yapılacak toplantılar, konferanslar, panel ve söyleşiler yer alacak.

Appendix 17

Violence

DIŞ SES

Yöneten: Zeynep Kaya
Yöneten Ekip Çalışmaları: Begüm Akdoğan, Güneş Kozal
Diğer: Emre Kıncı
Koreograf: Aşlı Bozalıcı
Ses Tasarımı: Mutlu San
İlk Tasarım: Erkan Kalkan

(Handwritten notes in pink):
-sexist
-negative
-not deal

Tarih: 6 Mart 2012 Salı
Yer: YDÜ Kütüphanesi 4. Salon
Saat: 20.00

www.ctp-bg.org
www.arkabahceoyunculari.com

Appendix 18



Appendix 19

Bilgi üretiminde toplumsal cinsiyet sempozyumu

KTAMS, DAÜ Kadın Araştırmaları Ve Eğitim Merkezi, Mağusa Kale Lions Kulübü işbirliği ile "Bilgi Üretiminde Toplumsal Cinsiyet" konulu sempozyum düzenliyor.

KTAMS Başkanı Ahmet Kaptan'ın yaptığı açıklamaya göre, sempozyum, yarın saat 10:00'da KTAMS Genel Merkezi'ndeki 50. Yıl Konferans Salonu'nda yapılacak. (TAK)

Appendix 20

Table 4.1 Distribution of Media Texts According to Newspapers

Newspapers	Percentage
Yeni Düzen	25.2
Havadis	36.0
Yeni Çağ	2.8
Halkın Sesi	19.5
Vatan	16.5

Table 4.2 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their Text-Types

Text Type	Percentage
Interviews	1.9
Columns	6.4
Hard News	49.8
Soft News	8.9
Advertisements	23.7
Horoscopes	0.3
Sports	8.7
Biographies	0.3

Table 4.3 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their Contents

Content	Percentage
Health	3.3
Achievements of Women	24.3
Exhibitions/Activity	13.8
Visits/Charity	5.5
About NGOs	10.5
Products/Promotions	26.0
Women's Rights	5.7
Funny Stories	2.2
Recipes/Meals	0.3
Culture/Art	4.4
Violence	3.3
Immigration	0.3
The Other	0.5

Table 4.4 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their Sexist Presentation

	Not-Sexist	
	Sexist	Neutral
	49.8	39.3

Table 4.5 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their News Approaches

	Negative	Positive	Neutral
	50.0	10.4	39.6

Table 4.6 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their News Gratifications

	Fully Informative	General Information	Neutral
	2.2	77.5	20.3

Table 4.7 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their Contents

Content	Text Type						
	Interw.	Colmn.	Hard N.	Soft N.	Advs.	Horos.	Sports Biogrhy.
Health Achv.		8.7	5.3	1.6			
Women Exh./Act.	64.3	13	16.9	54		100	95.3
Visits/Charity		4.3	9.7				4.7
About NGO's	28.6	19.6	17.5				
Prd./Prmt	7.1	2.2	3.3	6.3	99.4		
Wom. Rights		23.9	7.2	4.7	0.6		
Funny Stories		10.9	3.1				
Rec./Meal		2.2	0.3				
Culture/Art		4.3	8.1	1.6			
Violence		8.7	5.0	1.6			
Immigration			0.6				
The Other		2.2		3.1			

Table 4.8 Disribution of Media Texts According to Sexism in Content

Content	Sexism		
	Sexist	Not-Sexist	Neutral
Health	91.7	4.2	4.2
Achv. Women	27.3	23.9	48.9
Exh./Act.	37	10	53
Visits/Charity	7.5		92.5
About NGO's	23.7	3.9	72.4
Prd./Prmt	92.6	4.8	2.7
Wom. Rights	34.1	24.4	41.5
Funny Stories	100		
Rec./Meal		100	
Culture/Art	37.5	3.1	59.4
Violence	56.5	4.4	39.1
Immigration			100
The Other	100		

Table 4.9 Disribution of Media Texts According to Their News Approaches in

Content

Content	News Approach		
	Negative	Positive	Neutral
Health	91.7	4.2	4.2
Achv. Women	27.8	22.7	48.4
Exh./Act.	37	10	53
Visits/Charity	7.5		92.5
About NGO's	23.7	2.6	73.7
Prd./Prmt	92.6	4.8	2.7
Wom. Rights	34.1	24.4	41.5
Funny Stories	100		
Rec./Meal		100	
Culture/Art	37.5	3.1	59.4
Violence	60.9		39.1
Immigration			100
The Other	100		

Table 4.10 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their News Gratifications in
Content

Content	News Gratification		
	Fully Informative	General Information	Neutral
Health Achv.	8.3	70.8	20.8
Women Exh./Act.	2.3	80.1	17.6
Visits/Charity	2	75	23
About NGO's		85	15
Prd./Prmt	2.6	65.8	31.6
Wom. Rights		87.2	12.8
Funny Stories	7.3	78	14.6
Rec./Meal		6.3	93.8
Culture/Art		100	
Violence	4.3	71.9	28.1
Immigration		82.6	13
The Other		100	
		66.7	33.3

Table 4.11 Distribution of Media Texts According to NGO's Contents

NGO's Content	Percentage
Working Life Conditions	25
Equal Rights	50
Violence	9.2
Shelter for Women	2.6
Women Trafficking	5.3
Secularism	2.6
No Defined Objective	5.3

Table 4.12 Distribution of Media Texts According to NGO's Content in Each Date

NGO's Content	Period between March 3 & 10 in 2012							
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Working Life Conditions								
Equal Rights	21.4	14.3		41.7	12.5		25	38.9
Violence	42.9	28.6		25.7	87.5	87.5	62.5	44.4
Shelter for Women	14.3	42.9		16.7				
Women Trafficking	7.1						12.5	
Secularism	14.3	14.3				12.5		
No Defined Objective				16.7				
			100					16.7

Table 4.13 Distribution of Media Texts According to Sexism in NGO's Content

NGO's Content	Sexism		
	Sexist	Not-Sexist	Neutral
Working Life			
Conditions	15.8	5.3	78.9
Equal Rights	13.2	5.3	81.6
Violence	85.7		14.3
Shelter for Women			100
Women Trafficking	75		25
Secularism			100
No Defined Objective	25		75

Table 4.14 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their News Gratifications in NGO's Content

NGO's content	News Gratification		
	Fully Informative	General Information	Not-Clear
Working Life			
Conditions	5.3	57.9	36.8
Equal Rights		71.1	28.9
Violence	14.3	57.1	28.6
Shelter for Women			100
Women Trafficking		100	
Secularism		100	
No Defined Objective			100

Table 4.15 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their Contents for Each Date in March

Date	Content												
	H.	Ach.	Ex/Ac	V/C	NGO's	Prd/Pr	W.R	F.St	Rec.	Cul.	V.	Im.	Ot.
1	6.8	38.6	2.3	9.1		36.4		2.3		2.3	2.3		
2	2.4	31.7	2.4	2.4		46.3		4.9		7.3	2.4		
3	2.8	18.1	6.9	5.6	19.4	27.8	2.8	2.8	1.4	4.2	5.6		2.8
4	7.5	23.9	4.5	1.5	10.4	32.8	1.5	3		9	6		
5	7.5	32.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	40	2.5	5		5			
6	3	28.4	22.4		17.9	22.4	1.5	1.5		3			
7	1.2	32.1	20.2	3.6	9.5	20.2	1.2	2.4		6	2.4		1.2
8	3.3	7.8	25.6	8.9	8.9	30	11.1	1.1		2.2	1.1		
9	2.2	30.3	18	5.6	9	20.2	4.5	2.2	1.1	4.5	2.2		
10	1.6	19.5	13.8	10.6	14.6	13.8	4.6	0.8		3.3	5.7	1.6	
15			16.7			16.7	50				16.6		

Table 4.16 Distribution of Media Texts According to Sexism in Each Date

Date	Sexism		
	Sexist	Not-Sexist	Neutral
March 1	61.4	11.4	27.2
March 2	65.9	9.8	24.3
March 3	66.7	4.2	29.1
March 4	70.1	7.5	22.4
March 5	80	7.5	12.5
March 6	40.3	6	53.7
March 7	42.9	9.5	47.6
March 8	44.4	5.6	50
March 9	43.8	19.1	37.1
March 10	29.3	17.1	53.6
March 15	16.7	66.6	16.7

Table 4.17 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their News Approaches in Each Date

Date	News Approach		
	Negative	Positive	Neutral
March 1	61.4	11.4	27.3
March 2	68.3	7.3	24.4
March 3	66.7	4.2	29.2
March 4	70.1	7.5	22.4
March 5	80	5	15
March 6	40.3	6	53.7
March 7	42.9	8.3	48.8
March 8	44.4	5.6	50
March 9	43.8	19.1	37.1
March 10	30.1	16.3	53.7
March 15	16.7	66.7	16.3

Table 4.18 Distribution of Media Texts According to Their News Gratifications in Each Date

Date	News Gratification		
	Fully Informative	General Information	Neutral
March 1	4.5	79.5	15.9
March 2		80.5	19.5
March 3	4.2	75	20.8
March 4	3	74.6	22.4
March 5		80	20
March 6		89.6	10.4
March 7	1.2	82.1	16.7
March 8	1.1	78.9	20
March 9	2.2	78.7	19.1
March 10	3.3	69.1	27.6
March 15	16.7	16.7	66.7

Appendix 21

CODING SHEET

1) Date

March 1

March 2

March 3

March 4

March 5

March 6

March 7

March 8

March 9

March 10

March 15

2) Newspapers

Halkın Sesi

Havadis

Yeni Çağ

Yeni Düzen

Vatan

3) Text Type

Interviews

Column

Hard News

Soft News

Advertisement

Sport

Horoscopes

Biography

The other

4) Content

Health

Achivement of Women

The exhibition / activity

Visits /Charity

About women organizations /Movement / Rights

Working Life Conditions

Equal Rights

Violance

Shelter for battered women

Women Trafficing

Secularism

No defined objective

Products/ Promotion

Women Rights

Funny Stories

Recipies/ Meals

Culture Art

Violence

Immigration

The other

5. Sexism

Sexist

Not-sexist

Neutral

6. News Approach

Negative

Positive

Neutral

7. News Gratification

Fully Informative

Just General Information

Not Clear