

**Visualization of Gender in the Turkish Press  
A Comparative Analysis of Six Turkish Newspapers**

by  
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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
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## Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other tertiary institution of education. Information derived from published or unpublished sources has been cited in the text and listed in the bibliography.

Ayşe Esra Özcan

Bremen, June 18, 2009

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*If you are interested in the coding sheets used in the study for content analysis, please contact the author: [aozcan@jacobs-alumni.de](mailto:aozcan@jacobs-alumni.de)*

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Illustration 5.203: NTVMSNBC Photo Gallery <30.08.2007>  
<http://fotogaleri.ntvmsnbc.com/detay.aspx?categoryID=9&galleryID=509&picID=5352&dp=3>

Illustration 5.204: Cumhuriyet 25.07.2005, p. 12.

Illustration 5.205: Zaman 24.07.2005, p. 19.

Illustration 5.206: Hürriyet 31.10.2007, p. 1.

## **NOTE ON BIBLIOGRAPHIC ARRANGEMENT**

The bibliography of this study is arranged according to the language and the type of the references. If the reader cannot find an item among the English language references (section A in bibliography) she or he is advised to check the references in the Turkish language (section B in bibliography). Unpublished theses and electronic sources are also categorized in different sections (C and D). The alphabetical order of the Turkish language is used to order the items beginning with Turkish characters. “Ö” comes after “O” in the Turkish alphabet and it is not spelled as “Oe” as in the German language. “Ç” comes after “C” and “Ş” comes after “S”.

## **ABSTRACT**

This study analyses the female and the male visuals in six Turkish newspapers representing different socio-political positions. Visual representations shape the ways people perceive the world and they signify the social fabric. Changes in the visualization of the females in particular indicate societal changes taking place. Various previous studies on Turkish press focused either on the question of underrepresentation of women or on a comparative analysis of the religious and secular press with respect to the representation of women based on textual material. Turkish newspapers are very rich in terms of visual material and in terms of the visual depiction of women. The study argues that the exclusion of visuals from such analyses creates a serious shortcoming. Thus, this study aims to expand the previous research with the incorporation of visual analysis. Secondly, as is the case in previous research, approaching secular and religious press as two separate and distinct camps tends to obscure both the similarities between religious and secular newspapers and the differences within secular and within religious newspapers with respect to the depiction of women. Therefore this study aims not only to look at the differences between secular and religious newspapers in Turkey but also at the differences within them in terms of the visual representation of women. In methodological terms quantitative visual content analysis and qualitative iconological and semiological analyses are employed to analyze the characteristics and meanings of the visuals. In theoretical terms selected approaches towards modernity, media, gender and visual communication inform the study.

## **PREFACE**

I started working on this thesis in 2005 and finished it in 2009. As a PhD student in Germany my four years of work in this project coincided with a time period in Europe where Turkey's candidacy to the European Union and migrants of Muslim background in Europe were intensely debated. The tones and arguments in those debates sometimes also signaled increasing levels of discriminatory talk and action against migrants in Europe in general and migrants of Turkish background in Germany in particular. In a time period in which stereotypes became increasingly sharper and people of Muslim background are more and more perceived in black and white, showing the other colors and variety of experiences in a Muslim majority country, in the field of mass media at least, became one of the challenges for this thesis. While Turkey itself still suffers from the black and white conceptualizations of Islam and secularism and the ensuing social cleavages, the new cleavages in Europe opened up another challenging field for the academics and intellectuals in Turkey as well as in Europe at large. This thesis is written within this new conjecture of Europe in the making. I find it important to situate this work in this changing and problematic context while the preoccupations stemming from this particular background had influenced my thinking, and the overarching theoretical framework and problems handled in the study.

This study aims at the readers who are familiar with the Turkish media as well as the readers with an interest in media studies, particularly the print press. Yet, my hope is that the questions handled in the study might be of higher interest to the readers and academics in Europe. In my past years as a PhD student I consistently faced stereotyped questions. Sometimes they were posed with good intent to hear an insider's perspective on the ongoing issues around Turkey's candidacy for membership to the European Union, and sometimes I had the feeling that I was put in a "test" situation to see how much this "Muslim" woman conforms to what the post-9/11 books tell their readers about Muslims. No matter what motivation lies behind them, it was frustrating to hear them over and over again, especially when they came from learned people working and studying in academia. In that regard, this study aims to provide an answer to some of these persistent questions by showing the complexity, variety and diversity of one particular field, the print press, in Turkey.

I am grateful to many people that supported me throughout the ups and downs of a PhD project. First of all I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Marion G. Müller who has always been very supportive and encouraging. I greatly benefited from her skills in visual analysis,

strategic planning, organizing and networking, and I am very much indebted to her. I'd like to thank my current and former committee members from Jacobs University Bremen, Margrit Schreier, Hartmut Wessler and Clemens Schwender who always made themselves available when I needed to discuss questions that arose throughout the project. I received valuable methodological advice from Margrit Schreier and Klaus Boehnke who kept their doors always open to me and supported me with their methodological and statistical wisdom.

Nilüfer Göle, the external member of my PhD committee and supervisor of my MA thesis, remained a source of academic inspiration, even when she was miles away. It was a privilege to be her student and participate in her workshops full of theoretical depth and thinking. My time in her workshops also gifted me with a great colleague and friend, Kenan Çayır of Istanbul Bilgi University, who always supported me during the difficult times of studying abroad and writing a PhD. I'd like to express my deepest gratitude to them both. My second external supervisor Sabine Berghahn from Otto Suhr Institute in Berlin made herself available for fruitful discussions and her valuable comments helped me to see the problems handled in this study within a larger framework. Pınar Uyaroğlu Yıldız helped me to code the newspapers. Without her voluntary support, that would have been an impossible task.

And among others I want to thank my friends in Turkey, in Germany and around the world. Without these amazing people I would not be able to survive: Berrin Yenice, Mehtap Meydan, Nihan Akdoğan Uçar, Nazlı Eda Noyan, Çiğsem Ödev, Asya Çağlar, Perihan Uluğ, Ayşen Evliçoğlu (Istanbul), Miyase Christensen (Sweden), Jessica Price, Beril Saydun, Özen Odağ, Yvonne Thies-Brandner, Amina Özelsel, Nicola Bücken, Funda Reichardt (Germany), Bob Tsang (Hong Kong) and Ferruh Yılmaz (U.S.). I'd like to thank my former professors from Turkey Soli Özel, Deniz Bayraktar and Nezih Erdoğan for their genuine support and friendship during my time in Germany. Gisela Kringel and her family became a very nice host family to me in Germany and made me feel at home. My special thanks go to "*IUB Tayfası*" who helped me to stay sane in spite of the secluded campus environment, a lot of work, and always depressive weather conditions of Northern Germany. I was very lucky to have Dilge, Günnur, Serdar, Serkan and Mali with me after most of the members (Tuğba, Gökem, Gizem, Gökçe and Berk) already left in 2006. I would also like to extend my thanks to Arcan Güven and Güray Güven who gave me invaluable infrastructural support at times of emergency. Last but not least I'd like to thank Atiye Nilgün Gökçek, and Bernhard Korporal who very well know what they mean to me.

I consider myself very lucky having all these brilliant and wonderful people around me. This study would not have been possible without you.  
*Thank you!*

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

On July 27, 2005 *Hürriyet*, one of the most prominent high circulation dailies in Turkey published a photograph that stirred a wide public discussion in the following days. The photograph showed a female cheerfully dancing in a concert – doing belly dancing that is very popular in Turkey as well as in the whole Middle East. But the photograph included a detail that captured journalistic attention. The young woman cheerfully dancing was wearing a headscarf, and at the same time her belly was visible on the photo. The entire image seemed like a contradiction in terms when considered within the theoretical rationale of veiling—modesty and self control expected from a female with Islamic headscarf. Yet, the image seemed to defy the expectations. What it showed was difficult to comprehend for both the Turkish readers and the editors that received the image. The main editor of *Hürriyet* wrote a commentary on the photograph, interpreting it as a new sociological fact of the country testifying to the demise of the headscarf.<sup>1</sup> Independent of the discussions that followed afterwards in Islamic and secular media, and whether the interpretation of the editor is the “correct” one, the photograph testified to the power of the images in public discussion and analysis in an issue that remained highly charged in Turkey for years: the headscarf debate and the women’s status and role in the public sphere.

As the above example shows the female image in Turkey is changing and becoming more diversified, also pointing to the changes the society is going through. This study aims to grasp the image of females as well as males, as they are depicted in six different newspapers in Turkey. It looks at the relationships between the press, gender and modernization as they are today. Turkish modernization has been analyzed from various aspects in a vast literature. Yet, the role of the press<sup>2</sup> and the role of the visual media in Turkish modernization have hardly been in the academic focus. From an interdisciplinary perspective, this study aims to touch upon this

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<sup>1</sup> Ertuğrul Özkök (*Hürriyet*, 06.08.2005): Modern Mahrem mi demiştiniz. [Did you say Forbidden Modern?], retrievable from: <http://www.webarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/2005/08/06/683159.asp> <28.08.2007> The article refers to the title of the book “Forbidden Modern” by Nilüfer Göle and discusses her thesis that approaches the headscarf as a form of indigenous modernity. The photograph mentioned here will be analyzed in detail in Chapter 5.

<sup>2</sup> The term “press” in this study refers only to the print media and newspapers in particular, notwithstanding the important role of TV-journalism which is not part of this study.

relationship through an analysis of female and male visuals in selected newspapers. The questions of modernization, gender and the media necessitate to work beyond the boundaries of established disciplines and accordingly, this study is informed by sociology, gender studies and visual communication. Methodologically, it combines visual content analysis with iconology in an exploratory way and tries to adapt iconology, which is an art historical method, to the analysis of mass media images.

### *1.1 The Political and Cultural Background*

Currently, quite a number of dynamics are at play in Turkish politics and society; as well as in culture, gender relations, and the media. At the political level, following decades of conflict with the authoritarian elitist state secularism in Turkey *The Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-AKP)* with its Islamic roots came to power with a parliamentary majority of 36% on November 3, 2002 and consolidated its power in the national elections of July 22, 2007 with a 12% increase in its votes<sup>3</sup>. Even though the Turkish secularist elite remained suspicious about a “hidden agenda” on the side of AKP to bring Islamic rule to the country, the AKP’s first term in government that lasted for five years did not prove the suspicions. The party passed the democratic reforms that were long expected in the country and adhered to the goal of Turkey’s entry to the European Union. The party’s second rise to power with a considerable increase in its share of votes requires a new analytical perspective of Turkey, going beyond the binary oppositions between Islamists and secularists, to grasp the ongoing dynamics of the country at the economic, political, social and cultural levels.<sup>4</sup>

The Islamic headscarf had been a problematic issue in secular Turkey since the 1960s and throughout AKP’s time in government the headscarf remained a source of public controversy that reached its peak during January and February of 2008 with the proposed amendments in the constitution that aimed to remove the ban on headscarves in Turkish universities.<sup>5</sup> During these amendments, the debates on headscarf have

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<sup>3</sup> Economist (26 July 2007): The Burden of Victory.

[http://www.economist.com/world/europe/displaystory.cfm?story\\_id=9558347](http://www.economist.com/world/europe/displaystory.cfm?story_id=9558347)  
<26.07.2007>

<sup>4</sup> For more information on Justice and Development Party see Yavuz 2006; Cizre 2008.

<sup>5</sup> In its second election term the AKP’s move to remove the headscarf ban by proposing changes in the constitution created heated debates and on March 14, 2008

acquired a visual dimension to an unprecedented degree. Turkey is rich with different types of female head covering, and these are all politicized with the discussions over which ways of wearing the headscarf to be allowed in the universities.<sup>6</sup> Minister of State Cemil Çiçek said at some point that in the parliamentary committee they even discussed the option of having a photograph in the related section of the constitution to clarify the dispute.<sup>7</sup> In a similar fashion Prime Minister Erdoğan went on to provide definitions of turban and headscarf from encyclopedias and dictionaries.<sup>8</sup> Illustration 1.1 in the book of illustrations exemplifies how the debate is visually reported in newspapers. To point at the difficulties of distinguishing between different types of headscarf, the news portal Gazeteport (January 30, 2008) published two very similar types of headcovering and crossed one of them as the one not to be allowed in the universities.

The attempts to distinguish “traditional”, therefore “innocent” ways of headcovering from the “political” therefore “not innocent” ways of Islamic covering, named as “turban” particularly among the secularist circles, have been part of the dispute over the headscarf at least since the 1980s. AKP’s attempt to find out an acceptable definition of

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the Public Prosecutor of the Supreme Court of Appeal filed a claim against AKP, demanding the party’s closure. The indictment mentioned AKP’s move on headscarf among other things, and charged the party of contravening the secular principles of the state. The Supreme Court ruled against the party’s closure but only with a single vote majority. So far AKP’s second term did not contribute to an environment of mutual dialogue that could go beyond cultural and political oppositions in Turkey. On the contrary, the party’s handling of the headscarf ban via constitutional change was perceived as a sign of majority despotism by secular circles and intensified fears over AKP’s concealed agenda to bring Islamic rule to the country.

<sup>6</sup> For examples of some news articles and comments over the dispute see:

<http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/433618.asp> <29.01.2008>

<http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/433837.asp> <31.01.2008>

<http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/print.asp?pid=433625> <29.01.2008>

[http://arsiv.gazeteport.com.tr/NEWS/GP\\_146383](http://arsiv.gazeteport.com.tr/NEWS/GP_146383) <30.01.2008>

[http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/8129566\\_p.asp](http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/8129566_p.asp) <30.01.2008>

<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2008/01/30/guncel/agun.html> <30.01.2008>

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/2008/02/13/sarikaya.html> <13.02.2008>

[http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/8137344\\_p.asp](http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/8137344_p.asp) <31.01.2008>

<http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=8129855&tarih=2008-01-30>  
<05.08.2008>

<http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=8137406&yazarid=131>  
<05.08.2008>

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/433837.asp> <30.01.2008>

<http://w9.gazetevatan.com/haberdetay.asp?tarih=31.01.2008&Newsid=159598&Categoryid=4&wid=131> <05.08.2008>

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/448906.asp> <05.08.2008>

headcovering wanted to appease criticisms coming particularly from the secular establishment, yet, in the end backfired, satisfying neither the secularist hardliners and liberal democrats nor the women wearing the headscarf<sup>9</sup> as well as the larger populations amazed by the amount of energy and detail the dispute has started to absorb. In the end, the constitutional amendments made by AKP to allow the headscarf in the universities were turned down by the Constitutional Court in Ankara on June 05, 2008,<sup>10</sup> leaving the problem once again unsolved.

Since AKP's first election term that started in November 2002, the public discourse and media reports both within and outside Turkey create the impression that there is growing Islamization in the country, and a perceived increase in the number of females wearing the headscarf is shown as evidencing that point. Yet, a study conducted with a nationwide representative survey in 2006 showed that there is no actual increase in the number of women wearing headscarf, on the contrary there is a decline since 1999<sup>11</sup> (Çarkoğlu and Toprak 2006: 12). This misperception is, first of all, related to the fears and suspicions about AKP's "hidden agenda". Secondly, compared to previous governments the wives of a larger number of deputies are wearing a headscarf, including Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's wife Emine Erdoğan; and the new president (former Foreign Minister) Abdullah Gül's wife, Hayrunnisa Gül, two highly active women both in their husbands' lives and in politics, which make them and others ever more present in media images. Hayrunnisa Gül became the first "Prime Minister's wife" wearing a

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<sup>9</sup> A group of young women wearing headscarf started a campaign saying that they will not be satisfied with the amendments as long as other social groups' freedoms (i.e. Kurds, Alevis and minorities) remain limited in the constitution. Sabah February 21, 2008, front page and page 22.

<http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2008/02/21/haber,AFDA8A5E0C2C46F3A008D4F0EAAF884D.html> <05.08.2008>

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/448906.asp> <05.08.2008>

<sup>11</sup> The same study reports that those who are in favor of a Shari'ah rule in Turkey has declined from 21% in 1999 to 9% in 2006 indicating that there is no rising support for a religious state, and "Turkish people do not perceive secularism to be under threat" (Çarkoğlu and Toprak 2006: 11). Yet, another finding of the study that requires careful analysis is the increase in the percentage of people "who consider themselves 'very religious' as well as those who define their identity primarily as Muslim" (Çarkoğlu and Toprak 2006:11). The study interprets this as an increase in religiosity. In other words, even though there is an increase in religiosity, this is not necessarily accompanied by an increase in the support of a religious state and an increase in the number of females with headscarf. Yet the scale of religiosity in such studies and the questions that comprise the scale were criticized on the grounds that they substitute people's self perceptions with their actual behaviors (Emre Aköz, Sabah 19 August 2007).

headscarf<sup>12</sup> and she is also the first “first lady” with headscarf in Turkey.<sup>13</sup> Abdullah Gül’s candidacy and his wife’s headscarf had become the focus of public controversy months ahead; even leading to a threat to intervene by the military in April 27, 2007.<sup>14</sup> The ensuing political crisis prompted the call for early national elections that, to the secular elite’s disappointment, brought AKP’s second victory. Lastly, the perceived increase in the number of headscarved females is also attributed to their increasing participation in the labor force, which makes them more visible outside of their homes.

The public visibility of the female with headscarf constitutes a focal point in any discussion on Islam and politics, be it in Turkey, Europe or elsewhere. Approached from a broader perspective, women’s status in Muslim societies continues to be a concern both for the Western world that has growing security issues and expected benefits from the democratization, modernization and secularization of the Muslim countries (especially) in the Middle East, and for the supporters and opponents of democratization in those countries themselves. The wider political conjuncture that was redefined after September 11, 2001 along the lines of the “war on terror” and security problems shifted the relative positions and importance of different countries in the Middle East,

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<sup>12</sup> When the AKP first came to power in 2002 its leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was still banned from politics and could not immediately sit as Prime Minister. The post was taken by Abdullah Gül who took the position until Erdoğan was elected to the Parliament in Siirt by-elections in March 2003.

<sup>13</sup> It is interesting to note that women wearing the headscarf could make their ways to highly visible political positions in Turkey only as wives. There was no single female candidate with headscarf among AKP candidates in the 2007 general elections. The only attempt so far to have a female deputy with headscarf in the Turkish parliament took place in the 1999 general elections and resulted in failure. More information will be provided on the case in Chapters 2 and 5.

<sup>14</sup> Even though the presidential seat in Turkey is more symbolic without actual powers of legislation, the idea of having a first lady with headscarf was highly problematic for the secularist establishment (i.e. military, judicial bureaucracy, members of the Republican People’s Party and the majority of university leaderships) who sees the headscarf as a challenge to the secular state. While the military threatened to intervene, the Republican People’s Party in the opposition with a strict secularist stance brought the first round of the presidential voting in the parliament to the court on the basis of a bylaw that had never been applied before in such cases; and the court eventually annulled the vote. As a result the presidential election process came to a halt and early parliamentary elections were called. The example shows the controversial and high symbolic power of the headscarf even triggering a political crisis in secular Turkey.

making their stronger and weaker points for the process of democratization and modernization more relevant than ever.

Within this broader context, Turkey's relations with both the Western world, the Middle East and the Islamic world are acquiring greater importance. It is situated between Southern Europe and the Middle East, belonging to both regions in historical, cultural and geographical terms. It is a Muslim majority country and it has a long history of modernization, secularization and democratization. In spite of deficiencies the country has established democratic institutions; and with the candidacy process for the European Union it is more and more becoming part of the ongoing discussions about the shaping of a future for Europe, whose Muslim citizens are increasingly moving to the center of social, cultural and political debates. As political scientist Soli Özel points out: "Turkey's modernization track is just of a different type, one that is embedded in cultural conservatism and in search of an appropriate synthesis between Islam, capitalism and secular, liberal democracy. This is why the experiment in democratic transformation is significant beyond its borders" (Özel 2007: 11).

The Turkish society provides a vibrant example for any study on gender, culture and communication. In terms of gender and culture, the close link between the modernization process and gender in Turkey produced a highly diversified picture of the women's role and presence in Turkish society. To give a few examples Turkish universities achieved a level of gender equality even higher than some Western European countries.<sup>15</sup> Turkey is part to the international global women's human rights regimes

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<sup>15</sup> The percentage of female professors (full professors, excluding assistant and associates) in Turkish academia in the 2000-2001 education year was 24.8 in total. Including assistant and associate professors, as well as the research and teaching assistants the percentage of females in Turkish universities is 35.9 (Türkiye'de Kadın 2001: 61). Deutsche Welle reported the European average of female professors as 15% in 2007: <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,2144,2959743,00.html><07.03.2008>  
BBC reported the share of female professors in UK as 17.5% in 2006-2007 education year: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/low/uk\\_news/education/7269436.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/low/uk_news/education/7269436.stm)<07.03.2008>  
By 1979 one fifth of lawyers and one sixth of medical doctors in Turkey were females (Öncü 1979). Öncü pointed that the percentage of females in such prestigious professions in Turkey was equal or higher than in the industrialized Western countries at that time. For more information see Öncü 1979, 1981 (in English). According to Acar, females constitute 35.6% of the academic personnel in natural sciences, 36.9% in medicine and 25.8% in engineering. She points to the stable increase of female academics from the 1960s to the 1998 in overall percentages (Acar 1998: 313). Also see Özkanlı and Korkmaz 2000.

and ratified the *Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW) (Kardam 2005; Levin 2007). Numerous NGOs and women's networks actively work and lobby on many fronts to improve women's conditions in political, legal, societal, economic and individual terms.<sup>16</sup> The Turkish Civil and Penal Code reforms, which passed the parliament first in November 2001 and then in September 2004, made a big step towards gender equality, and abolished long disputed articles such as the one accepting the husband as the head of the family. The new Penal Code addresses, even though implicitly, issues such as domestic violence, which had long been regarded as a private family problem, and makes it a criminal act. The women's lobbying groups actively took part in this process of change.<sup>17</sup>

In spite of all the positive steps taken, there is still a long way to go to improve women's rights in Turkey. For instance, the country still looks for ways to prevent honor crimes, and violence against women. Turkish women have their legal rights to have education, political and public participation, to work, to travel, to form associations and defend their rights as women, workers, professionals, mothers; but yet the percentage of female presence in the parliament is only 10%.<sup>18</sup> There is still a high level of illiteracy among girls and women in underdeveloped regions of the country.<sup>19</sup> Even though the amendments made in the Turkish Civil Code and the Penal Code granted new rights to women, in practical terms changing the traditional and patriarchal role definitions between man and woman seems to require much longer time and effort. In addition, women's different circumstances and realities complicate the picture

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<sup>16</sup> For more information on women's organizations in Turkey see Ecevit 2007.

<sup>17</sup> For more information on the Turkish Civil and Penal Code Reforms, and the role of the feminist organizations in the process see: Women for Women's Human Rights (WWHR) 2005. For the amendments in the Turkish Civil Code as published on the website of the Directorate General of Press and Information (in Turkish) see: <http://www.byegm.gov.tr/on-sayfa/medeni-kanun.htm> <14.08.2007>

<sup>18</sup> Following July 22, 2007 general elections the percentage of women in the Turkish Parliament increased from 4% to 10%. Female presence in parliaments is an issue even in most developed democracies of Western Europe. "Even if women constitute 47.5% of the employees of the European Commission, only 5.9% are found at the highest level of the hierarchy. When it comes to the European Parliament, the 27% of the members who are women are unequally distributed among the member states" (Krolokke and Sorensen 2006: 114). When it comes to the Middle Eastern democracies, in the Israeli Parliament for instance, the female representation has ranged between 6.6 percent and 13 percent throughout the years (Lemish 2004: 40). For an earlier account of women politicians in Turkey, see Arat 1989.

<sup>19</sup> In terms of the overall figures by 2000, illiteracy rate for males is 6.1, while this is 19.4 for females. See: <http://www.ksgm.gov.tr/tcg/13.pdf> <23.06.2008>

further at the individual and practical everyday level. As Kardam (2005) vividly puts it:

Turkey, indeed, has enacted significant legal reforms towards gender equality. What does this signify, to a woman in a village in the poor and conflict-ridden Southeast, to a woman living in the shantytown of a big city, having recently migrated or forced to move from her village, to a female bank executive living in a posh district of Istanbul, to female college students from small towns of Anatolia living in dorms away from their families and to their male relatives and friends, to those that claim to be “Islamist” or “secularist”? (Kardam 2005: 28).

The state in Turkey played a unique historical role in changing gender relations and modernizing women’s status. This is also referred to as “state feminism” (Tekeli 1986: 185). The Turkish state was “feminist” in the sense that, it was “a male-dominated state that made women’s equality in the public sphere a national policy” (White 2003: 145). In the modernizing project of the 1930s reforms on women’s rights and positions implied a shift from the Islamic to the Western civilization (Göle 1996). The state provided new opportunities for public participation of women but at the same time confined women’s public roles to a national ideal rather than women’s rights as individuals (Sirman 1989; Tekeli 1991; Arat 1991; Göle 1996; White 2003). By the 1980s the rights that were granted to women during the 1930s, which were then quite ahead of their time, were long outdated and the state feminism together with authoritarian secularism, started to be challenged by two new groups of women: first, a new generation of feminists who pursued women’s rights not as part of a larger project but as individuals; and second, women with headscarf who felt excluded from the state’s model of modernization that equates modernization with westernization.<sup>20</sup> These young women demanded to participate in public life and attend university classes without leaving their religious identities behind. Eventually the headscarf became the most visible and contested symbol of the conflict between the state feminism and alternative life styles demanded by women who looked for public participation with their difference.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> For a discussion on the idea of modernization equating it with westernization in Turkey see Göle 1996; for a discussion on women challenging state feminism see White 2003.

<sup>21</sup> Both groups expressed their criticisms to the state with their respective publications mostly in the form of weekly or monthly magazines. *Kadınca* was a famous monthly during the 1980s that brought up intimate issues about women’s sexuality, questioning the cult of virginity and women’s honor, redefining it in non-sexual terms (for a historical account of *Kadınca* see Öztürkmen 1998). Islamic women on the other hand had their own publications questioning both capitalism and Turkish state modernism (Arat 1990; Acar 1990, 1993).

In terms of mass communication, there is a very lively mass media environment in Turkey. Outside observers and first time visitors are usually appalled by the vividness, color and diversity of the print and broadcast media in Turkey. Presently there are 29 national (5 public, 24 private), 16 regional and 224 local television channels in addition to 76 others in digital broadcasting.<sup>22</sup> In broadcasting and entertainment globalized television series such as *Desperate Housewives*, *Scrubs*, *Coupling*, *Seinfeld*, *Sex and the City*, *Ally Mc Beal*, *24*, *Six Feet Under* and *Nip Tuck*, among others, are available to Turkish audiences.<sup>23</sup> Global news outlets have branches and collaborations in Turkey like CNN Türk, CNBC-e and NTVMSNBC; and the giant media owner Rupert Murdoch pushes hard to enter the Turkish media market.<sup>24</sup> Besides, the local entertainment production with television family sitcoms and series (original or adapted) is a very important business. Every television channel has a variety of family drama series offered to audiences and there exists fierce competition among the television channels for audience ratings and advertising revenues. Channels with more conservative and religious programming add to this diversity. In less than twenty years the media environment in Turkey experienced huge transformations. By the end of the 1980s television and radio broadcasts were still under the monopoly of the state. And by 2008 the extent of media production, private channels, the ownership structures and the accompanying diversity are simply incomparable to the ways it used to be two decades ago.

The print media in Turkey are highly diversified as well. In terms of their political inclinations the existing newspapers range from catch-all newspapers to radical Islamic newspapers, from liberal to left, from more serious opinion papers to tabloids. Towards the end of 1996 in terms of the number of daily newspapers published in the print market Turkey ranked as the third country in the world with 399 newspapers per day following India (2300) and the United States (586) (Tılıç 1998: 83). The print sector shows a similar variety of 40 national, 23 regional and 2061 local newspapers<sup>25</sup>. According to the report of the Turkish Institute of

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<sup>22</sup> Radio and Television Supreme Council:

<http://www.rtuk.org.tr/sayfalar/English.aspx> <15.12.2008>

<sup>23</sup> The Turkish television audiences watched these series ahead of German audiences for instance.

<sup>24</sup> *Radikal* (28.01.2005): Murdoch Digitürk'e talip.

<http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=141657> <14.08.07>

<sup>25</sup> European Journalism Centre, Media Landscape - Turkey:

[http://www.ejc.net/media\\_landscape/article/turkey/](http://www.ejc.net/media_landscape/article/turkey/) <14.08.07>

Statistics (TUIK) published on June 20, 2008, 5678 national, regional and local publications, (newspapers, magazines and bulletins), were available in print media in Turkey in 2007, and the 2338 newspapers constituted 41% of all the print material.<sup>26</sup> In spite of their smaller share in the overall print market, newspapers constituted 94.8% of overall yearly circulation in the country.<sup>27</sup> When it comes to the magazine market, one can find Turkish editions of women's and men's magazines like *Cosmopolitan*, *FHM*, *Esquire* and similar others at the same newsstand where one can also buy Islamic newspapers and magazines. The Islamic press in itself is quite diversified as well. As Cihan Tuğal notes: “[d]ue to the diversity in the movement, the Islamist press is the home for a wide range of (frequently diverging) opinions” (Tuğal 2002: 93).

In spite of the diversity in the media scene Turkey is ranked in the Freedom House Index on Press Freedom as “partly free” (2007) where countries are ranked as “free”, “partly free” and “not free” on the measure of press freedom. The press freedom in these reports is assessed on the categories of legal, political and economic environment in relation to the media.<sup>28</sup> Even though Turkey passed a new Press Law in 2004, restrictive measures in the Turkish Penal Code (particularly the Article 301) which came into effect in 2005 led to the prosecution of journalists, writers and publishers on the charges of insulting Turkishness.<sup>29</sup> Publishing and broadcasting in Kurdish language constituted one of the major items to expand the freedom of expression in the country and between 2001 and 2008 large steps have been taken to lift the ban on the Kurdish language. In June 2008, the last limitations on broadcasting in Kurdish were removed by the parliament and the new regulations started also a new era in public service broadcasting.<sup>30</sup> As a candidate country to the European

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<sup>26</sup> There are some variations between the estimates of different institutions, as seen the reports of EJC and TUIK, yet these are in acceptable range.

<sup>27</sup> <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/> <23.06.2008> News Bulletin published on June 20, 2008. More information is provided on TUIK's reports in Chapter 3.

<sup>28</sup> <http://freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=251&country=7291&year=2007> <23.04.2008>

[http://freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=350&ana\\_page=339&year=2007](http://freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=350&ana_page=339&year=2007) <23 04 2008>

<sup>29</sup> For information on the article see: Spiegel Online January 23, 2006:

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/0,1518,396786,00.html> <06.08.2008>

Spiegel Online September 22, 2006:

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/0,1518,438607,00.html> <06.08.2008>

Spiegel Online November 7, 2007:

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,515892,00.html> <06.08.2008>

<sup>30</sup> [http://www.cnnturk.com/HaberDetay/turkiye/2/trt\\_farkli\\_dil\\_ve\\_lehcelerde\\_yayin\\_yapacak/469217/0](http://www.cnnturk.com/HaberDetay/turkiye/2/trt_farkli_dil_ve_lehcelerde_yayin_yapacak/469217/0) <11.06.2008>

Union, the freedom of press in Turkey waits to be improved further, especially by the removal of Article 301 from the Penal Code.<sup>31</sup> Yet, the freedom of expression is not limited solely by the legal structure and the state. Studies and research on the contemporary media in Turkey point at the structure of media ownership as a basic problem, even more significant than the limits imposed on the freedom of expression by the state, because it is less noticeable (Finkel 2000; Tılıç 2000; Tunc 2002; Barlas 2002; Christensen 2007, Özcan 2007). As Christensen puts it, “The role of the Turkish state in the suppression of free speech has been well documented, yet it is the combination of the state *and* corporate influence that must be considered in order to fully comprehend the problems facing Turkish journalism” (Christensen 2007: 195, 196, italics original).

With all its pitfalls today’s media in Turkey *is* an influential actor. To the author’s observation of Germany and Turkey for instance, the media and popular culture scene in Turkey is much livelier. The media products circulate at the discursive level in the form of everyday talk much more often and they are embedded in social life to a higher degree than can be observed in Germany.<sup>32</sup> The role played by the media personalities and images in women’s self-expressions is pointed out in studies of oral history as well (İlyasoğlu 2001: 35). In other words the media’s degree of socio-cultural influence might be different in different contexts which can be dependent on various factors. The lively media scene in Turkey can be partially explained by the young demographic composition of Turkey which puts constant pressure on media producers to keep up with the changing demands of a dynamic population.

## 1.2 *The Focus of the Study*

Within this socio-political background, and diversity as well as the problems of the media in Turkey, this study analyzes the female and the male images in six Turkish newspapers: *Cumhuriyet*, *Posta*, *Radikal*, *Sabah*, *Anadolu’da Vakit* (will be shortly referred to as *Vakit*) and *Zaman*, representing different socio-political and cultural positions, each of them having a unique place in the Turkish press. Detailed information will be

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<sup>31</sup> For more information on legal changes and constraints on freedom of expression in Turkey see Çatalbaş 2007.

<sup>32</sup> For instance the wide range of television entertainment in Turkey with its various formats including music shows and numerous family dramas is simply incomparable to the rather dull television formats in Germany. For information about Turkish narrative television from a German scholar’s perspective see Mangold 2008.

provided about the newspapers and their positions in the third chapter. These newspapers can be grouped in several ways but for the moment it is just important to note that the secular–Islamic dimension played a major role for the selection of newspapers for the study. While *Cumhuriyet*, *Posta*, *Radikal*, and *Sabah* are secular newspapers *Vakit* and *Zaman* are Islamic newspapers. While male images are incorporated into the study as a corollary, the study places a greater emphasis to the analysis of female images in Turkish print media in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century within the context of Islam and changing Turkish modernism. It focuses on the visual gender analysis of dailies in print press, as well as looking at the general ways in which the females and males are depicted. The study also looks at the particular ways the female headscarf is treated in different newspapers. In sum, three key words – press, gender and visuals – and their interaction characterize this study.

### *1.2.1 Print Press*

Since its early days the print press has been an important agent of modernization and westernization in Turkey. During the early days of the new Turkish Republic (proclaimed in 1923), the press was one of the major tools to spread the images of modern man and woman as well as the new Western lifestyles as opposed to the Islamic world view and practices. The mainstream press pioneered in its role to spread the values and practices of the cultural project of modernity up to the present day. The journalists played the role of the “didactic intermediaries” (Heper and Demirel 1996: 109) who carry the modern message to the masses. Although this initial role has changed after the 1980s, the journalists, particularly the columnists remained influential public figures. Bali named the new generation of columnists as the “new aristocrats” of Turkish society (Bali 2002: 229).<sup>33</sup>

Even though in its history the relations between the state and the press had ups and downs, and a considerable number of journalists had been jailed in periods of military rule and censorship, the mainstream press has been an ardent supporter of the Kemalist reforms and the secular state. After the 1980s the Islamic press developed counter to the mainstream media. The leading columnists writing in Islamic newspapers were at the same time the authors of books that influenced and mobilized a young

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<sup>33</sup> An earlier version of the article can be accessed at:  
[http://www.rifatbali.com/images/stories/dokumanlar/yeni\\_aristokratlar\\_kose\\_yazarlari.pdf](http://www.rifatbali.com/images/stories/dokumanlar/yeni_aristokratlar_kose_yazarlari.pdf) <28.08.2008>

generation of Islamists in Turkey. In Nilüfer Göle's terms these people were the "counter-elites" (Göle 1997: 47) questioning the project of Western modernity. From its inception the Islamic press has been more critical about the authoritarian state ideology and especially secularism; and as might be expected, in contrast to the mainstream press these newspapers were much more conservative and puritan about the female images, with no tolerance to nudity in the newspaper. This does not mean that no female depictions (or let's say no female images without headscarf) were used or female writers were denied space. On the contrary, *Zaman* for instance, in its early years, provided an important platform for the flourishing of a sort of Islamic feminism (even though unintended) where female writers entered into discussions with male writers on the status of women in Islam and the influence of patriarchy on gender relations in the Islamic tradition.<sup>34</sup>

Irrespective of their political inclination and whether or not they publish nude females the Turkish newspapers are highly visual and they use visuals in complicated ways, which make them a legitimate and interesting topic for any visual communication analysis. The high visual density of the newspapers can be linked on the one hand to the late development of literacy and on the other hand to the widespread television culture, which puts a literary medium in competition with a visual medium. In terms of its power to reach the masses, television is unarguably the main mass communication medium in Turkey.<sup>35</sup> Yet, the focus of this study is on the Turkish print press for two basic reasons: one theoretical and the other methodological. In addition to the aforementioned role it played in the modernization process, the press in Turkey is an elite institution and a leading player in agenda setting and in maintaining the positions and discussions around controversial issues. Methodologically, television is more complicated to analyze with its combination of moving images, sound and content<sup>36</sup> which require resources beyond this study. Compared to the round the clock content and

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<sup>34</sup> For more information see Sirman 1989; Göle 1996.

<sup>35</sup> According to the figures by Development Data Group, World Bank, 92% of households in Turkey had a television set by 2006 [http://devdata.worldbank.org/ict/tur\\_ict.pdf](http://devdata.worldbank.org/ict/tur_ict.pdf) <02.07.2008> According to a previous report by the same group, the newspaper readership per thousand people was 111 by 2001 [http://www.euroqualityfiles.net/cecistnet/FP6-FP7-portals/IST-ICT/Report/ictataglace\\_turkey.pdf](http://www.euroqualityfiles.net/cecistnet/FP6-FP7-portals/IST-ICT/Report/ictataglace_turkey.pdf) <02.07.2008>

<sup>36</sup> Since the analysis of television programs is highly complex, researchers focus on different aspects of television content. Let alone the images, the use of music might be very complicated in itself. For an interesting analysis of the use of sound and music in television news in Germany and Brazil in comparative perspective, see Leonardo Boccia (2005).

programming of television a daily newspaper offers a much more manageable data set.

### *1.2.2 Visualizing Gender: Research Questions*

Visuals matter. As Jewitt (1997) notes: “Visual representations are acknowledged (...) to be influential in shaping people’s views of the world. People constantly use visual data to interpret life, and visual data articulates the everyday realities that research based solely on written data may overlook” (Jewitt 1997: 1.1)<sup>37</sup> In short, visuals influence how we perceive the world. Even though Turkish newspapers are very rich in terms of visual material and the visual depiction of women, previous newspaper research in Turkey, as will be explained in the next chapter, focused basically on textual material. This is a major weakness considering the visual character of controversies centering on the visibility of women in the public sphere, be it the headscarf controversy or the back-page nude girls. Another weakness of earlier studies is their treatment of Islamic and secular press as separate and distinct camps. As Göçek (1999) puts it, “In everyday life, Islam and secularism interweave in Turkey to yield a multiplicity of hybrid experiences, not taken into account by the existing literature” (Göçek 1999: 532). Göçek’s observation is true for the print media in Turkey as well. As much as they used to be, and they still are, there is a growing interaction between the secular and Islamic newspapers since the 1990s<sup>38</sup> and approaching them as separate camps obscures the similarities between them as well as the differences within secular and within Islamic newspapers in terms of the ways females and males are depicted. Therefore, this study not only looks at the differences between secular and Islamic newspapers in Turkey but also to the differences within them in terms of the visual representation of gender. The basic research questions of the study can be formulated as the following:

- How are females and males represented visually in the Turkish print press today and how does this representation relate to the different political affiliations and socio-cultural standpoints reflected in the newspapers?

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<sup>37</sup> See also Ball and Smith 1992.

<sup>38</sup> For an analysis of the convergences between the secular and the Islamic media in terms of broadcasting see Öncü 2000.

- What are the differences *between* religious/conservative newspapers and the secular newspapers in terms of their portrayals of female and male images?
- What are the differences *within* religious and *within* secular newspapers in terms of the portrayals of female and male images?

### *1.2.3 Research Design and Organization of Chapters*

In theoretical terms the study is based on theories of visual communication as well as modernity and gender in Muslim countries. With its focus on female visuals in the newspapers it aims to incorporate the media aspect into the discussions about the interrelated problems of modernity, gender and visibility in the public sphere. In that sense the study focuses on the gender, culture and communication aspects of modernization, and aims to trace the common communication ground of the Turkish society at the crossroads between traditionalism and modernity. The theoretical discussions on gender, the role of the press, the visual dimension of the public sphere in Turkey as well as the previous media content research will be discussed in the following chapter.

In methodological terms the study represents an exploratory, inductive and qualitative approach. It is exploratory in the sense that it focuses on an under-researched field (visuals in Turkish newspapers). Its main methodological approach combines qualitative methods (iconology and visual semiotics) with quantitative visual content analysis. Its methodological approach is one of the main contributions of this study to the analysis of visuals. Firstly, a detailed coding sheet for visual content analysis was developed in the study. This is an original coding scheme developed particularly to study visuals and it can be applied in future research both for newspaper analysis and for television content with modifications. Secondly, iconology as a method, to my knowledge, has never been applied to the analysis of mass media images to a large extent, and this study explores its possibilities as a method to study contemporary mass media images. Iconology is seen both as an approach and a method to analyze images (Müller 2008). Therefore, the theoretical discussions on iconology will be covered in the next chapter, together with semiotics, and its methodological aspects will be discussed later in the fifth chapter on qualitative analysis of visuals.

The third chapter discusses the visual content analysis in depth with its respective advantages and disadvantages, and the questions of sampling,

validity and reliability. The fourth chapter summarizes the quantitative results obtained from the visual content analysis and lays the background for in-depth iconological and visual semiotic analysis of selected images in the fifth chapter. The study concludes with further evaluation and discussion of the qualitative and quantitative results, putting them into the perspective of socio-cultural analysis of present-day Turkey and points towards future directions for communication research.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO STUDYING GENDER REPRESENTATION IN MASS MEDIA

#### *2.1 Introduction*

Referring back to the image mentioned in the introduction, of the headscarved female dancing at a concert, which theoretical perspectives can help us to better understand that image and many similar others seen in print, as well as in broadcast media in Turkey as well as in Europe? How does this image help us to see the relationships between the print media, gender, Islam and modernity? Furthermore, what is the role the visual plays in these relationships? This chapter addresses these questions by selectively building upon the theories of modernity, media, gender and visual communication, situating the Turkish case with respect to the issues raised by these various theoretical considerations.

The study of media has been an area which is to a large extent neglected by sociologists. By drawing on selected studies available in the field of media and social theory (i.e. Thompson 1995; Curran and Park 2000; Garnham 2000) I will attempt to bring the sociological and communication approaches together to understand the relation between modernity and the mass communication media in the coming sections. I will base my analysis of the Turkish media and its relation to modernity and gender on the multiple modernities approach in particular (Eisenstadt 2000; Göle 1998a, 2000a, 2000b, 2003a, 2006; Sachsenmeier, Riedel and Eisenstadt 2002) and tackle the questions arising from the specificity of the Turkish context together with its empirical and theoretical potential to contribute to the field of media studies.

Communication systems in different countries have been part of the discussions on modernization mainly with respect to the role they played as indices of economic development. The number of radios and television sets per household, the total circulation figures of newspapers, mobile phone and internet use are still significant indicators of economic development and the degree of cultural production as well as consumption. The studies on modernization and communication during the 1960s approached developments in communication as part of national growth and assumed a direct link between modernization and the development of communication systems (i.e. Schramm 1963: 30). Looking at the technological side of communication and media, these

approaches neglected the complicated relation between the content of the media and different modernization processes. The studies that *were* interested in communication content and modernization (i.e. Mc Clelland 1963), rather looked at folk tales, forms of artistic expression and school books as symbol systems of a culture, than what was going on in print and other media. Studying the relationship between modernity and media content as a major symbolic system is a task that still waits to be undertaken.

Modernization theory is not at the core of today's mass communication and media research anymore. Since the 1960s the field has grown to include other perspectives and critiques, most importantly, feminist, post-modernist and post-structuralist critiques among others. Sexism in media content was, and still is, a major concern for feminist media academics. The initial questions about the construction of gender in media content were eventually linked to more complex theories to study different audiences, different reception contexts and multiple ways of interpreting a wide range of media messages. The production processes in the media have also evolved into another broad area where researchers study the organizational structures of the media companies, the impact of these structures upon the media content, and the role of the media practitioners in this process. In other words, the media content, its production and reception have become the basic areas that the researchers place particular focus in studying the media depending on their research questions.<sup>1</sup> This study focuses on the media content, not on the contexts of production and reception, neither the developmental aspects of communication systems in economic terms. It rather aims to link the contemporary approaches towards modernization and modernity to the content of print media in the context of Turkish society. And it argues that a visual analysis of gender is crucial in establishing and understanding such a link between modernity and the Turkish press.

The content of media products is not only a site for socio-cultural analysis, but also a battleground for symbolic meanings of representation, including the symbolic meanings of gender. As Van Zoonen (1994) points out, the women's movements in different places are not only about material struggle to obtain equal rights and opportunities for women, but also a symbolic struggle over the definitions of femininity and masculinity (Van Zoonen 1994: 12). In other words, gender representations are part and parcel of the ways different societies perceive

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<sup>1</sup> Recently, this separation was put into question by media researchers. Yet, the author still finds this categorization useful to design and conduct empirical studies.

and construct the relationships between females and males, and they are not free from the conflicting cultural and political agendas.

The representation of gender, particularly of women, in the mass media has been a research topic in academia since the late 1960s. Detailed studies on the portrayals of women in various print and broadcast media are still on the agenda of the researchers. Print and broadcast advertisements, women's and men's magazines, newspaper content, movies, television coverage in different genres like soap operas, family series, talk shows and the like, all provide material for the analysis of gender representation from various theoretical and methodological perspectives. Media products have been taken as a site where the position of women and the conceptions toward gender in society can be studied and analyzed. As Lemish puts it:

Media texts are perceived to be one of the prime cultural sites through which it is possible to study the position of women in society. This is an area within which our society presents itself publicly, defines our identity for us, establishes the parameters of consensus, and relegates what is perceived as unconventional to the margins (Lemish 2004: 42).

This study differs from various other studies on the gender representation in print media, both in Turkey and elsewhere, with its particular focus on visuals. Media "texts", in the sense of treating the visual information as "texts", and also the written message itself as the main unit of analysis, constituted the basic focus for many earlier studies in the field which will be discussed in the coming sections in this chapter. Because the visual is at the forefront of this study, the previous research on visuals from semiological and iconological traditions will be covered extensively towards the end of this chapter. In the next section, the place of the visual in the media, modernity, and the public sphere will be discussed. The theoretical discussions in this chapter on modernity, media, gender and visuals will clarify the rationale behind the research questions in this study and lay the background for further analysis of newspaper images in the quantitative and qualitative parts in the coming chapters.

## *2.2 Modernity and the Media*

Social theory in general and theories of modernity in particular paid little attention to the role the communication media played in the rise of modern societies. According to Thompson, this is due to an attitude of suspiciousness on the part of social theorists who are interested in long-term processes of social change and see media as an ephemeral sphere (Thompson 1995: 3). The legacy of classical social thought that attributed the key cultural dynamic in modern societies to the processes of rationalization and secularization also played a significant role in social theory's neglect of the communication media (Thompson 1995: 3). As Thompson argues:

The development of communication media was interwoven in complex ways with a number of other developmental processes which, taken together, were constitutive of what we have come to call "modernity". Hence, if we wish to understand the nature of modernity (...) then we must give a central role to the development of communication media and their impact (Thompson 1995: 3).

The classical theories of modernity focused on the transformative forces of capitalism. When it comes to the processes of cultural transformation, "social theorists and others have been looking in the wrong place for the signs of systematic cultural change" (Thompson: 1995: 45). Thompson suggests that shifting the focus of attention from values, attitudes and beliefs, which are elusive and extremely complex, to the symbolic forms and their modes of production and circulation provides a more systematic and clear-cut approach to gain a hold on the cultural transformations associated with the rise of modern societies (Thompson 1995: 46). His discussion on symbolic forms reminds McClelland's (1963) work that analyzed children's stories to compare the national development in Turkey and Iran. Yet, Thompson brings the media as a major producer of symbolic forms into the center of discussion. For him, the media is one of the "paradigmatic institutions", having a privileged basis for the exercise of cultural or "symbolic power", by which he means "[the] capacity to intervene in the course of events, to influence the actions of others, and indeed to create events, by means of the production and transmission of symbolic forms" (Thompson 1995: 14-17). Some of the other major cultural institutions are schools, universities, and religious institutions like the Church (Thompson 1995: 17). Garnham mentions the education system in modern societies as a major medium in terms of the production, circulation and appropriation of meanings carried by symbolic forms<sup>2</sup> and

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<sup>2</sup> Garnham's analysis partly draws on Bourdieu. See Bourdieu 1984.

points to the “struggle between systems of formal education and other public media for dominance as agents of socialization and legitimation” (Garnham 2000: 4). In other words, even though the media are not the sole agent in the field of symbolic forms and power, it plays a highly significant role in today’s societies with its industries and technologies, and even more so with its production and circulation of the symbolic content, contributing largely to the processes of creation of meaning.

In spite of the increasing role the electronic and the digital media plays in shaping the patterns of symbolic power, the print media has still a large share in the process of meaning creation to make sense of the socio-cultural as well as the political world surrounding us. It has also historical precedence. The role that the development of printing in the early modern period might have played, contributing to the later rise of nationalism by standardizing the vernacular languages, has been discussed in the literature (McLuhan 1962, 1964; Anderson 1983; Koloğlu 1992; Thompson 1995). In his theory of the public sphere Habermas (1962/1989) looked at the relationship between the emergence of the reading public and the development of a bourgeois public sphere. Habermas’s model has been criticized and put into question from various perspectives of historical, sociological, communication and gender research,<sup>3</sup> yet, the questions that were raised in his account on the relationship between the early development of print media and the public sphere remained powerful.

Different countries have different stories in relation to the development of their media systems, and its relation to modernity and the public sphere. The classical theories of modernity assumed a linear progressive model of social development that different societies would follow independent of their own circumstances. The classical theories assumed that the modernization process will be accompanied by increasing rationalization, differentiation and secularization. They also assumed, “the cultural program of modernity as it developed in modern Europe and the basic institutional constellations that emerged there would ultimately take over in all modernizing and modern societies” (Eisenstadt 2000: 1). Yet, these assumptions failed to explain complex empirical phenomena observed in different societies, with regard to general socio-political and cultural trends as well as the development of communication and media. These various societies (i.e. in Turkey, India, China etc.) were influenced by the

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<sup>3</sup> Criticisms to Habermas’ model of public sphere constitute a very large literature in itself which cannot be listed here. Among many others see Calhoun 1992; Thompson 1995; Fraser 2001.

original program of modernity in the West, yet, have followed different routes and the development of institutional constellations have taken different shapes, not necessarily following the West European path. As a response to these challenges, the notion of multiple modernities, developed by a group of scholars led by Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, suggests that, to understand the contemporary world the best way is to see it “as a story of continual constitution and reconstitution of a multiplicity of cultural programs” (Eisenstadt 2000: 2). In other words, the term suggests taking into account the different tracks of modernity followed in distinct parts of the world and establish their relationships with modernities as developed in the West.<sup>4</sup> As Eisenstadt puts it:

One of the most important implications of the term “multiple modernities” is that modernity and Westernization are not identical; Western patterns of modernity are not the only “authentic” modernities, though they enjoy historical precedence and continue to be a basic reference point for others” (Eisenstadt 2000: 2-3).

Nilüfer Göle carried the notion of multiple modernities to the sociological analysis of Turkish society and its controversial issues in relation to Islam and the public sphere.<sup>5</sup> For her, the Turkish experience of modernity is very rich both in terms of its history of westernization and of the ways in which the Western modernity is appropriated and indigenized in contemporary Turkish society. Differently from Eisenstadt, Göle focuses on the concept of non-Western modernities (1998). This does not mean that she completely rejects or opposes the multiple modernities approach. By employing the term non-Western modernities she aims to bring the decisive influence of the Western modernity over the later modernities and the indigenous appropriations of it more to the fore. While the term multiple modernities does not imply a center, in the term non-Western modernities the West is explicitly there in the name of the term as a reference point. It emphasizes how the “West” as a conceptual and practical model was taken as a reference for Turkish modernization. On the one hand this is the strength of the term, naming a center, the West, and envisaging the relationships between the Western modernity and the others in a complex web of different appropriations, not necessarily

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<sup>4</sup> The term suggests that there is no single experience of modernity in the West either, i.e. French experience is different from the German and Italian experience of modernity.

<sup>5</sup> For other accounts explaining Turkish modernization with the concepts of “later modernities” and “alternative modernities” see Davison 1998, 2007; Kaya 2004; Keyman 2007. Different from Göle, these accounts do not deal with gender relations in their explanations of Turkish modernity. See also Sajoo 2008 for “Muslim modernities.”

following and imitating each other in a linear fashion with similar consequences. Yet, on the other hand, the term is open to misunderstandings because it has the loaded word the “West” in it. Even though this is not what the term wants to suggest, it conjures up the old-fashioned distinctions between the West and the non-West particularly for the contemporary neo-orientalists who still wholeheartedly believe the cultural and moral superiority of the West. Bringing the West to the center limits the flexibility of the term for cross cultural comparison as well. For instance, the modernization process in Spain at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the women’s changing use of space reminds Turkish modernization. Munson (2002) argues that women’s public presence was a crucial element in Spain’s desire to “modernize” and “Europeanize” (Munson 2002: 63, quotes in original). The term “non-Western modernities” poses difficulties in accounting for the similarities between the modernities of countries such as Spain and Turkey, because the boundaries of “Europe” and the “West” are constantly shifting. If we want to employ the term in media research and work on the similarities between the Turkish media system and the media systems in the South European countries such as Spain, Portugal and Greece, how does it make sense to employ the Western and non-Western categories? In that respect, by avoiding the word “West,” the term multiple modernities opens up a more flexible and tension-free space to conduct empirical cross cultural research without bothering with the geographical and philosophical borders of the “West.”

In spite of their different limitations, the notions of multiple and non-Western modernities trigger thought and open up space to study the relations between modernity and Turkish media both in its uniqueness and in relation to other contexts of the relationships between media and modernity. As in sociological theory, in communication and media studies, there are growing attempts to “de-westernize” the field (Curran and Park 2000) with the aim of broadening the media theory by taking into account “the experience of countries outside the Anglo-American orbit” (Curran and Park 2000: 11). Curran and Park point to the failure of the communication theories of the 1950s and 1960s – which are mainly based on the classical approach to modernity and assumed that the developing world should imitate the West— to explain the different tracks that the media systems have taken in many pro-Western developing countries (2000: 4-5). Such theories assumed that the modern communication and media systems would inform people about the world

outside of their localities and eventually convert them into a participant public of a strong political democracy.<sup>6</sup> But, as Curran and Park argue:

This is not how “modernization” in fact took place in many pro-Western developing countries. The national development model was invoked to justify a repressive political system and the arbitrary exercise of political power. The media system was directed toward maintaining control rather than educating for democracy. In other words, modernization theory was used to restrict freedom of expression and to justify political indoctrination (Curran and Park 2000: 5).

As the above quote suggests, the Western experience of modernity in relation to the role of the media is not repeated in other developing contexts. In other words, the relationship between Western and non-Western modernities is best described not as a symmetrical, but as an asymmetrical relationship (Göle 1998). Curran and Park’s above quote describes, even though partially, the way modernization theory is applied to the Turkish case as well, i.e., a concept of modernization not employed to foster and guarantee the free expression of opinions but serving more for securing ideological allegiance to the state. In the coming section on the role of the media in Turkish modernization, the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be explored.

### *2.2.1 Modernity and the Turkish Media*

The media system in Turkey remains under-theorized both in itself and in relation to other media systems. According to the media scholar Christian Christensen, as a subject of academic research “[Turkey] has found itself caught in an intellectual and theoretical ‘no man’s land’ located somewhere between south-eastern Europe and the Middle East” (Christensen 2007: 180). In research on comparative media systems the Turkish case is not mentioned among the South-eastern European countries in spite of its many similarities with the countries in the region (i.e. Hallin and Mancini 2004), and the research on the Middle Eastern

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<sup>6</sup> Curran and Park take Daniel Lerner’s approach as “the most coherent view of how a modern communication system supposedly contributes to the transition from ‘tradition’ to modernity” (Curran and Park 2000: 4), see Lerner (1963). Sreberny (2000: 64) also cites Lerner’s highly influential book, *The Passing of Traditional Society* (1958) as providing one of the most powerful models of modernization based on the paradigm of communications and development. She draws attention to the fact that this model emerged out of empirical research conducted in Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran during the late 1950s (Sreberny 2000: 64). Yet, for her, Lerner’s model of modernization was “deeply flawed: triumphalist, unilinear, stagist” (ibid.)

media systems focuses mainly on the Arabic speaking countries, leaving out not only Turkey, but also Israel and Iran “for linguistic, cultural and religious reasons” (Sreberny 2000: 70). The confusion over Turkey’s regional location is best exemplified in the work of the Global Media Monitoring project, which in its 2000 report classified Turkey under the Middle East, and changed this in its 2005 report, classifying Turkey in Europe (GMMP 2007: 61).

The available accounts of the Turkish media system are mostly descriptive without an analytical and theoretical framework. In one of the few exceptions Christensen, drawing on Hallin and Papathanassopoulos (2002), suggests theorizing the substantial empirical material on Turkish media in comparison to the media systems in south-eastern Europe and parts of Latin America, and argues that a comprehensive understanding of the post 1980s south-eastern European media systems would be incomplete without incorporating the research on Turkey into the analysis (Christensen 2007: 182, 196). According to Christensen “the historical similarities (authoritarian rule, military coups, economic fluctuations, heavy media censorship and state control, rapid liberalization, etc.) between Turkey and, for example, Spain and Greece, provide interconnected contexts within which to consider recent developments in Turkish media” (Christensen 2007: 182). The similarities between the Turkish media and the south European media systems were pointed out in other studies as well (Özcan 2007; Bek 2008) based on the comparative framework developed by Hallin and Mancini (2004). Theorizing the media system in Turkey is a task beyond the limits of this study. Yet, it is important to point it out as a field waiting to be explored further.

Furthermore, the contemporary and historical accounts of the Turkish media focus particularly on the legal, economic and political aspects of the development of the media in Turkey and its relationship with the state (i.e. Koloğlu 1992; Turam 1994; Gürkan 1998; Tılıç 1998; Topuz 2003). This is particularly because the state played a decisive role in the shaping and development of the Turkish print and broadcast media. Yet, the role that the media played in the cultural domain, also with respect to the changing gender conceptions in tune with the modernizing mission of the state is, to the author’s knowledge, not given an in-depth treatment by the media historians. Neither, the print and the electronic media were historically and culturally put into a perspective with regard to the role they played (if any) in the emergence of the public sphere in Turkey. In the following, an account of the development of print media in Turkey will be provided, albeit briefly, and the political aspects of this process will be highlighted to the extent that such an account contributes to a

better understanding of the contemporary state of the print media, modernity and gender in Turkey.

When we look at the history of print publishing and the press, first of all the development of printing took a different track in the Ottoman Empire than in Europe, the causes of which are a point of debate among Ottoman historians. Under the centralized state rule, the printing technology that was introduced to the Empire simultaneously with Europe in the 16<sup>th</sup> century remained limited to the publication of a very small range of books among minority populations of the Empire until the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> Book and newspaper printing started to flourish simultaneously in the Empire. Koloğlu takes this as a significant characteristic that shapes the nature of the newspaper culture in these formative years (Koloğlu 1992: 14).

A major historical characteristic of the development of the press in the Ottoman Empire is that newspaper publishing did not emerge as a result of an internal dynamic but as an initiative of the state. The political and cultural influence of the European powers of that time was decisive in this process. The first newspaper that emerged within the territories of the Empire, (*Bulletin de Nouvelles*, 1795 ) was published by the French Consulate (Koloğlu 1992: 11; Kabacalı 2000: 47). The Ottoman officials were interested in the newspaper publishing in Europe basically to follow what had been written about the Empire by the rising colonial powers of the time (Koloğlu 1992). The germs of the newspaper publishing in the Empire emerged with the establishment of a Translation Bureau by the Ottoman government which eventually led to the publication of the first official newspaper (*Takvim-i Vakâyi*, 1831) for the purposes of internal flow of information among different ranks of the state and to inform the people about the state's activities (Koloğlu 1992: 15; Kabacalı 2000: 48-52; Ogan 2003). The first private newspaper in Turkish, *Tercüman-ı Ahval*, appeared in 1860 (Koloğlu 1992: 31; Kabacalı 2000: 63). There were two strands of newspaper publishing in these initial decades of newspaper publishing in the Empire. On the one hand there were official newspapers published by the Ottoman state (*vilayet gazeteleri*) not only in Turkish but also in various languages depending on the local language of the region, French, English, Arabic, Bulgarian, Serbian, Greek, Persian, Armenian, and Askenazi (Koloğlu 1992: 20-24). On the other hand, different ethnic groups published their own independent newspapers (Koloğlu 1992: 25-30). Koloğlu notes that Istanbul, and to a

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<sup>7</sup> For an extensive account of the development of the press and publishing houses in the Ottoman Empire see Koloğlu 1992; Kabacalı 2000.

lesser extent, İzmir and Beirut were the centers of these publications (Koloğlu 1992: 30).

Until the end of the First World War in 1918, the Turkish language press in the Ottoman land has passed through periods of freedom and heavy state censorship (particularly under Abdülhamid II, between 1878 and 1908). The non-official Turkish language press was disadvantaged and under much heavier control in comparison to the press in other ethnic languages whose rights were protected by the European powers (Koloğlu 1992: 44). In spite of the heavy state control the press in Turkish language provided a lively intellectual forum where opinions were formed and debated about the future of the declining Empire, ranging from the discussions on the adoption of Latin script to the modernization of the family law (Koloğlu 1992: 24). The seeds of the major intellectual movements of the time, Ottomanism, Islamism, and nationalism were developed in the Ottoman press by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Feminism is generally not mentioned by the (male) historians among the major intellectual movements of the time, but it should definitely be added to the list. Ottoman women's magazines were influential in motivating a women's movement. They closely followed the feminist movements elsewhere and informed their female audiences. They assertively expressed their demands for changes in women's roles and status in the late Ottoman society (Çakır 1993; Zilfi 1997; Demirdirek 1998; Berktaş 2001; Van Os 2001; Zihnioğlu 2003; Akpolat 2004).

The demise of the Ottoman Empire by the end of the First World War (1918) corresponded to a transition from a multilingual to a monolingual print media system along with the rising Turkish nationalism (Koloğlu 1992). Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) was very quick to see the importance of the communication networks. One of the first measures that he took when he set out to organize a resistance movement in Anatolia against the allied powers and the Ottoman government in 1919 was the control of the telegraph networks and the establishment of a news agency (Anadolu Ajansı) that is still in operation today (Koloğlu 1992: 61; Ogan 2003: 512). The print press of the period between 1919 and 1922 was characterized by the tension between the supporters of the Ottoman Sultan in Istanbul and the resistance movement organized in Ankara (Koloğlu 1992; Gürkan 1998; Kabacalı 2000; Topuz 2003), which ended with the success of the resistance movement, the abolition of the sultanate and the declaration of the republic in 1923.

The press supporting the new regime became an important medium to disseminate the public the new modernizing reforms. For instance *Cumhuriyet*, one of the newspapers included in this study, was established in 1924 in Ankara in support of the new Turkish government.<sup>8</sup> During the first decades of the republic until the 1950s, “party-press parallelism”<sup>9</sup> was the main characteristic of the press in Turkey. Parties had links with the newspapers advocating their views. The flourishing of private economic enterprises and businesses in Turkey took impetus after the 1950s. The press had strong ties with the state both in terms of financial dependency for paper subsidies and advertising revenues coming from the economic enterprises owned by the state (State Economic Enterprises – SES). These subsidies continued until 1980. Both because of its original development, not emerging out of the internal societal dynamics but as an official need of the state, and its later dependency on state subsidy, the contribution of the press to the development of the public sphere in Turkey was not totally independent of the state. This is coupled by the overlaps between the Kemalist state ideology and the journalistic ideology in Turkey.

Yet, it is important to emphasize that the press was not the only mass medium of communication and careful analysis is needed not to overestimate its role to disseminate the republican ideology in its early years.<sup>10</sup> Along with the newspapers and magazines, radio and cinema<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> For more information on the Kemalist press between 1919 and 1945 see: Gevgilili 1990; Koloğlu 1992; Gürkan 1998; Kabacalı 2000; Türker 2000; Bali 2002, 2006; Topuz 2003. For a concise summary of the early development of press in Turkey see Ogan 2004. Bali provides the circulation figures for newspapers between 1928 and 1945 (Bali 2006: 57–60).

<sup>9</sup> The concept of party-press parallelism is proposed by Seymour-Ure 1974 and Blumler and Gurevitch 1975 (quoted in Hallin and Mancini 2004: 27). Hallin and Mancini adapted this term to their work as “political parallelism” (Hallin and Mancini 2004: 27)

<sup>10</sup> It is very difficult to get information on the circulation figures of newspapers for the early republican period in Turkey. Based on archival research, Rıfat Bali provided figures for newspaper circulation in Turkey between 1928 and 1945 (Bali 2006: 57–60; article first published in *Tarih ve Toplum*, May 2002). The population of Turkey between those years was around 13 to 15 million people (see *Türk Toplumunda Kadın* 2001). The newspaper *Ulus* had a circulation of 25.000 by 1932 and this is the highest figure in Bali’s list for the period. The newspaper *Cumhuriyet* had a circulation of 8000 by 1928 and 16.000 by 1945 (Bali 2006: 58–60). The overall newspaper circulation in 1931 was estimated as 150.000 as average (The U.S. National Archives, Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey 1930–1944, quoted in Bali 2006: 57).

Bali’s article is also accessible at:

were part and parcel of the modernizing process in Turkey and all these media played crucial roles in different degrees in the dissemination of images and the westernized role models to be emulated. Turkish cinema resisted the domination of Hollywood with its domestic productions until the 1970s. Radio was an important medium of communication as well, so much so that the radio broadcasting station in Istanbul was the first place the army took over during the 1960 military coup. Television was introduced to the media scene in Turkey during the first half of the 1970s and opened up a new era. Not much is known about the media's role in the modernization of Turkish society before the introduction of television particularly in terms of the reception of the media content. This is also due to the difficulties in measuring the impact of various media when sources and information is scarce for audience behavior.

Understanding the early political development of the Turkish press is useful for the purposes of this study to the extent that it sheds light on the contemporary character of the Turkish press in terms of its cultural content. It is important to emphasize that the mainstream press in Turkey appropriated the Kemalist ideology to a considerable extent and the ideological positions of the media elite overlap with the ideology of the state on controversial political issues. In her article on political cartoonists' contribution to the democratic process in Turkey, Tunç named some of these controversial issues as the Kurdish problem, criticism of the founder of the republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the secular nature of the society, and the military (Tunc 2002: 59, see also Çatalbaş 2007). Yet, this is not to say that controversial issues are not discussed and criticized in the mainstream media outside of the ideological framework of the state at all. The picture is more complicated and can rather be explained as a discursive struggle in which the Kemalist ideology succeeded to have the upper hand especially until the 1990s.

According to Ferree, Gamson, Gerhards and Rucht (2002) public sphere is a set of various forums and the general-audience mass media provide a master forum among others (Ferree et al 2002: 10). The mass media forum is composed of three parts: arena, gallery and backstage (ibid.: 10). Various speech acts are carried out in the arena

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[http://www.rifatbali.com/images/stories/dokumanlar/tek\\_partili\\_donemde\\_gazete\\_tirajlari.pdf](http://www.rifatbali.com/images/stories/dokumanlar/tek_partili_donemde_gazete_tirajlari.pdf) <28.08.2008> See also Özükan 1983.

<sup>11</sup> The role of the Turkish cinema in Turkish modernization is already documented in the literature to some extent. As examples, see the articles in the edited volumes on Turkish Film Studies (in Turkish) by Bayrakdar (Derman) 2001, 2003, 2004; as well as Onaran, Abisel, Köker and Köker 1994; Bali 2007.

... to convey a message about either the policy issue under discussion or the organization that they are speaking for. Commentary on the issue is an attempt to convey a preferred way of framing it and to increase the relative prominence of the preferred frames in the mass media arena (ibid.: 10).

According to Ferree et al the term “discursive opportunity structure” refers to the character of the media arena. Unlike the field in a soccer stadium, the playing field of the discursive opportunity structure is “full of hills and valleys, barriers, traps, and impenetrable jungles” (ibid.: 62). Furthermore depending on the larger political opportunity structure, “[t]his complex playing field provides advantages and disadvantages in an uneven way to the various contestants in framing contests” (ibid.: 62). As a result, certain actors and frames become more prominent in public discourse than others (ibid.: 62). The role of the Turkish state in shaping the media arena in Turkey can be better described within such a framework: as a prominent and powerful, yet, not the only player in a challenging and constantly changing field. In other words, the state has been a significant actor in shaping the “discursive opportunity structure” (Ferree, Gamson, Gerhards and Rucht 2002) in the talks about the issues of general public concern in Turkey.

The 1980s opened up a new era for the liberalization of the economy which had a major influence on the shape of the media scene in Turkey. It is for this reason that studies on Turkish print and broadcast media take the 1990s, as the decade during which the effects of the measures of liberalization became strongly visible in the media, as a turning point. Islamic media also flourished in this period to a large extent and became a competing actor in the discursive opportunity structure in Turkey with its different framing of issues pertaining particularly to Islam. No need to say that Islamic publications and newspapers did exist before, but after the 1990s they gained a new momentum. By the beginning of the new millennium the Islamic newspaper Zaman for instance, turned into a mass circulating liberal Islamic daily. Islamic television channels also flourished during this period (Öncü 1995, 2000).

In sum, the media was an ally to spread the modernizing cultural program of the state to the population. The new place of the woman in society constituted one of the backbones of this modernizing cultural program (Göle 1996). The print press in general and the newspapers in particular were agents carrying the new gender conceptions and the idealized images of westernized women, to the people. The Kemalist press was an

ardent supporter of Kemalist reforms (Kırkpınar 1998: 20).<sup>12</sup> Women's magazines were another genre that aimed to reinforce the new gender role conceptions and visibilities. Even a brief look to the covers of women's magazines from 1928 until 1996<sup>13</sup> testifies to this point. Newspapers translated the new concept of westernized woman to their readers in contradictory ways. A new form of gender visibility is introduced both in concrete public spaces<sup>14</sup> and in diverse forms of cultural symbolism. In other words, the transformation of the dress and the accompanying new gender visibilities constituted a major part of the cultural project of modernization in Turkey. The next section aims to cover these complex relationships between modernity, visibility and gender, and sheds light on the role that the communication media play in these relationships.

### *2.2.2 Modernity, Visibility and Gender*

The centrality of the visual to the modern experience has been addressed and discussed in an accelerated way particularly following the post-modernist critiques to the basic assumptions of the modernization theory. For instance, in his influential book *Discipline and Power* (1979), Foucault addressed the changing relations between power and visibility in modern societies. Yet, he did not focus on the role of the media in this transformation (Thompson 1995: 134). The expansion of mass media and the increasing production and circulation of visuals have transformed the nature of visibility and its relationship with power (Thompson 1995: 120). "Traditional publicness of co-presence" left its place to mediated

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<sup>12</sup> What is here mentioned as "Kemalist reforms" refer to a series of wide ranging reforms that took place mainly between 1923 and 1938, named after Mustafa Kemal (1881–1938). These reforms changed the contours of socio-cultural, economic and political structures in Turkey with direct implications to the everyday lives of the people and gender relations. To name a few: the secularization of the constitution and the public life; the adoption of the Swiss civil code; change of the alphabet from the Arabic to the Latin script; change of the measurement and calendar systems; the education reform which, among other things, brought compulsory education for girls. These reforms aimed to give a new "Western" direction to the country. Turkish women obtained their rights to vote and to be elected to the parliament as early as 1934, ahead of many of their sisters in Europe and in the U.S. For more information on Kemalist reforms see Zürcher 1993; for the interpretations of these reforms from a gender perspective see Berktaş-Hacımirzaoğlu 1998.

<sup>13</sup> See the bibliography by Davaz-Mardin (1998) for the cover pages and the editorial introductions of women's magazines published between 1928 and 1996.

<sup>14</sup> The experiences of the early generation of women who lived through this huge transformation in their personal lives have been documented in a pilot history project led by the Women's Library in Turkey. For more information on this and similar other oral history projects See İlyasoğlu 1998, 2001.

publicness (Thompson 1995: 125-126). Rose summarized the place of the visual during the different turning points of modernity:

This narrative of the increasing importance of the visual to contemporary Western societies is part of a wider analysis of the shift from premodernity to modernity, and from modernity to post modernity (...). It is often suggested – or assumed – that in premodern societies, visual images were not especially important, partly because there were so few of them in circulation. This began to change with the onset of modernity. In particular, it is suggested that modern forms of understanding the world depend on a scopic regime that equates seeing with knowledge (Rose 2007: 3).

The rise of the visual has initially been interpreted with suspicion, even with a sort of iconoclasm (Mitchell 2005, Mirzoeff 1999). The “pictorial turn” (Mitchell 1994) has been seen as threatening to the privileged position of language and the culture of reading. Among many others, Neil Postman (1985) for instance attacked television and compared the public of television with the traditional reading publics. Habermas also underestimated the role of the new visual media in the construction of the public sphere and failed to understand the new forms of publicness created by the media (Thompson 1995: 131-132). Habermas’ model of the public sphere which is rooted in the world of letters and which approaches the rise of the electronic media as a threat to public debate has been subject to criticism from the point of visual analysis as well. For instance, for Hariman and Lucaites visual rhetorics play a fundamental role for the constitution of public identity, and the public sphere depends not only on rational debate but on visual rhetorics as well (Hariman and Lucaites 2003: 36).

The expansion of images accompanied an increased academic interest in the study of visuals. Under the terms such as “visual culture”, “visual studies” and “visual communication” scholarly disciplines of different traditions study visuals of different sorts from art historical, humanities, and communication perspectives (Müller 2007a). Following a Foucauldian approach Becker, in her article that aims to look at the practices of journalism from the perspective of visual culture, argues that the term visual culture “describes a particular relationship between seeing and knowledge” (2007: 4) and what is considered visual arises out of a particular set of cultural and historical circumstances. According to her, journalism as a cultural form and as a visually-based practice is not free from such social, cultural and historical exigencies and from the hegemony of vision in modernity. Throughout the development of modernity and its accompanying discourses, “[k]nowledge became allied

with the camera's eye as the model of objective truth. The journalist joined the alliance as its most active and visible observer of contemporary society (Becker 2007: 7). Thus, modernity, and journalism have been intermingled with each other in the formation of contemporary ideologies of knowledge and visual culture.

A sociological approach on the significance of the question of visibility and modernity based on the Turkish example is provided by Nilüfer Göle whose work focuses on the relationship between Islamic movements and the public sphere in Muslim societies. Göle does not specifically work on visuals, neither on journalism. She is not a communication scientist; she is a sociologist therefore visuals per se are not at the focus of her work, yet she drew attention to the importance of the ocular and bodily performances in sociological analysis, and references to visual materials constitute a significant part of her theory. Her approach is helpful particularly in bringing the gender aspect of visibility and modernity into the picture.

Göle is a forerunner who brought the headscarf question to the attention of sociological research in Turkey. Her book *Forbidden Modern* (1996) was first published in Turkish in 1991 (*Modern Mahrem*) and broke the taboos in Turkish academia by going against the dominant Kemalist view that approaches the headscarf as a remnant of backwardness and obscurantism. In *Forbidden Modern* Göle explains in detail the way the Kemalist civilization project penetrated deeply in the everyday lives of the Kemalist elites. Inspired by sociologist Norbert Elias<sup>15</sup> she gives a very vivid description of how the Kemalist project aimed at a civilization shift from the Islamic to the western civilization and how this project worked at the everyday level; in homes, in public spaces, in the way the people are dressed (Göle 1996; 1998). She argued that gender constituted the backbone of the Kemalist civilizational shift from the Islamic to the western; and the female visibility in public places together with men acquired a high symbolic importance. In her words:

In the republican Kemalist project, women appear as the edifiers of a “new nation” and a “new life,” that is a modern, “civilized,” European way of living both in the private and the public spheres. The new modernist representations of a “prestigious life” appeared in photographs of unveiled women, women in athletic competitions, women pilots, women professionals and men and women living European lifestyles (Göle 1998: 59)

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<sup>15</sup> Norbert Elias (1978): *The History of Manners: The Civilizing Process*, vol. 1. New York: Pantheon Books.

In her later work Göle particularly strengthened her arguments on the relationship between gender and the public sphere in Islamic contexts. In her article, *Gendered Nature of the Public Sphere* (1997) she drew attention to the particular characteristics of the public sphere in Turkish society that distinguishes it from the Habermasian bourgeois public sphere.<sup>16</sup> For her, rather than the discursive rational critical debate, gender played the main role in the creation of the public sphere in Turkey. This led her to focus on non-discursive, performative dimensions of the public sphere where body and space as sites in which the ocular dimension of gender relationships plays the main role. She borrows the concept of social imaginaries from Cornelius Castoriadis<sup>17</sup> and links it with the public sphere and the significance of images:

Moreover, in non-Western contexts, the public sphere provides a stage for the didactic performance of the modern subject in which the nonverbal, corporeal, and implicit aspects of social imaginaries are consciously and explicitly worked out. Because the public sphere provides a stage for performance rather than an abstract frame for textual and discursive practices, the ocular aspect in the creation of significations and the making of social imaginaries becomes of utmost importance. Social imaginaries are carried by images. The body, as a sensorial and emotional register, links the implicit nonverbal practices and learned dispositions (namely habitus) into a public visibility and conscious meaning (Göle 2002: 177).

Thus, she approaches the discussions over Islam and headscarf within the framework of a performative public sphere where body, gender and space as ocular sites acquire importance. Her recent work carries the visual dimension of Turkish secularism more to the fore. In the same article quoted above titled, *Islam in Public: New Visibilities and New Imaginaries* she analyzes the case of Merve Kavakçı, the first female deputy with headscarf who entered into the Turkish parliament following the April 18, 1999 general elections. Kavakçı's presence in the parliament created such a huge uproar on the side of the Kemalist establishment that she had to leave the parliament without being able to take her oath during the opening ceremony in May 2, 1999. Göle takes this case for analysis; and even though she does not name it as such she provides sort of an

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<sup>16</sup> Jürgen Habermas (1989): *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press. (Originally published in 1962 in German).

<sup>17</sup> Cornelius Castoriadis (1987): *The Imaginary Institution of Society*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

iconographical reading of the image of the female deputy with headscarf in the context of the crisis that followed her visibility in the parliament.

Not surprisingly Göle's discussions on the significance of "the centrality of gender as well as related corporeal regimens and spatial protocols in the making of the public sphere" (Göle 2002: 177) is inspired by social theorists who paid more attention to ocular dimensions in societies than their contemporaries. For instance Georg Simmel's idea of snapshots appears as a methodological motif in Göle's work,<sup>18</sup> where she treats single cases or significant events as photographic frames, as snapshots (i.e. a sex scandal in a religious order; an Islamic novel; an article in which a former Islamist reflects on his commitments; female deputy with headscarf in parliament) and blows them up to see their deeper meanings. Not all cases she refers to are necessarily visual in nature, like the novel by an Islamist, but she treats them as photographic frames for analysis. Erving Goffman is another social theorist appearing in Göle's work. Even though Göle does not refer to Goffman's main work on visual analysis, *Gender A dvertisements* (1979), she refers to Goffman's other interactionist work on the centrality of the eye with a unique sociological function. She carries Goffman's argument on the eye to the importance of gaze in contexts where issues of religion and gender are in question (Göle 2002: 188). But for her when gender in Muslim contexts is concerned eye is not the only sensory organ that is important. Gender redefines borders with multiple senses: "sight, smell, touch and hearing" (Göle 2002: 188) all become important when women cross the borders.

Göle cites a number of places that acquired additional symbolic value and have become public sites of visual modernity (Göle 2002: 185). In her words:

Secularism is enacted as a modern social imaginary through gendered, corporeal and spatial performances. In that respect, some common spaces are transformed as they gain additional symbolic value and become public sites of visual modernity and gendered secular performances. In addition to Parliament, schools, and the workplace, places such as beaches, opera and concert halls, coffeehouses, fashion shows, public gardens, and public transportation all become sites for modern self-presentations. They are instituted and imagined as public spaces through these daily micropractices in which men and women rehearse and improvise in public their new self-presentations, dress codes, bodily postures, aesthetic and cultural tastes, and leisure activities (Göle 2002: 185).

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<sup>18</sup> See her article: *Snapshots of Islamic Modernities* (2000).

There is one additional site that is lacking in Göle's list: the media as a public site in which images for identity and self presentation is constantly produced, distributed and received by multiple audiences. Göle draws attention to the ways in which women's bodies become a site of conflict for contesting social projects and brings the problem of visibility into sociological focus but leaves the communication and media aspects of the problem untouched. Media is a crucial provider of images that shape "social imaginaries", and the role the media played in Turkey in particular is significant in this respect. In fact, Göle's own analysis draws examples from media images (for instance the sex scandal in a religious order; the Merve Kavakçı case) without particularly focusing on the role the print and electronic media played to distribute those images.

This study treats the media images as a significant source shaping people's ideas about their own society. Female visuals in that regard are particularly important. The historical research also testifies to the significance of the image of the female in pointing out the overall changes in society. For instance in her book *The Girl on the Magazine Cover, The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media*, Carolyn Kitch refers to film historian Sumiko Higashi who in his work on the movies of the 1920s argues that the image of womanhood in a society is resistant to change and each time a change in the image occurs, society experiences certain transformations (Kitch 2001: 128). Another historian, Michael Kimmel, again quoted in Kitch, argues that "definitions of masculinity are historically *reactive* to changing definitions of femininity" (Kitch 2001: 6, emphasis original). Landes (2001) examined the representations of the female body in the revolutionary context of France and suggested that these representations were "a powerful motif in shaping ideas of the nation, including the roles of male and female citizens" (Landes 2001: 173)

The Turkish case provides evidence for the above arguments on the history of female images. The great changes in Turkish society that were experienced following the declaration of the republic in 1923 were accompanied by a crucial change in the image of the female. Illustration 2.1 shows a typical "before and after" image that is engraved in the minds of many Turks. In fact the change in the image was observable even before the declaration of the Republic in 1923. The depictions in the Ottoman cartoons between 1908 and 1911, analyzed by Palmira Brummet show that "the female figures played a set of highly significant roles in the satirical representation of revolutionary reality [1908 revolution where the Sultan Abdülhamid II was dethroned]. They symbolized the nation, its honor and its vulnerability..." (Brummet 1998a: 13). Finally,

the rise of the headscarf debate starting from the 1960s, reaching a climax during the 1980s and afterwards, with a new image of women, also pointed to significant changes that were taking place at the societal level.

Besides, dress is not a side issue in understanding and explaining social change and it is coming more to the attention of today's researchers.<sup>19</sup> Nora Şeni (1990) gave a detailed account of the change in the Ottoman women's dress in response to the westernization of the Ottoman Empire. She approached dress as a rich and valuable resource in studying changes of mentality in the Ottoman Turkish society by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Şeni 1990: 43). Her study of the depiction of fashion and female dress at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century in Ottoman humor magazines showed how changes in dress reflected conflicts on different socio-cultural projects. She pointed out that the details of female dress such as the length of the skirt, the thickness of the veil, the type of the fabric, all screened competing attitudes towards modernization and different societal preferences (1990: 45). Charlotte Perkins Gilman<sup>20</sup> (1860–1935), a well known sociologist of her era whose work focused on the symbolism and sociology of clothing approached cloth as “a social tissue” in her serialized articles, *The Dress of Women*, (*Forerunner*, 1915), published for the first time in book form in 2002 (edition by Hill and Deegan 2002: 3). Gilman identified the primary motives in clothing as protection, warmth, decoration, modesty and symbolism (ibid.: 7). For the purposes of this study the last two of the primary motives listed by Gilman are directly relevant. Even though she wrote in a different era her approach to dress is helpful to understand and further theorize the social significance of dress in general and female dress in particular. Her concept of “modesty in dress” might sound weird in the context of i.e. contemporary European societies, but makes good sense in analyzing the women's Islamic clothing in Muslim societies. By “modesty” she means “a form of sex-consciousness, especially peculiar to woman (...) The mere insistence on a totally different costume for men and women is based on

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<sup>19</sup> As examples see: Entwistle 2000; Eicher, Evenson, Lutz 2000; Corrigan 2008; Ross 2008. Also for body and society see Turner 1984/2008; Shilling 2008.

<sup>20</sup> Charlotte Perkins Gilman's work remained in shadow especially due to “The Dark Era of Patriarchal Ascendancy” (Deegan 1991: 15-21; Hill and Deegan 2002: xi), the period at which following the Second World War, by the returning of the men to graduate classes “women scholars in the academy tended to be forced out of liberal arts and social science departments into new applied disciplines such as social work, home economics and education” (Grant, Stalp, Ward 2002: 72). According to Hill and Deegan, Gilman's work anticipates Erving Goffman's *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) and *Gender Advertisements* (1979) (Hill and Deegan 2002: x), and they also point out to the mutual influence between Gilman's and Thorstein Veblen's (1857-1929) sociological work (ibid. xiv-xvii).

this idea—that we should never forget sex” (ibid.: 10). She gives the example of a maiden who blushes and casts down her eyes when a man approaches her as an instance of this “modesty”, “it shows that she knows he is a male and she is a female” (ibid.: 10). Entwistle argued that even today’s unisex clothes “display an overriding obsession with gender” (Entwistle 2000: 140).

For Gilman the notions of modesty in dress is applied to women for the most part and not to men (ibid.: 11). In contrast, symbolism in dress pertains to both women and men. She discusses this “governing influence” in dress with vivid examples from the male clothing (ibid.: 11). According to her “Even in the more directly practical garments of men, the symbolic element cries loudly, though unnoticed” (ibid.: 11). Her basic examples for the symbolism in dress are uniforms and livery (ibid.: 13). Another example that she mentions is starch. She argues that starch is not beautiful, is not comfortable and is not cleanness, but “finds its main value in proving that the wearer is not a ‘working man’ (...) and that he is able to pay for the useless labor of stiffening and polishing his linen” (ibid.: 12, 13).

Even though the class distinctions in some of Gilman’s examples have disappeared today, her argument on the symbolism in clothing is still valid. Since Gilman’s era the way people dress has become more and more uniform with the adoption of Western dress. Robert Ross gives a historical account of the spread of Western dress due to the cultural, political and economic power of Europe starting from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Yet, he emphasizes that this increasing global similarity pertains more to the male, rather than the female clothing, which in many instances used to stress distinction from the Western (former colonial) norm. Ross argues that the adoption of European-style dress, or its rejection, has been tied to an array of political, economic, social and gender issues around the world (Ross 2008).

Going back to Göle’s work, her account of Turkish modernization can be read as another instance of the symbolism in dress, particularly with respect to the adoption or rejection of Western modernity. Durakbaşa pointed out, how particularly in the families of government officials, bureaucrats, and soldiers, the signs of modernization in dress, in entertainment practices and in life styles were eagerly adopted and exhibited (Durakbaşa 1998: 44). As in Turkey, in many Muslim countries the female headscarf has acquired new multiple meanings and has increasingly been perceived as a symbol of the rejection of Western modernity. Alongside with its traditional and religious use, it has become

a symbol of indigenous criticism towards the increasing sexualization and the commercialization of the female body on the one hand, and the criticism of patriarchal interpretations of Islam in Muslim societies on the other. With its adoption by the educated and urbanized women, it has also acquired meanings cutting across the class and age boundaries. The differences between the “new veiling” (İlyasoğlu 1998) and the “grandma’s headscarf” have become the symbols of competing political agendas. More information will be provided on different types of headcovering in Chapter 3.

Since Göle’s pioneering work, there have been other studies that focus on the issue of Islamism, secularism and headscarf in Turkey (i.e. İlyasoğlu 1994; Özdalga 1998; Çakır 2000; Aktaş 2001; Arat 2001, 2005; Saktanber 2002a; White 2002a, 2003; Secor 2002, 2005; Çınar 2005; Özyürek 2006; Çayır 2007 among others). For instance Jenny White points to the “dress” as a cornerstone of Turkey’s modernist transformation (White 2003: 149). From the perspective of class analysis and urbanization she argues that:

[U]ntil the massive rural to urban migration, beginning in the 1950s, headscarves were associated with peasant life, to be alternately romanticized as a folkloric aspect of the “original” Turkish civilization and reviled as a glaring sign of how much civilizing work still had to be done. Once peasants moved to the cities, the ban on covering one’s head in educational and government facilities and in the civil service began to be challenged by upwardly mobile conservative women who felt left out of the Republican ideal, but were unwilling to Westernize in order to be accepted as modern and middle class. These contradictions are the foundation for heated present-day debates in Turkey about whether or not veiled women can take their places as elected officials in parliament, as university students and professors, as doctors and nurses, that is, as Republican elites. So far, the answer is no (White 2003: 150).<sup>21</sup>

While class and migration analysis is helpful to understand the changing uses of headscarf, it falls short of explaining the cases where it is taken by women with already urban and middle class background. Besides, the forms and types of headcovering are changing and the meanings attributed to the headscarf are changing as well. The meanings associated with headscarf are not fixed but subject to modifications and different interpretations. These interpretations are shaped in different ways, sometimes by prejudices, sometimes by rumor and sometimes by the encounter with the other. Muslim women, particularly those adopting the headscarf are stereotypically seen as passive victims of Islamic traditions

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<sup>21</sup> By 2008, the answer to this question is still no in Turkey.

dominated by patriarchal control over their bodies and sexuality. Yet, this common stereotype overshadows the agency and practices of pious Muslim females. In Turkey, headscarved female intellectuals, writers, journalists,<sup>22</sup> and opinion leaders such as Hidayet Şefkatli Tuksal, Nihal Bengisu Karaca, Ayşe Böhürler and Sibel Eraslan among others, are pioneers in the media questioning passive-victim model of females with headscarf along with their criticisms of the patriarchal male readings of Islamic teachings. They also cross the boundaries between the “secular” and “Islamic” and establish new alliances with groups excluded from the official discourse. For instance Nihal Bengisu Karaca, who is a journalist at the moderate Islamic newspaper Zaman, wrote an influential article for the secular-left newspaper Radikal about her beach experiences as a headscarved female.<sup>23</sup> She also takes part in initiatives organized by the secular media against domestic violence against women.<sup>24</sup> Hidayet Şefkatli Tuksal, writer and theologian, is an active member of a pious women’s association in Ankara (Başkent Kadın Platformu/Capital City Women’s Platform) and the association actively works on different national and international platforms, collaborating with secular women’s associations for women’s (with and without headscarf) rights. Lobbying to remove the headscarf ban in Turkish universities, the association collaborated with other excluded groups such as gay-lesbian initiatives and transvestites.<sup>25</sup> Some of these examples would probably seem unbelievable to many in Europe who have highly stereotyped views about Muslim women, as well as to the Kemalist seculars of Turkey who stick to their fixed definitions of Islam and the headscarf.

The realm of practices is highly dynamic when it comes to women, secularism and Islam in Turkey. The cases of the women mentioned above deny and challenge the stereotypes. They are trying to make themselves heard in the jungle of the “discursive opportunity structure” in Turkey. These highly active women also find themselves in conflict with the Islamic males and their approaches to the place of women in Islam. In

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<sup>22</sup> Eraslan noted that female journalists with headscarf are not granted the yellow press card in Turkey. She recorded 52 such female journalists (reporter or columnist) who suffered from such discrimination (Eraslan 2004: 823).

<sup>23</sup> Nihal Bengisu Karaca (Radikal 19.08.2007): Bir Mütesettirin Tatil Güncesi.  
[http://www.radikal.com.tr/ek\\_haber.php?ek=cts&haberno=6885&tarih=19/08/2007](http://www.radikal.com.tr/ek_haber.php?ek=cts&haberno=6885&tarih=19/08/2007)  
<19.08.2007>

<sup>24</sup> See the panel proceedings of the conference on the media and domestic violence organized by the newspaper Hürriyet, prepared by Armutçu 2008.

<sup>25</sup> Hidayet Şefkatli Tuksal in an interview with Ruşen Çakır. Birikim 137: 56. Also see: Batı Toplumlarında Müslüman Kadın, Tesev Panel, June 11, 2004.  
[http://www.tesev.org.tr/etkinlik/basortusu\\_kitap\\_tanim\\_konusmalar.php](http://www.tesev.org.tr/etkinlik/basortusu_kitap_tanim_konusmalar.php)  
<17.07.2007>

the West, the conflictual standing of these Muslim women is shortly labeled as “Islamic feminism”.<sup>26</sup> According to Tohidi:

... at this juncture in the history of encountering and negotiating with modernity in the Muslim world that during the past two decades a reform-oriented modernist religious feminism – known in the West as “Islamic feminism” or “Muslim feminism” – has grown up among women in societies that are faced with a serious Islamist challenge. ... Muslim feminism emerges primarily in urban centers among the highly educated, middle-class professional Muslim women who, unlike many earlier pioneers of women’s rights and feminism in the Muslim world who were of secular liberal, or socialist (“Western”) orientation, are unwilling to break away from their religious orientation and thus hold Islam as a significant component of their ethnic, cultural, or even national identity (Tohidi 2006: 631).

Tohidi also points to the growing literature and discussions on “Islamic feminism” in the field of Middle East women’s studies (2006: 631). Yet, as it is coined in the West as a shorthand expression of pious women’s critique of patriarchy, the term Islamic feminism is not very much welcomed among the women’s circles that are seen as Muslim feminists themselves (Tohidi 2006: 632). In Turkey for instance, Ramazanoğlu pointed out that while critical Muslim females are open to benefit from the feminist heritage and discussions, and are influenced from feminist writers such as Beauvoir, Friedan, Mitchel and Millet, they are suspicious of the transformative flexibility of feminism to include and learn from Muslim women’s experiences (Ramazanoğlu 2004: 811). She also points out that feminism is perceived as an ideology that is unfriendly towards family and children, and entered into Muslim lands together with Western colonialism (ibid.: 811). From Ramazanoğlu’s account it is clear that among educated pious Muslim women, feminism is not perceived as a combination of competing views to improve women’s life situations in different contexts, but as a single worldview connected to the problematic notion of Western modernity.

Islamism empowered Muslim women to reinterpret the Islamic sources and search for their own rights within the Islamic idiom; by doing that they transformed the Islamic knowledge and questioned the male authority over the Islamic sources (Göle 1996; Mirza 2008). These

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<sup>26</sup> Margot Badran wrote extensively on Islamic feminism, particularly the Egyptian and Arab feminist movements (1995). Accordingly Eraslan, Badran’s approach identifies every social activity by women that is pointing at women’s disadvantaged position as feminist. For Eraslan, this approach underestimates the particularities and differences of Islamic women’s movement (Eraslan 2004: 818). On Islamic feminism also see: Mirza 2005, 2008; cooke 2008.

sociological transformations have also been accompanied by the increasing variety of the ways in which the Muslim headscarf is worn by women in Turkey and elsewhere.<sup>27</sup> The ways women wear the headscarf (be it more traditional, folkloric or modern/Islamic) have always been varied and this variety has been acquiring new forms in the last two to three decades. The visual diversity of the headscarf is another neglected point as well. There have been significant changes in the way females used the Islamic outfits in the 1980s and at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The current styles of headscarves and female Islamic dress are different and more varied than they used to be 20 years ago. The image of the female with Islamic headscarf itself transformed within those years.<sup>28</sup> It transformed from victimhood to success and self assurance. Time scale analyses of the print press on the changing image of the women in general and headscarves in particular are waiting as a fruitful realm for future research. Yet, understanding the present-day images of the female dress and headscarf is a crucial starting point for further analysis.

In light of the previous review of the developments in Turkey with regard to women's place in society both in secularist and Islamic imaginations, how much of this dynamism with respect to women's life are visually present in the Turkish print media? An overarching concern of this study can be summed up in this question. To address this question and to better study the daily newspaper images of females and males without losing its variety, the present empirical study employs a detailed methodology that is particularly developed to study the visualization of gender in the Turkish print media. But before coming to the methodological framework which will be laid out in the next chapter, it is crucial to review the previous studies on media and gender representation in the Western and Turkish academia.

### *2.3 Images of Gender in the Media*

Representation of gender in the media in Turkey is connected to the debates over modernity in a way that does not have a direct corollary in the similar discussions over the gender representations in the media in Europe and in the U.S. In other words, modernity and its relation with

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<sup>27</sup> See Van den Bremen 1999: 7, for a fashion designer's solutions to combine Islamic precepts with Dutch regulations.

<sup>28</sup> Fashion, market dynamics and consumer culture also played a significant role in this transformation. See: Binark 2000; Navaro-Yashin 2002; Sandıkçı and Ger 2001, 2007. Also for an exciting account of the role of fashion and the changing veiling styles in Yemen see: Moors 2007.

Islam is part of the discussions over the different models and images of womanhood in Turkey, while, as far as the author's reading of the academic literature on gender and the media suggests, discussions on modernity is marginal to the discussions over female representations in the media in the West, and feminism has a more central role. The woman's participation in society, her emancipation, her material as well as symbolic empowerment seems to be the major concerns in the debates over the depiction of females in the Western media. Such issues are more embedded in the history of modernization in Turkey and difficult to discuss separately from the theories of modernity. Feminism remains marginal to such debates. The particular history of modernization in Turkey and the ensuing debates over secularism overshadows the issues, discussions of which might lead to the betterment of women's actual circumstances and the media representations of gender.

To give an example, in 1986, Claire Short, Member of the British Parliament, initiated a campaign against the topless Page Three girls in the Sun newspaper (Holland 2000: 70). This campaign and similar others in the U.S. against pornography were framed against the sexualization of women's bodies, arguing for women's dignity. In other words female sexualization was the basic concern of the campaigners. In Turkey civil organizations monitoring the media content rarely exist<sup>29</sup> and feminist reactions to gender discriminated media content is very limited. Therefore female sexualization in the media was not brought up in such wide ranging campaigns. But more significant than the absence of such organizations is that the presence of female nudity in the press is perceived less as the sexualization of the female body and its denigration, but more as an endorsement of the freedom from the Islamic conceptions of gender and female modesty. As such, the scantily clad female representations in the press become not part of the discussions on the sexualization of the female and the dignity of the women's body, but the discussions on secularism and the state's Kemalist modernizing project. In other words "the eroticization of the public sphere" (Göle 1998: 43) endorses the existence of freedoms within the public sphere. A concrete incidence took place when Prime Minister Erdoğan, in an attempt to defend the constitutional amendments to lift the ban on headscarf and appease the fears that this might eventually lead to the imposition of

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<sup>29</sup> In 2006 a feminist media monitoring initiative MEDİZ, Women's Media Monitoring Group (Kadınların Medya İzleme Grubu) was established in Istanbul, see: <http://www.mediz.org>. Mediz is an initiative of 23 Women's Organizations in Turkey working for gender equality in all spheres. I would like to thank Berrin Yenice of KEDV (Foundation for the Support of Women's Work) for drawing my attention to this new media monitoring initiative in Turkey and their publications.

wearing the headscarf to the overall female population, said that his government did not interfere with the press to publish naked photographs of women that he finds degrading to the moral values of the society.<sup>30</sup> The press responded fiercely, and the issue quickly became part of the tension between secularism and Islam without hints towards the emergence of any discussion over media stereotypes of women, be it in secular or in Islamic media. No feminist voices were heard discussing whether or not naked images of women are degrading to women. Any secular feminist voice bold enough to bring the issue up at that time would probably be blamed for taking sides with the Islamic government.

While talking about gender in media it is necessary to mention, albeit briefly, what kind of approach this study takes towards gender.<sup>31</sup> The theories on the concepts of sex and gender are varied, ranging from biological binary approaches to social constructionist views approaching gender as a total social construct. Competing theories on sex differences and gender coming from various disciplines such as sociology, social psychology and psychoanalysis have been influential on studies of media representations of gender in films, television, as well as in magazines and newspapers.

The definition of “gender” and the ways it differs from “sex” have stirred quite a lot of controversy in various disciplines. Yet, it is largely accepted particularly in social scientific literature written in English language that sex refers to the biologically based categories of male and female while gender refers to social categories and differences in socialization (Deaux 1985; Alsop, Fitzsimons, Lennon 2002; Odağ and Pershai 2005).<sup>32</sup> The term gender encompasses men as well as women. Yet, the terms “women’s studies” and “gender studies” are often used interchangeably. In fact, the women’s studies preceded gender studies and the introduction of the term “gender” turned out to be quite controvertial during the 1970s and 1980s (Alsop, Fitzsimons, Lennon 2002: 1–6). The feminist community in Britain for instance argued that the term gender suggests a false symmetry between men and women (ibid.: 4). The supporters of the term on the other hand counterargued by saying that the term gender

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<sup>30</sup> Sabah, February 13, 2008:

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/2008/02/13//haber,33A1E6547200412C914B924270804560.html> <13.02.2008>

<sup>31</sup> For more information about research on gender see among many others, Deaux and LaFrance 1998; Deaux 1999; Korabik 1999; Alsop, Fitzsimons, Lennon 2002; Connell 2002.

<sup>32</sup> The term “gender” is not easily translated into other languages. See Pershai 2005 for an account of how the terms sex and gender work in Russian language.

“does ... release us from the idea that asymmetry between men and women is unavoidable” (ibid.: 4, 5). Moreover they emphasized that it is not possible to theorize the construction of femininity without also theorizing men and masculinity (ibid.: 1)

Even though *gender* refers to both men and women, the majority of studies particularly on media and gender, cover basically the representation of women in the media, neglecting male representation (Everitt 2005: 395). Studies on the representations of males in media coverage are rare in comparison (Wahl-Jorgenson 2000; McKay, Mikosza and Hutchins 2005) but they are flourishing with developing masculinity studies. In her assessment of the relations between feminist theory and masculinity studies Gardiner (2005) pointed out that:

The most important accomplishment of 20th-century feminist theory is the concept of gender as a social construction; that is, the idea that masculinity and femininity are loosely defined, historically variable, and interrelated social ascriptions to persons with certain kinds of bodies—not the natural, necessary, or ideal characteristics of people with similar genitals. This concept has altered long-standing assumptions about the inherent characteristics of men and women and also about the very division of people into the categories of “men” and “women” (Gardiner 2005: 35).

More extreme forms of social constructionism, particularly seen in Judith Butler’s (1990) approach, rejected the categories of men and women altogether and carried the social constructivist approach to gender to its limits. These approaches reject the biological sex differences, emphasize the fluidity of the categories of men and women and point out the richness of gender experiences (Alsop, Fitzsimons, Lennon 2002; Connell 2002). Queer, transgender and sexual minority studies also work on the blurred lines between femininity and masculinity (Alsop, Fitzsimons, Lennon 2002; Connell 2002).

When it comes to the analysis of gender in the media, the radical forms of social constructivist approach are difficult to apply in empirical terms. Femininity and masculinity depend both on biological factors and on the ways our societies continuously re-construct these concepts. At the visual perception level in our every day lives, we tend to identify different sexes as either male or female independent of the discussions on whether being a man or a woman is a natural or social characteristic. This is not to say that the social construction of gender is not an issue for this study. I just want to emphasize that a radical constructivist approach that reject sex differences altogether is not employed here. Therefore, while

emphasizing the socially constructed character of gender, this study prefers to maintain the categories of “men” and “women” in studying gender in the Turkish newspapers. Gendered issues such as transvestism, homosexuality, bisexuality and transsexuality appear in the Turkish press, but these instances are not too many. Even in instances where the sex differences are highly blurred, it is still possible to categorize the depicted persons visually as either man or woman. Such an example can be seen in Illustration 2.2. In the sample selected for this study no news about transsexuals appeared. This image is taken from Sabah’s Sunday Supplement *Pazar Sabah*, published on April 16, 2006, and is not included in the sample. The transsexual woman (male-to-female) seen in the image is interviewed in the news report. The image is in fact ambiguous. When I showed it to a male colleague and asked about the gender of that person he immediately said “male,” but to me that was an image of a “female.” In spite of the ambiguity, if that report had been in the sample, the transsexual woman would have been categorized and coded as a “female.” This is not just because she dresses and looks like a female but mainly because she deliberately chose the female identity and expresses herself as such. In other words, even in those ambiguous instances it is very difficult to evade the categories of “male” and “female.” The report is quite positive and emphasizes the successful career of the depicted transsexual woman as a theatre player and her conservative family’s embracing attitude towards her. The negative coverage of transsexuals is observed more often in television news in Turkey.

Below, I will first review the development of literature on women and media in feminist scholarship in Europe and the United States and then review the literature on Turkey with regard to female representation in the media.

### *2.3.1 The Media Representations of Gender: Early decades*

The studies on gender representation in various media started to grow in the past four to five decades, and today became a large field with diverse theoretical approaches and methodologies. The introduction of post-structuralist critiques to the field of media representations of gender became decisive in shifting the nature of theoretical discussions and the focus of empirical studies in this area. Therefore, the literature on gender and feminist media studies in the West can be narrated in two sections in broad terms: The early phase of feminist media studies, and feminist media studies after post-structuralism. In spite of the distinction made

here between early and later studies with regard to the decisive role post-structuralism played, it is important to keep in mind that “feminist” theory is highly fragmented (Van Zoonen 1994: 3), and there are many, diverse feminisms (Gill 2007: 2) which also reflect the ways different media representations are conceptualized and analyzed in various studies. Byerly and Ross (2006) also draw attention to the various roles different feminist projects played in different national, political and economic contexts.

The word *feminism* ... has undergone considerable scrutiny, argument and transformation in meaning over the years. Third world women, women of color, working-class women, and other have debated the word for several decades, questioning whether a term associated with Western (white, bourgeois) origins can legitimately apply to women of other backgrounds and situations. In the process, the term has come to encompass a wide range of experiences and positionalities (Byerly and Ross 2006: 3).

The research on female representation in the media dates back to the emergence of second-wave feminism and the publication of Betty Frieden’s *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), (Van Zoonen 1994: 11; Eggins and Iedema 1997: 165; Valdivia and Projansky 2006: 274) which subsequently fostered academic interest in the stereotyped representations of the female especially in women’s magazines and a variety of other media. Gaye Tuchman’s *Hearth and Home: Images of Women and the Media* (1978) was among the first studies in this vein with a well developed theoretical framework (Van Zoonen 1994: 16). Tuchman’s introductory article in this co-edited volume with her powerful wording (labeling the underrepresentation of women on American television as “symbolic annihilation of women”) provided an example for later studies and “an abundance of this type of research has been carried out all over the world using primarily quantitative content analysis and social experimental methods” (Van Zoonen 1994: 17).

The ideas of the reflection hypothesis and symbolic annihilation were central in Gaye Tuchman’s approach to media representations of women (1978: 7). The “reflection hypothesis” is the approach in communication studies that sees the mass media as mirroring social reality and society’s demographics. As Bennett puts it, “The concept of the mirror with its attendant series of questions – do the media offer a faithful reflection of reality, or do they mirror the real in a one-sided, distorting way? – has haunted the study of the media since its inception” (Bennett 1988: 287). McQuail (2000) referred to the reflection hypothesis as “reality-reflection norm” (2000: 323) and argued that:

It is striking how much the evaluation of media content comes down to the question of relation to reality, as if media ought to reflect more or less proportionately some empirical reality and ought always be “fair” as between the advantaged and disadvantaged. This is referred to by Kepplinger and Habermeier (1995) as the “correspondence assumption” often attributed to the audience. The assumption that media ought to reflect reality in some direct and proportional way has been the basis for much criticism of media performance and has often been a key ingredient in research on media effects (...) but is itself open to question (McQuail 2000 323).

The “reflection hypothesis” formed the backbone of the first wave of feminist media studies of the 1970s. This tradition of research can be referred to as *underrepresentation tradition*. “Underrepresentation” is a key term in the studies of media representations of gender done from the perspective of the reflection hypothesis. This approach assumed a direct relation with an unproblematic conception of “reality” and the media representations. For instance the disproportionate representation of women in the media was a major concern for early feminist media scholars and activists. They argued that even though the women constituted half of the society they were represented only in very small percentages in various media content. As in other studies done from the same perspective, “distortion” is employed as a key concept (Van Zoonen 1994: 30). In numerous studies newspapers, magazines and television programs were content analyzed to see the degree of underrepresentation and stereotyping which women face in media content. Scholarly research on media and political activism was connected to one another during the first wave of feminist media studies in the 1970s (Gill 2007: 8). Gill mentions the sense of confidence in these early studies as one of their key features: they were confident about the meaning of the images as well as the possibility of changing them (Gill 2007: 8).

Furthermore, particularly in news media, the selection of the news entails different criteria, going beyond the concerns to correctly represent society’s demographics. The selection of news is a complex process<sup>33</sup> shaped by political and institutions structures of different societies. As Shoemaker suggests:

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<sup>33</sup> See the seminal article on news factor theory by Galtung and Ruge 1965. For information on the state of the current research on news decisions and news values see Reinemann and Schulz 2006 in the special issue reserved for the topic by *Communications: The European Journal of Communication Research*, March 2006.

In a democratic society, the role of the news media is not to mirror the world as it is, but rather to spotlight and draw public attention to problems and situations that need solutions and repair. (...) In an authoritarian society, the role of the news media is not to reflect reality, but instead to portray a world that the people in power want to be real. The news media act as an arm of the state and help it maintain power by manipulating the nature of news to teach the public which events, people, and ideas will be rewarded or punished (Shoemaker 2006: 108).

In spite of the justified criticisms, the way Tuchman puts and approaches the reflection hypothesis is more complicated than the accounts of her critics suggests. The questions that she raised are still relevant. Tuchman related the reflection hypothesis with the concepts of “time lag” or culture lag”, and tried to understand the relationship between the change in the values and material conditions in a society, and the change in the media images. For her, symbols change more slowly than the material conditions (1978: 8) and that’s why working women populations were seen in very small numbers in the media even though they constituted over half of the labor force in the U.S. at that time. (1978: 4). She also proposed that different media would respond to the change in the material conditions in women’s life in different ways. For instance she found women’s magazines more responsive to change than television’s “rigid typecasting of women” (1978: 24) due to different corporate structures, different ways the advertisement revenues are gained and the different target audiences (Tuchman 1978).

The reflection hypothesis is partly discredited after the post-structural critiques but nevertheless remained persistent as an approach particularly in empirical studies. Furthermore, it has become part of institutional policies of international NGOs and media monitoring groups aiming towards changing the media content in relation to the representation of women. The quotation below gives an idea of how the reflection hypothesis is incorporated into the policies of activist groups and international non-governmental organizations.

The importance of media monitoring as a tool for change was officially recognized by the United Nations for the first time in Section J of the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, where NGOs and professional media associations are urged to “encourage the establishment of media watch groups that can monitor the media and consult with the media to ensure that women’s needs and concerns are properly reflected” (GMMP 2005: 10).

The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) is such a major initiative which monitors the content of the news media worldwide in five year

intervals since 1995 with the aim of providing “a reliable picture of women’s and men’s presence in the news right around the world” (GMMP 2005: 11). Coordinated by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) in collaboration with Margaret Gallagher who is a leading academic and activist in the field of women and media, GMMP provides a “one-day study of the representation and portrayal of women worldwide” (GMMP 2005: 10) with the overriding goal of changing the media output (2005: 12). Seventy six countries took part in GMMP’s 2005 report which monitored the news stories on television, radio and in print. GMMP produces comprehensive data at the global level and looks not only at the content of the news but also at the journalistic practices. Below are some selected points from the executive summary of their 2005 report with regard to the content of the news:

- Women are dramatically under-represented in the news worldwide. Only 21% of news subjects are female.
- Women make the news not as figures of authority, but as celebrities, royalty, or as “ordinary people”.
- Women are under-represented in professional categories.
- For women, age has a crucial bearing on whether they appear in the news.
- Women are more than twice as likely as men to be portrayed as victims.
- Female news subjects are more than three times as likely as males to be identified in terms of their family status.
- Many news reports use language and images that reinforce gender stereotypes in a subtle way.
- Women are much more likely than men to appear in photographs<sup>34</sup> (GMMP 2005: Executive Summary).

Such stereotypical representation of women in the media content, and the construction of traditional gender role definitions have been a primary concern for early as well as later feminist studies (Van Zoonen 1994). Women’s exclusion and misrepresentation in media content, professions and policies have been central issues in most feminist media scholarship (Byerly and Ross 2006: 7). For Byerly and Ross such scholarship is framed by a paradigm of misogynist media (Byerly 1999; Byerly and Ross 2006: 7). The results of various earlier studies (McNeil 1974; Miles 1975; Tuchman 1978) conducted during the 1970s showed that media

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<sup>34</sup> This point has special significance for this study, which will be covered more in focus later on.

representations confined women's roles to marriage, motherhood, romance and family; women were rarely depicted in professional roles and where they were depicted as successful professionals they were unlikely to get along with men and had unhappy relationships. Researchers mentioned similar frameworks of gender discrimination worldwide (Lemish 2004: 42), relegating women "to the private sphere and to the emotional and sexual worlds" (Lemish 2004: 42). During the 1980s, after the second-wave feminism, studies (like Dyer 1987) started to indicate that women's issues were given more time on television in various programs. Still, when seen overall:

...the mass media used to be very stereotyped in its representations of gender. As well as showing men being more active, decisive, courageous, intelligent and resourceful, television and movies also showed a much greater *quantity* of men, compared to women. There were exceptions, of course – it's not hard to think of the odd clever, brave, or challenging female character from the past – but these remained exceptions to the norm. Magazines and adverts aimed at women also tended to reinforce the feminine and housewifely stereotypes. (Gauntlett 2002: 56)

As the above quotation suggests, a large body of previous research on gender roles in media images, including advertisements, movies, newspapers and television, report that women are stereotyped as sex objects, as mothers, as wives whose chief duty is to serve their husbands and as being dependent on man's support. When women are in the news, even professional women are shown as mothers, and their private lives are given more space whereas this is not case for men (İmamoğlu et al 1990: 58). In newspapers women are shown more in life style pages than in politics and economics (İmamoğlu et al 1990; GMMP 2005). Lester noted that in television commercials men are used as voice-overs when an authority figure is desired and women are noticeably younger than their male counterparts (Lester 2003: 98). It is reported that in TV news women are overrepresented as victims (Boom and Michielsens 1996: 189; Carter 1998). Some other subtle forms, such as the use of passive tense to describe sexual assaults which removes agency from the perpetrators are reported as well (Kitzinger 2004: 26; Alat 2006). "Face-ism" which refers to "the greater facial prominence of depictions of men in the media versus women, and greater emphasis on the whole body of women" (Sparks and Fehlner 1986; McKee and Pardun 1999; Nelson 2002: 203) is also another way of stereotyping the female in subtle visual terms.

The existence of stereotypical representations in the media is attributed by some authors to the small number of media professionals coming from diverse groups, (Lester 2003: 93), to the lack of diversity, the small number of female journalists as well as the permeating “masculine ethos in news-room culture” (Kitzinger 2004: 25, 26). Comparative studies on journalism cultures around the world show that “the ‘typical journalist’ is young, male, college-educated, and comes from the dominant and established cultural group” (Weaver 1998: 478 as paraphrased in Hanitzsch 2007: 367). A contemporary study on the cultures of journalism (2008) showed that the female journalists are still in much smaller numbers than the male journalists worldwide and Turkey is no exception.<sup>35</sup> Yet, the results of the studies looking at the relationship between the sexist media content and the journalists’ background are contradictory. In other words, higher numbers of female professionals in the news room may not necessarily lead to less gender stereotypical content (Van Zoonen 1994: 49–55).

During the 1970s important pioneering studies on the visual representations of the men and women in art and advertisement appeared as well. In his famous book, *Ways of Seeing*, John Berger (1972) analyzed the images of females in European oil painting. He summarized the different visual conventions applying to the male and female depictions with his formulaic quote “*men act and women appear* (Berger 1972: 47, italics original). According to him:

... the essential way of seeing women, the essential use to which their images are put, has not changed. Women are depicted in quite different way than men – not because the feminine is different from the masculine – but because the “ideal” spectator is always assumed to be male and the image of the woman is designed to flatter him (Berger 1972: 64).

The studies on female and male body language were another realm of research, involving the studies of visuals most of the time. For instance Wex (1979) examined around 5000 photographs of male and female body

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<sup>35</sup> Worlds of Journalisms Project by the Institute of Mass Communication and Media Research at the University of Zürich: <http://www.worldsofjournalisms.org>. I would like to thank the Director of the Project Dr. Thomas Hanitzsch and Dr. İncilay Cangöz of Anadolu University in Eskişehir Turkey, for sharing with me the research results on Turkish journalism. In overall figures 36.4 percent of the journalists in Turkey are females. Their numbers are very few in daily newspapers with 17.1%. But in weeklies the percentage of female journalists (70%) exceeds the males to a very large extent. Hanitzsch notes that their sample is not representative and these percentages would be lower in a representative sample.

postures. She took these photographs herself between 1974 and 1977 and added examples from the media for her analysis. She observed that:

The general characteristics of women's body postures are: legs held close together, feet either straight or turned slightly inward, arms held close to the body. In short, the woman makes herself small and narrow, and takes up little space. The general characteristics of male body postures are; legs far apart, feet turned outwards, the arms held at a distance from the body. In short, the man takes up space and generally takes up significantly more space than the woman (Wex 1979: 7).

Wex included a historical section to her study where she examined the body postures shown in sculptures of the last 3000 years. Based on her observations she concluded that the body language is a result of sex-based, patriarchal socialization. Accordingly, women acquire body postures that make them occupy less space. As a radical feminist she claimed that space back in the title of her book "Let's Take Back Our Space" (1979).

In sum, the traditional (patriarchal) gender role stereotypes, the question of underrepresentation and the reflection hypothesis provided the basic frameworks for researching gender in media content in earlier studies. These themes and the content analysis as a method are associated in the literature with the liberal feminist theory, which used to be criticized for not being inclusive of all women, gender, class, race and ethnicity (Ardizzoni 1998; Ginsburg 1999) and transformed itself to include a perspective of diversity (Ginsburg 1999). The feminist media research today is more complicated, blurring the boundaries between the liberal, socialist and radical feminists further, and bringing their different perspectives and different methodologies together.

### *2.3.2 Approaches to Gender Representation in the Media Today: Post-structuralism and its aftermath*

Post-structuralism problematized the relation between the "reality" and its representations. It shook the confidence of the early studies on the certainty of the meaning, and alongside with psychoanalysis and deconstruction introduced "more complex theories of meaning" (Gill 2007: 8) into the studies of media content and gender. The notion of a pure and unmediated access to reality was no longer sustainable in post-structuralist terms (Gill 2007: 12). The question of whose reality to be correctly represented also created a drawback for the reflection hypothesis. As Charlotte Brunsdon's frequently quoted critique of the call

for more realistic images of women suggests, “[a]rguing for more realistic images is always an argument for the representation of ‘your’ version of reality. ‘Realistic’ to a feminist will often seem propagandist and thin to a political opponent” (1997: 29).

According to Van Zoonen the research on stereotypes and gender representation has two major problems, the first one relates to the definition of “gender,” and the other one relates to the idea of “reality” and a specific model of communication built into it. She proposes to conceptualize gender in a way to allow for difference and variety as well as “the possibility of fragmented and multiple subjectivities in and among women (and men for that matter)” (Van Zoonen 1994: 40). For her, conceiving gender “as a more or less stable and easily identifiable distinction between women and men which ought to be represented correctly [...] is utterly problematic for it denies the dynamic nature of gender, its historical and cultural specificity and its contradictory meanings” (Van Zoonen 1994: 31). In a similar way, Gill suggested to reformulate the calls for realism “as attempts to create greater diversity in representations of women – in a context in which most women who appear in the media are young, white, able-bodied, middle-class, apparently heterosexual and conventionally attractive (...)” (Gill 2007: 12).

Post-structuralist feminist theory approaches gender not as a given or fixed category, but as an entity always in construction (Van Zoonen 1994). Likewise, “[i]n place of the view of the media as reflecting reality, research drawing on post-structuralist frameworks argued that the media were involved in constructing reality” (Gill 2007: 12). In other words, post-structuralism emphasized the ways gender and reality is constructed in multiple ways in multiple social contexts. Post-structuralism has a different approach to the meaning as well: According to Gill: “In post-structuralist theory meaning is never single, univocal or total, but rather is fluid, ambiguous and contradictory: a site of ongoing conflict and contestation” (Gill 2007: 13).

Aside from such post-structuralist critiques, various theories of mass communication criticized the reflection hypothesis and the attribution of a reflecting role to the media. Media has various activities and roles other than representing reality (Van Zoonen 1994: 37). To quote from Van Zoonen:

The idea of a reality that media pass on more or less truthfully and successfully, fails at several points: media production is not simply a

matter of reflection but entails a complex process of negotiation, processing and reconstruction; media audiences do not simply take in or reject media messages, but use and interpret them according to the logic of their own social, cultural and individual circumstances; media are not only assigned to 'reflect' reality, but represent our collective hopes, fears and fantasies and perform a mythical and ritual function as well; finally, reality itself is not only an objective collection of things and processes, but is socially constructed in discourses that reflect and produce power (Van Zoonen 1994: 40, 41).

The above quotation summarizes the post-structural criticisms to the reflection hypothesis as well as to the underrepresentation hypothesis. Media has roles and functions going beyond the true representation of a country's demographics.<sup>36</sup> It is definitely important that women, different cultural groups and minorities in societies are treated fairly and in non-stereotypical ways, but it is naïve to expect having representations of people in media in proportion to their actual numbers in society. Yet, in any case, the second-wave feminism and the following academic tradition in communication studies critical of the treatment and underrepresentation of women in media pushed the producers in the U.S to take the sensibilities of the female audiences more into account.

In the aftermath of post-structuralism today, the scholarly field of gender and media is dealing with a more complicated picture. A growing number of studies point out that the media representations of gender are different than they used to be during the 1970s (Gauntlett 2002; Krolokke and Sorensen 2006; Carter and Steiner 2004; Byerly and Ross 2006; Gill 2007). Studies on various aspects of gender representation report an improvement of media coverage about women. For instance Kitzenger argues that in spite of persisting problems, the nature of reporting sexual violence have improved in many cases in the U.S. and UK media (Kitzenger 2004: 33). According to Byerly and Ross:

There is no doubt that the roles available to women have changed considerably over the past few decades, and that images and plotlines that are now routine would simply have been inconceivable 30 years ago (Byerly and Ross 2006: 7).

Since 1970s feminism as well has gone through new phases. Today's feminism is much different than the feminism of the 1970s and it has different issues. Krolokke and Sorensen point to a new generation of young women who both repeat and mock gender stereotypes and reclaim

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<sup>36</sup> For instance, for ritualistic functions of the media see Carey 1989.

laughter (Krolokke and Sorensen 2006: 23). This is a more “playful” kind of feminism. In their words:

Lipstick feminism, girlie feminism, riot grrl [sic] feminism, cybergrrl feminism, transfeminism, or just grrl feminism—feminism is alive and kicking. Born with the privileges that first- and second-wave feminists fought for, third-wave feminists generally see themselves as capable, strong and assertive social agents ... Young feminists now reclaim the term ‘girl’ in a bid to attract another generation, while engaging in a new, more self-assertive—even aggressive—but also more playful and less pompous kind of feminism (Krolokke and Sorensen 2006: 15).

Parallel to these developments the masculine and feminine roles in everyday life as well as female and male representations in the media, be it in magazines, advertisements or television programs are changing. The images of women and men we see on television, in newspapers and magazines are different than the ones in previous decades. Various studies point to the breaking down of gender stereotypes in different media (Gauntlett 2002; Carter and Steiner 2004). According to Carter and Steiner:

Although many clearly gendered stereotypes still inform media content today, the rigidity of such hierarchical feminine gendered identity has nevertheless begun to break down. An increasingly varied array of feminine images and role models is now available, some of which offer progressive and sometimes challenging alternatives (Carter and Steiner 2004: 13).

Yet, the same authors also point out that in spite of the changing depictions of the female “[s]exism has not yet been eliminated from the media” (Carter and Steiner 2004: 30). According to Gill it is this contradictoriness that characterizes contemporary representations of gender in the media and what makes the field so difficult and challenging (Gill 2007: 2). Others emphasize the dialectical nature of this process (Byerly and Ross 2006: 18), pointing out that the progress made in improving women’s real life situations, participation in social life and their images in media representations occurs alongside resistance, and backlash is a predictable part of this process (Byerly and Ross 2006: 18).

Recently, a growing body of masculinity studies also contributed to the analyses of gender and the changing images of men in advertisements and various other products of popular culture (Craig 1992; Brod and Kaufman 1994; Kimmel 1996; Mosse 1996; Jewitt 1997; Whitehead and Barrett 2001; Whitehead 2002; Adams and Savran 2002; Kimmel, Hearn and Connell 2005; Karan and Khoo Cheng Hoon 2007). The new interest in

masculinity also influenced the studies of media representations of gender (Gill 2007: 29). Men's life style magazines and publications are coming more and more to the attention of researchers (Gauntlett 2002; Karan and Khoo Cheng Hoon 2007; Brooks 2007). In advertisements in particular, the portrayal of men and the conventions for depicting the male body has changed. As Gill notes, "As the eroticized presentation of the male body has become mainstream, there has been an increase in the range/type of masculinities presented" (Gill 2007: 99). In short, not only the female image but also the male image is changing in global, as well as in the local media contents, opening up new challenges for researchers to understand the nature of the media representations in relation to gender, as well as the emerging conventions of depiction.

The contradictory messages with regard to gender representation exist not only in Western media that Gill (2007) analyzed, but also in non-Western media messages. The gender representations in the media in Turkey are very contradictory and diverse as well. Not only the representations and images themselves are contradictory, but also the ways they are produced and they are interpreted are in conflict with each other. To give an example, the editor in chief of *Hürriyet*, once advocated the newspaper's policy towards the news items about women and pointed at the presence of a powerful lobby of women journalists in the newspaper which carefully monitors the content in relation to women.<sup>37</sup> Yet, stereotypical news reports, the sexualization of women and the celebration of a beauty ideal are regular features of the newspaper, both in its print and online version. Not only *Hürriyet* but Turkish newspapers in general present a challenging and contradictory site to study the media representations of gender as will be explained further in the next section.

### *2.3.3 Gender Representations in the Turkish Media*

As discussed in the previous sections, the history of the Turkish media is closely connected to Turkish modernization. The media was part of the broader project of modernity and an ideological ally to the state in

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<sup>37</sup> Ertuğrul Özkök (January 12, 2008): Size bayan diyebilir miyim? *Hürriyet* (European edition), page 9. Özkök also points out that the head of the Executive Board of the newspaper (Vuslat Doğan Sabancı) is a female. Vuslat Doğan Sabancı is a competent media professional and manager, yet her familial ties (she is the daughter of Aydın Doğan, the media mogul in Turkey) played a big role in making it possible for her to occupy one of the top managerial positions in Turkish media at an early age. Information about her can be found at:

[http://www.hurriyetkurumsal.com/eng/cv\\_vuslat\\_dogan\\_sabanci.asp](http://www.hurriyetkurumsal.com/eng/cv_vuslat_dogan_sabanci.asp) <04.08.2008>

spreading the Kemalist project and the new gender conceptions to the wider population. In initial years, successful women made the news on the front pages. For instance in 1928 one of the first page stories in Cumhuriyet was about a female who submitted her doctoral thesis in political science to her committee for review.<sup>38</sup> Yet, at the same time, the newspaper introduced Western fashion models to the female readers<sup>39</sup> and organized beauty contests.<sup>40</sup> In another issue of Cumhuriyet, a news item appeared with the title: “Fashion models are the happiest women in the world”. The article introduces the word “fashion model” (*manken*) in quotes and lists the reasons why these women are the happiest in the world: they are beautiful and they are the ones wearing the most expensive clothes and jewelry. “Miss Rose Marie of London is maybe the happiest among them with her necklace that worth around a million Turkish Liras.”<sup>41</sup> Such content, praising the successful educated women on the one hand and introducing the concept of celebrity with the ideals of beauty, affluence and fashion, carried the germs of the later female representations in Turkish media.

Its connection to the modernization project does not make the contemporary Turkish media less sexist. On the contrary, as the modernization project in Turkey subsumed women’s rights under the national ideals, and praised them as mothers and educators of the new nation,<sup>42</sup> the media’s coverage of the women showed a similar line. According to Saktanber, women were mostly depicted as the “devoted mother”, “faithful, good wife” or through their sexuality in the Turkish media (Saktanber 1991: 154<sup>43</sup>).

Today’s print and electronic media in Turkey from time to time exhibit outraging examples of sexism. Such an example took place when a female parliamentary candidate, Özlem Piltanoğlu Türköne (to later become one of the youngest members of the parliament) appeared on a news channel before the elections. The female candidate objected to it when the male host of the program Okan Bayülgen – who was transferred

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<sup>38</sup> Cumhuriyet, December 11, 1928 (11 Kanunuevvel 1928), front page. This is one of the first issues of Cumhuriyet that appeared in Latin alphabet.

<sup>39</sup> Cumhuriyet, December 7 and 9, 1928, page 3.

<sup>40</sup> Cumhuriyet, March 10, 12 and 21, 1929, front pages.

<sup>41</sup> Cumhuriyet, December 26, 1928, page 3.

<sup>42</sup> Among others who wrote about the women’s place in the Kemalist nationalist project see: Sirman 1989; Tekeli 1991; Göle 1996; Kadioğlu 1996; Berktaş-Hacımirzaoğlu 1998; Durakbaşı 1998.

<sup>43</sup> Saktanber’s article is rather a theoretical contribution based on the observation of the media in a non-systematic manner without the communication science methodologies.

to the news channel from the entertainment broadcasting to make a program on politics – addressed her with her first name. The host of the program, together with the other male guest, Berhan Şimşek, from the opposing party, took this as a chance to exercise a very rude form of macho power on the female candidate in live broadcasting, trivializing her wish and using her young age against her.<sup>44</sup> As indicated by other studies focusing on the media coverage of female politicians (Sreberny and van Zoonen 2000; Ross and Sreberny 2000; Larson 2001; Ross 2002; Vavrus 2002; Winfield and Friedman 2003) marginalization of female politicians in the media is not unique to Turkey. Ross (2002) in her study points out that,

Combativeness, a quality that is considered important for politics, is not viewed as a positive quality when possessed by women. Strong women are viewed as traitors to their sex. Yet, women with low-key approaches are not considered tough enough for politics. Furthermore, (...) sexuality and age are commonly used as weapons against women's credibility leaving younger women involved in politics doubly marginalized by their youth (Ross 2002, summarized and paraphrased in Everett 2005: 388–389).

In Turkey, as mentioned before, the monitoring institutions that would actively watch content and lobby against such overtly sexist instances are rare and to the author's knowledge no women's organization reacted to the case mentioned above.<sup>45</sup> In addition to such examples of sexism in the media, the reporting of the crime against women has also been an area where Turkish newspapers fail to provide a fair stance towards female victims with their victim blaming attitude and trivializing of sexual assaults (Alat 2006).

To see how Turkey scores in terms of gender representation in rough numbers in comparison to some other countries in Europe, Middle East and Asia see the tables compiled from the data presented in GMMP's 2005 report below. In terms of news subjects in newspapers, Sweden has the highest figure with 31% followed by India<sup>46</sup> (26%) (Table 2.1). Turkey (17%) is below Germany (20%) and slightly above Egypt (16%)

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<sup>44</sup> NTV, July 11, 2007: Name of the program: Bu Sizi İlgilendiriyor (This concerns you). Broadcasting time: 23:30. Accessible from: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=agk3ThuxluM> <15.10.2008>

<sup>45</sup> The female candidate in question, as a young, educated, good-looking woman without headscarf, was seen as the window dressing of the Justice and Development Party. The silence of women's organizations can be partly explained by this perception.

<sup>46</sup> For more information on women and the press in India see Bathla 1998.

(Table 2.1). Women in Turkey are seen in very few percentages in news about government and politics (9%), yet in news about economy and business they are covered in higher percentages than in Germany and the UK (Table 2.2). Finally, females have a large share in Turkey in presenting television news (68%), this is almost regarded as a female profession as can be observed in Table 2.3.

Table 2.1: News Subjects in Newspapers, Television and Radio

	Newspapers		Television		Radio		Total	
	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %
Germany	20	80	24	76	23	77	22	78
Sweden	31	69	26	74	37	63	30	70
Turkey	17	83	20	80	13	88	19	81
UK	21	79	29	71	21	79	25	75
Egypt	16	84	12	88	9	91	13	87
India	26	74	14	86	7	93	21	78

Source: GMMP 2005, Table by the author.

\*For information on the methodological procedures followed by the GMMP see Annexe B of their report (GMMP 2005).

Table 2.2: News Subjects in Major Topic Areas

	Politics/Government		Economy/Business		Crime/Violence		Celebrity/Arts/Sport	
	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %
Germany	16	84	17	83	24	76	31	69
Sweden	28	72	32	68	32	68	34	66
Turkey	9	91	26	74	22	78	38	63
UK	15	85	18	82	25	75	29	71
Egypt	6	94	5	95	15	85	100	0
India	15	85	9	91	17	83	44	56

Source: GMMP 2005, Table by the author.

Table 2.3: Presenters and Reporters in Television and Newspapers

	Newspaper		Television			
	Reporters		Presenters		Reporters	
	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %
Germany	27	73	30	70	28	72
Sweden	29	71	74	26	42	58
Turkey	27	73	68	32	20	80
UK	22	78	40	60	38	62
Egypt	36	64	52	48	100	0
India	24	76	54	46	42	58

Source: GMMP 2005, Table by the author.

The studies on women and the media available in Turkish language are very scarce. In 2006 the Women's Library in Istanbul published a bibliography of books on women published between 1729 and 2002. In the bibliography, the books on women and the media are categorized as a subsection of Culture and Communication Sciences and included only 25 entries (2006: 95–97), not all of them in fact are related with women and the media.<sup>47</sup> In addition, some of these books are translations and the rest covers a wide range of topics: women in press, television, advertising and popular culture. Even though this bibliographical section on women and the media has a number of missing entries, this does not deny the fact that few sources in the form of published books are available in the field for the researchers.

Although not many, new titles appeared on women and media in Turkey since 2002 (i.e. İmançer 2006; Armutçu 2008). The Women's Library's bibliography does not cover the studies on women in Turkish media published in English and these studies will be covered here in this review. Additionally, a list of unpublished theses (in Turkish and in English) on women and press conducted at Turkish universities can be found in the bibliography. These studies focus not only on the content of the print media, but also practices of female media professionals. This list is provided in this study to give an idea of what is already available in the field, and to facilitate the work of future researchers interested in studying women in Turkish media. In the list two titles of Master of Arts theses seemed relevant for this study particularly with their focus on visual material. Yet, these studies are not digitally accessible and required traveling long distances which could not be done under the budgetary constraints of this study. Thus, even though they were not available to the author for review the titles of these studies are: (1) *Visual Depiction of Women by the Popular Periodicals of Early Republican Turkey: 1920-1949* by Nurşen Gürboğa (1996) and (2) *Women's Profile in News Photographs in National Newspapers*<sup>48</sup> by Şenay Büyükcan (1998). Another M.A. thesis titled "Representation of Women in Secular and Religious Newspapers" by Elvan Melek Akbay (Ertürk) (1999) was published together with a co-author as an academic article, and was referred to in the coming sections as the Hortaçsu and Ertürk study (2003).

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<sup>47</sup> In an earlier bibliography covering the years 1955-1990, the same subsection on women and the media (basın ve medyada kadın) included 5 entries only (Bal 2000: 202-203).

<sup>48</sup> The first study is in English while the second one is in Turkish. The title in Turkish is: *Ulusal Gazetelerde Yer Alan Haber Fotoğraflarında Kadın Profili*.

Systematic content analyses of the Turkish press with respect to gender depiction, whether visual or textual, are few in the English language as well. Communication studies focusing on the media content started towards the end of 1980 and they are conducted mainly by social psychologists. These early studies on the representation of the female in Turkish media followed the underrepresentation tradition and aimed to see whether the underrepresentation argument holds true also for the Turkish print media. In the field of newspaper research, an initial study testing this hypothesis was conducted by İmamoğlu, Gültekin, Köseoğlu and Çebi “Representation of Women and Men in Turkish Newspapers” (1990). In the study the authors aim to see whether the underrepresentation argument which is tested in various parts of the world applies to Turkish newspapers as well, and “the degree to which Turkish newspapers similarly help perpetuate gender stereotypes or assume a more constructive role towards achieving a more egalitarian world view through their portrayal of gender roles” (İmamoğlu et al 1990: 59). For the authors the egalitarian portrayal of gender roles is of particular importance in Turkey because Turkey is “a developing country undergoing rapid social change” (İmamoğlu et al 1990: 59).

The İmamoğlu et al study is a good empirical example conducted from the perspective of the underrepresentation tradition and reflection hypothesis. An additional characteristic of the study is its modernist approach to media representations of gender. The authors seem to attribute not only a representing and reflecting function, but also a developmental mission to the media. Behind this lie assumptions about the role the media are supposed to play in a developing country as pointed out in the earlier sections on the modernity and the Turkish media. In other words, in Turkey the underrepresentation approach to gender representation in the media is coupled with the theories of modernization and development. This perspective is in fact in tune with the specific “modernizing” role the press self-attributed in Turkey since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, but is not sufficient in conceptualizing and analyzing media content in Turkey with its variety and complexity today.

İmamoğlu et al analyzed the representation of women in two successive studies. In the first study three daily newspapers *Hürriyet*, *Tercüman* and *Cumhuriyet* were coded for particular gender-specific categories during the first week of November 1988 (İmamoğlu et al 1990: 59). The second study applied a different sampling strategy replacing *Tercüman*, with *Zaman* in the sample in the period of May 15–21, 1989. Only the front pages were analyzed (İmamoğlu et al 1990: 62). The study found out that

in spite of “some minor variations”, independent of their political viewpoints (leftist, rightist or liberal), the newspapers helped to perpetuate traditional gender roles “in a subtle and consistent manner” (İmamoğlu et al 1990: 65).

While the İmamoğlu et al study samples newspapers with different political inclinations their main focus is to prove the underrepresentation hypothesis in the Turkish press. Hence, they do not pay much attention to variations and differences between different Turkish newspapers. In fact comparative studies in Turkish media are almost non-existent. A more recent study will be discussed below, but before that it might be useful to mention another genre of print press research in Turkey, done from the perspectives of political science and sociology.

The rise of Islamic movements in Turkey during the 1980s and 1990s was accompanied by increased attention for Islamic publications. Since the questions of women’s position in Islam and the female headscarf at the universities constituted a heated arena of debate, the academic analysis focused more on Islamic women’s magazines and the construction of Muslim female identity in those publications (Arat 1990, 1991; Acar 1990, 1993; Gül & Gül 2000). Acar’s study focuses on three women’s magazines; Gül & Gül’s study focuses on Islamic magazines of the mid-1980s and the early 1990s, and they also include an Islamic newspaper, *Zaman*, in their study. It is important to note that *Zaman* had already moved closer to the secular mainstream media and became an important competitor for readership at the time that the Gül & Gül study was published in 2000. These studies pointed out that in Islamic periodicals women’s domestic roles and motherhood were emphasized, and women’s roles in society outside of home were given less space. Different periodicals envisaged different gender roles in varying degrees; some were stricter in their Koranic interpretations than the others. Some advocated women’s activism outside of home to spread Islamic ideals and some stressed the significance of political participation. In spite of their different approaches towards Islam and women, they were all anti-Western and anti-modernist in their discourse and Muslim women are presented in opposition to the Western women (Acar 1990: 75; Gül and Gül 2000: 20). Arat observed an emancipatory potential in the Islamic periodical that she analyzed, yet argued that this potential can only be realized under the pledge of a secular and democratic state (Arat 1990: 99). Considering the rise of AKP to power, these studies should be replicated by covering the Islamic publications of the late-1990s and 2000s to see how these different publications approached the AKP government and, taking into account the dynamism of Islamic women’s

movement, if changes are observed in these periodicals' gender conceptions.

The crossovers between Islamic and secular newspapers had been mentioned before. The interaction between the two groups of newspapers generally takes the form of transferring or inviting a journalist/writer from the other "camp". Even though there has been quite some dynamic and interaction between the Islamic press and non-Islamic secular newspapers in this sense, there was hardly any attempt to compare different types of newspapers in a comprehensive manner. Comparative newspaper studies in Turkish academia started to appear only recently. "Women and Ideology: Representations of Women in Religious and Secular Turkish Media" (2003) by Hortaçsu and Ertürk is such an example. The authors point out that "although a few investigations of representations of women either in secular or religious Turkish media exist, none have compared the two sectors" (Hortaçsu and Ertürk 2003: 2021). In their study they compare three newspapers that they identify as secular, *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Yeni Yüzyıl* and three religious newspapers: *Zaman*, *Milli Gazete*, *Yeni Şafak*. While providing a reliable framework and a good start for comparison the study seems to have a secular modernist bias. For instance, the practice of veiling is referred to as "a kind of uniform" which points to the secular, modernist positioning of the authors in the headscarf debate. In addition, while emphasizing the differences between religious and secular newspapers in terms of their representation of the female, the similarities between them are underestimated.

A shortcoming of all aforementioned studies in communication science is the lack of visual dimension of female representation. İmamoğlu et al only partially focuses on photographs; their main focus of analysis is textual. Hortaçsu and Ertürk also focus on textual analysis and acknowledge the pitfalls that the exclusion of visuals might have created for their results (2003: 2035). In fact evidence from both the İmamoğlu et al study and the results of the GMMP reports suggest that female visuals play a significant role in Turkish newspapers. İmamoğlu et al reported that in their analysis of newspapers "three fourths of the news about women were accompanied by photos. In other words, when women made the news, they often made it with photos" (İmamoğlu et al 1990: 61). GMMP's report shows that this point holds true by 2005 as well (Table 2.4). In fact, Turkey has an extraordinarily high percentage compared to the other countries in terms of using photographs of females. With 83% Turkey scores as the second highest among 76 countries mentioned in the report.

Table 2.4: News Subjects Appearing in Newspaper Photographs

	Photograph		No Photograph	
	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %
Germany	15	9	85	91
Sweden	35	36	65	64
Turkey	83	37	17	63
UK	24	16	76	84
Egypt	28	34	72	76
India	30	16	70	84

Source: GMMP 2005, Table by the author.

Analysis of language, as a medium for representation has been the main focus of numerous studies not only in newspaper research in Turkey but elsewhere as well. This is not to say that visuals are neglected altogether. On the contrary, numerous studies following the tradition of structuralism, post-structuralism and semiotics worked on the analysis of visual material, but within their framework, visuals are not treated as such, but as “non-linguistic forms” (Van Zoonen 1994: 39) of representation and the terms of linguistics are extended to the analysis of visuals. Recent theories and analysis on visuals point more and more to the distinctive nature of visuals (Mirzoeff 1999; Müller 2003). Visual communication is a growing field (Müller 2007) and there is a growing literature on visual methodologies (Emmison and Smith 2000; van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001; Lester 2003; Kress and van Leeuwen 2006; Rose 2007). The last sections of this chapter cover the basic studies on visuals from different disciplinary perspectives.

## 2.4 Sociological and Semiological Approaches to Visual Research

Visuals have been a research tool for the social sciences since the inception of disciplines like sociology and anthropology. As Emmison and Smith note: “One of the most frequently made observations by commentators on the social scientific uses of visual data is that sociology and photography share the same approximate birth date – 1839 (2000: 22). Emmison and Smith devote a large space for the use of photographs in sociological research and drive attention to two seminal studies: (1) *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis* (1942) by Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead and (2) *Gender Advertisements* (1979) by Ervin Goffman (Emmison and Smith 2000: 31, 32). Goffman’s *Gender Advertisements* is one of the leading studies in terms of the representation of gender working with visual data from an interactionist perspective.

Judith Williamson's *Decoding Advertisements* (1978) is another key study with a conceptual framework which "draws upon the work of structuralist and Marxist writers such as Barthes, Lacan, Althusser and Lévi-Strauss" (Emmison and Smith 2000: 17). Gofman's and Williamson's studies were followed by many other analyses with a focus on advertisements. In such studies like Williamson's, advertisements stayed at the focus of research because they are "one of the most influential ideological forms in contemporary capitalist societies" (Rose 2007: 76). Sarah Graham-Brown's *Images of Women: The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860–1950* (1988) is another principal study on visual representation done from the anthropological and sociological perspective (Chaplin 1994: 197).

Studies on visual research inspired by the perspective of ideology theory particularly aimed to show the influence of the dominant capitalist system in shaping the content of visuals in a subtle way. Roland Barthes' work has been primarily influential for this type of research. Barthes' *Mythologies* (1973) and later works on photography and semiotics became decisive for the following sociological and communication research on media output.

Semiotics (or semiology) has been highly prominent in the visual analysis of various types of media products. Semiological analyses are applied in different fields, ranging from novels and literary works, to photographs, film, music, fashion, painting, theater and drama. In general terms:

...semiology offers a very full box of analytical tools for taking an image apart and tracing how it works in relation to broader systems of meaning (...) The most important tool in any semiological box (...) is the 'sign': semiology means 'the study of signs' (Rose 2007: 74, 75).

According to Rose the concept of ideology and Marxism had a formative influence on semiology (Rose 2007: 75); and as a result "semiology (...) is centrally concerned with the social effects of meaning" (Rose 2007: 76). There are different schools with different points of emphasis within semiotics (Rose 2007: 74; Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 6). Kress and van Leeuwen identify the Paris School of the 1960s and 1970s as the most influential school of semiotics on the analyses of various non-linguistic modes of communication such as photography, film and music, and the ideas developed from this school are widely taught in media studies classes (ibid.: 2006: 6). Different social theories also influenced the development of different approaches within semiotics. Early semiological studies such as Judith Williamson's *Decoding*

*Advertisements* (1978) were influenced more by the structuralist social theories (Rose 2007: 74). Post-structuralist critiques of social theories have considerably influenced the later studies in semiotics as well, extending the notion of ideology to the works of semiologists themselves (Rose 2007: 77). Semiology is often criticized as putting the mere focus to the image or the text itself, falling short of analyzing the production processes behind a cultural product, as well as its terminological density that makes it difficult to grasp and apply (Rose 2007: 78; Hodge and Kress 1988). Finally because semiotics was developed initially by linguists,<sup>49</sup> later semiotic analyses tended to extend the concept of “reading” to all cultural items regardless of the items’ own particularities. This approach treats visuals also as “texts” to be analyzed with the semiological concept of sign and its most crucial components, signifiers and signifieds.

The social semiotic approaches that aimed to distinguish themselves from the mainstream theories of semiotics placed more emphasis on the practices and social uses of semiotics rather than semiotic structures (Hodge and Kress 1988; Jewitt and Oyama 2001; Kress and van Leeuwen 2006). This also points to a break with the structuralist applications of semiotics, bringing the image makers and the process of image (or sign) making more to the fore (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006). Researchers working from a social semiotic perspective aim to bring the agency into the semiotic analyses as opposed to the determinism of codes and structures. In summarizing the criticisms towards what they call “mainstream semiotics” Hodge and Kress state that:

“Mainstream semiotics” emphasizes structures and codes, at the expense of functions and social uses of semiotic systems, the complex interrelations of semiotics systems in social practice, all of the factors which provide their motivation, their origins and destinations, their form and substance. It stresses system and product, rather than speakers and writers or other participants in semiotic activity as connected and *interacting* in a variety of ways in concrete social contexts (*emphasis original*) (Hodge and Kress 1988: 1).

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<sup>49</sup> Ferdinand de Saussure (linguist) and Charles Sanders Pierce (philosopher) are regarded as the main contributors to the development of semiotics in its early phases and the elaboration of its main concept, “sign” with its major components and various types. This study will not go into the details of various semiological terms. Among others and particularly for more information on media and semiotics see: Fiske and Hartley 1978; Fiske 1982; Hodge and Kress 1988; Nöth 1997; Evans and Hall 1999; Barnard 2001; van Leeuwen 2001; Sturken and Cartwright 2005; Kress and van Leeuwen 2006; Rose 2007.

As mentioned earlier Roland Barthes and the Paris School of semiotics had been very influential on the analyses of photography and film. According to Barthes the photographic image had a special status. Unlike language, the photograph was transparently readable without a code because of its resemblance to reality (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 24). Yet, later semiotic and social semiotic studies on photographs emphasized more the constructed and coded nature of the photographs. According to Kress and van Leeuwen:

Visual communication is always coded. It seems transparent only because we know the code already, at least implicitly – but without knowing what it is we know, without having the means for talking about what it is we do when we read an image (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 32, 33).

Another influential figure who pointed out the hidden ideological force of photographs is Stuart Hall who is the leading figure in the tradition of the British Cultural Studies School. “Stuart Hall (1973) has provided one of the seminal arguments that photographs should be studied as indicators of underlying cultural forces” (Emmison and Smith 2000: 46) and the alliance between feminist media theory and cultural studies is not unexpected considering the fact that while the female representation in media output has been a concern for feminist scholars the representation of various ethnic identities and collectivities have been the primary concern of cultural studies. The two fields have shared similar methodologies and conceptual frameworks to analyze the representation of gender, race and ethnicity in media content.

As pointed out earlier, the research traditions following Barthes and cultural studies within the framework of semiotics treated visuals as “texts.” The extension of linguistic analysis to the research on visuals has recently been put under criticism by a number of scholars whose main focus of interest is in art history, image analysis and visual theory. Visual analysts and theorists question more and more the secondary or instrumental treatment of visuals, secondary with respect to text. To quote from Lister and Wells:

There have been many attempts (within Cultural and Media Studies and elsewhere) to analyze images using elaborate and systematic semiotic theories of codes or of signification (the operation of signs) based upon the paradigm of language. Over repeated attempts, often under the sway of changing intellectual fashions (structuralism, post-structuralism, deconstructionism), it has become clear that a too rigid application of systematic methodologies for visual analysis, which take written or spoken language as a model, is self-defeating. There is always a

tendency in such attempts to miss the specificity of the medium, and the practices built around it in social use, where signification actually takes place (Lister and Wells 2001: 73).

For non-linguistic approaches to visuals a visual cannot be treated as a sign; and cannot be analyzed with the methods developed for the analysis of language. Visuals should not be defined in relation to something else, such as non-verbal communication, non-linguistic forms of communication. On the contrary visuals should be brought to focus and treated differently than verbal communication because of their non-linear, associative logic with more emotive power (Müller 2003: 22; Kappas and Müller 2006). As Mirzoeff argued while criticizing semiotic readings of art “in concentrating solely on linguistic meaning, such readings deny the very element that makes visual imagery of all kinds distinct from texts, that is to say, its sensual immediacy” (Mirzoeff 1999: 15).

Recently, art historical methods to study contemporary visuals started to appear on the agendas of researchers (Lister and Wells 2001; van Leeuwen 2001; Müller 2007, 2008; Müller and Özcan 2007). Iconology is the main approach used by art historians for studying images. The limits and disadvantages of semiotics when it comes to the treatment of visuals led some communication and social scientists to apply iconology to the field of current media images. Since literature in iconography is much limited in communication science in comparison to semiotics, I will give some space here to discuss it as an approach and method to study visuals.

### *2.5 Iconology and Iconography: Clarifying the terms*

Iconology is a method developed in art history at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by the cultural art historian Aby Warburg (1866–1929) and Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968). In broad terms, iconology is “an ancient interdisciplinary enterprise” (Mitchell 2005: 6). According to Müller “[i]conography is both a method and an approach to studying the content and meanings of visuals” (Müller 2008a). The roots of iconography go back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In Müller’s words:

Originally devised in the context of 16<sup>th</sup> century art collecting to categorize particular visual motifs of paintings, iconography was first modernized by the art historian Aby M. Warburg (...) at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (...). It was further refined by art historian Erwin Panofsky (...) who popularized this method of visual interpretation in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s (Müller 2008a).

It is necessary to clarify the use of the terms iconography and iconology, which might be confusing from time to time. As Müller (2008) notes researchers use the terms interchangeably. Yet, in Erwin Panofsky's model iconology is a further step in iconography, carrying the iconographical analysis to a higher analytical level. Recently it is possible to encounter the word "iconography" in a variety of studies (Bonnell 1997; Kitch 2001; Özyürek 2006; Saktanber 2006). But in the majority of such studies iconology and iconography are detached from their roots in art history, and used rather as a general term referring to the visual traditions in the area of the writer's interest. Sometimes the terms are even misused, like "visual iconology" (Kitch 2001: 191) which is an unnecessary repetition since there is no "textual iconology." Iconological/iconographical analysis is already visual in nature. For the sake of consistency I use the term iconology to refer to Panofsky's model in general, taking iconography as an intrinsic part of it.

Panofsky's iconology is comprised of three steps (Panofsky 1955). The first step is pre-iconographical description. In pre-iconographical description the researcher is expected to abstain from interpretation as much as possible. For van Leeuwen pre-iconographical description corresponds to the level of denotation in semiotic analysis (van Leeuwen 2001: 100). In fact pre-iconographical description is more than that. Pre-iconological description demands a more thorough analysis of the objects visible on the image. It focuses on the identification of people and the objects more than semiotics and expands the denotative level. Van Leeuwen also mentions the insufficiencies of the Barthian semiotics at the denotative level and suggests some "pointers" for a more detailed denotative semiotic analysis (van Leeuwen 2001: 95). Iconology does not seem to suffer from this problem. Yet, in practical analysis it might be useful to devise a framework incorporating Van Leeuwen's pointers and other tools of photographic analysis for a thorough pre-iconographical description of images.

The second level in Panofsky's model is iconographic description. Here, the strict abstinence from interpretation ends and the researcher starts interpreting the meanings of the objects and people seen on the image. The third and the final step is the iconological analysis. Here, the researcher looks for the links between the image and its wider context. How is the image linked to the general socio-political and cultural environment within which it is produced? What does it say about the culture and the place it was produced in? At this level the image becomes a source for further social and cultural analysis.

In his book *Introduction to Iconology* (1994), Van Straten slightly modifies Panofsky's model and suggests four steps, subdividing Panofsky's iconological analysis further into the iconographical and iconological interpretation (Van Straten 1994: 18). He argues that Panofsky himself left some further questions unanswered in relation to the iconological analysis and he argues that further differentiation provides clarification in the model. Yet, this study prefers to follow Panofsky's original model, because three steps in themselves are complicated enough to follow.

Modifying iconology to fit the analysis of contemporary media images and photography requires some effort. Some iconological concerns, like the dating of a painting or finding out its artist, are irrelevant when the analysis of contemporary mass media images is concerned. Likewise the meaning of old paintings as they are treated in art history is different than the newspaper and television images that audiences and researchers are familiar with in their daily lives. Therefore, iconological steps should be supported by the contemporary techniques of image analysis for better results.

In this study iconology is used as a qualitative approach for the in-depth analysis of visuals. The study explores the possibilities of this method to study the contemporary images in the mass media. I take the three iconological steps as an overarching general framework for image analysis in this study. I aim to incorporate social semiotic techniques of photography analysis into this framework for better clarification and systematization. Towards the end of his life Panofsky also occupied himself with the analysis of photography. In general, the tools of photographic analysis are not sufficiently developed within the iconological tradition. Visual Culture Studies and semiotics have a longer tradition and practice in analyzing photographic images "which have been a major element of visual culture in modern industrial societies" (Lister and Wells 2001: 63).

Some earlier studies used iconography as a research method but without making it methodologically explicit. Victoria Bonnel's *Iconography of Power* (1997) and Jan Nederveen Pieterse's *White on Black* (1992) are examples of such iconographical studies. In his chapter on Semiotics and Iconology (2001) Van Leeuwen refers to Pieterse's *White on Black* as a study exemplifying the use of iconography for the study of contemporary images. Pieterse's book is a breathtaking documentation on racist imagery and visual racism. Considering the breadth of the book and the

quantity of images it includes, it is probably unfair to expect a detailed explanation of the method followed, but that could have been helpful. Pieterse refers to Panofsky's iconology and another method called "imagologic" (Pieterse 1992: 224) without going further into detail how he used them to structure his work and his analysis of images. The same is true for Bonnel's extensive work on Soviet posters.

Iconology's basic advantage comes from its acknowledgement of the distinct nature of visuals and its origin as a method that was developed specifically for the analysis of visuals in contrast to language-based visual research methods (Müller 2003). Another advantage of iconology is its flexibility for intertextual analysis (Van Leeuwen 2001: 117; Müller 2003; Rose 2007: 154). Additionally, it provides a simple systematic approach to the analysis of visuals without creating a heavy jargon.<sup>50</sup>

Bialostocki mentions Kantian, neo-Kantian, as well as Ernst Cassirer's and Aby Warburg's influences on Panofsky's work (Bialostocki 1970: 71), and among others Bialostocki particularly mentions Ernst Cassirer's influence on Panofsky's thinking.<sup>51</sup> Cassirer's work which is crystallized in the three volumes of *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* "which conceived the link between various fields of human endeavor in a functional or structural way, appeared to be similar to the system of concepts developed by Panofsky. This may be due to Panofsky's and Cassirer's common Kantian background" (Bialostocki 1970: 76). Panofsky's title of his major work *Perspective as Symbolic Form* mirrored this influence.

The structuralist theoretical roots of iconology is one of its pitfalls. Cassirer's approach is adopted later in sociology and anthropology led by Claude Levi Strauss, the father of the structuralist school in these fields. Yet, its construction of the relation between the individual instance and the total system constituted one of the weakest points of structuralism. As Mirzoeff succinctly summarized:

The structuralists, as they came to be known, sought to examine the ways in which people used individual signs in order to understand the 'deep structures' of society that generated these individual instances. Led by anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss, structuralists hoped to discover

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<sup>50</sup> For the importance of simplicity in language and an assessment of semiology in terms of its theoretical terminology see (Rose 2007: 104).

<sup>51</sup> For different evaluations of Panofsky's work and thinking from philosophical, semiological and art historical perspectives see also Hasenmueller 1978; Moxey 1986 and Hart 1993.

the structures that underlay all societies and cultures. Levi-Strauss, for example, argued that the incest taboo and the distinction between raw and cooked food are two central structures of all societies. However to all intents and purposes, what we have to work with is the individual instance not the total system. Nor can any sign system ever be regarded as closed – new meaning and ways of creating meaning are constantly available to any language user. If the total system cannot be known, then it is of little use to insist that the concrete example is a manifestation of that system. Thus the sign becomes highly contingent and can only be understood in its historical context. There is not and cannot be a ‘pure’ sign theory that will successfully cross the borders of time and place. Structuralism was in the end unproductive (Mirzoeff 1999: 14).

As later structuralists approached the individual instance as a way to understand the total system behind it, Panofsky saw the meaning of an image as a symptom of the whole period or cultural system behind it. For him the intrinsic meaning or content of an image “is apprehended by ascertaining those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion – qualified by one personality and condensed into one work” (Panofsky 1955: 30). Rose compares his approach in iconology with Foucauldian approaches and argues that:

As defined by Panofsky, iconography is not a Foucauldian method. Panofsky (1957: 41) suggested that iconological analysis could show how the ‘essential tendencies of the human mind’ were translated into visual themes and concepts, and this reference to the ‘essential tendencies of the human mind’ is decidedly non-Foucauldian. [...] Foucault insisted that there could be no ‘essential tendencies’ because human subjectivity is entirely constructed (Rose 2007: 154).

The search for essentialism, especially in the field of contemporary cultures might be misleading. First of all this generalizing approach hinders to see the variety within “a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion” (Panofsky 1955: 30). Iconology’s third step is problematic in cultural analysis because of its essentializing implications. While Cassirer and Panofsky looked for structures and human tendencies that go beyond history, in cultural analysis history and specific context should be re-introduced into the framework to resist overgeneralization. Therefore, Panofsky’s search for intrinsic meaning in the field of art historical images should be rather treated with caution when the subject in question is the contemporary analyses of culture. Arguments on the idea of intrinsic attributes and essential qualities can support and justify the subordination of social groups who are defined as “different” and contribute to the sustenance of inequalities. Stereotypes, specifically about women and ethnic minorities, in daily discourses and media

representations are based on generalizations of attributes to particular groups. While studying contemporary societies and media images, it is crucial not to fall into the trap of essentialism and over-generalization, loosing the variety out of sight. In addition, Panofsky's thinking also bears the imprints of the rising concepts of his period. He seems to take "nation" as a unit, as a distinguishable system. Yet, today, in an increasingly globalizing world, where "nation" is loosing its importance and citizens are becoming ever more mobile, the theoretical approach accompanying Panofsky's model seems outdated. In that regard, the theoretical background of iconology needs to be reconsidered in the light of later sociological theories and post-structuralist critiques. During his life time Panofsky himself re-worked on his method and he even started avoiding the term "iconology" in his late studies (Bialostocki 1970: 70), but on different grounds: "[i]ts too great popularity and a too great crowd of imitators, with whom he often disagreed, provoked his skepticism" (Bialostocki 1970: 70).

Currently there are two basic approaches about applying iconology to mass media images. Some scholars argue that it is an impossible task to use iconology to study visuals in mass media. For these scholars iconology is an art historical method and not fit for studying contemporary media images. Another group of scholars (such as Müller, following the German tradition of visual analysis) aim to revive the iconological tradition, and use it as a basic method to study contemporary media images. These scholars distance themselves from semiotic approaches, if not totally oppose to them.

Iconology's major strength as a method, developed specifically for visual analysis is also its major weakness when it comes to its application to the mass media images. The visuals in mass media never come in pure forms; they always come to us in packages, combined with textual messages. Even in art history text plays a role. As W.J.T. Mitchell points out, "The interaction of pictures and text is constitutive of representation as such: All media are mixed media, and all representations are heterogeneous; There are no 'purely' visual or verbal arts, though the impulse to purify media is one of the central utopian gestures of modernism" (Mitchell 1994: 5). While iconology helps to grasp the significance of the images within their unique associative logic<sup>52</sup>, it needs to be further developed to study the complicated relationship between the text and the image. Therefore, rather than conceptualizing iconology opposing semiotics, it might be more productive to look for ways to combine the rich stocks of

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<sup>52</sup> For more information on the associative logic of visuals see Müller 2003: 22.

these different research traditions to better analyze the dynamics of image and text in contemporary mass media images. The qualitative part of this study (Chapter 5) employs iconology and semiotics to analyze the newspaper images, and looks for ways in which these two qualitative research traditions can be combined. Before focusing on the methodology that will be applied in this study, the research questions presented in the introductory chapter will be reviewed in light of the theoretical issues discussed in this chapter.

## *2.6 Reviewing the Research Questions*

After this overview of the basic discussions on modernity, gender and visual communication, this study aims to inquire how women and men in contemporary Turkish newspapers are depicted. How do contemporary newspapers portray them in different gendered outfits? What kind of power relationships are embedded in images? To which degree are the ideological standings of newspapers related to the ways that they visually depict females and males? And above all, what do these depictions tell us about the contemporary Turkish society?

These are the broader questions that this study will deal with. Before proceeding to the methodological chapter on visual content analysis I would like to draw attention once more to the research questions presented earlier:

- How are females and males represented visually in the Turkish print press today and how does this representation relate to the different political affiliations and socio-cultural standpoints reflected in the newspapers?
- What are the differences *between* religious/conservative newspapers and the secular newspapers in terms of their portrayals of female and male images?
- What are the differences *within* religious and *within* secular newspapers in terms of the portrayals of female and male images?

The next chapters will focus on developing tools to study these questions with quantitative (visual content analysis) and qualitative methods (semiotics and iconology) with the aim to try to find answers.

## CHAPTER 3

### VISUAL CONTENT ANALYSIS OF GENDER REPRESENTATION IN SIX TURKISH NEWSPAPERS

#### *3.1 Introduction: Research Design*

To inquire the use of visuals in selected newspapers, an empirical but exploratory research design is developed in the study. An exploratory approach is preferred because the visuals in Turkish newspapers have not been investigated in such depth before, and this is a new field of research. An exploratory study does not follow directly from an existing study, it is not like replications. Therefore the coding scheme that will be introduced in the following sections was developed particularly for this study with the specific purpose of extracting information from the visual data in selected newspapers. Visual content analysis produces a large amount of quantified data which need to be further analyzed with qualitative approaches to be able to understand the meanings and the contexts of visuals. The combination of different quantitative and qualitative approaches is the main methodological contribution of this study for visual communication research.<sup>1</sup>

Bringing quantitative and qualitative approaches together will enable us to explore the ways in which large numbers of print media images can be systematically researched and analyzed. Visual content analysis helps to deal with large amounts of data by coding and analyzing them in defined categories thus extracting information in those dimensions. But, content analysis falls short of in-depth analysis of single images. Working with large numbers of visuals without losing the grip on the detail is a challenge. The methodological design in this study aims to confront this challenge by bringing together iconology, visual semiotics and visual content analysis. While iconological analysis and visual semiotics constitutes the qualitative part, visual content analysis constitutes the quantitative part of the study.

The coming sections in this chapter focus on the visual content analysis and how the method is applied to the requirements of the research design

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<sup>1</sup> In his textbook on “Inhaltsanalyse” (Content Analysis) the German communication scholar Patrick Rössler prefers the distinction between standardized and non-standardized methods to the traditional quantitative-qualitative distinction. See Rössler 2005: 16. The following study will adhere to the generally accepted distinction between qualitative and quantitative methods.

in this study. The sampling strategies and the selected newspapers are introduced in the next section, followed by detailed explanations of the coding categories developed to extract information from the visuals in newspapers. The chapter comes to an end with a discussion on the validity and reliability of the coding categories. The results of the content analysis are presented in the fourth chapter that lays the background for the qualitative iconographic and semiotic analysis of the selected visuals.

### *3.2 Introducing the Sample of Newspapers and Comparative Newspaper Analysis*

#### *3.2.1 Sampling*

The population of the study is the visuals of females and males published in Turkish national daily newspapers.<sup>2</sup> From the whole universe of visuals depicting gender in national dailies in Turkey a sufficient sample needs to be drawn to explore the field and to see how females and males are visually depicted in different newspapers available on the Turkish newspaper market. Therefore the sampling procedure required making decisions at three different levels: (1) selecting which national dailies to include in the study, (2) selecting the newspaper issues, which particular days or weeks to be included in the sample, (3) selecting which visuals to analyze in depth for further qualitative analysis.

To select the newspapers for the sample, first of all it is crucial to know which national newspapers are available in the whole newspaper market. In 2000 Yumul and Özkırmılı conducted a study on 38 Turkish national dailies to analyze the nationalistic framing in newspapers (Yumul and Özkırmılı 2000). At the time of their study, these were all the newspapers sold on the national market. European Journalism Center reported that there are 40 national newspapers on the Turkish market by 2007.<sup>3</sup> At the time of the sampling in 2005, the author counted 34 newspapers, and among these 34 newspapers available on the Turkish daily national newspaper market at that time, six newspapers were sampled for this study.<sup>4</sup> Some of the newspapers available on the national

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<sup>2</sup> Local and regional newspapers are not included in the study and are not taken into account for sampling decisions.

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.ejc.net/media\\_landscape/article/turkey/](http://www.ejc.net/media_landscape/article/turkey/) <09.05.2008>

<sup>4</sup> The media in Turkey were not covered by the official statistics until 2005. Within the framework of EU adjustment, the Turkish Institute of Statistics (TUIK, formerly known as the State Bureau of Statistics/Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü – DİE) published its first report on the print media in Turkey on July 27, 2007. The report published the

market have specific target audiences with topical interests such as sports and finance. Such newspapers are not considered for this study.

The intention was that the selected newspapers reflect the diversity of different opinions and positions seen in Turkish newspaper market. Therefore the newspapers were purposefully selected. The selected six newspapers are the major influential newspapers within their own categories. Newspapers' Islamic and non-Islamic orientations played a major role for the sampling of newspapers. Aside from this, the extent of readership reflected in circulation numbers is also taken into account. Three of the newspapers selected, *Posta*, *Sabah* and *Zaman* were among the highest circulating top five newspapers, and they remained so by April 2008. The table below shows the average weekly circulation of newspapers at different time periods in the last four years.

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results obtained from 2005. According to TUIK's report, 88 national newspapers existed in Turkey in 2005, [http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?tb\\_id=15&ust\\_id=5<23.06.2008>](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?tb_id=15&ust_id=5<23.06.2008>). The large difference between TUIK's report and the figures that the author could obtain at that time is most likely due to TUIK's definition of "newspaper" that not only includes dailies but also includes weekly, biweekly, monthly, bimonthly, quarterly and yearly publications in newspaper format.

Table 3.1: Average Weekly Circulation figures of newspapers<sup>5</sup>

Newspapers in order of circulation at the time of sampling	Circulation 11–17 July 2005	Circulation 26 June–2 July 2006	Circulation 13–19 August 2007	Circulation 28 April–5 May 2008
Posta	680.467	615.292	671.285	646.154
Zaman	464.572	548.843	547.479	861.288
Sabah	451.346	430.414	513.316	409.577
Vakit	68.069	65.227	68.274	61.471
Cumhuriyet	57.788	67.766	76.696	85.349
Radikal	41.252	36.796	37.858	42.751

By 2008 Zaman’s circulation has almost doubled due to the subscription campaign the newspaper started in November 2007 to celebrate its 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Following the campaign the newspaper’s circulation has largely increased and Posta lost its place to Zaman as the highest circulating daily.<sup>6</sup> Cumhuriyet also steadily increased its readership, while the circulations of other newspapers remained more or less stable with small fluctuations. The above table shows weekly average circulation figures. The newspapers in the Turkish market have a

<sup>5</sup> Figures for 2005: <http://www.netgazete.com/ratingtiraj/tiraj.htm> <16.09.2005>  
Figure for 2006: <http://www.dorduncukuvvetmedya.com/dkm/print.php?sid=6557>  
<15.10.2008> Figures for 2007: <http://www.netgazete.com/ratingtiraj/tiraj.htm>  
<29.08.2007> and <http://www.dorduncukuvvetmedya.com/article.php?sid=9100>  
<09.05.2008>

Figures for 2008: <http://www.dorduncukuvvetmedya.com/dkm/article.php?sid=10783>  
<09.05.2008> The web site “netgazete.com”, which regularly provides circulation numbers indicates that the figures are obtained from the newspaper distribution company YAYSAT. The author cross checked the figures as they are published in different web sites and obtained the same figures. Aside from YAYSAT, ABC Türkiye, which is the affiliated branch of the International Federation of Audit Bureau of Circulations (IFABC) since 2005 in Turkey, provides audited circulation figures for registered newspapers. While it sounds more reliable to obtain figures from an audit institution, ABC Türkiye does not provide figures for all the newspapers examined in this study. In addition, the audit activities of the bureau were suspended in 2007 (and was still in suspense while this thesis is written) due to a disagreement and the ensuing legal case between the bureau and the newspaper Zaman.

<sup>6</sup> The authors in secular media find the high figures of Zaman unreliable, and sometimes totally disregard Zaman’s subscription figures. For an example see Mehmet Y. Yılmaz, Hürriyet, June 20, 2008:  
<http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=9229982&yazarid=148>  
<21.07.2008> It is true that there is a large difference between Zaman’s subscription and newsstand sales figures. The author is of the opinion that while it is wrong to disregard the newspaper’s subscription figures, at the absence of an audit institution, they need to be handled with caution.

dramatic increase in their circulations on the weekends. In contrast to some European counterparts (i.e. the newspaper market in Germany) where Sunday editions of newspapers are rare, Sunday editions contribute significantly to the sales of the newspapers in Turkey. Various additional supplements are provided by the newspapers on the weekend, especially on Sunday. Another additional feature of the newspaper market is that the distribution of newspapers works via newsstands and the small traditional Turkish markets rather than via subscription, which is in the case of a few newspapers, i.e. *Zaman* in the sample, an exceptional distribution strategy rather than the rule.

Considering that more secular newspapers exist in the overall market four secular newspapers are selected *Cumhuriyet*, *Posta*, *Radikal*, *Sabah*, as opposed to two Islamic newspapers *Vakit* and *Zaman*. *Zaman* is a considerably moderate and liberal Islamic newspaper, as opposed to *Vakit*, which is rather a radical Islamic newspaper.

The newspaper issues are from a randomly selected natural calendar week (22 – 28 July 2005). The chosen calendar week represents just any other week throughout the whole calendar year.<sup>7</sup> This method of sampling is also known as “convenience sampling” or “consecutive day sampling” in newspaper content analysis (Riffe, Aust and Lacy 1993). In communication research selection of media material from a constructed artificial week (constructed week sampling) is also very common. Constructed week and consecutive day sampling are regarded as being more sensitive to the variation in newspaper content over different days of the week as opposed to simple random sampling procedures (Riffe et al 1993: 134). Yet, the consecutive day sampling, the procedure used in this study, ignores the differences between weeks whereas such differences are taken into account in constructed week sampling (Riffe et al 1993: 134). Researchers prefer constructed week samples also when they seek “generalizability beyond the consecutive day period itself” (Riffe et al 1993: 139). Riffe et al argue that constructed week samples provide a better estimate than both purely random samples and consecutive day sampling in newspaper content analysis (1993: 139).<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Originally, newspapers over 10 days were collected (22 – 31 July 2005), but only the natural week from Friday to Friday is used for the content analysis. The remaining three issues were included in the study only for the qualitative examination of the images when seen necessary.

<sup>8</sup> Different types of media content require different sampling strategies. For instance, in their analysis of different sampling strategies to study the online news content, Hester and Dougall (2007: 820) found out that constructed week sampling is the most efficient type of sample to study the non-traditional online media and suggested that

Yet, since the issues are collected over different weeks, constructed week sampling requires a longer time period, bringing a practical constraint for the researcher. Because of the exploratory research design in this study a convenient consecutive day sampling is preferred over constructed week sampling. According to Riffe, Lacy and Fico (1998: 85) exploring an underresearched but important area is one of the conditions justifying the use of nonprobability convenience sampling. The visuals in Turkish newspapers constitute such an underresearched area that needs to be explored and the convenient consecutive day sampling is a very fitting approach within the overall design and the constraints of this study. The selected consecutive day week is an ordinary week without any special or extraordinary coverage that would have a significant impact on the composition of visuals. In the later phases of the study it is taken into account that the sampling is drawn from a summer week, and the relevant categories in the coding sheet relating to female and male clothing are coded more leniently.

With regard to the question of sample size, out of the universe of 34 newspapers in the market, six newspapers (N=6) provide sufficient amount of material to study the visual representations of gender in Turkish newspapers. Considering that some of the national newspapers available in the market have specific target audiences such as sports or finance readers, the selected six newspapers constitute a sample large enough for an exploratory study.

It may be necessary to say a few words about why the same newspapers as in previous studies (i.e. İmamoğlu et al 1990 and Hortaçsu and Ertürk 2003) were not chosen to establish ground for comparison. First of all because the other studies are focused on textual news items and not the visuals, replicating the previous studies for female representation was out of question. Furthermore there were practical reasons due to the changes in the newspaper market, the ownership structures in the Turkish media and the changing circulations over time. Zaman and Cumhuriyet were also part of the earlier studies of newspaper research in Turkey mentioned in the previous chapter. The remaining composition of newspapers was different in earlier studies. In this study, Hürriyet, Tercüman, Yeni Yüzyıl, Milli Gazete and Yeni Şafak that appeared in previous studies are replaced with Posta, Sabah, Radikal and Vakit for various reasons. Hürriyet is replaced with Sabah due to the ownership structures in Turkish media as will be explained in the respective section on Sabah.

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simple random and consecutive day sampling rather be avoided to study the online news content (Hester and Dougall 2007: 820).

Yeni Yüzyıl used to be an equivalent newspaper to Radikal but it went out of business in 2001. The same applies to Tercüman which used to be a prominent centre right daily during the 1970s and 1980s. Milli Gazete and Yeni Şafak are two other Islamic newspapers on the market. Vakit is chosen to replace them because it is the epitome of a radical Islamic newspaper in the Turkish newspaper market. Its columnists were among the opinion leaders of the Islamist movements during the 1980s and 1990s, being visible in the Turkish public due to their publishing activities and their frequent appearance in television discussions, round tables and the like. At the same time the previous studies did not distinguish between moderate and radical Islamic newspapers whereas this study takes such a distinction into consideration and this is also reflected in the decisions of newspaper selection, Vakit representing the radical Islamic and Zaman representing the moderate Islamic stance.

The newspapers in the sample differ according to: (1) Religious orientation and (2) newspaper layout. The author considered grouping the newspapers in terms of political orientation along right vs. left dimensions as well, but this turned out to be very difficult for three reasons. First of all, while secular newspapers can be commonsensically grouped as either right (Posta and Sabah) or left (Cumhuriyet and Radikal), these categories do not apply to Islamic newspapers, i.e. currently there is no newspaper in the Turkish print market representing the Islamic left.<sup>9</sup> Recently, in Turkey, there have been discussions on the Muslim-left due to a short-lived political movement and some writers questioned the attribution of Islamic thinking to the rightist political parties and pointed out the need to foster the links between Islam and the left.<sup>10</sup> Yet, these discussions did not lead to the emergence of a daily newspaper which can be characterized as an Islamic-leftist publication.

Secondly, the left and right categories in contemporary Turkish politics are highly blurred and do not correspond to the traditional conceptions of left and right in politics, which are based on the electorates' economic and class background. For instance, the Republican People's Party (RPP)

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<sup>9</sup> There have been attempts in other Muslim countries to bring Muslim perspectives with leftist world views such as the reformist project of Hassan Hanafi of Egypt whose reform project is referred to as "Islamic left" (Wahyudi 2006: 257).

<sup>10</sup> As examples of such discussions see: Tempo Dergisi, 13.03.2003: [http://www.tempodergisi.com.tr/toplum\\_politika/01349/](http://www.tempodergisi.com.tr/toplum_politika/01349/) <25.09.2008> Ahmet Hakan Coşkun, "Müslüman Sol Geliyor", (Hürriyet, December 11, 2006); Nuray Mert, "Müslüman sol veya sol Müslümanlık", (Radikal, December 19, 2006); Nuray Mert, "Bir kez daha: İslam ve Sol", (Radikal, January 4, 2007).

that is considered one of the representatives of the Turkish left<sup>11</sup> has its electorate basically in the middle and the upper middle classes, and since the 1990s RPP gradually lost almost all its working class electorate to the various Islamic parties that preceded the Justice and Development Party (AKP). RPP is a member of the Socialist International, yet it is heavily criticized by leftist intellectuals and socialist interest groups in Turkey, and in July 2007 the party faced the likelihood of expulsion from the Socialist International on the grounds that it turned into a right-wing nationalist party, defending the status quo.<sup>12</sup> The Justice and Development Party itself aspires to represent the centre right in Turkey with its large share of votes, but it is disputed among political analysts whether it really represents the centre right tradition in Turkey (Gareth 2003; Coşar and Özman 2004; Mecham 2004; Tessler and Altinoğlu 2004; Sayarı 2007; Özel 2007; Sayarı and Hasanov 2008). Terms abound in describing the new alignments of political parties, and situating the AKP in particular in the new landscape of Turkish politics proves challenging. Among the terms used while describing AKP's politics are: transformation of political Islam, Muslim democrats, conservative democracy, liberal-conservatives<sup>13</sup> and the new centre right. In short, the variety of terms in political analysis points at the difficulty of naming and grasping the current political alignments in Turkey with classical distinctions between the left and the right.

Following the rise of the Justice and Development Party to power and the accompanying shifts in the positions of the different political parties in Turkey, the discourses around Islam and secularism have become even more politicized than ever, taking over the class-based right versus left distinction in politics, making them almost obsolete categories. Therefore in a shifting political environment, applying the categories of left versus right to newspapers is difficult and has become inadequate to study the press in Turkey. Finally due to the concentration of ownership, secular newspapers that otherwise could have been characterized as either right or left belong to the same owner, overshadowing their ideological affiliation by the media ownership structures in Turkey. Yet, the secular and Islamic publications have different owners.<sup>14</sup> Due to all these factors,

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<sup>11</sup> For more information on the past and present of the Republican People's Party see Güneş-Ayata 2002; Rubin and Heper 2002; Coşar and Özman 2008.

<sup>12</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republican\\_People's\\_Party\\_\(Turkey\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republican_People's_Party_(Turkey)) <29.05.2008>

<sup>13</sup> The term "liberal" is mostly used in pointing at AKP's free-market oriented economic policies.

<sup>14</sup> At least it was so when the newspapers were selected. Sabah was sold to a new media group in 2007 that made the characteristic of its ownership debatable. This is discussed in the coming pages.

the newspapers will be analyzed on the basis of two dimensions: religious orientation and newspaper layout.

*1. Religious orientation:* The newspapers in the sample can be grouped according to their positions on secularism and the role of Islam in society. As can be seen in the table below four newspapers in the sample are grouped as secular and two are grouped as Islamic.

Table 3.2: Religious orientation of the newspapers in the sample

Religious Orientation	
Cumhuriyet	Secular
Posta	Secular
Radikal	Secular
Sabah	Secular
Zaman	Islamic
Vakit	Islamic

What makes a newspaper secular or Islamic? It is possible to develop several criteria to distinguish between secular and religious newspapers: (1) The views expressed in the newspapers; (2) the composition of journalists, their backgrounds and publications; (3) the existence of pages allocated to religious issues give clues about the ideological position of the newspaper. In all criteria (and particularly the third) *Zaman* and *Vakit* are clearly religious newspapers. Other secular newspapers publish also pages devoted to religious issues but when they do, they usually reserve these pages only for the month of Ramazan, as part of a promotional strategy. The pages on religion are a regular feature in Islamic newspapers.

An additional criterion (4) to categorize the newspapers as either secular or Islamic is the way the newspapers refer to each other. In all secular newspapers the sense of “we” is clearly observable; a feature which regularly came up in columnists’ writings after the July 2007 general elections. At the discursive level terms like “our circles” and “we,” (used either in affirmative or self-critical way) point to the self perception and identity of the journalists writing in secular newspapers<sup>15</sup>. The same applies to Islamic newspapers as well; and in the sample more to *Vakit* than *Zaman*. *Vakit* denounces all secular newspapers as “cartel media,” derogating and accusing them by merely serving the interests of their owners. At face value, although the term seems to criticize the ownership structures in secular media, which is indeed a problem, in the newspaper’s discourse it is loaded with additional oppositional meanings to the secular establishment. The term “cartel media” is a crucial part of the newspaper’s positioning and identity. *Vakit* has a whole page devoted

<sup>15</sup> For an example see: (Balçiçek Pamir, *Sabah*, August 17, 2007).

to mocking and criticising news articles and photos published in secular newspapers.

2. *Newspaper Lay out*: In terms of layout and front page design the majority of Turkish newspapers look more or less similar. To illustrate how far the similarities among newspapers in the Turkish press can actually go, designer Selim Tuncer exchanged the nameplates of the newspapers Sabah, Vakit, Akşam, Yeni Şafak, Vatan and Hürriyet with each other in his weblog (Tuncer, 15 Dec. 2006)<sup>16</sup> and asked his readers to find out which nameplate belongs to which newspaper in reality. Tuncer argues that in terms of visual appearance Turkish newspapers look astonishingly similar and it is very difficult to distinguish them visually from one another when their nameplates are altered. For him this is due to several reasons, one of which is the disinterest of professional Turkish designers in newspaper design. The page design in newsrooms is done by self-trained news personnel who used to be called “page secretaries”, rather than design professionals. He also argues that *Hürriyet*, which is one of the oldest newspapers in the Turkish print press, once set the rules for visual design that were later imitated by other newspapers to compete with the influential high circulation daily.

Tuncer distinguishes three newspapers in the Turkish daily print press among others in terms of their design: *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal*, *Zaman*. He identifies them as the dailies with differentiated page layouts. Based on his argument it is possible to group the newspapers in this study into two categories in terms of their visual design: 1- Sabah, Posta and Vakit, newspapers that conform to the mainstream design tradition in the Turkish press; and 2- Cumhuriyet, Radikal, Zaman that still have similarities with the others as mentioned above, yet deviate from the mainstream. This distinction in newspaper layout also corresponds to a difference in terms of the tabloid or serious/quality content of the newspapers.

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<sup>16</sup> <http://selimtuncer.blogspot.com/2006/12/acaba-hangi-gazete-hangi-gazetedir.html> <retrieved in 26.12.2006> (Paraphrasing and translations from the website from Turkish to English by the author.)

Table 3.3: Layout style of the newspapers in the sample

Newspaper Layout	
Cumhuriyet	Serious
Radikal	Serious
Zaman	Serious
Posta	Tabloid
Sabah	Tabloid
Vakit	Tabloid

All the newspapers in the sample are broadsheets. Broadsheets dominate the Turkish daily print press. In communication research “tabloid” refers either to the size or the content of the newspaper, i.e. tabloid size newspapers as opposed to broadsheets or tabloid

content newspapers with lots of sensational news as opposed to serious newspapers with more neutral reporting. According to Sparks “the tabloid is a form marked by two major features: it devotes relatively little attention to politics, economics, and society and relatively much to diversions like sports, scandal and popular entertainment; it devotes relatively much attention to the personal and private lives of people both celebrities and ordinary people, and relatively little to political processes, economic developments and social changes” (Sparks 2000: 10). From this definition Sparks develops two axes to study tabloids in different newspaper markets: the first is the newspaper’s concentration on public or private life and the second is the concentration on politics, economics and society or scandal, sports, sex and entertainment (Sparks 2000: 12).

Along these two axes Sparks mentions five different types of newspapers. In other words rather than working with two categories “serious” and “tabloid” he suggests to work with different types and degrees of serious and tabloid newspapers along this continuum, and these are: “the serious press”, “the semiserious press”, “the serious-popular press”, “the newsstand tabloid press” and “the supermarket tabloid press” (Sparks 2000: 14, 15). For him “(...) the vast majority of commercial newspapers are ‘bundles’ of different kinds of content. The different positions reflect the fact that these bundles are constituted and balanced differently in different cases” (Sparks 2000: 16).

Sparks also points out that in addition to the above mentioned two axes “the visual dimension of presentation” is a very important element in tabloid newspapers and “the kinds of layout, headline sizes and use of pictorial material” (Sparks 2000: 13) all become important when comparing tabloid and serious press. In this study the term “tabloid” refers basically to the visual content of the newspaper and the differences between the newspapers in the sample in terms of the use of visual elements are clear enough to group the newspapers into “serious” and “tabloid” in general terms. As an example, *Cumhuriyet* is considered to be one of the most respectable and serious newspapers, and when

compared to *Posta* it uses much less visuals and uses them in less complicated ways.

Every national newspaper market has its own characteristics. Although the differences between Turkish newspapers are identifiable, the polarization of the Turkish newspaper market into the segments of “serious” and “non serious” is not as sharp as i.e. in Germany and in Japan.<sup>17</sup> For instance, it is difficult to find the equivalents of *Bild* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* in the Turkish press. The majority of newspapers in the Turkish newspaper market will probably fall into the categories of “semi-serious press” and “the serious-popular press” in Spark’s terms (Sparks 2000: 14).

The next section introduces the newspapers one by one and explains their unique places on the Turkish newspaper market, elaborating more why each of them is picked purposefully for the sample. Additionally, the front page of each newspaper is analyzed in terms of its visual design. The page design and layout give the readers a first impression of the characteristics of the newspaper. The use of visuals, either the lack or excess of them, and the use of female visuals are crucial in forming this impression. According to Harrower “every paper has its own news philosophy. And that philosophy is most visibly reflected on Page One: in the number of stories, the play of photos, the styles of headlines, the variety of graphics” (Harrower 2002: 84). The visual analysis of the front pages will give additional clues on the position and standing of the newspapers in the sample.

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<sup>17</sup> For the historical development of tabloid and paparazzi press in Turkey see Oktay: 1993; for tabloidization in television news see Ergül 2000; Bek 2004. For more information on tabloids and tabloid culture see Biressi and Nunn 2008; Becker 2008.

Table 3.4: Glossary for Visual Analysis of Newspapers

<b>Glossary for the front page analysis</b> <b>Adapted from Tim Harrower 2002 with slight changes</b>	
<i>Nameplate</i>	The newspaper's name, also called flag
<i>Cutout</i>	A photo in which the background has been cut away
<i>Mug shot</i>	A small photograph (usually just the face) of someone in the story or the small photograph of the journalist accompanying his/her report or column
<i>Promo</i>	Promotes the stories inside the paper (or in supplements), also called teasers
<i>Jump</i>	To continue a story on another page
<i>Jump line</i>	A line telling the reader what page the story continues on
<i>Cutoff rule</i>	A line used to separate elements on a page, i.e. a hairline cutoff rule is a thin line separating different stories
<i>Reverse type</i>	White words set against a dark background
<i>Inset</i>	An image placed inside another image
<i>Text block inset</i>	Texts inserted into photographs and other visual elements
<i>Mortise</i>	A text block, illustration or photo overlapping with another

### 3.2.2 *Cumhuriyet, Radikal: Secular serious Newspapers*

**Cumhuriyet (Republic)** is the radical secularist newspaper in the sample and it is one of the oldest newspapers in the Turkish print press. It was first published in May 8, 1924, by a close friend of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Turkish Republic. In its early years Cumhuriyet, as its name suggests, defended the founding principles of the republic against the supporters of the Sultan and the Caliphate in Istanbul. Its aim was to defend the new republican regime and popularize it among the larger population. The famous writers of the period were among the journalists writing for Cumhuriyet (Topuz 2003: 162).

Since its early years Cumhuriyet kept its “pro-state secularist” stance (Taş and Uğur 2007: 311). It is an important part of the secular establishment and ideology in Turkey. Even though it has a small circulation of 57.788 (2005), it has loyal readers and its circulation is on the increase as Table 3.1 demonstrates. It is strictly anti-Islamic and elitist. In terms of ownership it is independent from large media groups that dominate the print press in Turkey. Yet, for printing and distribution the newspaper used to be dependent on the Merkez Media Group's networks and technical facilities.<sup>18</sup> Cumhuriyet provides only paid access to the news stories and articles on its website. Cumhuriyet publishes supplements

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<sup>18</sup> Merkez Media Group was sold to another company in December 2007. By the time of writing no information was yet available to the author if Cumhuriyet continued to use the same facilities as before.

three days per week and these are Cumhuriyet Books, Cumhuriyet Science and Technology, Cumhuriyet Sunday.

According to Tuncer in spite of its pioneering role in the Turkish press, Cumhuriyet has never become innovative in design issues and failed to renew itself by comparison to its European counterparts. Yet, its consistent stand helps to maintain its status as a prestigious newspaper (Tuncer, December 15, 2006).

Cumhuriyet does not contain an excess of visual and color elements on its front page (see illustration 3.1). When compared to the other serious newspapers in the sample, Radikal and Zaman, it includes even less color. It uses a single dominant image in the centre and smaller images, cutouts or mug shots accompany the secondary stories. All the news stories are started and sometimes completed on the front page and jump lines are used to link the stories to inside pages. The use of jump lines is an important indication for the newspaper's position as serious or tabloid. Neither of the newspapers grouped as "tabloid" in this study uses jump lines. The jump lines require a higher level of textual literacy and provide more space for text on the front page.

**Radikal (Radical)** is the centre left intellectual newspaper of the sample. It was launched in 1998, by the largest media group in Turkey, Doğan Media, targeting the readers, mainly intellectuals and university students, who are not satisfied with the mainstream large circulation dailies (this can also be seen in the name choice of the newspaper)<sup>19</sup>. Radikal has the smallest circulation number among all newspapers in the sample. In spite of its low circulation of 41.252 readers (by 2005), it provides an influential intellectual forum for discussion that goes beyond its readership. Unlike Cumhuriyet, Radikal takes a more democratic, impartial and analytical position in controversial issues involving Islam and secularism. Such controversial issues and others are discussed from various perspectives and academics are invited to write specialized commentaries. As such, the newspaper establishes a link between journalistic writing and the academia. It publishes regular supplements three days per week and its Sunday supplement Radikal 2 is famous for its critical social, cultural and political commentaries.

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<sup>19</sup> While analyzing the media ownership in Turkey, Christensen approaches Radikal, a high quality newspaper with low readership, and CNN Türk, (the quality news channel and joint venture by CNN and Doğan Media) as part of Doğan Media Group's window-dressing and public relation strategies (Christensen 2007: 190).

Radikal has a plain layout balancing the visual and textual elements on its front page (see illustration 3.2). As in all newspapers the front page is in color but there is no excess in the use of color elements. Generally the page contains a dominant image at the center that is either related or unrelated to the main story, and another image accompanying a secondary news story in smaller headline font. The news stories include the mug shots of the columnists if a columnist of the newspaper is writing on the topic on inside pages. Depending on the size of the dominant image or the main story the paper includes news briefs on the front page. The news stories, even the top story of the day is not started on the front page. Rather the paper prefers to give short summaries of the different aspects of the story with subheadings followed by small paragraphs that direct the reader to inside pages. That way the use of jump lines are totally avoided on the front page. When we have a quick look to the inside pages we see that the stories are clearly demarcated from each other with hairline cutoff rules to avoid confusion.

### 3.2.3 *Sabah and Posta: Secular tabloid newspapers*

**Sabah (Morning)** is one of the leading newspapers in the secular centre right. Its major competitor in this category is *Hürriyet (Liberty)* and both of them had similar circulation numbers for the week of 11-17 July 2005 (Sabah: 451.346 and Hürriyet: 527.301). Among these newspapers *Sabah* is chosen for the sample mainly because it belongs to a different media group. There is a high level of concentration in media ownership in Turkey, which unavoidably influences the sampling decisions. Since two newspapers in the sample, namely *Posta* and *Radikal* already belong to the Doğan Media Group that owns around 40% of all newspapers in the Turkish media market,<sup>20</sup> and it is not possible to replace them with any other equivalent, Sabah is chosen for the sample.

Sabah was founded on April 22, 1985, by Dinç Bilgin coming from a journalist family who published an influential regional newspaper in İzmir (Yeni Asır) (Topuz 2003: 287). During the 1980s Sabah provided a new liberal alternative among other newspapers in the Turkish press. By the end of the 1990s Bilgin's investments in the media had evolved into a new media group, Merkez Media, with its television channels, radio

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<sup>20</sup> For media concentration and ownership in Turkey see: Finkel 2000; Tilic 2000; Çatalbaş 2003, Ogan 2003, 2004; Christensen 2007. As of 2004 Doğan Media Group (DMG) had control over 60% of the top 5 newspapers, 38% of all newspapers, and they had the 62% of the newspaper advertisement market share in Turkey (Christensen 2007: 188).

stations, magazines and advertising companies, and had become the major competitor of the Doğan Media Group (Ayaz 1997; Topuz 2003; Aykol 2008). The names of both media groups had been involved in financial and political scandals that ended up in court from time to time due to their investments in non-media sectors, especially in banking. And on April 1, 2007 The Government Agency for Public Funds (Tasarruf Mevduatı Sigorta Fonu / TSMF) overtook the management of Bilgin's Merkez Media Group due to their unpaid debts to the public sector that amounted to 900 million dollars.<sup>21</sup> Following long preparations, on December 5, 2007, the Government Agency for Public Funds sold the Merkez Group's television station *atv*, and the newspaper Sabah to Turkuvaz Radio and Television who was the only participant in the auction sale, and offered the highest bid of 1.1 billion U.S. Dollars. The sale of the newspaper and television station to Turkuvaz created severe criticisms while Prime Minister Erdoğan's son-in-law occupied one of the top positions in the larger investment group that Turkuvaz belongs to. This is interpreted as a possible threat to the secular media by the government. Yet, by September 2008, no journalists writing in Sabah reported intervention by the new owners with respect to the content of the newspaper.<sup>22</sup>

Compared to Cumhuriyet and Radikal, Sabah uses more color and visual elements on its front page design (see illustration 3.3). There is still a dominant image at the center of the page, but the number of images on the promos and in the secondary stories are higher in Sabah than the other two newspapers. Special design treatments were employed in the dominant image such as text block insets into the image. The dominant image covers the special story of the day, but readers are directed to the inside pages with the text insets that briefly summarize the story with standing heads. Mug shots of the two major columnists of the newspaper are included next to the initial sentences taken from their columns and they are separately boxed.

Jump lines are totally avoided on the front page of Sabah. In fact, the whole page can be considered as a promo page for the stories inside. Visual elements include cutouts, frequent use of reverse types (white words set against a dark background) and standing heads. Instead of

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<sup>21</sup> <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/409755.asp> <03.08.2007>

<sup>22</sup> In July 2008, I had the chance to discuss Sabah's case with friends and colleagues from Turkey. To my observation, the change of ownership has influenced the public perception and even though the journalists do not report to the contrary, Sabah is now being perceived more as a newspaper supporting the AKP government.

cutoff rules stories are boxed. News items are also separated from each other with reverse types used against different background colors.

**Posta (Mail)** is the “‘biggest selling’ boulevard daily”<sup>23</sup> in the sample. It is owned by Doğan Media Group and at the time of the sampling the newspaper had the highest circulation figure of 680.467 in the Turkish press. It is more liberal compared to *Sabah* and it is closer to a tabloid style than all the other newspapers in the sample. Additionally, the newspaper did not go online and among others it is the only one that does not have a web page.

In terms of color and visual elements Posta is the liveliest newspaper of all in the study (see illustration 3.4). It uses all the visual elements in excess. Photographs, cutouts, mug shots, clip arts, newspaper clips and logos are all used on the front page. Some news stories are boxed and bordered with different colors. There seems to be no consistent rationale to separate the stories from each other. Along with boxed stories it is possible to find stories written in reverse type. As in *Sabah* the whole front page can be considered as a promo page but in excess. The number of stories on the front page of Posta far exceeds the number of stories on the front page of *Sabah*. There is no dominant image on the center of the page; rather visuals closer in size seem scattered on the page without balance (see illustrations 3.3 and 3.4).

#### 3.2.4 *Zaman and Vakit: Islamic Newspapers*

**Zaman (Time)** is the moderate Islamic newspaper in the sample. It has a circulation of 464.572 and at the time of the sampling it was the second largest newspaper in the Turkish print press. The first issue appeared on November 3, 1986 (Topuz 2003: 294) and by the year 2000 it became a large circulating conservative liberal daily. Among others in the sample, it is the only newspaper that has a subscription system for its distribution<sup>24</sup> and it is the first Turkish newspaper that went online. It is owned by the moderate Islamic Feza Group with links to the Fethullah

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<sup>23</sup> [http://www.ejc.net/media\\_landscape/article/turkey/](http://www.ejc.net/media_landscape/article/turkey/) <14.8.2007>

<sup>24</sup> *Zaman*’s different distribution system caused the main source of controversy between the newspaper and the circulation audit bureau ABC Türkiye (see also footnote 5 in this chapter). The subscription system is unusual in Turkey and apparently it requires different procedures of auditing, a point that might have contributed to the dispute.

Gülen movement which is one of the largest Islamic communities in Turkey.<sup>25</sup> According to Yavuz:

[Zaman] offers a distinctly Muslim voice on political and social issues. Nevertheless, not all of its views and positions are predictable. For example, the newspaper endorsed the idea of Turkey's integration with Europe and did not react much to the partial closure of the controversial İmam Hatip schools, a demand of Kemalist hardliners in the military (Yavuz 2003: 191).

With its moderate stance Zaman is careful not to directly confront the secular establishment. To give an example, Taş and Uğur compared the editorial cartoons published in Zaman and two secular dailies Cumhuriyet and Milliyet and found out that “[u]nlike the editorial cartoons found in secular *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet*, *Zaman* neither uses binary oppositions nor openly caricaturizes the Other” (Taş and Uğur 2007: 313). Instead with its “highly artistic and surrealist cartoons” (Taş and Uğur 2007: 312) the newspaper criticizes the system in a subtle and metaphorical way.

Another characteristic of Zaman is that it invites and sometimes transfers leading liberal and left-wing columnists from the secular press, breaking and questioning the boundaries between the secular and Islamic media. Aside from the links the newspaper has established with the secular press it has been innovative in its design and in terms of “giving the largest print space for editorial cartoons in Turkey” (Taş and Uğur 2007: 312).

According to Tuncer's analysis the whole design history of Zaman requires careful examination since the newspaper exemplifies a success story that started as a black-and-white community newspaper and evolved into an influential high circulation daily with an aesthetic quality (Tuncer, December 15, 2006). Not only the design history, but the overall history of Zaman is worth analyzing in parallel to the history, development and transformation of Islamic movements in Turkey. Since its first appearance in 1986, Zaman had important breaking points in 20 years, shifts in its ownership, design and worldview. In the course of two decades Zaman's circulation has increased from around 30.000 to more than 500.000 readers.

The front page of Zaman looks cleanly organized at first sight (see illustration 3.5). There are no excessive color elements on the page. The

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<sup>25</sup> There is an extensive academic literature on Fethullah Gülen movement. Among others see: Kömeçoğlu 1997, 2000; Yavuz and Esposito 2003; Bora 2005; Turam 2007.

main headline is in a smaller type font than Radikal; and this headline size is rather unconventional in Turkish press where large sizes dominate the headlines. Instead of short briefs with subheadings as in Radikal, all news stories start on the front page and are continued on inside pages. Instead of avoiding the jump lines the paper uses them extensively on its front page. The stories are clearly separated from each other with cutoff rules.

The final visual characteristic of Zaman that will be mentioned here is the frequent use of abstract graphics, sometimes in soft tones and colors, especially on comment and “Akademi” pages. In contrast to what the title “Akademi” suggests, these pages are devoted to religion and represent the newspaper’s endeavor to give religious issues a modern legitimacy. For instance on the issue of July 22, 2005, the content of the “Akademi” page is defined as such: “This page, by our newspaper’s Akademi service, is prepared on the basis of M. Fethullah Gülen Hocaefendi’s writings and speeches.” And the particular heading of the day is: “How are we going to prevent the evil diverting us?”<sup>26</sup> An abstract graphic with crescents and quilted turbans in soft colors accompany the article.

**Vakit (Time)**<sup>27</sup> is the radical Islamic newspaper in the sample. It has a circulation figure of 68.069 (2005). As opposed to Zaman it is directly confrontational to the institutions of the secular establishment, including the military.

The newspaper started in September 12, 1993 with a different name, Akit and in December 5, 2001 Akit<sup>28</sup> declared bankruptcy due to the large amounts that it was obliged to pay by court decision for the libel and defamation it caused against high military officials. Very soon after, the same cadre of journalists started publishing under a new name Anadolu’da Vakit (Time in Anatolia) which is shortly referred to in this study and as well as in other contexts as Vakit (Time). The newspaper has

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<sup>26</sup> In Turkish: “Bu sayfa, gazetemizin Akademi Servisi tarafından M. Fethullah Gülen Hocaefendi’nin sohbet ve yazıları esas alınarak hazırlanmaktadır.” Başlık: “Şeytanın bizimle uğraşmasına nasıl engel olacağız?” (Translation into English provided by the author).

<sup>27</sup> There is no linguistic difference between the words “vakit” and “zaman” in Turkish.

<sup>28</sup> Akit literally translates into “agreement” or “contract”. It is rooted in Arabic “akd.” Even though the word is still in use, it sounds rather old fashioned in contemporary Turkish. Yet, the term is frequently used in religious texts, referring to the importance of keeping up the responsibilities and promises that someone has made to other persons, to society and especially to God.

been blamed several times of provoking violence against top judges and bureaucrats and has been subject to judicial investigations.<sup>29</sup> According to Tuğal “Akit [Vakit] does not have as much economic and political institutional support as Milli Gazete, Zaman and Yeni Şafak, but the activism of its audience renders it widely influential” (Tuğal 2002: 94)

In terms of visual layout Vakit shares similar features with Posta and Sabah (see illustration 3.6). I prefer to name its style “puritan tabloid” where there are no nude females or celebrity photos. Yet, the amount of visuals and the way they are used are similar to tabloid newspapers. Vakit uses very large sensational headlines. The type font of the headlines in Vakit is the largest compared to all other newspapers except for Sabah. Similar to the boulevard newspaper Posta there is no dominant image at the center and the image is neither related to the main story nor the headline. The image that accompanies the second main story is a montage image bringing together three people in the same frame. There are three commercials on the front page. The only other newspaper that includes commercials on the front page is Zaman but the number of ads on the front page in Vakit exceeds the number of ads on the respective page in Zaman. The first page is colorful with various visual elements like promos, cut outs, boxes and reverse types.

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<sup>29</sup>CNN Türk.com (18.05.2006) Vakit gazetesi için suç duyurusu.  
<http://www.cnnturk.com/interactive/yazdir.asp?PID=318&haberID=184774>  
<03.08.2007>  
NTVMSNBC.com (22.03.2007) Danıştay üyelerini hedef gösterme davası.  
<http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/403289.asp> <03.08.2007>

### *3.3 Visual Content Analysis*

Visual content analysis constitutes the quantitative methodological part of the study. According to its classical definition, “[c]ontent analysis is a research technique for objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Berelson 1952, quoted in Stempel III 2003: 210). Although Berelson’s definition is disputed with regards to the limits of researcher’s objectivity; content analysis provides a systematic framework to analyze media messages nevertheless.<sup>30</sup> As indicated in the quote above, content analysis deals basically with manifest and overt meaning.<sup>31</sup> Unlike qualitative approaches like semiotics and iconology, it does not deal directly with the less apparent and latent meaning. It concentrates on what is explicitly there.

Müller (2007) notes that, “the application of quantitative content analysis to visuals is tricky, since standardization of visuals, due to their intrinsic associative nature, proves to be difficult. Particular case studies are scarce...” (Müller 2007: 20). Visual content analysis in this study provides an overall understanding of the visual content of the newspapers in the sample both in general and in gender specific characteristics and makes it possible to compare different newspapers along the same dimensions. In methodological literature content analysis is sometimes treated as a quantitative method for hypothesis testing (Bell 2001: 14), and sometimes it is treated as a method standing between purely qualitative and purely quantitative methods. According to Rose “[c]ontent analysis offers a clear method for engaging systematically with large numbers of images. And it is not simply a quantitative method...” (Rose 2007: 71). In this study the content analysis is employed for the purpose of exploring the visual data in the sample of newspapers as an initial step to providing better understanding of the visual characteristics of the newspapers for further qualitative analysis. Therefore the categories in the coding sheet are not developed with particular hypotheses in mind. Although they seem to contain some expectations and could actually be hypothesized, the basic aim and motivation of the content analysis here is not hypothesis testing but to explore the data for qualitative purposes.

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<sup>30</sup> For a collection of other definitions of content analysis see Neuendorf 2002: 10. Also see Riffe, Lacy and Fico 1998; Krippendorff 2004.

<sup>31</sup> For more information on manifest versus latent content see Neuendorf 2002: 23. Neuendorf cites various studies that attempted to use content analysis to study the latent content with manifest variables. He also cites others that used latent categories to integrate quantitative and qualitative analysis (Neuendorf 2002: 23). Yet, all the examples he mentions focus on the written text.

As a process content analysis also helps the researcher to familiarize herself with the type of images that exist in the data set. Developing the specific rules and categories for the quantification of the visual data in the newspapers with a broad range of images was a challenging task. In spite of the similarities in the overall look of the newspapers mentioned in the previous section, when it comes to detailed analysis it becomes quickly obvious that different newspapers contain different types of images in different quantities and they use them in different ways.

Reliability and validity are two important aspects of content analysis. Whether conducted in a more quantitative or qualitative fashion “studies using content analysis do tend to use lots of numbers to make their points. This is because, in its concern for replicability and validity, content analysis offers a number of techniques for handling large numbers of images with some degree of consistency” (Rose 2007: 60).

Content analysis can be combined with qualitative approaches in different ways depending on the research question and the subject under scrutiny. For instance, Bell and Milic (2002) combined content analysis with semiotic analysis in their quantitative study of gender advertisements. The authors aimed to see if and how gender advertisements in Western magazines differed from Erving Goffman’s (1979) analysis of advertisements after two decades. They analyzed two-page display advertisements in selected Australian magazines to investigate gender stereotyping. The authors operationalized the principal categories in Goffman’s work (these are: relative size, the feminine touch, function ranking, the family, the ritualization of subordination and licenced withdrawal), by using social semiological dimensions, such as perspectival angle, plane of composition and gaze, developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996). In other words, they used social semiotics to develop and operationalize hypotheses for quantitative content analysis.

This study combines content analysis with semiotics and iconology in a different way. The semiotic and iconological approaches are not used to develop hypotheses to be investigated in a content analysis. Rather, content analysis is used in an exploratory way to delineate the main forms and themes to be focused on for in-depth analysis of visuals.

### 3.3.1 Coding Categories and Exclusion Rules

To be able to study a variety of visuals and compare the newspapers ranging from “radical secular” to “radical Islamic” along clear and reliable categories a coding sheet was developed with three major coding domains which are:

- Domain 1: General visual characteristics of the newspapers
- Domain 2: Characteristics of Female/Male representation
- Domain 3: Characteristics of Female/Male Dress

These coding domains included detailed categories and sub-categories which will be explained in detail in the coming sections. Because the study aims to compare different newspapers with each other, the newspaper is the *unit of analysis* in all domains. Different domains provide different type of information on the visualization of gender in newspapers. Each domain has different *unit(s) of coding* that aim to extract information on a different aspect of gender representation. All categories in the coding sheet are mutually exclusive and exhaustive. Before the coding process, a visual training set was prepared with written definitions and visual examples; two coders were trained about the process, and the reliability of the categories were tested in a pilot assessment.

The main population in this study is visuals with human depictions in newspapers. All visuals without human depictions were counted in a miscellaneous category. This was important to have an idea about the overall visual composition of the newspapers. The coding categories in this study were developed partly from observing the data (visuals in newspapers) and partly from the literature. The different ways the categories were developed will be explained in the respective sections below while defining each domain and category in the coding scheme.

#### *Exclusion rules*

A newspaper is a compact entity with various features and sections. Since the content of a single newspaper issue includes sections ranging from political commentaries and economic analysis to sports, cinema and television pages it is crucial to decide which parts of the newspaper to include and which parts to leave outside. Depending on the research question and the purpose of the research there have been studies that focused exclusively on a particular section of the newspaper, i.e. front

pages, political affairs, advertisements or sport pages, for the content analysis of gender representation. This study does not focus on such particular pages for the content analysis; rather it focuses on gender representation in the totality of the newspaper. Certainly, aside from the quantities regarding the gender representation in visuals it is also important to see the visuals in relation to their place in the newspaper and in relation to other items on the same page. This point is left for the qualitative part of the study where in depth analysis of selected visuals is possible.

Still, there are sections in the data set that are left out from the coding procedure. Supplements of the newspapers are not included in the coding.<sup>32</sup> Only the main body of the newspaper is coded. Yet, within the newspapers, serial ad pages, television pages, sport pages, astrology sections and puzzles are not included in the coding. All these sections contain some sort of visuals in Turkish newspapers. For instance astrology sections in some newspapers contain the mug shot of their authors and the graphic symbols of the signs; puzzles could have been perceived by the coders as a sort of visual; and in some cases they also include i.e. the photograph of a celebrity asking their name in the puzzle. Such cases are left out to avoid confusion and to facilitate the coding. Sport pages are left out because these are the pages that the gender discrepancy is the most obvious. Since the male depictions on sport pages greatly outnumber the females, these pages are not coded to avoid a disproportioned male representation in the overall number.<sup>33</sup>

The coding domains and categories are explained in detail below:<sup>34</sup>

### *3.3.1.a Domain 1 General Visual Characteristics of the Newspapers*

The first domain in the coding sheet focuses on the general visual characteristics of newspapers and provides information on the different types of images that can be found in newspapers. This domain includes two units of coding: (1) the image and (2) the persons on the image. The

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<sup>32</sup> For an unpublished M.A. study on weekend supplements of Turkish Newspapers see Akpınar 2006.

<sup>33</sup> For more information on media representations on sports and gender see Creedon 1994; Harris and Clayton 2002; Fuller 2006. Harris and Clayton reported that in the British newspapers the Sun and Mirror only 5.9 percent of the sports reporting focused on women's sport (Harris and Clayton 2002: 397).

<sup>34</sup> For the coding sheets used in the study please contact the author.

first coding unit gathers information about the types of visuals and the second coding unit looks at the representation of the females and the males on these visuals in quantitative terms. To give an example, while coding a particular page, the numbers of photographs was counted first, and then the number of females and males seen on the photographs was counted.

The categories in the first domain are developed after a close scrutiny of the newspapers, thus, they are data driven. All visuals in the newspapers fall into one of the seven categories. In the list below, the first number refers to the domain, and the second number refers to the category inside the domain.

1.1 Photographs: Images of real people taken with a camera. Photographs generally include a foreground and details at the background, and they are framed. Passport photos and headshot/mug shot images of persons are counted in this category as well. (See illustration 3.7 in the book of Illustrations)

1.2 Cutouts: These are photographs where the backgrounds have been removed, leaving only the main subject. Harrower notes that cutouts are also named as silhouettes in the designers' vocabulary (Harrower 2002: 192). He also distinguishes between partial cutouts, where the background is partially removed, and complete cutouts (Harrower 2002: 192). But this distinction is disregarded in this study and only the complete cutouts are coded in the cutout category (see illustration 3.8).

Cutouts in newspapers need to be examined carefully. According to Harrower cutouts are "usually done for dramatic effect. A photo that's boxed and framed seems flat and two-dimensional. A cutout, by contrast, seems almost 3-D" (Harrower 2002: 192). Harrower recommends that cutouts should rather be used on features, for celebrity photos or fashion shots; but not on hard news because that can change the meaning of a news photo, damaging its credibility (Harrower 2002: 192). Due to such differences from photographs, cutouts are treated differently and were counted in a separate category in the study.

1.3 Advertisements: Pieces in newspapers advertising a product. Purely textual advertisements, official notices that are generally placed next to advertisements and obituaries are not coded. The

advertisements that do not include any real human representation but a visual element are counted under the “miscellaneous” category. According to Lester “commercial advertising appears most frequently as either classified or display advertisements” and “[d]isplay advertising uses graphic elements to attract attention to the content of the ads and the products and services offered” (Lester 2003: 73). In this sense only the display advertising is taken into account in this study (see illustration 3.9).

1.4 Montage images: In montage images at least two separate images are fused into a single image within the same frame (see illustration 3.10).

1.5 Cartoons: The category of cartoons seems obvious at first sight. But during the pilot coding it became clear that some type of drawings or graphics in the newspapers could be mistakenly identified as cartoons by different coders. Therefore, cartoons are defined as caricatures, comics or commentary drawings, humorous, abstract or interpretive and they include their authors’ name or signature (see illustration 3.11).<sup>35</sup>

1.6 Graphics: This category includes all kinds of illustrative and graphic art work. Maps, computer graphics, charts, logos and clip arts are coded under graphics (see illustration 3.12).

1.7 Miscellaneous: Included all non-human representation images in the above categories, i.e. photos or cut outs of single objects, animals, landscape photos etc. Miscellaneous also included all other sorts of images that include human representation, but do not fall into any of the above categories such as newspaper clips, book or CD covers, surveillance video shots, robot drawings of police suspects. Partial human representation (i.e. body parts, a cut out of a hand) is also coded as miscellaneous visual (see illustrations 3.13 and 3.14).

Due to their different visual structures, gender representation is not coded for cartoons and graphics. Female and male depictions found in advertisements and montage images are coded only in the first domain, and are not included in the second and the third domains. Advertisements, cartoons, graphics and montage images work differently than

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<sup>35</sup> Translation of the text in the cartoon: *Background*: The newly elected Head of the High Court meets with Justice. *Female*: I always imaged you as female. *Male*: And I always imagined you as male.

photographs. A vast literature is devoted to the analysis of advertisements. They follow a different logic and metaphorical language. The same argument applies to graphics and cartoons and to a lesser degree to montage images as well. Montage images are complicated to code further because they merge components of different images. In a single montage image it is possible to code for instance both crowd and single male images. Considering these kinds of problems, and the small number of montage images, they are left out from more detailed coding for gender representation. In other words, among the different types of visuals, only the gender representation in photographs and cutouts were coded further in the following domains.

### *3.3.1.b Domain 2 Characteristics of Female/Male Representations*

The second domain aims to find out how frequently females and males are seen together in the same frame. The unit of coding is the image, and there are two major categories in the domain: gender homogenous and gender heterogeneous depictions. Further sub-categories are defined with respect to the number of people depicted on the image. The sub-categories make it possible to see whether females are depicted more often in single depictions or in small/large groups than the male depictions. In other words, the second domain gives information on the gender composition of images. In this sense the second domain is different from the first domain where only overall appearance of females and males are counted. The categories are developed following a close scrutiny of the images in the newspapers, therefore they are data driven.

The categories and the sub-categories of the second domain are as follows:

- 2.1 Gender homogenous depictions
  - 2.1.1 Female depiction
    - 2.1.1.1 Single female (illustration 3.15)
    - 2.1.1.2 Group female (illustration 3.16)
    - 2.1.1.3 Female crowd (illustration 3.17)
  - 2.1.2 Male depiction
    - 2.1.2.1 Single male (illustration 3.16)
    - 2.1.2.2 Group male (illustration 3.18)
    - 2.1.2.3 Male crowd (illustration 3.19)
- 2.2 Gender heterogeneous depictions
  - 2.2.1 Couples (illustration 3.7)
  - 2.2.2 Groups (illustration 3.20)
  - 2.2.3 Crowds/masses (illustration 3.21)
- 2.3 Unidentifiable gender depiction (illustration 3.22)

Images that included more than a single person presented difficulties during the pilot coding process. To deal with the problem an exclusion rule is specified which made it possible to distinguish between group and crowd photos. The images in the group female and group male category include six people at most. The images that include more than six people fall under the crowd category in both gender homogenous and gender heterogeneous depictions.<sup>36</sup> The term “couples” does not refer to an official or emotional bond between a male and a female figure. The identification of two persons in the image of whom one is male and the other is female is the basis for this sub-category. The images in which the gender heterogeneous group is dominated by a single gender (i.e. where the image includes one female and five males) also fall into the gender heterogeneous group category.

There appeared rare images that pertain to the unidentifiable gender depiction category. These are images where the gender of the persons is not identifiable at all even with reference to the text accompanying the image. Someone in the gown of a bomb specialist is an example here. Even though bomb specialists are generally male the author did not want to attribute gender to such professions in the absence of clear visual signs for the correct identification of gender.

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<sup>36</sup> The same rule applied in the first and in the third domains as well, though in a different way. The rule applied to the categories where the unit of coding is the persons seen on the image. The persons in crowd photographs with large number of people were counted always as six. Otherwise reaching a reliable intercoder agreement would have been very difficult.

### *3.3.1.c Domain 3 Characteristics of Female/Male Dress*

The third, and the last domain aims to derive information about the way females and males are dressed. Therefore the unit of coding is the individual persons shown on the images. The domain focuses on (1) the overall body and (2) the head. First, the intention is to see to what extent different types of newspapers depict nudity for females and males. Secondly, it focuses on the depiction of different headcovering styles for females and different facial hair styles for males.

#### *Nudity in Turkish Newspapers*

The categories coding the level of nudity are data driven. These categories are kept at the most basic level with three items both for males and females. These are: *nude*, *dressed* and *unidentified*. The dressed category in general included usual daily dress, the type that can be encountered in the streets. Not-over-exposing night dresses are also coded under the dressed category. Since the sample of newspapers is from the summer and summer clothes, especially for the females, can expose body parts more, the degree of tolerance for the dressed category was kept high, i.e., tops with stripes combined with mini shorts are coded under the dressed category (see illustration 3.25) Images like in illustration 3.23, are coded under the nude category. Even though the top of the female is covered, it is very unlikely to encounter someone with this clothing in the streets with the exception of summer resorts. Nudity in this study is defined as relative absence of clothes, not as total nakedness in the absolute sense. For instance topless females or females with bikini or beach suits are counted under the nude category (illustration 3.24). The same applied for males. In rare instances reverse cases were also possible, i.e. a female dressed on top but undressed at the bottom (illustration 3.23). Such cases are coded under the nude category as well.

#### *Female Headscarf*

The categories depicting female headscarf are based on the ways different types of headscarf are described in the literature and in popular secular discourse. Both the academic literature and the popular secular representations in Turkey point to a clear distinction in the way the headscarf is perceived in the secularist imagination. The secular discourse in Turkey imagines headscarf in two broad categories: *Islamic*

(“dangerous”) and *traditional* (“innocent”). Secular establishment in Turkey interpreted the demands of the young women to wear headscarf as a menace directed at the gains of the Kemalist reforms with regard to women’s rights, and developed an uncompromising stance. This study uses the categorizations of Islamic and traditional headscarf not because the author’s approach to the headscarf issue corresponds with the distinctions made in the secularist imagination, but because such distinctions created a powerful discourse in Turkey with real consequences.

The variety of headscarf and the ways it is worn by women from diverse social backgrounds is way beyond the simple categorization of the secularist imagination in Turkey. Yet, since the 1980s when the headscarf issue is first sparked at the universities, there have been different attempts on the part of the university leaderships and secular establishment to define the “innocent” ways of wearing the headscarf. Çınar (2005) notes a failed attempt to develop a prescription for the acceptable headscarf in universities during the 1980s:

... a university dean tried to differentiate the modern turban from the religious headscarf by providing a prescriptive description of the turban: “1) Part of the hair must be visible in the front; if it is not visible, the turban must be pulled back so that it is visible; 2) some hair must be visible at the back; 3) the ear lobes must be visible” (Çınar 2005: 80).

A similar discourse emerged again during the discussions regarding the constitutional amendments to allow the headscarf in universities in January and February 2008. AKP’s law makers tried to define a style of headscarf that would both satisfy the secular establishment and make it possible for headscarved girls to be allowed in universities. As mentioned earlier in the introduction, even the option of having a photograph in the constitution was discussed, yet, the issue remained unsolved.

The “Islamic” style of the headscarf, as perceived by the secularist establishment, corresponds to what has been described as “the new veiling” in literature (İlyasoğlu 1998: 244; Çınar 2005). To quote again from Çınar:

The Islamic headscarf is distinguished as a part of the new veiling by the way in which the scarf is tied under the chin so as to conceal not only the hair but also the neck, falling over the shoulders, and worn with loose-fitting long dresses or overcoats. This is justified by reference to the Koran, the Hadith, and Sunni traditions. This type of Islamic attire is almost identical to the new veiling that is widespread in Egypt, which, as

described by Arlene MacLeod, also emerged in the early 1980s and is specifically urban (Çınar 2005: 78).

The Çarkoğlu and Toprak study (2006) distinguished the styles of headscarves in three general categories. Their distinction lies in the partial visibility of the hair. They asked their respondents if they wear one of the three types of headscarves: (1) *çarşaf*, (2) various sorts of headscarves that partially cover the head, and (3) *türban* (turban) that covers the full hair and the neck, leaving only the face uncovered (Çarkoğlu and Toprak 2006: 58). In their scheme the types of headcovering where the hair is not visible are categorized as *türban*, a word which is loaded with conflicting interpretations. Here, it is important to point out that secularists and Islamic circles have different ways of addressing the problem of headscarf in Turkey. While secularists prefer to refer to the problem more as “turban problem” Islamists prefer to call it the “headscarf problem” because of the cultural and emotional connotations of the word in Turkish. Turban, in the secularist usage, symbolizes the political wish to overthrow the secular-democratic system in Turkey and replace it with an Islamic regime.<sup>37</sup> In the secular imagination the partial visibility of the hair or the neck signals traditional ways of headcovering as opposed to the political and “dangerous” Islamic covering.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> The word turban also denotes styles of headgear (also male headgear) other than the female Islamic covering and the word experienced changes in its meaning through time which make it ambiguous and sometimes difficult to follow. See Çınar 2005.

<sup>38</sup> During the most rigorous times of the ban on headscarf in universities following the 1997 postmodern military intervention to government, the military as the most powerful actor of the secular establishment in Turkey tried to distinguish the two styles with the existence of needles in the headscarf. It was very interesting on the side of the military to introduce such a distinction between the “innocent” and the “dangerous” on the basis of the presence of a very small detail in the use of headscarf, which actually makes sense in light of the descriptions above. The women following the more observant styles of headscarf in which the visibility of hair is not permitted use needles to tighten the scarf, making sure that it will remain firm on the head without slipping off. Still in Turkey, women who use needles in their headscarves are not allowed to enter into military zones (i.e. for instance as guest mothers to watch the oath taking ceremony of their sons serving in the military) without taking the needles out from their scarves. (This information is obtained from personal conversation with mothers who had to take out their needles to attend a military ceremony. At the public discourse the hassle over different types of headcovering is sometimes referred to as “GATA formula”, where only the females with headscarf using it as “knot in the front” are allowed to enter the GATA Military Hospital to visit their relatives. See: <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2008/01/30/yazar/cemal.html> <30.05.2008> and <http://www.bugun.com.tr/yazar.asp?yaziID=12632> <30.05.2008> It is difficult to confirm such information from an official source, but various incidences are reported and discussed both in public discourse and in various media.)

This study defined eight types of female headcovering, and also counted the females without any headscarf as the ninth category. These categories are created by the extent and degrees of covering that can be encountered in Turkey. In other words, the categories of headscarf range from no-covering to extensive, head-to-toe covering. The different categories created aimed to cover the diversity of the main styles of covering in Turkey that can be encountered both in daily life and media representations.

Under the category of Islamic headscarf that does not allow any visibility of the hair and the neck are included the styles below:

- Çarşaf (charshaf) – Fully covered with or without face veil
- Headscarf covering shoulders and the chest
- Headscarf covering head in total and the neck
- Headscarf as tighthead

Under the category of traditional headscarf that allows for partial visibility of the hair and/or the neck are listed the styles below. Even though in some cases the hair might not be visible, these styles are more loosely tied as opposed to the four categories above:

- Head covered from behind, leaving the neck open
- Knot in the front
- Folkloristic headscarf

All the other styles that are not covered by the seven categories above are coded under the “unidentified” category. The explanations of these different styles are provided below.

#### *The “Islamic” styles of headcovering:*

1. *Çarşaf (charshaf) – Fully covered with or without face veil:* Çarşaf is the most extensive type of covering that can be encountered in Turkey.<sup>39</sup> Çarşaf is almost always black and is composed of two parts: one part is like a very large long skirt, and the other part covers the whole head and

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<sup>39</sup> It is interesting to note that “sharshaf,” as a form of female dress introduced to Yemen by Ottoman Turks, have, by time, come to be regarded as the “typically San`ani style of dress” (original also in quotes) (Moors 2007: 323). For a discussion on different meanings that *sharshaf* has acquired in Yemen in different periods see Moors 2007.

the upper parts of the body. Çarşaf may or may not be accompanied by face veil. The woman who wears it might prefer to cover part of her face but full face veil, like the *burqa* used in Afghanistan, is not an intrinsic part of it. Covering the full face, including the eyes is not common even for the case of an extensive covering like çarşaf in Turkey. Due to the oppressive Taliban regime in Afghanistan, the burqa came to be known world-wide as an example of extensive female covering.

Çarşaf might be thought about as another form of burqa without face veil. Şeni gives an historical account of the emergence of çarşaf in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman society and how this two-piece dress that totally covers the shape of the female body had evolved into the Western two-piece suit (1990: 58–59). The çarşaf, as worn by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Turkey can be seen in Illustration 2.2. Çarşaf has a significant symbolic place both in secular and Islamist imaginations. In the secular imagination the suppression of women in pre-Kemalist Turkey is represented by women in çarşaf in school plays, in cartoons and in other cultural products. In other words, the emancipation from çarşaf equals the emancipation of women in secular popular representations.<sup>40</sup> Durakbaşa (1998) noted, as a young woman coming from a Kemalist family, how black çarşaf was loaded with negative meanings of ignorance and obscurantism for her (Durakbaşa 1998: 30). In an oral history project that she took part, she noticed the different uses of çarşaf by women in provincial Anatolia, connected more to women's economic conditions and mobility, with meanings detached from the Kemalist ideological standing (Durakbaşa 1998: 30). The Çarkoğlu and Toprak study, which is based on a nation-wide survey, reports that the percentage of females wearing çarşaf in Turkey by 2006 is only 1.1% and it is non-existent in the age groups 18-24 and 25-39 (Çarkoğlu and Toprak 2006: 60).

Due to çarşaf's exclusive color as black other types of all-in-black covering, when they emerged, are also coded under çarşaf – fully covered category in this study. The number of images with çarşaf is very small in all newspapers and the best example for this category can be seen in illustration 3.17 where the female members of the Iraqi parliament are shown.

Çarşaf is generally interpreted as a clear symbol of radical Islamism. But it is important to keep in mind that the context where it is observed is

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<sup>40</sup> For instance women in çarşaf appear in cartoons in *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*, two secular newspapers, as part of a binary opposition between the secular and Islamist, çarşaf representing the “darkness of the other” (Taş and Uğur 2007: 312) as a visual motif.

important and it may not be a radical Islamic symbol in all cases. An old woman wearing it in a provincial town might have a different relationship with *çarşaf* than a young university student with all in black full covering.

2. *Headscarf covering shoulders and the chest*: This is also an extensive type of covering. The difference from *çarşaf* is that in this case an overcoat is accompanied by a large headscarf covering the whole chest and the shoulders. The strict interpretation of the Koranic verses of head covering demands women to cover their shoulders with their scarf and the females who follow this interpretation use larger headscarves which also conceal the shape of their shoulders. This type of covering is not necessarily in black. Different color combinations are possible with the overcoat and the headscarf. Compared to *çarşaf* it is less traditional and a little bit more flexible (see illustration 3.26).

3. *Headscarf covering the head in total and the neck*: This covering type is less extensive than the previous two. It may look similar to “headscarf covering shoulders and the chest” but here shoulders and the chest are not totally under cover. Dependent on the style of covering one shoulder might remain under the headscarf but even so this type includes more variety, style, design and color. The scarves used are not as large as the ones in the previous category (see illustration 3.27).

4. *Headscarf as tight head*: In this style the headscarf covers the head and the neck only (see illustration 3.28). Tight head (translated from Turkish *sıkma baş*), was first popularized during the early wave of Islamism towards the end of 1960s by a famous female activist, Şule Yüksel Şenler,<sup>41</sup> in a slightly different form (see illustrations 3.29 and 3.30). Referring to Şenler’s first name the style was also called “şulebaş” at that time. The term was first used in the newspapers of the time in a derogatory way. In spite of this, it became a fashionable style among the young women who decided to wear a headscarf. This early style of Islamic head covering of the 1960s and 1970s, as I had the chance to observe from some family albums, might seem relaxed and liberal compared to the more extensive styles listed above. During the 1970s tight head was combined with regular daily dresses in knee length rather than the long overcoats, and for the Islamism of the following decade it

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<sup>41</sup> Şenler’s prototypical Islamic novel, *Huzur Sokağı* (The Peace Street) (1970) was immensely popular among the Islamic youth during the 1970s and 1980s; and by 2007 it has reached its 85<sup>th</sup> edition. (See Çayır 2007). Following the activism of 1970s (for details see Aktaş 2004), Şenler has withdrawn to her private home, put an end to all her activities and devoted her life to worshipping. She also stopped wearing “şulebaş” and adopted *çarşaf*.

was insufficient to cover the female body in this way. Eventually it was discarded and was out of fashion until the 1990s. In the new tight head, which is slightly different from its predecessor, the headscarf is placed under a jacket or an overcoat. It is mostly combined with two-piece suits, (coat and skirt), which is referred to in Turkish either as *tayyör* or *döpiyes*, both words rooted in French. This style looks less extensive and more “modern” than the styles explained above. It is also combined with jeans by the young generations of females adopting headscarf. During the course of the parliamentary discussions in January and February 2008 to remove the headscarf ban in universities the word “tighthead” reappeared in the secular media, sometimes with its derogatory connotations. I use the word here merely as a descriptive term denoting a style of head-covering.

### *The “Traditional” Styles of Headcovering:*

1. *Head covered from behind leaving the neck open:* In her book, *Modernity, Islam and Secularism in Turkey*, Alev Çınar provides a good account of the discussions on the word “turban” and how a word initially the least associated with Islamism, referring to headscarf in Parisian fashion shows, came to be used to refer to the Islamic headscarf in the secular media (Çınar 2005: 78-79). In the midst of the discussions towards the end of the 1980s, where the problem of headscarf had erupted in the universities as a pressing issue for the first time, Cumhuriyet published a lead story on 7 January 1987 “with an illustration that showed exactly how the permissible turban could be worn” (Çınar 2005: 79). In Çınar’s words:

The picture shows a woman with a headscarf tied behind her neck, and the article notes that as long as the headscarf was not tied under the chin, it could be considered “modern clothing” (Çınar 2005: 79).

As can be seen from the above quotation different styles of headcovering are reinterpreted by different actors and redefined as Islamic or not. Needless to say, the females with headscarf did not favor the formula offered by Cumhuriyet. In fact, Cumhuriyet offered a traditional way of headcovering found in villages and rural areas among unmarried young women, redefining it as “modern”. But the young Islamist students of that generation were trying to distinguish themselves both from the traditional local practices of Islam and the secular modernity in new ways (Göle 1996). The style described above was also not permissible in strict

Islamic terms since it exposed the neck. Illustration 3.31 shows this style of headcovering.

2. *Knot in the front*: This style is more loosely tied and therefore regarded “innocent” as opposed to the Islamic styles of covering. Also, this style does not cover the whole neck, making it less prone to secularist suspicions (see illustrations 3.32 and 3.33).

3. *Folkloristic headscarf*: The final category is “folkloristic headscarf” where the headcovering is represented as part of village traditions and ceremonies, the styles that are situated totally in the realm of culture due to their confinement to rural areas, specific village occasions or older generations (illustrations 3.34; 3.35; 3.36).

The last two categories on the female headscarf are:

1. *Unidentified headscarf style*: The miscellaneous category in female headscarf includes all other headscarf styles not covered in the above categories.

2. *Head uncovered*: Images where no type of headscarf is used (see illustration 3.15). Females with hair ribbons, hair bands, summer hats and rare instances of professional hair bands like surgeon’s caps are counted under head uncovered.

After listing and describing all these categories it must be noted that this is still a short list. The headscarf is anthropologically, culturally and politically a very rich topic<sup>42</sup> and the list of types presented here is not an exclusive list that covers all headscarf types and combinations that can be found in Turkey. But, these are common styles and during the coding almost all headscarf types are coded into one of these categories. It is also important to note that the meanings associated with different styles are not absolute but flexible and changing. It is crucial to pay attention to the particular context and time not to reproduce the politicized and stereotyped approaches by attributing fixed meanings to different categories.

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<sup>42</sup> For further information on the uses of headscarf in folk and popular culture as well as anthropological research on different meanings of concealing or exposing the female hair see: Delaney 1994; Breu and Marchese 2000. The Veil-Project also provides a glossary of veiling and forms of headscarves as found in several European countries. See: <http://www.veil-project.eu/>

### *Male facial hair*

Different social meanings have been attributed to man's facial hair depending on time and cultural context. For instance, during the Victorian era the absence of facial hair signaled an ideal upper-class man (Kitch 2001: 40). There have been investigations of changing fashion that measure "the variations in men's growth of facial hair" (Emmison and Smith 2000: 59). For instance in his study of *Illustrative London News* over a period of 130 years Robinson (1976) coded the images "to identify various forms and combinations of facial hair: sideburns, sideburns and moustaches, beards, moustaches alone and clean shavenness [sic]" (Emmison and Smith 2000: 59).

In his exciting article on sociology of hair, Anthony Synnott (1987) tries to develop a theory of hair that account for different hair symbolisms including head hair, body hair and facial hair. He summarizes his theory of opposites in three propositions: "opposite sexes have opposite hair; head hair and body hair are opposite; opposite ideologies have opposite hair" (Synnott 1987: 382). He draws attention to how facial hair (undesired for females) and long hair are problematized and politicized by the feminist movement (Synnott 1987: 394–397), making hair "a visible political statement" (Synnott 1987: 397). In the case of male facial hair and beards he draws attention to corporate traditions that do not allow facial hair. According to Molloy (quoted in Synnott 1987: 401) "[t]he response to facial hair is almost always negative in corporate situations". This observation still holds true for big firms and corporations also in Turkey and elsewhere today. In their psychological study of the person perception and the male facial photographs, Hellström and Tekle reported that the subjects taking part in their experiment

...regarded highly educated—physicians, professors, pastors, psychologists, etc.—and intelligent men as tending to wear glasses and a beard, but no hair; the opposite kind of look was ascribed to factory workers, farmers and salesmen. Likewise, the subjects associated wearing both hair and beard with the "liberal" occupation of artist, as well as being good-looking, masculine, and congenial; hairless faces were attributed to members of the "establishment"—a colonel, diplomat, politician, lawyer or managing director (Hellström and Tekle 1994: 703).

Male body, male hair and clothing have been subject to state power and the male body presents another realm of symbolic conflict for different ideologies. While encouraging the females to take the headscarf off, the young Turkish republic passed a "Hat Law" for males in 1925, requiring men to wear Western style hats in public, as part of the series of reforms

for modernization.<sup>43</sup> Aside from the male headgear, in different periods different meanings are associated with men's facial hair in Turkey as well. For instance, like the headscarf the full beard is forbidden for public officials and civil servants. Çınar draws attention to the dress code that was issued by the military regime of 1980 that banned certain types of clothing in public premises (Çınar 2005: 78). In her words:

The 1980 military coup and the following military regime was an intervention that mainly targeted to put an end to the highly polarized political divide between the left and the right, which had dominated all domains of public life during the 1970s. In this respect, the dress code was directed toward the removal of the marks of rightist and leftist identities in the public sphere, which involved the wearing of specific styles of mustache and hair. The ban on the beard elicited a reaction from among left-wing intellectuals and was not perceived as a secularist measure against a mark of Islam (Çınar 2005: 186, note 51).

In Turkey today, the male facial hair is not loaded with political meanings as much as the female headscarf and is not problematic to that degree. Its importance as a marker of difference between the leftist and rightist ideologies seems to have disappeared. Yet, due to its symbolic significance it is included as a corollary category to the female headscarf and it includes the types of facial hair listed below:

1. Male totally shaved (illustration 3.39)
2. Male with full moustache (illustrations 3.38 and 3.40)
3. Male with full beard (illustration 3.37)
4. Male with partial beard (illustration 3.38)
5. Male with stubble (illustration 3.41)
6. Hooded, partially or fully masked face (illustration 3.37)
7. Unidentified (face not visible, backshot etc.)

### *3.3.2 Pilot coding and Interrater Reliability Tests*

The categories in the coding sheet were tested in a pilot coding with two coders prior to the actual coding to secure reliability among different coders. Three pages were selected from each newspaper in a single issue and were coded separately by two coders in all domains. Both coders were native Turkish speakers. This guaranteed that for some images also the textual context (captions, subtitles, headings) could be taken into consideration. All newspaper issues selected for interrater reliability

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<sup>43</sup> For more information on the "Hat Law" and the state control on male bodies see Çınar 2005: 68-70.

coding are from July 28, 2005 except for Posta. The issue selected for Posta is from July 22, 2005. The July 28 issue of Posta had been used for training and the coders were already familiar with the images, therefore a different issue was chosen.

The interrater reliability scores were calculated separately for sub-domains when they corresponded to a different unit of coding. Thus, a total of eight interrater reliability scores were calculated for the categories listed below:

1. Domain 1 General characteristics
2. Domain 1 Number of females
3. Domain 1 Number of males
4. Domain 2 Characteristics of female/male representations
5. Domain 3 Female nudity
6. Domain 3 Female headscarf
7. Domain 3 Male nudity
8. Domain 3 Male beard

Different types of variables required different calculations. Therefore three different interrater reliability calculations were used in the study:

1. Cohen's *kappa*
2. *Kappa* (modified)<sup>44</sup>
3. Pearson correlation coefficient

Cohen's *kappa* is the most widely used reliability coefficient (Neuendorf 2002: 150). Cohen's *kappa* is concerned with whether coders agree and it also takes into account the impact of chance upon the agreement (Neuendorf 2002: 149-150). It assumes nominal-level data and ranges from .00 (poor agreement) to 1.00 (perfect agreement) (Neuendorf 2002: 150). An agreement scale for kappa values is shown in Table 3.5 below.

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<sup>44</sup> Because of unequal marginal distributions Cohen's kappa produces results that do not reflect the true rates. Therefore, a modification of kappa by Erik Koch, University of Cologne, (unpublished) is used that takes into account the unequal marginal distributions for different raters.

Table 3.5: Kappa scale for interrater agreement  
(Landis and Koch 1977: 165 in Rustemeyer 1992: 115)

Kappa	Statistics
< 0.00	Poor
0.00-0.20	Slight
0.21-0.40	Fair
0.41-0.60	Moderate
0.61-0.80	Substantial
0.81-1.00	Almost Perfect

Kappa coefficient is used in this study for the interrater assessment of the categories below:

1. Domain 1 General characteristics
2. Domain 2 Characteristics of female/male representations
3. Domain 3 Female nudity
4. Domain 3 Female headscarf
5. Domain 3 Male beard

In the above categories the interrater reliability assessment aimed to see the extent of agreement to which different images and different persons on images were coded under the same category by different coders. Cohen's kappa is used for the male nudity category as well. Yet, even though the data suggested high agreement between coders, the Cohen's kappa produced scores that conflict with the crosstabulations (.098).<sup>45</sup> Therefore, the interrater agreement for the category of male nudity is recalculated with a modified formula, using Erik's kappa. The interrater agreement scores obtained for Cohen's and Erik's kappa values are shown below:

Table 3.6: Interrater reliability scores for Cohen's and Erik's *kappa*

N o:	Domains	Scores
1	Domain 1 General Characteristics	0.85
2	Domain 2 Characteristics of female/male representations	0.76
3	Domain 3 Female nudity	0.75
4	Domain 3 Female headscarf	0.71
5	Domain 3 Male nudity	0.87
6	Domain 3 Male beard	0.68

<sup>45</sup> My discussions with the methodology Professor Margrit Schreier suggested that the problem was related with marginal frequencies and such problems emerge sometimes with kappa in certain data constellations.

According to the table above, the best kappa scores are achieved for the categories of general characteristics and the male nudity. In the female nudity and female headscarf categories the agreement level between coders is still substantial. The lowest score obtained is the male beard category with a score of .68 that is close to moderate agreement, yet still within the borders of substantial agreement in the scale. Considering that this was the most difficult category with a large number of males on the images and the poor quality of reproduction on the newspapers, the score is accepted well enough to continue with the categories, and improvements were made with the discussions among the coders.

For the remaining two categories, namely the overall number of females and males in the newspapers, Pearson correlation coefficient is used to measure the interrater agreement score between coders.<sup>46</sup> These two categories required the calculation of agreement on the basis of frequencies. In other words, the assessment aimed to see whether the coders agreed on the number of females and males depicted on a particular newspaper page. Here, the measure is metric, not categorical, and precise agreement between coders is more difficult to reach. Therefore, rather than a measure of agreement, as in Cohen's kappa, a measure of covariation is used to assess the degree of correspondence between the coders. Below are the scores showing Pearson correlations between coders obtained for total number of females and males on newspaper pages:

Table 3.7: Interrater reliability scores obtained from Pearson correlation coefficient

No:	Domains	Scores
1	Domain 1 Number of females	0.99
2	Domain 1 Number of males	0.97

The scores above show a high level of correlation between the coders on the total number of females and males. There are criticisms that Pearson correlation coefficient might overestimate reliability (Neuendorf 2002: 152). Even these criticisms taken into account, the scores suggested that it was safe enough to proceed with the coding process using these categories.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> For more information see Neuendorf 2002: 151–153.

<sup>47</sup> In methodological literature on content analysis it is recommended that a second intercoder reliability test be made during the coding process. Because coding in this study relied solely on volunteer work, a second test could not be afforded.

The basic problems during the coding process emerged particularly while coding the tabloid style newspapers. Additionally, due to their higher occurrence, counting the number of males proved more difficult than counting the number of females. In spite of the six-rule that applied to the crowd photographs where only six persons were counted, the crowd photographs remained as a challenge because in most cases it was difficult to specify which six people to count. Additional rules were developed for these cases, such as counting the persons only at the foreground of the photograph. Yet, the selection of persons remained at the discretion of different coders, which in the end still varied. In a crowd photograph of males for instance, the question of which six males to pick up to count for the male beard category presented difficulties for the coders. Such challenges also pointed at the limits of content analysis and the coding units developed in the study while studying visuals, as will be discussed more in detail towards the end of the coming chapter.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS FROM THE VISUAL CONTENT ANALYSIS

The newspapers in the sample are compared both individually and in groups along the domains and categories developed in the previous chapter. When the newspapers are compared in groups, they are grouped into secular vs. Islamic and tabloid vs. serious dimensions. Alongside with descriptive statistics, analysis of variance between groups, analysis of covariance, independent-samples t-test and paired samples t-test are the basic inferential and parametric statistical analysis methods used to compare the newspapers across different variables and in different groups in this study. Parametric statistical tests are chosen because on majority of cases the variables in the data set are normally distributed. Distribution of the skewness and kurtosis values on continuous variables are around zero, satisfying the basic assumption required for the parametric tests<sup>1</sup>.

The data set in this study is used to conduct several tests. Running several tests on the same data requires the adjustment of the level of significance (p, alpha value) which is conventionally set to 0.05. Because of the repeated number of tests in this study, the level of significance (p) is set to the level of 0.01 instead of 0.05. Instead of setting the level of significance to a more conservative 0.01 level, a Bonferroni adjustment could have been made, but it requires the number of tests to be known in advance. In addition, there is controversy among statisticians over the benefits of Bonferroni correction.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, to keep the likelihood of having significant results although there is none, at the minimum, the level of significance is kept at a conservative level of 0.01 without making a Bonferroni adjustment.

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<sup>1</sup> For more information and discussions on which tests should be preferred in statistics for different kinds of data and variables see: Bortz, Lienert, Boehnke 2000: 79–86; Maltby, Day 2002: 72–76; Pallant 2005: 51–52.

<sup>2</sup>See: <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O87-Bonferronicorrection.html>  
<20.08.2008>

<http://www.edu.rcsed.ac.uk/statistics/the%20bonferroni%20correction.htm>  
<20.08.2008>

The Bonferroni correction is extremely conservative and while protecting against Type I error, increases the likelihood of Type II error. If this correction had been made for the t-tests in this study for instance, the alpha value should have been set at 0.004 (0.05/14), which would be highly conservative for an exploratory study.

#### *4.1 Basic Visual Characteristics of the Newspapers*

In terms of overall numbers, in 42 newspaper issues a total of 5041 visuals were counted. These are all sorts of images. 3208 images include gender depiction, excluding the gender depictions that might be found in some of the 660 cartoons and graphics. 23.27 % of images (images coded in the miscellaneous category) do not contain human depiction. The different types of visuals and their distribution across newspapers will be examined in detail in the coming sections below.

##### *4.1.1 Visual Density: Average number of Visuals in Newspapers*

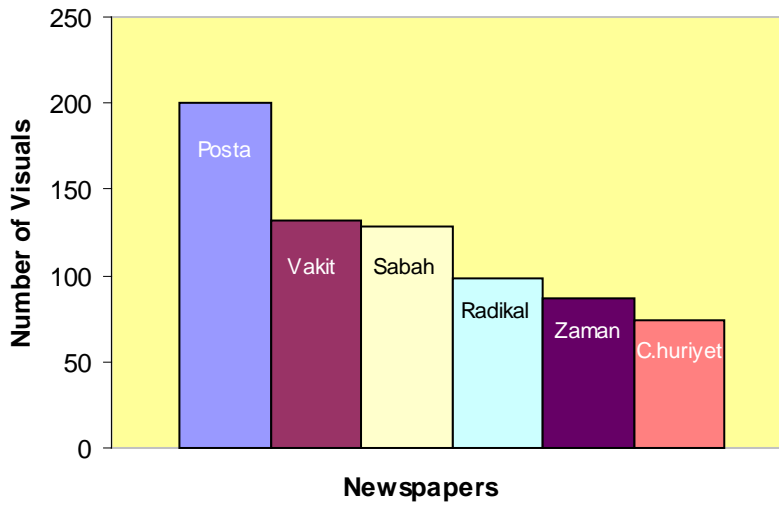
The newspapers in the sample differ from each other in terms of the number of visuals that they contain. The average mean number of images per newspaper is 120 with a standard deviation of 43; the minimum number of images in a single issue is 65 (Cumhuriyet); and the maximum is 218 (Posta).

Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 show the mean number of visuals per newspaper in descending order. In terms of absolute numbers, Posta, the high circulating boulevard daily, has the highest number of visuals with an average of 200 images per issue. Posta contains 28% of images counted in six newspapers. It is followed by the radical Islamic newspaper Vakit with an average of 132.14 images. Preceded by Sabah, Radikal and Zaman in this respective order, the radical secular newspaper Cumhuriyet has the least number of images in absolute figures. It contains 10% of images counted in the selected newspapers. The average number of visuals per newspaper issue gives an idea about how visually crowded a particular newspaper is. But these absolute figures need to be modified to get a better picture on the visual density of the newspapers.

Table 4.1: Average Number of Visuals in 6 Newspapers

Newspaper	Sum	Mean	%	SD	N
Posta	1400	200.00	28	18.32	7
Vakit	925	132.14	18	8.45	7
Sabah	899	128.43	18	4.76	7
Radikal	691	98.71	14	8.46	7
Zaman	607	86.71	12	7.30	7
Cumhuriyet	519	74.14	10	6.15	7
Total	5041	120.02	100	42.92	42

**Figure 4.1: Average Number of Visuals in 6 Newspapers**

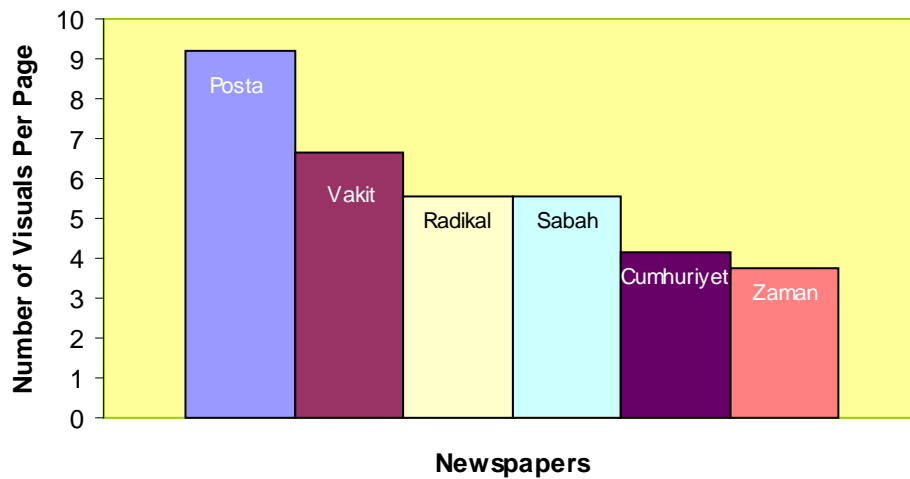


The picture presented in absolute figures changes slightly when the total number of images per newspaper is divided by the actual number of pages coded in each newspaper. This small calculation gives us the average number of images per coded page for each newspaper. For instance in Sabah, the total number of pages in the newspaper and the actual number of pages coded differ significantly. Sabah is a voluminous newspaper with a total of 48 pages in some issues. But the pages with classified ads are scattered inside the issues rather than being provided as a separate supplement; and these pages almost constitute half of the newspaper. When the average total number of images per newspaper is re-calculated with this point in mind, we reach the results presented in Table 4.2 which shows the average number of visuals per coded page for each newspaper. As can also be seen in Figure 4.2 Posta remains as the newspaper with highest number of visuals and it is again followed by Vakit. Yet, calculated in this way, the difference between Sabah and Vakit grows larger and the difference between Sabah and Radikal becomes smaller, almost to the point of disappearance. Cumhuriyet ceases to be the newspaper with the least number of visuals; instead, the moderate Islamic newspaper Zaman replaces the radical secularist Cumhuriyet with the 3.77 average number of visuals per page.

Table 4.2: Average number of visuals per coded page by newspaper

Newspaper	Mean	SD	N
Posta	9.22	0.65	7
Vakit	6.66	0.35	7
Radikal	5.57	0.29	7
Sabah	5.53	0.29	7
Cumhuriyet	4.15	0.33	7
Zaman	3.77	0.32	7
Total	5.82	1.86	42

Figure 4.2: Average Number of Visuals Per Coded Page



To find out if there is statistical significance in these initial results a univariate analysis of variance is conducted. In this case the dependent variable is the average number of visuals per page and the independent variable is the newspapers. The ANOVA indicated a significant difference between the newspapers on the measure of visuals per page,  $F(5, 36)=176.498$ ,  $p<0.01$ , partial eta squared=.961. In terms of the average number of visuals contained in each coded page, Posta scored significantly higher than Vakit, and Vakit in turn scored significantly higher than Sabah and Radikal. Zaman and Cumhuriyet scored significantly lower than all the others as suggested by Figure 4.2.

When we look at the newspapers in groups (see Table 4.3), in terms of the mean numbers there is a larger difference between tabloid and serious newspapers than in secular and Islamic newspapers with regard to the total number of visuals that they contain. The difference between the tabloid and serious newspapers is statistically significant,  $t(24.81)=8.15$ ,

$p < 0.01$ , while this is not the case for the difference between secular and Islamic newspapers,  $t(39.97) = 1.39$ ,  $p > 0.01$ .

Table 4.3: Total number of visuals in Secular/Islamic and Tabloid/Serious Newspapers

	Secular	Islamic	Total	Tabloid	Serious	Total
<i>N</i>	28.00	14.00	42.00	21.00	21.00	42.00
<i>Sum</i>	3509	1532	5041	3224	1817	5041
<i>Mean</i>	125.32	109.43	120.02	153.52	86.52	120.02
<i>SD</i>	49.14	24.76	42.92	35.57	12.43	42.92

Keeping these similarities and differences between newspapers in terms of visual density in mind we can now have a deeper look at the basic visual characteristics of the newspapers on different categories.

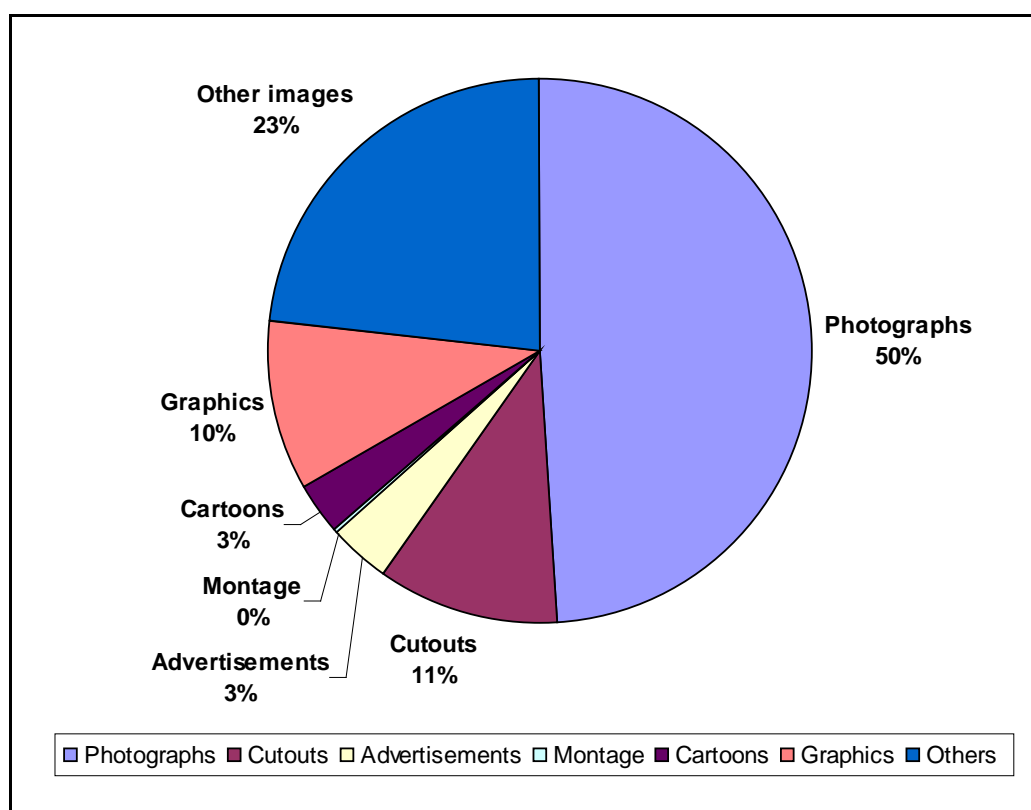
#### *4.1.2 Distribution of Different Types of Visuals in Newspapers*

The visual characteristics of the newspapers are defined by the categories in the first domain. In other words the distribution of photographs, cutouts, advertisements, graphics, cartoons and other images give clues about the general visual layout of a particular newspaper. The distribution of images in these general coding categories is as follows:

Table 4.4: Distribution of the types of images in 42 newspaper issues

Type of Image	Sum	Mean	%	SD
Photographs	2459	58.54	48.78	22.26
Cutouts	557	13.26	11.05	13.99
Advertisements	175	4.16	3.47	2.69
Montage	17	0.4	0.34	0.73
Cartoons	146	3.47	2.90	3.21
Graphics	514	12.23	10.19	8.83
Others	1173	27.92	23.27	8.87
Total	5041	120	100.00	46.83

**Figure 4.3: Types of Images in 42 Newspaper Issues**



As seen in Table 4.3 and Figure 4.3, photographs constitute the half of the images in all newspapers (50%). Non-human depiction (other images) also constitutes a large category (23%), followed by cutouts (11%), graphics (10%), advertisements (3%) and cartoons (3%). Montage images are very few in all newspapers compared to the other categories.

When the descriptive figures on the types of visuals are examined by grouping the newspapers on the secular v.s. Islamic dimension (Table 4.5, Figure 4.4 and Figure 4.5) it is observed that secular and Islamic newspapers differ from each other basically on the use of cutouts, cartoons, graphics and other types of images. Non-human depictions constitute a larger category in Islamic newspapers, while cutouts, cartoons and graphics appear more frequently in secular newspapers. These categories will be treated separately, also with inferential statistics on the basis of individual newspapers in the coming sections.

When the same descriptive figures are examined along the dimension of tabloid and serious newspapers (Table 4.6, Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7) cutouts and cartoons appear to be the basic categories that the major differences arise between two types of newspapers. Serious newspapers use fewer cutouts than tabloid newspapers and tabloid newspapers in

return publish much fewer cartoons than serious newspapers. While cutouts constitute around 15% of all images in tabloid newspapers, this is only around 4% in serious newspapers. The share of cartoons in tabloid newspapers is very little, less than 1%: The same category constitutes a share of more than 6% in serious newspapers (Table 4.6 and Figure 4.7).

Table 4.5: Frequencies for different types of images in secular and Islamic newspapers

Type of Image	Secular				Islamic			
	Sum	Mean	%	SD	Sum	Mean	%	SD
Photographs	1695	60.54	48.30	24.14	764	54.57	49.87	18.11
Cutouts	430	15.36	12.25	16.42	127	9.07	8.29	5.43
Ads	129	4.61	3.68	2.63	46	3.29	3.00	2.70
Montage	9	0.32	0.26	0.48	8	0.57	0.52	1.09
Cartoons	134	4.79	3.82	3.15	12	0.86	0.78	0.95
Graphics	403	14.39	11.48	9.93	111	7.93	7.25	3.36
Other	709	25.32	20.21	8.19	464	33.14	30.29	8.08
Total	3509	-	100.00	-	1532	-	100.00	-

Figure 4.4: Types of Images in Secular Newspapers

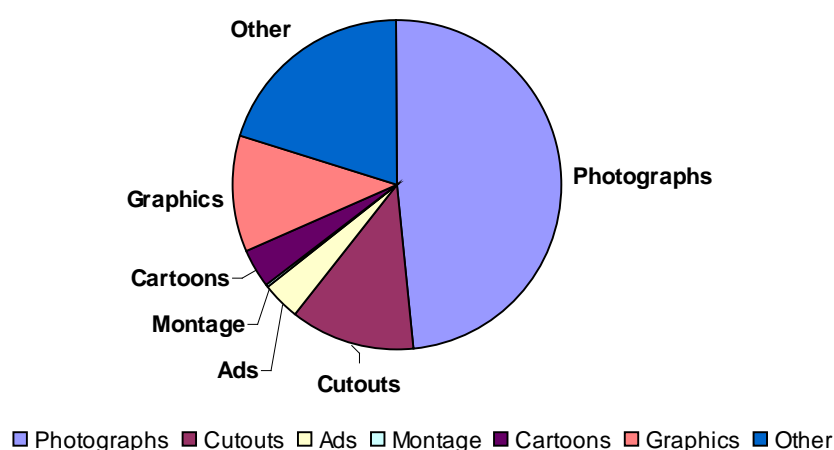


Figure 4.5: Types of Images in Islamic Newspapers

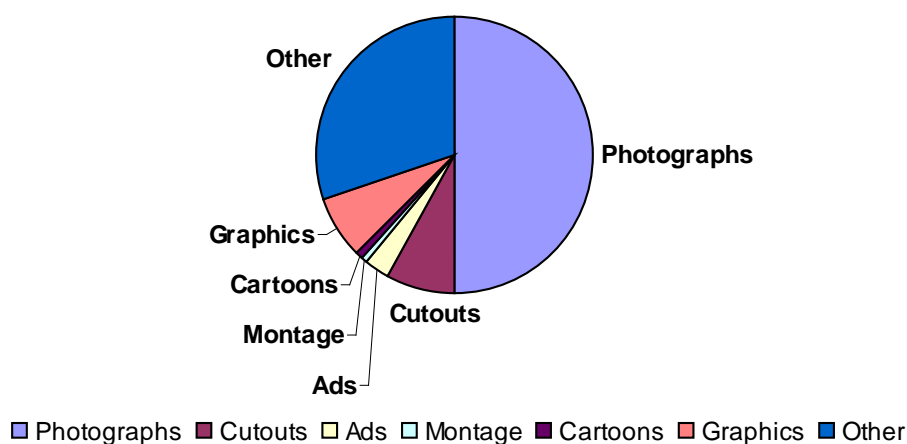


Table 4.6: Frequencies for different types of images in tabloid and serious newspapers

Type of Image	Tabloid				Serious			
	Sum	Mean	%	SD	Sum	Mean	%	SD
Photographs	1589	75.67	49.29	16.64	870	41.43	47.88	11.15
Cutouts	480	22.86	14.89	14.29	77	3.67	4.24	2.03
Ads	96	4.57	2.98	3.12	79	3.76	4.35	2.19
Montage	12	0.57	0.37	0.93	5	0.24	0.28	0.44
Cartoons	29	1.38	0.90	1.32	117	5.57	6.44	3.20
Graphics	347	16.52	10.76	10.35	167	7.95	9.19	3.77
Other	671	31.95	20.81	7.87	502	23.90	27.63	8.09
Total	3224	-	100.00	-	1817	-	100.00	-

Figure 4.6: Types of Images in Tabloid Newspapers

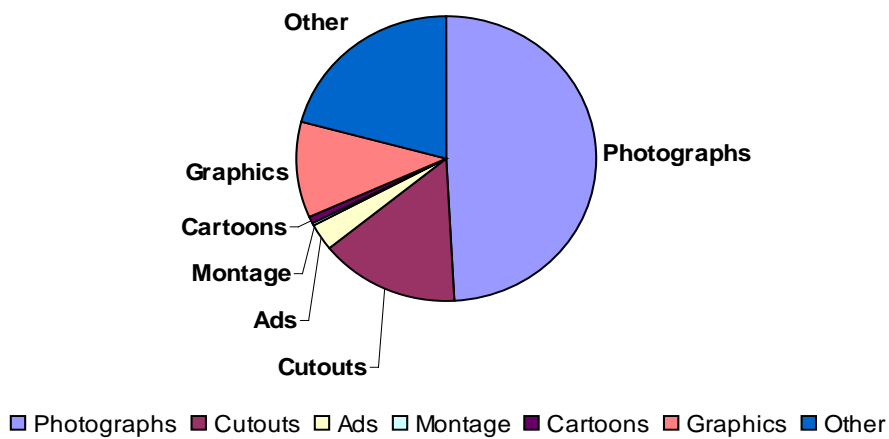
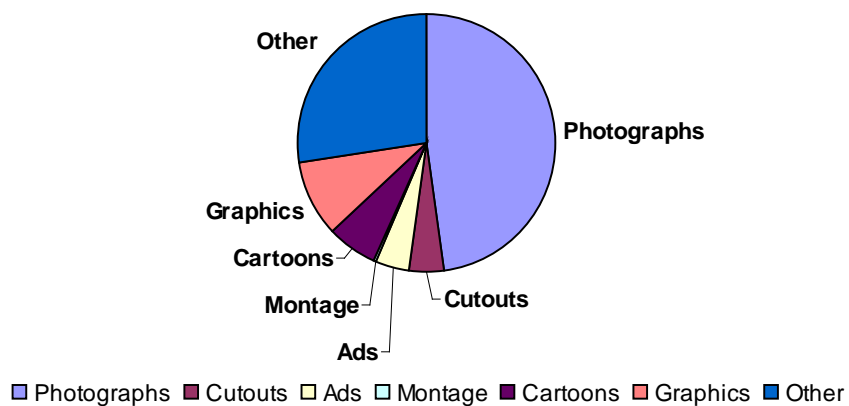


Figure 4.7: Types of Images in Serious Newspapers



The results of the analysis of variance between groups point to significant differences in terms of the usage of visuals in the six newspapers, particularly in the following categories: photographs, cutouts, cartoons and graphics.

### *Photographs*

Photographs constitute the newspapers' main stock of visuals and as can be seen in Table 4.4 and Figure 4.3, they have the largest percentage in all newspapers. Their share among other visuals ranges between 43% and 54% as can be seen in Table 4.7, which shows the descriptive figures for the number of photographs per individual newspaper. There is a direct link between the total number of visuals and the total number of photographs a newspaper contains, i.e. the newspaper with the second highest amount of visuals (Vakit) is also the second highest in terms of the number of photographs. This applies to all newspapers in the sample, which can be seen by comparing the rankings in Table 4.1 and Table 4.7 below.

Table 4.7: Distribution of photographs across 6 newspapers

Photographs				
<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>%*</i>	<i>SD</i>
Posta	662	94.57	47	13.70
Vakit	498	71.14	54	4.41
Sabah	429	61.29	48	5.82
Radikal	377	53.86	54	6.39
Zaman	266	38.00	44	7.07
Cumhuriyet	227	32.43	43	5.91
Total	2459	58.55	-	22.27

\*Percentages are calculated with respect to the other types of images the newspapers contain.

There is no statistical difference between the secular (Posta, Sabah, Radikal, Cumhuriyet) and the Islamic (Vakit, Zaman) newspapers on the measure of the number of photographs,  $t(40)=815$ ,  $p>0.01$ . Yet, tabloid (Posta, Vakit, Sabah) and serious (Radikal, Zaman, Cumhuriyet) newspapers are significantly different from each other in terms of the number of photographs that they contain  $t(40)=7.83$ ,  $p<0.01$ . At the individual level Posta scored significantly higher than all the other newspapers in terms of the number of photographs  $F(5, 36)=59.325$ , partial eta squared=.892,  $p<0.01$ . Vakit scored significantly higher than Zaman and Cumhuriyet ( $p<0.01$ ), but showed no significant difference in comparison to Sabah and Radikal ( $p>0.01$ ). There was no significant

difference between Zaman and Cumhuriyet ( $p>0.01$ ) in terms of the number of photographs that they contained.

### *Cutouts*

Cutouts constitute a significant category in the sample of newspapers. 11% of all images across newspapers are cutouts (Figure 4.3). As defined previously cutouts are based on photography as a technique yet, they are different in style. When added together there are 3016 photographs and cutouts in the examined sample of newspapers in absolute figures, and cutouts constitute 18.47% of this total sum. Table 4.8 below gives the distribution of cutouts across newspapers. Secular tabloid newspaper Posta scores very high in terms of the use of cutouts and the secular serious newspaper Radikal uses the smallest number of cutouts. 21% of images in Posta comprise of cutouts, while this is 2% in Radikal. When the total sums are observed it is also clear that majority of cutout images appear in Posta.

Table 4.8: Distribution of cutouts across 6 newspapers

Cutouts				
<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>%*</i>	<i>SD</i>
Posta	292	41.71	21	4.19
Sabah	98	14.00	11	3.32
Vakit	90	12.86	10	5.40
Zaman	37	5.29	6	1.11
Cumhuriyet	26	3.71	5	2.21
Radikal	14	2.00	2	1.15
Total	557	13.26	-	14.00

\*Percentages are calculated with respect to the other types of images the newspapers contain.

There are no significant differences between the secular and Islamic newspapers on the use of cutouts,  $p>0.01$ . Yet, tabloid and serious newspapers significantly differ from each other with regard to the number of cutouts that they contain,  $t(20.81)=6.092$ ,  $p<0.01$ . The serious newspapers in the sample (Cumhuriyet, Radikal and Zaman) scored significantly lower ( $M=3.67$ ,  $SD=2.03$ ) than the tabloid newspapers (Posta, Sabah, Vakit) ( $M=22.85$ ,  $SD=14.29$ ), which the descriptive figures seen in Table 4.8 also suggest. When individually examined, Radikal, Cumhuriyet and Zaman scored significantly lower than Sabah and Vakit in terms of the use of cutouts,  $p<0.01$ , (see Table 4.8 for M and SD scores). Sabah and Vakit, in turn, scored significantly lower than Posta,  $F(5, 36)=140.689$ , partial eta squared=.951,  $p<0.01$ .

The individual analysis of the newspapers suggests a further distinction within the tabloid newspapers with regard to the use of cutouts. Whereas all serious newspapers have similar scores, tabloid newspapers can be categorized into two distinct groups in terms of the appearance of cutouts. Posta is more extreme in employing cutouts and differs from the other two tabloid newspapers, Sabah and Vakit. It is also important to note that only the main bodies of the newspapers are coded in this study. The images in supplements are not included. For instance Sabah has a daily supplement and the type of cutout content that is found in the main body of Posta can also be recognized in Sabah's daily supplement. If the supplements would also have been coded, the figures might have changed, bringing Sabah closer to the cutout figures of Posta.

### *Cartoons*

In terms of the number of cartoons, secular newspapers Cumhuriyet and Radikal score significantly higher than the rest of the newspapers,  $F(5, 36)=109.070$ , partial eta squared=.938,  $p<0.01$ . In spite of its smaller mean number, cartoons constitute a larger percent of visuals in Cumhuriyet (10%) than in Radikal (8%), (see Table 4.9). Vakit has the least number of cartoons. The average number of cartoons per issue in Vakit is 0.43, nearly close to zero.

Table 4.9: Distribution of cartoons across 6 newspapers

Cartoons				
<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>%*</i>	<i>SD</i>
Radikal	56	8.00	8	0.58
Cumhuriyet	52	7.43	10	0.79
Sabah	19	2.71	2	1.25
Zaman	9	1.29	1	0.95
Posta	7	1.00	1	0.58
Vakit	3	0.43	0	0.79
Total	146	3.48	-	3.22

\*Percentages are calculated with respect to the other types of images the newspapers contain.

It is interesting to observe the small number of cartoons in Zaman ( $M=1.29$ ,  $SD=0.95$ ) in light of the previous argument on the newspaper's policy of editorial cartoons. It was mentioned that Zaman has the largest space for the editorial cartoons among other newspapers, and its poor percentage in numbers (cartoons constitute only 1% of all images in Zaman) might seem like a contradiction. It is true that the abstract editorial cartoons in Zaman are given a large space on the page. A single cartoon is generally larger than the size of an A4-paper. But apparently this does not translate into the number of cartoons, editorial or non-

editorial. Humorous drawings that comment on political or daily life, either by the newspaper's cartoonists or translations (i.e. Garfield) seems to be a characteristic of secular serious newspapers, Cumhuriyet and Radikal in the sample.

### *Graphics*

In terms of the use of graphics Posta scores significantly higher than all the other newspapers in the sample,  $F(5, 36)=57.679$ , partial eta squared=889,  $p<0.01$ . There are no significant differences among the rest of the newspapers, Radikal, Zaman, Vakit, Cumhuriyet and Zaman in terms of the way they use graphics and illustrations ( $p>0.01$ ). Posta, as an extreme tabloid, is very rich in terms of illustrative graphic material and it is not a surprising result that it is significantly different from the other newspapers. The more surprising point in terms of the use of graphics in newspapers comes rather from the descriptive results showing that Posta and radical secularist serious newspaper Cumhuriyet have the same percentage of graphics and illustrative material (Table 4.10). This makes it difficult to attribute Posta's high score on the number of graphics to its tabloid nature alone. As in cutouts, further qualitative research is needed to see in which ways serious and tabloid newspapers differ on the use of graphics.

Table 4.10: Distribution of graphics across 6 newspapers

Graphics				
<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>%*</i>	<i>SD</i>
Posta	211	30.14	15	3.13
Sabah	77	11.00	9	2.94
Cumhuriyet	76	10.86	15	3.63
Vakit	59	8.43	6	3.15
Zaman	52	7.43	9	3.74
Radikal	39	5.57	6	1.90
Total	514	12.24	-	8.83

*\*Percentages are calculated with respect to the other types of images the newspapers contain.*

### *Montage*

Montage is a form of manipulation and a visual form that must be avoided in journalism or, at least it should be made clear to the reader that the image is not a real photograph. In some instances, newspapers use montage images not to mislead the reader, but to make a political statement by bringing different elements from different photographs together. This category is included in the coding process when it was

noticed that such images occur more often in Vakit than the other newspapers, presenting difficult cases for the coders. The total number of montage images coded in 42 newspapers is 17 (see Table 4.11). This is a small number and does not yield any meaningful statistical comparison. Yet, almost half of all these images (8 out of 17) are coded in Vakit and although not statistically confirmed, this result suggests that Vakit uses montage images more often than the other newspapers. Cumhuriyet follows Vakit with 4 montage images. Posta has 3; Radikal and Sabah have only 1 montage image coded in each and Zaman does not have any montage image coded in the sample (see Table 4.11 below). Further statistical analysis does not yield any significant results,  $F(5, 36)=2.75$ , partial eta squared=.277,  $p>0.01$ .

Table 4.11: Distribution of montage images across 6 newspapers

Montage				
<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>SD</i>
Vakit	8	1.14	1	1.35
Cumhuriyet	4	0.57	1	0.53
Posta	3	0.43	0	0.53
Radikal	1	0.14	0	0.38
Sabah	1	0.14	0	0.38
Zaman	0	0	0	0.00
Total	17	0.4	-	0.73

*\*Percentages are calculated with respect to the other types of images the newspapers contain.*

### *Other images*

The miscellaneous category constitutes a high percentage in each newspaper. The basic characteristic of the types of images in this category is that they do not include human depiction. At the descriptive level some newspapers have a higher percentage of non-human depictions than the others. For instance Zaman has the highest percentage of other types of images. But this category contains a variety of images including the ads without human depiction and they need to be re-sorted in a different framework for a reliable evaluation and interpretation which is beyond the purposes of this study.

#### *4.1.3 Summary and Evaluation of the Results on Visual Characteristics of the Newspapers*

Tabloid newspapers contain much more visuals than serious newspapers. The differences between them are not only at the descriptive level but also significant in statistical terms. The layout differences between the newspapers have a primary role in terms of the distribution of different types of images. In terms of the number of visuals that the newspapers contain, being an Islamic or a secular newspaper does not play a significant role.

When examined individually, secular tabloid Posta scores highest in terms of visual density, with respect to mean number of visuals per page. The Islamic tabloid Vakit scores second highest in terms of visual density, followed by Radikal, Sabah, Cumhuriyet and Zaman. Vakit's high score is an unexpected result. In tabloid newspapers the high number of visuals is generally attributable to the high number of celebrity and fashion photographs. Even though this is not the case for Vakit, it is still a visually crowded newspaper which suggests a point for further consideration.

There is no significant difference between the secular tabloid Sabah, and the secular serious newspaper Radikal in terms of the number of visuals they contain per page. Even though they have different layouts, they are similar in terms of the visuals that they contain. Cumhuriyet and Zaman are also similar newspapers in terms of the total number of visuals.

Descriptive figures suggested that Islamic and secular newspapers might differ from one another in terms of the use of cutouts, cartoons and graphics. Yet, further statistical tests did not point to any significant differences between Islamic and secular newspapers on these categories. But, there are significant differences between tabloid and serious newspapers in terms of the ways they use photographs, cutouts, cartoons and graphics. When these categories are examined further, it is observed that the newspapers differ from each other on the use of cutouts and cartoons in particular. The use of cutouts is an important category distinguishing the newspapers from each other. In terms of the use of cutouts, Posta scores significantly higher than the two other tabloid newspapers, Sabah and Vakit. These results also indicate that further distinctions can be made among different tabloid newspapers on the basis of their use of cutouts. There are no differences among serious

newspapers, Cumhuriyet, Radikal and Zaman in terms of the number of cutouts.

There are no comparative figures in the field of newspaper research from other countries that might help interpret the use of cutouts in Turkish newspapers, but this is a point for further exploration. Especially the case of the radical Islamic newspaper Vakit, which uses a high number of cutouts, but do not use them in the context of celebrity and fashion photos, requires consideration.

High numbers of cartoons are characteristics of secular serious newspapers. Cumhuriyet and Radikal score significantly higher than the other newspapers in terms of the number of cartoons. Although the left-right distinction is not applied in this study, it might be meaningful to note that these two newspapers have a leftist tradition, which is historically associated with the development of humor magazines and comic art in Turkey. Therefore, their histories and closeness to this tradition might be a more explanatory factor than their layout or positions towards religion. Yet, the frequencies are not the only yardstick to assess the differences between newspapers in terms of the ways they use cartoons. Cartoon space can also be important, as the case of Zaman also reminds us.

In terms of graphics, the tabloid newspaper Posta has the highest figures and it is significantly different from all the other newspapers. Yet, Cumhuriyet publishes a high percentage of graphics as well. The use of graphics in serious and tabloid newspapers can be formulated as a new research question to be analyzed with qualitative methods. Finally, in descriptive terms the radical Islamic newspaper Vakit uses more montage images than the others, indicating a higher tendency for visual manipulation. The use of montage images in newspapers requires further inquiry in the context of another study as well.

## *4.2 Visual Depiction of Gender in Newspapers*

The results on gender depiction in newspapers stem from two different units of coding: (1) persons depicted on the image and (2) the image. These two coding units give information at two different levels. The first one gives information on the overall gender representation in terms of the number of females and males seen on the images in the categories of photographs, cutouts, advertisements and montage images (Domain 1). The second coding unit as image (Domain 2) gives information on the composition of the image and focuses on the categories of photographs and cutouts only. It gives information on how frequently females and males are seen together in the same frame. It analyzes those depictions with the categories of gender homogenous and gender heterogeneous depictions, and further looks at how these categories are composed.

### *4.2.1 Females and Males in Numbers: Representation/Underrepresentation*

In overall figures and in different categories of visuals created for the study frequency of male presence is higher than the female. In photographs, cutouts, advertisements and montage images, in other words in all visual categories except from cartoons and graphics more males are seen than females. Table 4.12 below shows the total figures of females and males counted on images in all newspapers. In terms of the descriptive figures seen in the table, the male presence in photographs is 2.67 times higher than the female presence. In cutouts and advertisements males are represented 1.44 and 1.32 times more than the females respectively. In other words there is a gender gap in cutouts and advertisements as well, but not as large as in the photograph category. In all photographs counted, 73% of the persons seen are males, whereas this is 59% in cutouts and 57% in advertisements. The percentage of males seen in montage images is very high as well, with 74%. Overall, females constitute 30% in all images, while males constitute a high majority with 70%. When we look at the female representation in photographs and cutouts only, 29% of all persons seen are females and 71% are males. Tables 4.12a and 4.12b provide percentages for an overview of female and male representation across different visual categories.

Table 4.12: Gender representation on different types of images in 42 newspapers

		Photos	Cutouts	Ads	Montage	Total
<b>Female</b>	<i>Mean</i>	40.31	6.17	6.81	0.4	54.14
	<i>SD</i>	19.27	9.5	6.75	1.29	31.43
	<i>Sum</i>	1693	259	286	17	2255
	<i>%</i>	27	41	43	26	30
<b>Male</b>	<i>Mean</i>	107.62	8.88	8.98	1.14	126.38
	<i>SD</i>	33.1	7.34	7.03	2.69	39.54
	<i>Sum</i>	4520	373	377	48	5318
	<i>%</i>	73	59	57	74	70

Table 4.12a: Distribution of female and male images across different categories in percentages

	Female %	Male %
Photos	75	85
Cutouts	11	7
Ads	13	7
Montage	1	1
Total	100	100

Table 4.12b: Percentages of females and males in different types of images across newspapers

Type of Newspaper			Photos		Cutouts		Ads		Montage		Total		
	Newspaper		F%	M%	F%	M%	F%	M%	F%	M%	F%	M%	Total%
Secular	Tabloid	Posta	35	65	56	44	45	55	31	69	40	60	100
		Sabah	27	73	36	64	46	54	50	50	30	70	100
Vakit		19	81	14	86	55	45	21	79	19	81	100	
Serious		Zaman	25	75	20	80	41	59	0	0	28	72	100
		Cumhuriyet	28	72	15	85	33	67	0	100	28	72	100
	Radikal	28	72	31	69	39	61	0	100	29	71	100	
		Total	27	73	41	59	43	57	26	74	30	70	100

When these descriptive figures are further analyzed, paired samples t-test indicated to a significant difference between the numbers of males and females in photographs,  $t(41)=16.6$ ,  $p<0.01$ , cutouts,  $t(41)=2.83$ ,  $p<0.01$  and advertisements  $t(41)=3.58$ ,  $p<0.01$ . The difference between the female and male images is significant for the total numbers as well,  $t(41)=15.61$ ,  $p<0.01$ . The large descriptive difference between males and females in the montage category is not statistically significant which is probably due to the small number of such images  $t(41)=2.26$ ,  $p>0.01$ .

Table 4.13 gives the descriptive figures for females and males depicted in the different newspapers as the sum of gender depiction in all categories. In terms of the total number of females, an analysis of variance indicated

that the secular tabloid Posta scores significantly higher than all the other newspapers,  $F(5, 36)=32.01$ , partial eta squared=.816,  $p<0.01$ ,  $M=114.14$ ,  $SD=15.87$ . There are no further significant differences between the remaining newspapers, whether secular, Islamic, tabloid or serious, in terms of the total number of females ( $p>0.01$ ). This can also be noticed from the descriptive figures shown in Table 4.14 with Posta having the 35% of all female images in all categories. In the same table it can be observed that the difference between Posta and the other newspapers in terms of the male images in percentages is not as sharp as in female images. An analysis of variance points at differences between newspapers in terms of the total number of males yet, these differences are not as strong and as clear-cut as in the number of females,  $F(5, 36)=19.76$ , partial eta squared=.733,  $p<0.01$ .

Table 4.13: Female and male depiction in descriptive numbers in newspapers

Newspapers	Female				Male				N
	Mean	SD	Sum	%	Mean	SD	Sum	%	
Posta	114.14	15.87	799	35	172.86	31.25	1210	23	7
Sabah	57.14	21.11	400	18	131.00	21.75	917	17	7
Radikal	46.57	9.27	326	14	116.00	17.03	812	15	7
Vakit	39.14	16.3	274	12	162.86	27.27	1140	21	7
Zaman	36.57	10.01	256	11	95.29	12.46	667	13	7
Cumhuriyet	31.29	9.48	219	10	80.29	14.6	562	11	7
Total	54.14	31.43	2274	100	126.38	39.54	5308	100	42

Further analysis of different categories across newspapers shows that significant differences between newspapers arise particularly for the photographs and cutouts. Therefore, they will be given more emphasis here. The percentages of females and males in different types of images across newspapers are presented in Table 4.12b. In spite of differences at the descriptive level, there are no significant statistical differences between newspapers in terms of the number of females/males seen in montage images and females seen in advertisements. It should be noted still that the female representation in advertisements are higher than the female representation in news photographs. Since advertisements are not the focus of this study, the results pertaining to gender representation in advertisements will not be presented and discussed here.

When photographs are analyzed separately, Posta scores significantly higher than all the other newspapers in terms of the number of females, and no significant differences emerge among the rest of the newspapers,  $F(5, 36)=15.9$ ,  $p<0.01$ . When cutouts are examined further in terms of the representation of males and females in individual newspapers, descriptive

figures (Table 4.14) show that tabloid newspaper Posta contains 71% of all female cutouts appeared in newspapers, and it is the only newspaper where the female cutouts are in greater number than the male cutouts. Other tabloid newspapers Sabah and Vakit also show higher percentages of female cutouts than the serious newspapers, but not as much as Posta. With regard to male cutouts, Posta, Vakit and Sabah have again higher percentages than the serious newspapers but the differences among them are not as sharp as the differences in female cutouts.

Inferential tests show that Posta scores significantly higher than the two other tabloid newspapers on female and male cutouts, (for female cutouts,  $F(5.36)=182.587$ , partial eta squared=962,  $p<0.01$ ; for male cutouts,  $F(5.36)=24.367$ , partial eta squared=772,  $p<0.01$ ). In terms of female cutouts Sabah, like Posta, is significantly different from the serious newspapers as well,  $p<0.01$ . In spite of its tabloid nature, Vakit does not score differently than the serious newspapers on the measure of female cutouts,  $p>0.01$ .

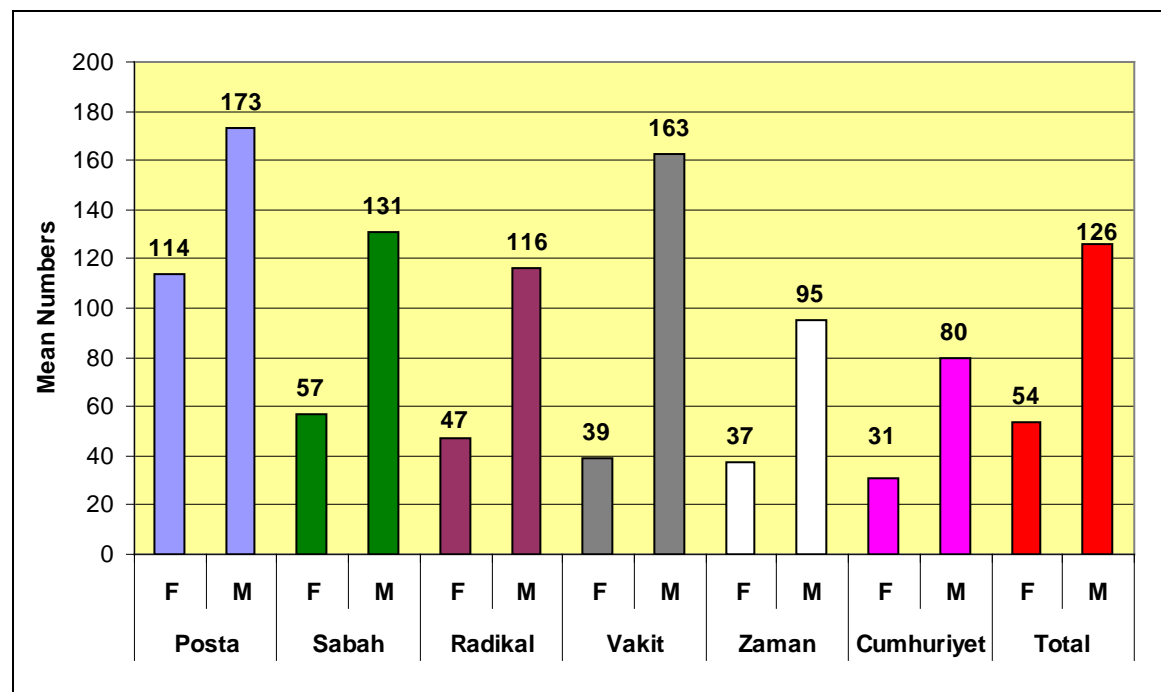
Table 4.14: Distribution of female and male cutouts across newspapers

Female Cutouts					Male Cutouts				
Newspaper	Sum	Mean	%	SD	Newspaper	Sum	Mean	%	SD
Posta	184	26.29	71	3.68	Posta	143	20.4	38	4.04
Sabah	44	6.29	17	2.75	Vakit	82	11.7	22	5.77
Vakit	13	1.86	5	0.9	Sabah	77	11	21	4.24
Zaman	9	1.29	3	0.76	Zaman	37	5.29	10	2.93
Radikal	5	0.71	2	0.76	Cumhuriyet	23	3.29	6	2.5
Cumhuriyet	4	0.57	2	0.53	Radikal	11	1.57	3	1.27
Total	259	6.17	100	9.5	Total	373	8.88	100	7.34

In light of these results, in terms of the use of cutouts in the main body of the newspaper Sabah can be regarded as a moderate tabloid, whereas Posta is an extreme tabloid in visual terms. Vakit has similar features with Sabah and Posta in terms of the use of cutouts, yet in line with its puritan stance it differs from them in terms of the use of female cutouts. The results indicate that even though Vakit differs from other tabloid newspapers with regards to the representation of the female, it can still be defined as a tabloid newspaper in terms of other visual characteristics. In brief, tabloid newspapers use more cutouts than the serious newspapers yet, they differ among each other on the ways they employ female and male cutouts. While Vakit has similar male cutout figures with Sabah, this is different for the case of female cutouts (Table 4.8). The difference between Vakit and Sabah on the representation of females in cutouts seems to stem from Vakit's extreme religious orientation.

As indicated in Table 4.14 and Figure 4.8 below, the number of females appeared on each particular newspaper is smaller than the accompanying figure for males. In other words, whether big or small a gender gap exists in all newspapers at the expense of female images. Knowing this, we can look at how big is the gender gap across different newspapers.

**Figure 4.8: Comparison of Female and Male Representation across 6 Newspapers**



To see the differences between the newspapers in terms of their scores on gender gap, calculated as the difference between the overall female and male images on photographs, cutouts, advertisements and montage images, an analysis of variance is conducted. The results show that Vakit scores significantly higher than the other newspapers in terms of the difference between male and female images it contains,  $F(5, 36)=15.082$ , partial eta squared= .677,  $p<0.01$ . This means that the female images are fewer compared to the male images and this difference is much more pronounced in Vakit than the other newspapers.

Aside from Vakit, there are no significant statistical differences in terms of the gender gap between the remaining newspapers whether they are secular, Islamic, serious or tabloid. An analysis of covariance with the total number of visuals as a corrective factor did not have an effect on the results. In other words there is no relationship between the total number

of visuals in newspapers and the gender gap that might be encountered. At the descriptive level Cumhuriyet has the smallest gender gap followed by Zaman, Posta, Radikal and Sabah; but the differences as seen on Figure 4.8 among these newspapers are not statistically proven to have significance. While Vakit seemed like an extreme case, further tests were conducted among the other newspapers excluding Vakit. The results of the independent samples t-test,  $t(33)=-0.527$ ,  $p>0.01$ , indicate that there are no significant differences between the Islamic newspaper Zaman and the secular newspapers, Cumhuriyet, Posta, Radikal and Sabah with regard to the difference between male and female images. Additionally, there is no significant difference between the tabloid newspapers Posta and Sabah, and the serious newspapers Cumhuriyet, Radikal and Zaman,  $t(33)=-1.178$ ,  $p>0.01$ , in terms of the gender gap. When the same tests are conducted with Vakit included, significant differences among the groups emerge (for tabloid vs. serious on the measure of gender gap  $t(30.11)=-3.144$ ,  $p<0.01$ , for secular vs. Islamic on the same measure  $t(15.83)=3.212$ ,  $p=0.021$ , not significant at 0.01 level but much larger than the values not including Vakit). Therefore, Vakit, categorized both as a radical Islamic and tabloid newspaper, causes an artificial difference among the groups in terms of the difference between male and female images. As a result, it is important to note the big difference between the moderate and radical Islamic newspapers' positions on the gender gap. The radical Islamic position seems to make a difference on the representation of the females in numbers. This is not the case for the moderate Islamic newspaper.

#### *4.2.2 Gender Homogenous and Gender Heterogeneous Depictions*

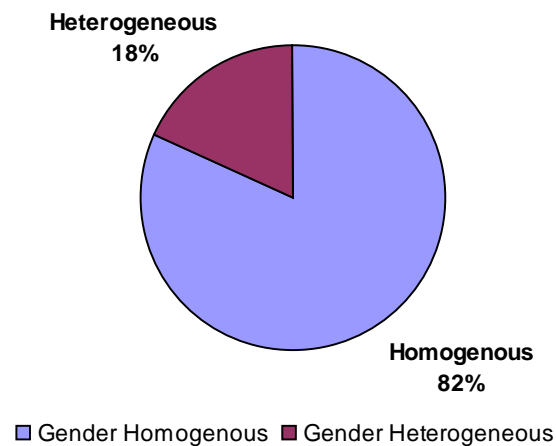
After looking at gender representation in overall numbers, we can now have a look at how females and males are depicted within the frame of an image. In terms of the descriptive characteristics, gender homogenous depictions considerably outnumber gender heterogeneous depictions (Table 4.15, Figure 4.9). In other words, the images where males and females are seen together in the same frame are little (18%) in comparison to the depictions where only a single gender is identifiable (82%). In these gender homogenous depictions, the depiction of single individuals seems to be the rule (Table 4.15, Figure 4.10). This is a dominant feature of gender depiction in all newspapers. In other words, both males and females are depicted more often as single individuals, 78% of the time, rather than in groups or in crowds. The images that show males and females in the same frame are more or less equally

distributed among couple, group and crowd photographs (Table 4.15, Figure 4.11).

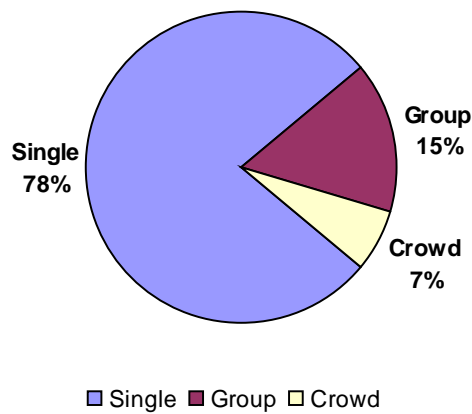
Table 4.15: Descriptive figures showing total numbers for images coded in Domain 2 in 42 newspaper issues

	Gender homogenous	2440	Gender heterogeneous	547
Single	Female	455	Couples	167
	Male	1448		
Group	Female	73	Groups	192
	Male	305		
Crowd	Female	10	Crowds	188
	Male	149		
Total	Female	538		
	Male	1902		

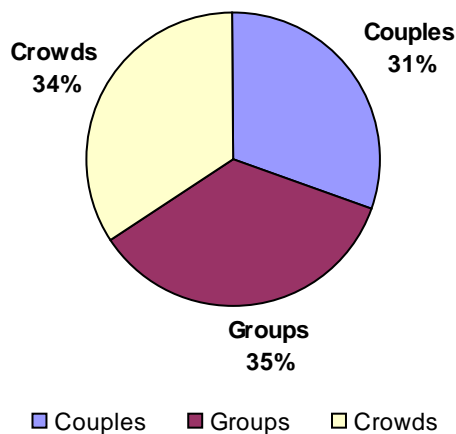
Figure 4.9: Gender Homogenous and Heterogeneous Depictions



**Figure 4.10: Gender Homogenous Depictions**



**Figure 4.11: Gender Heterogeneous Depictions**

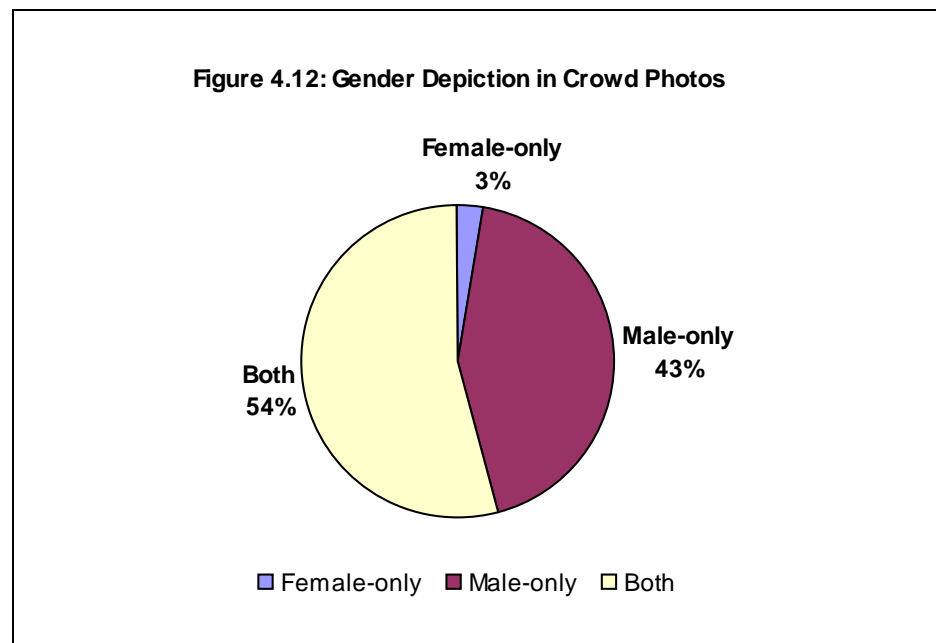


Yet, there is a difference between males and females. Even though the single depiction is the rule for both genders, in descriptive terms females appear in single depictions more often than males. 84.56% of female-only depictions are single depictions whereas for males this is 76.13%. There is a smaller difference between the two genders in terms of the single-gender-group photos up to six persons; 13.75% of females and 16% of males are depicted in small groups. In terms of larger groups and crowds the picture is different. Large groups comprised of all females are very few (only 10 images in 42 newspapers, as can be seen from the Table 4.15) and constitute only 1.86% of female-only depictions, whereas the

equivalent figure for males is 7.83%. In other words female-only crowd photos constitute only 2.88% of all crowd photos whereas male-only crowd photos constitute 42.94% of all crowd photos. In the remaining 54.18%, females and males are depicted together (Table 4.16 and Figure 4.12).

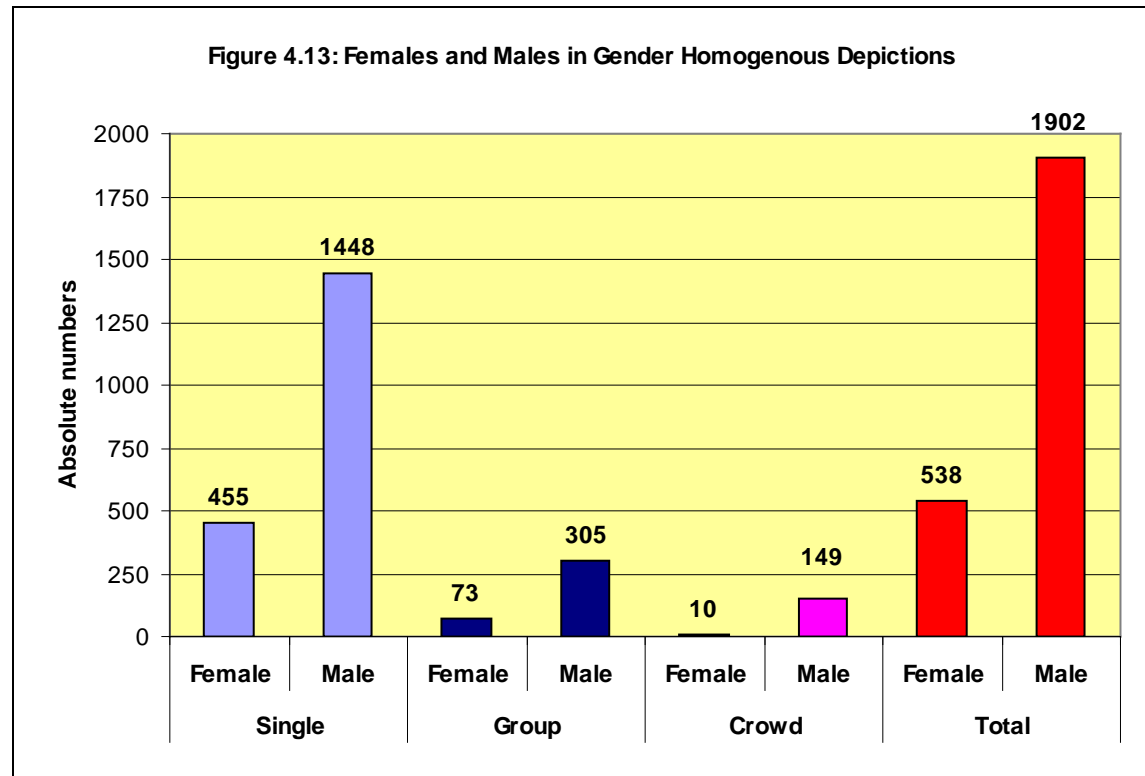
Table 4.16: Gender depiction in crowd photos in 42 newspaper issues

Distribution of Crowd Photos	Sum	%
Female-only crowd	10	2.88
Male-only crowd	149	42.94
Both genders present	188	54.18
Total	347	100.00



Two types of group photos (small groups or crowds) are recognized in Turkish newspapers examined in the sample. In the first type, a group of people pose in front of the camera, i.e. following a business meeting etc. In such group photos persons are more easily recognizable and they are either male-only depictions or heterogeneous depictions where males and females stand together. Yet, in most of the heterogeneous depictions there is a male dominance, like the example shown in Illustration 3.20. The second type of group photos are action photos taken from the streets, from public gatherings, demonstrations, official ceremonies and protests. The same rule applies to such depictions as well; when females are present in such occasions they are few in numbers.

In gender homogenous depictions, the female presence in absolute numbers is fewer than the male presence in all categories (Table 4.15 and Figure 4.13). In total 78% of all gender homogenous images depict males and 22% depict females. Further statistical tests point at significant differences between the numbers of females and males in single, group and crowd photographs,  $p < 0.01$ , as the descriptive numbers shown in Figure 4.13 also suggests. In other words different types of female images in all newspapers in the sample are fewer than the male images.



When gender homogenous and heterogeneous images are analyzed with regard to different categories of newspapers, the descriptive numbers shown in Tables 4.17; 4.18 suggest differences between secular v.s Islamic, and tabloid v.s serious newspapers. These descriptive results are visualized in Figure 4.14 which suggests differences between the tabloid and serious newspapers with regard to both gender homogenous and heterogeneous depictions. The same figures suggest differences between secular and Islamic newspapers with regard to the gender heterogeneous depictions only.

Table 4.17: Gender Homogenous and Heterogeneous Depictions in Secular and Islamic Newspapers

	Secular				Islamic				Total			
	Sum	Mean	SD	N	Sum	Mean	SD	N	Sum	Mean	SD	N
Gender Homogenous	1666	59.50	31.22	28	774	55.29	21.58	14	2440	58.10	28.17	42
Gender Heterogeneous	430	15.36	8.36	28	117	8.36	2.06	14	547	13.02	7.65	42

Table 4.18: Gender Homogenous and Heterogeneous Depictions in Tabloid and Serious Newspapers

	Tabloid				Serious			
	Sum	Mean	SD	N	Sum	Mean	SD	N
Gender Homogenous	1706	81.24	20.42	21	734	34.95	9.25	21
Gender Heterogeneous	342	16.29	9.24	21	205	9.76	3.51	21

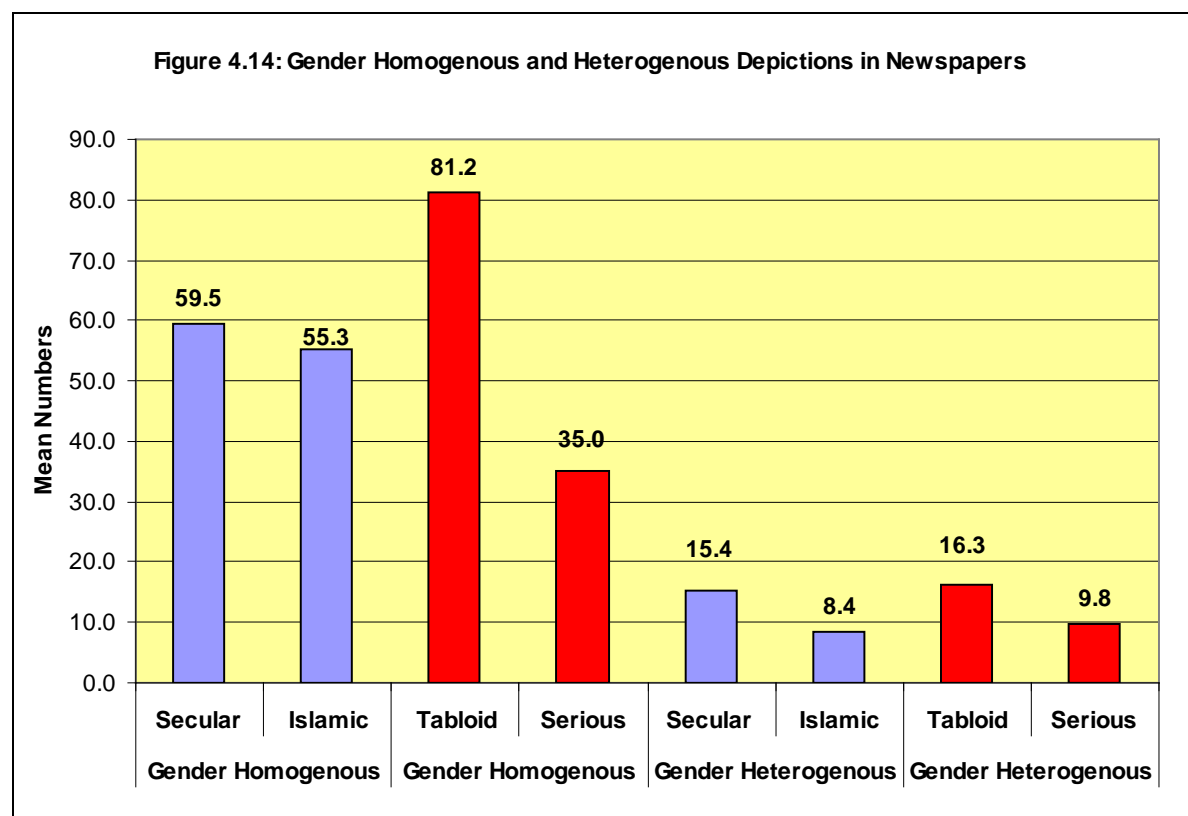


Table 4.19: Gender Homogenous and Heterogeneous Depictions in Individual Newspapers

Newspaper		Gender Homogenous	Gender Heterogeneous
<b>Posta</b>	<i>Mean</i>	106.86	27.57
	<i>N</i>	7.00	7.00
	<i>SD</i>	9.42	5.80
	<i>%</i>	79	21
	<i>Sum</i>	748	193
<b>Vakit</b>	<i>Mean</i>	75.14	8.57
	<i>N</i>	7.00	7.00
	<i>SD</i>	4.26	2.15
	<i>%</i>	90	10
	<i>Sum</i>	526	60
<b>Sabah</b>	<i>Mean</i>	61.71	12.71
	<i>N</i>	7.00	7.00
	<i>SD</i>	5.35	3.64
	<i>%</i>	83	17
	<i>Sum</i>	432	89
<b>Radikal</b>	<i>Mean</i>	43.43	12.43
	<i>N</i>	7.00	7.00
	<i>SD</i>	5.00	3.15
	<i>%</i>	78	22
	<i>Sum</i>	304	87
<b>Zaman</b>	<i>Mean</i>	35.43	8.14
	<i>N</i>	7.00	7.00
	<i>SD</i>	8.40	2.12
	<i>%</i>	81	19
	<i>Sum</i>	248	57
<b>Cumhuriyet</b>	<i>Mean</i>	26.00	8.71
	<i>N</i>	7.00	7.00
	<i>SD</i>	3.46	3.73
	<i>%</i>	75	25
	<i>Sum</i>	182	61
<b>Total</b>	<i>Mean</i>	58.10	13.02
	<i>N</i>	42.00	42.00
	<i>SD</i>	28.17	7.65
	<i>%</i>	82	18
	<i>Sum</i>	2440	547

Figure 4.15: Gender Homogenous Depictions by Newspaper

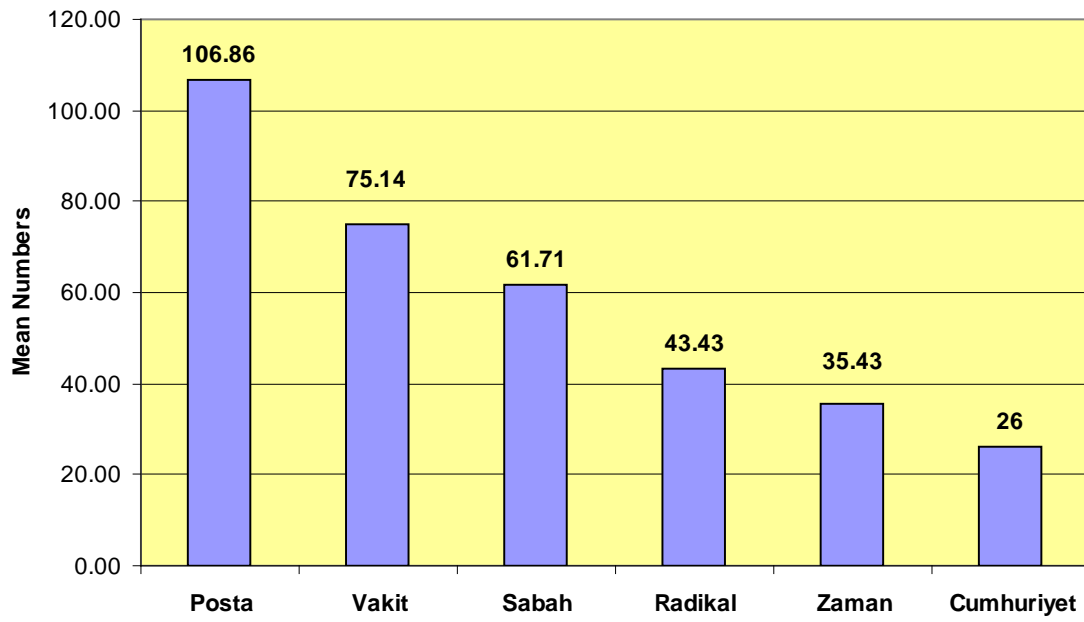
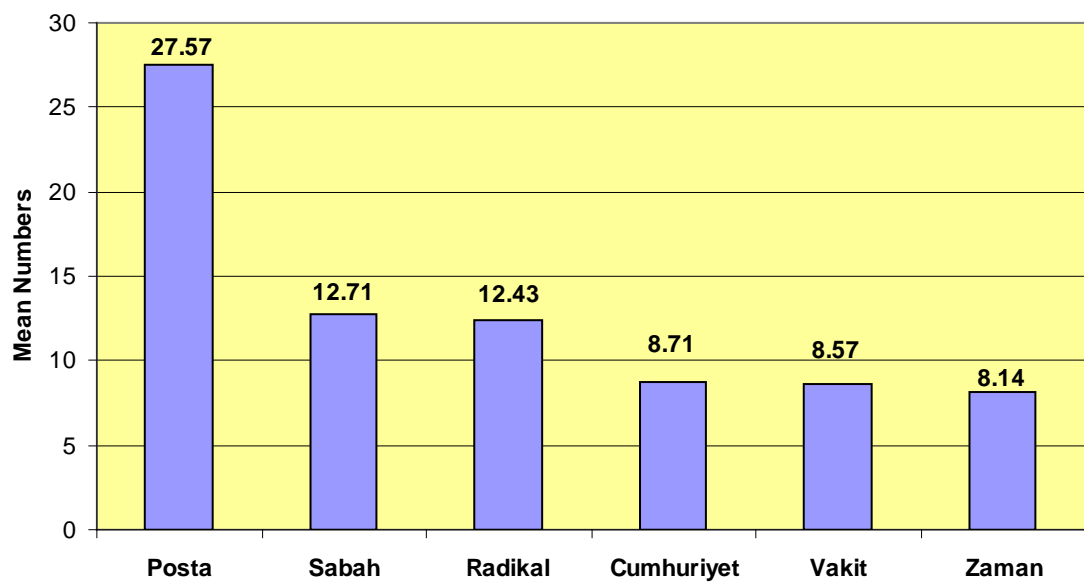


Figure 4.16: Gender Heterogenous Depictions by Newspaper



Gender homogenous depictions constitute the majority (82%) of images and in further inferential tests they reflect the distribution characteristics of total number of visuals across newspapers. Partial eta squared indicates a relationship between the total number visuals and gender homogenous depictions, (0.177,  $p < 0.01$ ). In other words, higher the total number of visuals in a newspaper higher number of gender homogenous depictions it contains. Like in total number of visuals, a tabloid v.s. serious distinction is observable in the ways gender homogenous depictions are seen across newspapers. As seen in Figure 4.15, tabloid newspapers Posta, Vakit and Sabah contain more gender homogenous newspapers than the others.

With regard to gender gender heterogeneous depictions no relationship exists between the total number of visuals and gender heterogeneous depictions a newspaper contains (partial eta squared=0.119,  $p > 0.01$ ). When it comes to gender heterogeneous depictions Posta scores significantly higher than all the other newspapers,  $F(5, 36) = 28.87$ , partial eta squared=.800,  $M = 27.57$ ,  $SD = 5.8$ ,  $p < 0.01$ , and no differences emerge among the rest of the newspapers in terms of the number of gender heterogeneous images whether serious v.s. tabloid or Islamic v.s. secular. In other words, the descriptive differences seen in Figure 14 between secular v.s Islamic and tabloid v.s. serious newspapers are due to high number of gender heterogeneous images in Posta, rather than the differences between different categories of newspapers. Independent of the number of visuals it contains, Posta scores higher than the other newspapers in terms of gender heterogeneous depictions (see Table 4.19 and Figure 4.16).

#### *4.2.3 Summary and Evaluation of the Results on Visual Depiction of Gender in Newspapers*

In different visual categories females are seen in smaller numbers than males. This is true for photographs, cutouts, advertisements and montage images. Overall, males constitute 70% of all persons seen on different types of images while females constitute only 30% (Table 4.13). Yet, in photographs the underrepresentation of females is more pronounced than in cutouts and advertisements. While females seen on photographs constitute 27% of all coded persons seen on photographs; this is 41% in cutouts (Table 4.13). Of all the females seen on different categories of images 11.5% are seen in the category of cutouts, while 7% of the males are seen in the same category (Table 4.13a). In other words, females are depicted in higher frequencies than males in cutouts.

When female cutouts are analyzed, Posta and Sabah score higher than the rest of the newspapers, including the Islamic tabloid Vakit. The majority of cutouts in Vakit are male cutouts rather than female cutouts. This difference can be attributed to the newspaper's radical Islamic stance, which confines women's role in society with the domestic sphere. In terms of the descriptive figures, Posta is the only newspaper where the female cutouts outnumber the male cutouts. In all other newspapers number of male cutouts are greater in number than female cutouts. This might be attributable to the celebrity photos in Posta, but it is difficult to say for sure because the content analysis in this study did not include a category focusing on female and male celebrities.

This finding of the study might have several implications in relation to the sexualization of the female, depicting them without contexts and focusing on their bodies, as face-ism argument suggests. Cutouts need to be studied further to see in which contexts they are used for female representation. What makes them an often-used form to depict females? Are they observed more in celebrity photos or are they used equally to depict professional women? Some of these questions require further quantitative analysis which goes beyond the limits of this study.

When evaluated from the perspective of "underrepresentation" tradition the results of this study on gender representation in Turkish newspapers confirms this approach with purely visual data. Females are seen in fewer quantities than males in all visual categories and coding units developed for the study. When newspapers are examined separately, the secular tabloid newspaper Posta contains the highest amount of females, which is still smaller than the number of males. When newspapers are compared in terms of the gender gap, the radical Islamic newspaper Vakit has the largest difference between the male and female images seen in the newspaper. The remaining newspapers are not statistically different from each other in terms of the gender gap whether Islamic, secular or tabloid. This suggests a stronger relationship between the radical Islamic position of a newspaper and the absence of females in that newspaper, which does not hold true for a moderate Islamic publication.

In the selected Turkish newspapers gender homogenous depictions showing single individuals predominate over depictions of couples or groups. Males are seen more in crowd photos than females, and on images that depict heterogeneous groups male presence is dominant over the female. Gender heterogeneous images showing females and males together in the same frame are few in Turkish newspapers and constitute

18% of photographs and cutouts (Figure 4.9). Cutouts depict persons almost always as single individuals. If cutouts had not been included in counting gender homogenous and heterogeneous depictions in Domain 2 and only photographs were counted the figures might have been slightly different, yet probably would not grow very large due to the smaller amount of cutouts (see Table 4.4).

The secular tabloid *Posta*, which has the highest amount of females, has also the highest amount of gender heterogeneous depictions. There are no further differences among the rest of the newspapers. Both in overall female representation and gender homogenous/heterogeneous depictions, differences between newspapers do not emerge along the secular v.s. Islamic or tabloid v.s. serious dimensions. The newspapers with extreme characteristics in their own category (*Posta* as a more extreme tabloid than *Sabah*, and *Vakit* as an extreme Islamic newspaper in comparison to *Zaman*) show pronounced differences than the others with respect to the amount of females (*Posta*), gender gap (*Vakit*) and gender heterogeneous depictions (*Posta*).

The results on gender depiction in Turkish newspapers are not directly comparable to the results obtained in previous studies due to different methodological procedures. Yet, it is important to evaluate the results of this study in light of the results obtained in previous studies for further consideration.

In the Hortaçsu and Ertürk study (2003) the authors coded the news items, and followed a different statistical procedure calculating proportions of different coding categories for each single issue of newspaper. They reported that the overall proportion of news items related to men was greater than that related to women (Hortaçsu and Ertürk 2003: 2029). The findings of this study that focuses not on news items but on images are in line with their findings. Yet, it is not possible to compare the results in numerical terms, not only because of different statistical procedures, but also because the results of Hortaçsu and Ertürk study chose a different newspaper sample and included the items in the supplements as well.

According to the results of the İmamoğlu et al study (1990) “the overall female representation was 20 percent of the total news and ads in the newspapers” (İmamoğlu et al 1990: 60). The percentage of female images in the main body of the newspapers is 29.7 in this study. In other words female presence on images comprises around 30% of the total number, including the female representation on advertisements. Before

interpreting these results as a 10% increase of the female representation on newspapers in roughly fifteen years, different methodological adjustments are needed, which could not be undertaken within the limits of this study. Yet, in spite of the difficulties in comparing the results, it is clear that females appear in the main newspaper body less frequently than males.

The Hortaçsu and Ertürk study found that “the proportion of items related to women were [sic] greater in secular newspapers than in religious newspapers whereas the reverse was true for proportion of items related to men” (2003: 2029). Instead of looking at the proportions for females and males separately the author calculated a new variable on gender gap in this study and the results suggest that the difference between newspapers lies not exactly on the secular vs. Islamic/religious axis. Rather, the position of the newspaper plays a decisive role. While there is no significant difference between the secular newspapers and the moderate Islamic newspaper Zaman on the measure of gender gap, the radical Islamic newspaper Vakit is significantly different from the rest in terms of the representation of the female in quantitative terms. Thus, it could be concluded that an extreme Islamic position of a newspaper would lead to a significantly larger gender gap with very few women depicted in comparison to men.

### *4.3 Covering the females and the males*

#### *4.3.1 Nudity*

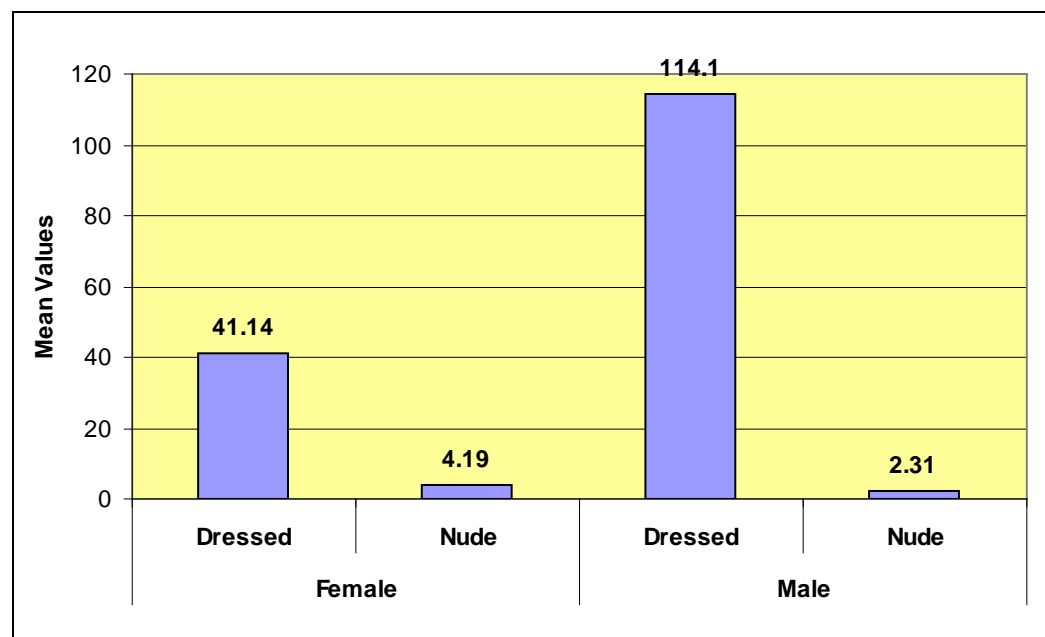
Nudity, as defined in the coding sheet, is not uncommon in Turkish media. The total occurrence of nudity for both males and females in descriptive figures are as shown in Table 4.20 and Figure 4.17. Of all persons seen on images 4% is depicted as nude and 96% is depicted in full dress. When we look at the female and male nudity, the number of nude females is 1.81 times higher than the number of nude males. While around 9% of females are depicted as nude, only 2% of males are seen as nude. These descriptive results suggest that females are more frequently depicted as nudes than males. Further inferential tests indicate that the number of nude females is significantly higher than the number of nude males,  $t(41)=3.11$ ,  $p<0.01$ . Additionally, as the previous evaluation of male and female representation suggests, females are seen in smaller numbers than males overall, but the nude female depictions are proportionally higher than the nude depictions for males (Figure 4.17).

Table 4.20: Sums of female and male nude depictions in all 6 newspapers\*

	Nude				Dressed				Unidentified		
	Sum	Mean	%	SD	Sum	Mean	%	SD	Sum	Mean	SD
Female	176	4.19	9.24	6.44	1728	41.14	90.76	20.8	38	0.9	2.28
Male	97	2.31	1.98	4.15	4792	114.1	98.02	35.9	11	0.26	0.5
Total	273	-	4.02	-	6520	-	95.98	-	49	-	-

\*Unidentified images are not included in the calculation of percentages.

Figure 4.17: Frequency of female and male depictions nude and dressed in 42 Newspaper Issues



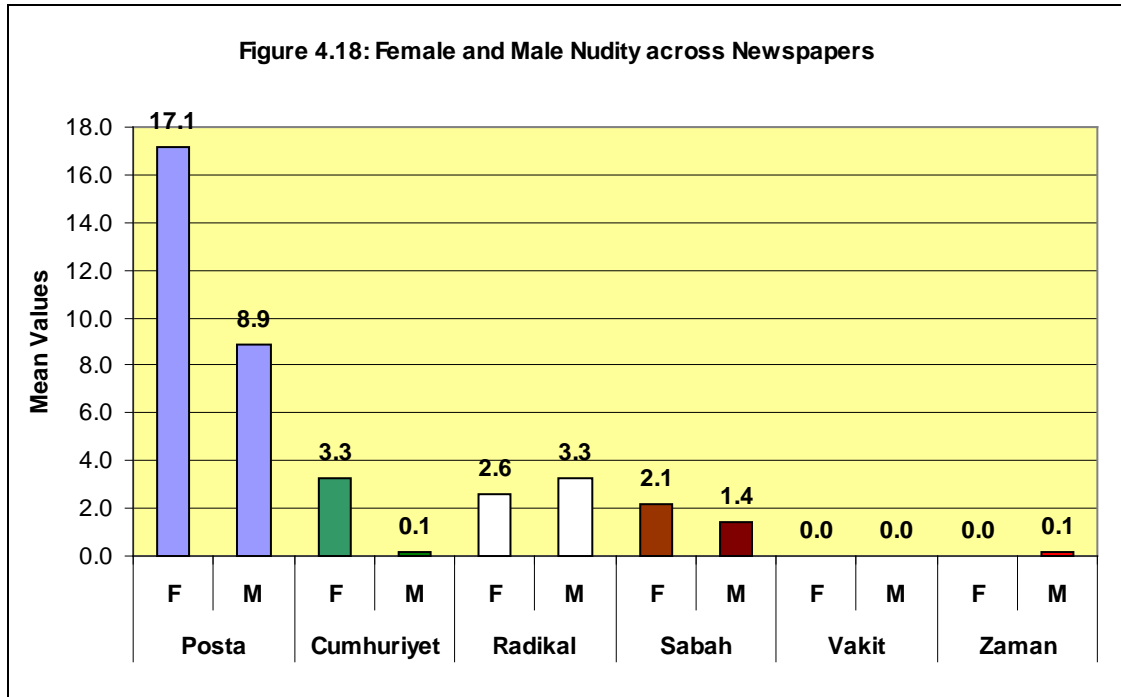
When we look at the newspapers individually for the depiction of female and male nudity, two Islamic newspapers do not display female nudity at all, and male nudity is present only in very small numbers (1 image only in Zaman) (Table 4.21 and Figure 4.18). Among the remaining newspapers Radikal is the only one that has a higher amount of nude males than the females, a point which goes against theoretical assumptions on gender representation in newspapers. Posta has an overwhelming amount of depictions showing both females and males undressed. 68% of all nude females and 64% of all nude males appear in this newspaper. In inferential tests, Posta scored significantly higher than all the other newspapers in terms of displaying female nudity,  $F(5, 36)=47.186$ , partial eta squared=.868,  $p<0.01$ . Posta also has the highest amount of visuals. Even when the total number of visuals is controlled  $F(5, 36)=39.77$ , partial eta squared=.712,  $p<0.01$ , it significantly differs from the other newspapers in terms of female nudity.

With regards to male nudity, Posta is significantly different from the other newspapers as well,  $F(5, 36)=10.32$ , partial eta squared=.589,  $p<0.01$ , except from Radikal which shows a relatively high amount of male nudes. Radikal's position here is not statistically very clear-cut and requires caution in analysis. In other words, in terms of the number of male nudity, Radikal shows similarities both with Posta and the other newspapers. Because Radikal is the only newspaper showing more male nudity than the female, it requires a separate analysis, probably with a different sampling week. We do not know if the high percentage of male nudity shown in the newspaper stems from the sampling week and would have been different if another week were chosen.

In sum, Posta has the highest amount of female nudity. Even though descriptive differences exist among the remaining newspapers in terms of depicting female nudity, i.e. Radikal and Sabah have lower mean scores than Cumhuriyet (Table 4.21, Figure 4.18) these differences did not prove to have statistical significance. In other words, high quantities of female and male nudity are a distinguishing feature of the extreme tabloid newspaper Posta. Except from Radikal, all newspapers depict higher numbers of female nudes than males, and Radikal's high figures on male nudity require further consideration. Islamic newspapers avoid nudity, whether female or male.

Table 4.21: Depiction of female and male nudity across 6 newspapers

Newspaper	Female				Male				N
	Sum	Mean	%	SD	Sum	Mean	%	SD	
Posta	120	17.14	68.2	4.22	62	8.86	63.9	5.55	7
Cumhuriyet	23	3.29	13.1	2.93	1	0.14	1.0	0.38	7
Radikal	18	2.57	10.2	2.82	23	3.29	23.7	3.3	7
Sabah	15	2.14	8.52	1.77	10	1.43	10.3	2.51	7
Vakit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Zaman	0	0	0	0	1	0.14	1.0	0.38	7
Total	176	4.19	100	6.44	97	2.31	100	4.15	42

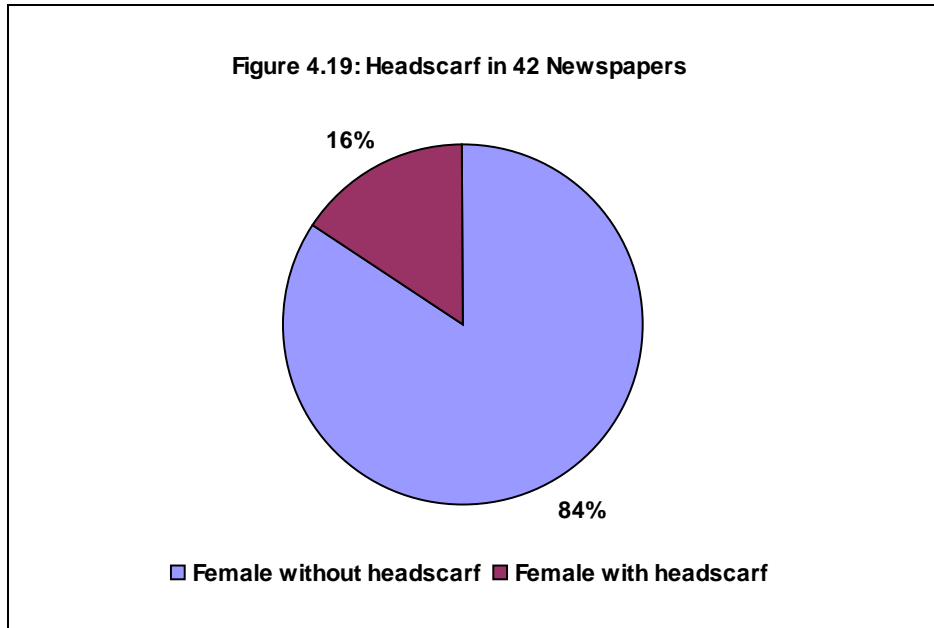


#### 4.3.2 Female headscarf

Female headscarf is analyzed along the different types of head covering defined in the coding sheet. First, we look at the overall descriptive figures, showing the presence or absence of headscarf on the depicted female images. Table 4.22 shows the total sum and mean values of females with and without head covering in 42 newspapers. On average we see around 39 females without headscarf and 7 females with headscarf per random newspaper. When we estimate from the total number, around 84% of all females depicted are without headscarf and 16% are seen with headscarf (Figure 4.19).

Table 4.22: Depiction of headscarf in 42 newspaper issues

	Sum	Mean	%	SD
<i>Female without headscarf</i>	1631	38.83	84.07	25.43
<i>Female with headscarf</i>	309	7.33	15.93	7.34
<i>Total</i>	1940	46.19	100	27.03

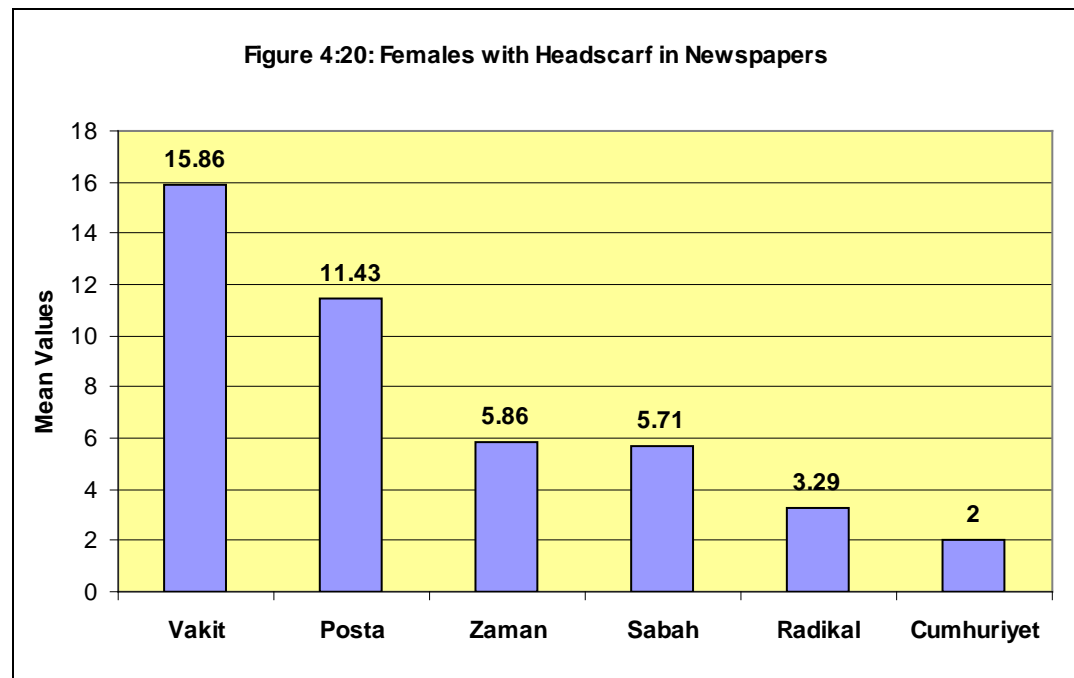


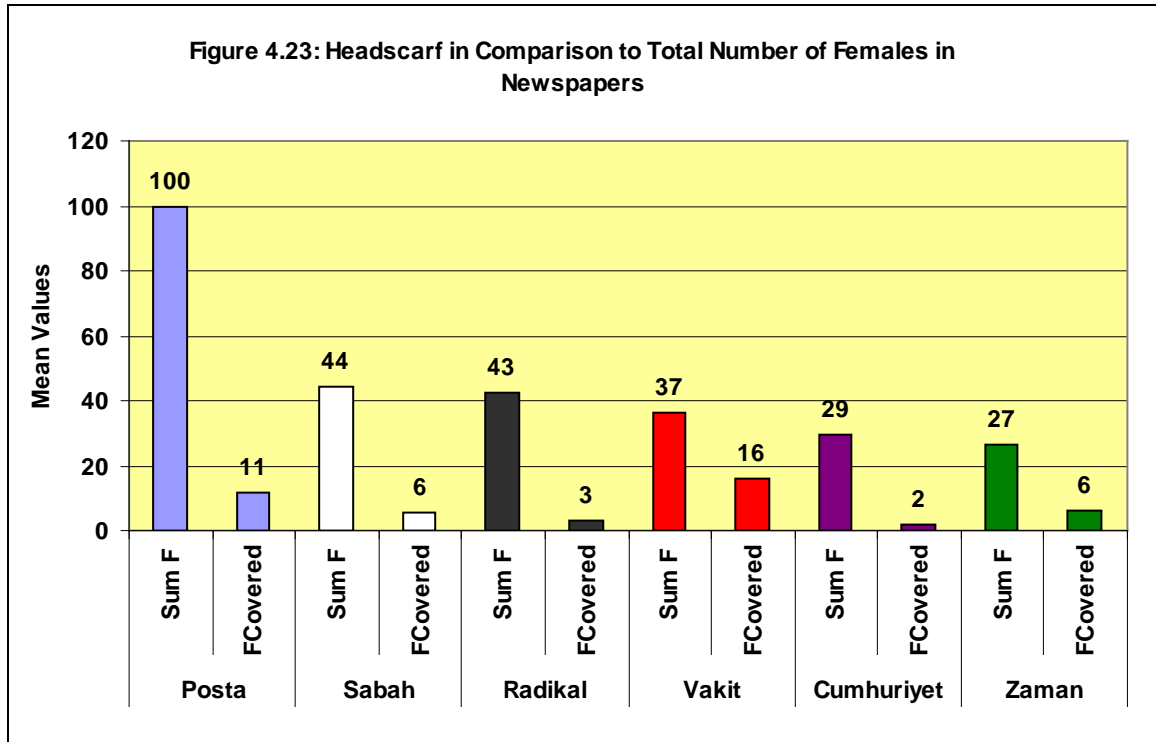
When we look at how the overall figures are distributed among different newspapers we see that in descriptive terms females with headscarf appear more frequently in *Vakit* and *Posta* than the other newspapers (Table 4.23 and Figure 4.20). Of all the females with headscarf seen in the sample of newspapers, 35% appear in *Vakit* and 25% appear in *Posta*. This is followed by *Zaman*, *Sabah*, *Radikal* and *Cumhuriyet* (Table 4.23). *Sabah* is not an Islamic newspaper, yet in the descriptive figures it scores very close to the moderate Islamic newspaper *Zaman* in terms of the depiction of headscarf (Table 4.23, Figure 4.20). It is also interesting to note that at the descriptive level the secular-tabloid newspaper *Posta* follows the Islamic-tabloid *Vakit* in terms of the numbers of females depicted with headscarf. *Vakit* is a radical Islamic newspaper and *Posta* is the newspaper with the highest figures of nudity. The proximity in mean numbers between these two newspapers in terms of the presence of female headscarf is rather due to the high number of female visuals in *Posta*, as can be seen from Figure 4.23 below. While in *Vakit* the females with headscarf constitute almost half (43%) of the females depicted on the newspaper, in *Posta* females with headscarf constitute 11% of all the females seen on photographs and cutouts in the newspaper (Figure 4.23). When compared like this, the moderate Islamic newspaper *Zaman* follows *Vakit* with 20% of headscarved females, and in *Sabah* females with headscarf constitute 14% of all female depictions. In *Radikal* and *Cumhuriyet* headscarved depictions constitute only 7% of the overall female depictions. In other words, in descriptive terms the Islamic newspapers *Vakit* and *Zaman* depict a higher percentage of females with headscarf, yet there is still a large difference between the two. They are

followed by secular tabloid newspapers Posta and Sabah, and the lowest percentages are observed in secular-serious newspapers Cumhuriyet and Radikal, in terms of the depiction of the female headscarf. This suggests that secular tabloid newspapers tend to show more headscarf than the secular serious newspapers. This is not statistically confirmed at the alpha level set for this study yet, the results of the t-test still suggest differences between the secular tabloids ( $M=8.5$ ,  $SD=7.93$ ) and the secular serious newspapers ( $M=2.64$ ,  $SD=2.06$ ) on the measure of female headscarf,  $t(14.75)=2.714$ ,  $p=0.016$ .

Table 4.23: Females with headscarf across 6 newspapers

Newspaper	Sum	Mean	%	SD	N
Vakit	111	15.86	35.9	8.36	7
Posta	80	11.43	25.9	8.24	7
Zaman	41	5.86	13.3	3.34	7
Sabah	40	5.71	12.9	6.97	7
Radikal	23	3.29	7.44	2.56	7
Cumhuriyet	14	2	4.53	1.29	7
Total	309	7.33	100	7.34	42





Further inferential tests indicate that only the difference between Vakit ( $M=15.86$ ,  $SD=8.36$ ) and the secular-serious newspaper Cumhuriyet ( $M=2$ ,  $SD=1.3$ ), on the measure of female head covering is statistically significant,  $F(5, 36)=5.68$ ,  $p<0.01$ , partial eta squared=.441. In other words, despite differences in mean numbers, no significant statistical differences emerge between Vakit, Posta, Zaman, Sabah and Radikal in terms of the depiction of headscarf ( $p>0.01$ ). The same applies to Cumhuriyet, Radikal, Sabah, Zaman and Posta as well ( $p>0.01$ ). Having the total number of females as a covariate did not lead to a significant change on these results  $F(1, 35)=5.61$ ,  $p>0.01$ , partial eta squared=.510.

When we look at the presence of different types of female head-covering the descriptive figures show that the “tight head” and the “headscarf covering the head in total and the neck” are the two most frequent types in the selected time frame. These are moderate types of Islamic covering. This is followed by a traditional style head covering, “knot in the front”. When we look at the overall means we see that 7 females on average appeared with headscarf per newspaper and some covering types appear only in very few numbers. The unit of coding in this domain was the persons seen on an image. If the unit of coding were the image, these numbers would probably be less than it is now. For instance, as seen in illustration 3.17, the group of women on the image increases the number of fully covered females even though this is only a single image.

Table 4.24: Types of female head covering as found in 42 newspaper issues

Types of head covering	Sum	Mean	%	SD
<i>Headscarf as tight head</i>	58	1.38	18.8	2.11
<i>Headscarf covering the head in total and the neck</i>	52	1.24	16.8	2.03
<i>Knot in the front</i>	49	1.17	15.8	1.78
<i>Headscarf covering shoulders and the chest</i>	43	1.02	13.9	2.14
<i>Folkloristic headscarf</i>	28	0.67	9.1	1.56
<i>Çarşaf – fully covered</i>	21	0.5	6.8	1.37
<i>Head covered from behind leaving the neck open</i>	17	0.4	5.5	1.13
<i>Other</i>	41	0.98	13.3	1.57
<i>Total</i>	309	7.36	100	7.34

Further tests showed that the main statistical difference between the newspapers lies on the presence or absence of females with headscarf rather than in individual style. The individual numbers for the different types of headscarf are too small by themselves to produce reliable statistical analysis. Therefore, these styles are re-grouped into Islamic headscarf and traditional headscarf as defined earlier in the previous chapter. Çarşaf, headscarf covering the head in total and the chest, headscarf covering the head in total and the neck, headscarf as tighthead are categorized as Islamic types of head covering. Looser head covering styles are grouped under traditional headscarf and these are: head covered from behind leaving the neck open; knot in the front and folkloric headscarf.

Table 4.25: Islamic and traditional headscarf in 6 newspapers

	Sum	Mean	%	SD
<i>Islamic headscarf</i>	174	4.14	64.9	5.15
<i>Traditional headscarf</i>	94	2.24	35.1	2.65
<i>Total *</i>	268	7.36	100	7.34

\* Total number includes the "other" category as well.

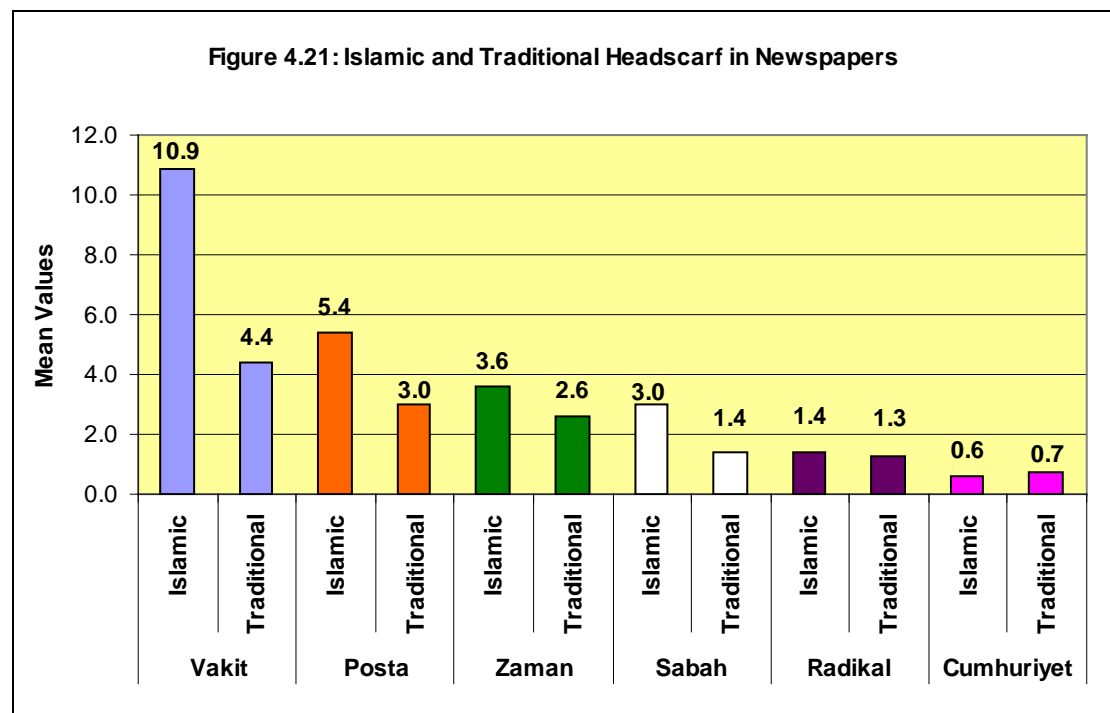
As seen from Table 4.25 the Islamic headscarf occurs almost twice as frequently as the traditional headscarf. The difference between these two groups in absolute numbers are not statistically significant at the alpha level set for this study,  $p=0.015$ . But, this could have been significant in another framework. It should be remembered once again that these are not pure categories and many crossovers exist in real life situations.

Individual newspapers's frequencies on Islamic and traditional headscarf can be observed in Table 4.26 and Figure 4.21. Radical Islamic newspaper Vakit shows the highest percentage of Islamic headscarf

(43.7%) and the secular tabloid Posta shows the highest percentage of traditional headscarf (33%). Posta also contains a high percentage of Islamic headscarf (21.8). When newspapers are analyzed further, Vakit scored significantly higher than Cumhuriyet and Radikal on the appearance of Islamic headscarf  $F(5, 36)=5.66$ , partial eta squared=.44,  $p<0.01$ , and no differences emerged between the remaining combinations of newspapers in comparison. In other words the only difference with regard to showing Islamic headscarf lies between the radical Islamic newspaper and the secular serious (left) newspapers. No differences emerged at all between the newspapers in terms of showing the traditional headscarf,  $F(5, 36)=2.13$ , partial eta squared=.228,  $p>0.01$ .

Table 4.26: Depiction of Islamic and traditional headscarf in 6 newspapers

Newspapers	Islamic Headscarf				Traditional Headscarf				N
	Sum	Mean	%	SD	Sum	Mean	%	SD	
Vakit	76	10.86	43.7	6.59	21	4.43	22.3	3.74	7
Posta	38	5.43	21.8	5.56	31	3	33.0	3.06	7
Zaman	25	3.57	14.4	1.81	9	2.57	9.6	2.76	7
Sabah	21	3	12.1	4.32	18	1.43	19.1	1.9	7
Radikal	10	1.43	5.7	2.15	10	1.29	10.6	1.38	7
Cumhuriyet	4	0.57	2.3	0.79	5	0.71	5.3	0.76	7
Total	174	4.14	100	5.15	94	2.24	100	2.65	42



The analyses conducted for the depiction of the females without headscarf are not reported here. As the Figure 4.19 shows, the females without headscarf constitute 84% of all females depicted and the statistical comparisons made between the newspapers on this variable are similar to the differences between the newspapers in total numbers for female representation.

It is important to note that the visual content analysis here did not include the contexts of the headscarf. In other words, the mere quantities presented here give only limited information on the variety of depictions found in newspapers. The contexts where headscarf is observed is quite varied ranging from funerals to the beach, including traditional mother/wife depictions, third page victims of crime news, Muslims of Europe, women in Afghanistan and headscarved students demonstrating for their demands. It is not possible to foresee such varied contexts in advance and include them in the coding frame. In addition, the content analysis aims to reduce the large amounts of data to defined categories for analysis and it cannot grasp the full richness of the visual information. Therefore, the selected contexts of headscarf will be dealt with in-depth in the next chapter on the qualitative part of this study.

### 4.3.3 Male facial hair

In terms of the male facial hair the shaved category is predominantly higher than the rest of the categories. The unidentified category in male facial hair also constitutes a large number which is due to the high number of male images and the poor image quality. It is not possible to know how the picture in Table 4.27 would change if the unidentified category could be redistributed to the others. But, when we look at the descriptive figures as such we see that the number of males with moustache is 2.5 times less than the number of shaved males. The number of males with beard, in return, is 1.5 times less than the number of males with moustache. Overall, different types of male facial hair like beard, partial beard and moustache are not as frequent in Turkish newspapers as a fully shaved male face.

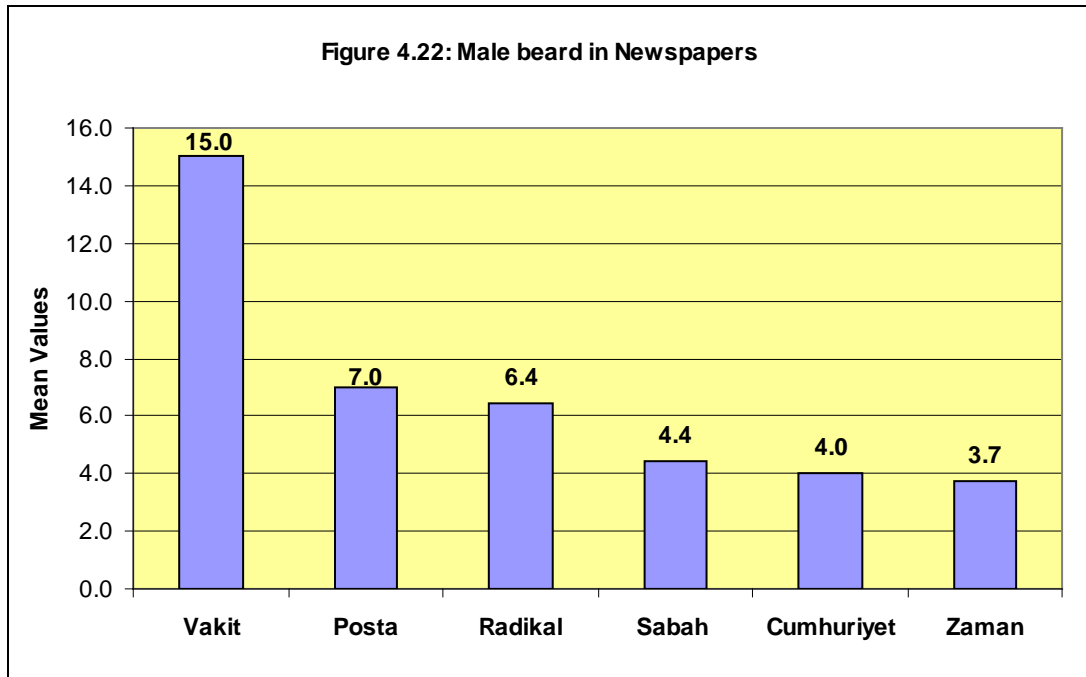
Table 4.27: Distribution of the types of male facial hair depictions in 42 newspaper issues

Type of male facial hair	Sum	Mean	%	SD
<i>Shaved</i>	2055	48.93	42.0	16.63
<i>Other/Unidentified</i>	1445	34.4	29.5	20.98
<i>Moustache</i>	816	19.43	16.7	9.33
<i>Full beard</i>	284	6.76	5.8	4.53
<i>Stubble</i>	149	3.55	3.0	3.72
<i>Partial beard</i>	126	3	2.6	2.48
<i>Face Hooded</i>	19	0.45	0.4	1.02
<i>Total</i>	4894	-	100	-

Further inferential tests indicated significant and meaningful differences only for the category of full beard. Vakit scored higher than the rest of the newspapers,  $F(5, 36)=21.8$ , partial eta squared=.752,  $p<0.01$ , with an average of 15 males with full beards per issue. Posta follows this with an average of 7 males with beard. Zaman has the least number of bearded males for the selected time period in the study (see Table 4.28 and Figure 4.22).

Table 4.28: Average number of bearded male depictions in 6 newspapers

Newspaper	Sum	Mean	%	SD	N
Vakit	105	15	37.0	1.41	7
Posta	49	7	17.3	2.52	7
Radikal	45	6.43	15.8	1.4	7
Sabah	31	4.43	10.9	2.94	7
Cumhuriyet	28	4	9.9	3.79	7
Zaman	26	3.71	9.2	1.25	7
Total	284	6.8	100	4.53	42



Finally, the highest numbers of unidentified male facial images appeared in Vakit (M=53) and Posta (M=47) followed by Sabah (M=37) and Radikal (M=34). In Zaman (M=17) and Cumhuriyet (M=18) such difficult-to-identify images appeared comparatively less frequently than the others. Serious newspapers show higher quality images on which persons are more easily identifiable.

#### *4.3.4 Summary and Evaluation of the Results on the Depiction of Female and Male Dress in the Newspapers*

Nudity, overall, appear in a small percentage (4%) in the main body of the newspapers. Females are more frequently depicted as nudes than the males, which become more pronounced when the overall numbers of female and male depictions are taken into account. The secular tabloid Posta by itself alone contains the majority of the nude images (both female and male) encountered in this study, and it is significantly different than all the other newspapers in this respect. Radikal is the only newspaper where male nudity outnumbers female nudity. Islamic newspapers Zaman and Vakit do not display nudity, be it male or female.

The majority of females seen in newspapers are seen without headscarf (84%). Headscarf is observed in a small percentage (16%). 35% of all the females with headscarf are seen in Vakit. Although Posta follows Vakit in

absolute numbers, comparing female headscarf with the overall female representation in newspapers provide a more reliable picture. Of all the females seen in *Vakit*, 43% are seen with headscarf. *Zaman* also depicts proportionally higher percentage of headscarved females (20%), but not as high as *Vakit*. This is followed by two secular tabloid newspapers, *Sabah* and *Posta*, and then the secular serious newspapers *Radikal* and *Cumhuriyet*. In spite of these differences in descriptive percentages, which still provide meaningful information, *Vakit* is the only newspaper that differs significantly from the rest in statistical terms.

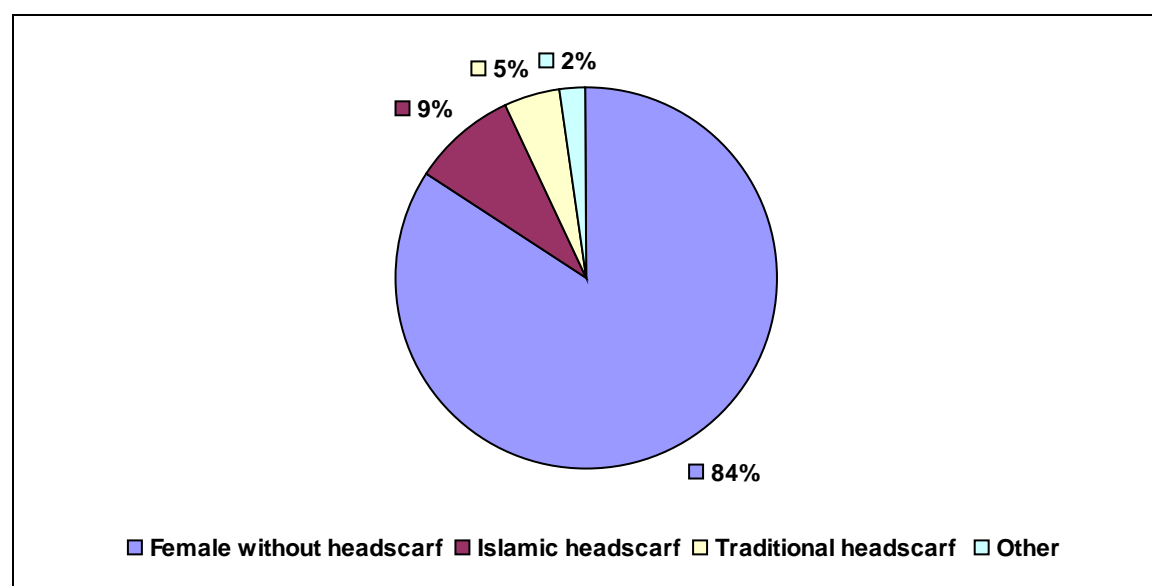
Islamic style of headscarf, where the hair and the neck is totally covered, is observed more frequently than the traditional forms of headcovering, which are more lenient towards the visibility of the hair and the neck. In terms of depicting traditional headscarf there is no difference between the newspapers. In terms of showing Islamic headscarf, the radical Islamic newspaper *Vakit* significantly differs from the secular serious newspapers *Cumhuriyet* and *Radikal*.

When these results are interpreted with the reflection hypothesis, it can be argued that females with headscarf are underrepresented in overall figures. In a nationwide survey, 36.5% of the female respondents said that they do not use any form of headscarf (Çarkoğlu and Toprak 2006: 58).<sup>3</sup> The 48.8% of respondents said they use types of headscarves that correspond to the “traditional” types of headscarf, and 12.5 said they wear “turban” which corresponds to the Islamic type of headcovering in this study. The figure 4.24 below shows the distribution of all females seen in newspapers in terms of the depiction of headscarf.

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<sup>3</sup> The percentage of respondents who said that they do not wear headscarf was 27.3 by 1999 (Çarkoğlu and Toprak 2006: 58).

**Figure 4.24: Distribution of depictions of female headcovering in 42 newspaper issues**



The social reality and the newspaper reality are different from each other, and they do not necessarily need to correspond with each other. The selected newspapers depict females less frequently than males and they depict them mostly without headscarf. These overall figures on headscarf depictions seem to reflect, not the socio-cultural reality, but the modernist stance of Turkish newspapers with regard to the female representation. *Vakit* is the only exception here. It is the only newspaper where the headscarf is overrepresented. Assuming that the results of the Çarkoğlu and Toprak study correctly depicts the different types headcovering worn by women in Turkey, the results of this study suggests that the traditional headscarf is underrepresented in newspapers more than the Islamic headscarf. The Islamic headscarf is more visible in the press, not only because it is the subject of attention, but also because it is more urban.

What is the picture when we look at the results of this study in light of the earlier studies? The Hortaçsu and Ertürk study analyzed the topics of news items in their selected newspapers and found out that religious newspapers included higher proportions of items about veiling than secular newspapers (Hortaçsu and Ertürk 2003: 2032). This is partially true for the results of this study for visuals as well. In descriptive terms *Vakit* and *Posta* depict headscarfed females in higher proportions. Yet, the difference between *Zaman* and the rest of the secular newspapers is quite small by comparison to *Vakit*, and is not statistically significant. In line with the results on overall gender representation, the study suggests that the tabloid vs. serious axis might be as important as the secular vs. religious axis in terms of the depiction of females with headscarf. The

presence of headscarf is observed in higher frequencies in secular tabloid newspapers Posta and Sabah than in the secular serious newspapers, Radikal and Cumhuriyet.

In terms of the depiction of the male facial hair the differences between the newspapers are not very easy to interpret. It is also more difficult to attach meaning to different styles of male facial hair. The results suggest that this category could have been devised differently, with fewer sub-categories. Yet, the results obtained for the male facial hair indicate that for radical Islamic newspaper Vakit, beard is as strong a symbol as headscarf, and it differs significantly from all the other newspapers in terms of the number of males with beards. In contrast, the moderate Islamic newspaper Zaman has the smallest mean number for the same category.

#### *4.4 Summary of Results and the Evaluation of Visual Content Analysis*

In the study, the highest amounts of visuals are observed in the secular tabloid Posta and the Islamic tabloid Vakit. At the beginning of the study I did not foresee that Vakit would score very high in terms of the visual density. The visual characteristics of the radical Islamic newspaper were one of the surprising results of this study. The results obtained here justified the categorization of Vakit as a “tabloid” newspaper. The idea of the “Islamic tabloid” needs to be discussed and developed further in light of the debates over the tabloid press. The tabloid newspapers are generally associated with scandal, sensationalism, sports, celebrity stories and the sexualization of women. In the case of Vakit we do not have celebrity stories in the usual sense and the sexualization of women, but we have scandal, sensationalism and high amount of visuals. The use of visuals in Vakit as an Islamic tabloid will be explored further in the qualitative chapter to see how they are used in specific contexts. In what specific ways Vakit differs from the other tabloid newspapers in terms of using female and male visuals? This question will be addressed in the coming chapter.

Another major point that came out from the content analysis is on the use of cutouts in newspapers. Cutouts are important in two ways: they are a distinguishing visual feature for different types of newspapers. They are employed more by tabloids, but in varying degrees. In other words, the more cutouts a newspaper contains, the more tabloid it looks. Secondly, females are represented in higher frequencies in cutouts in comparison to the photographs. This is particularly true for the extreme tabloid

newspaper Posta that contains 71% of all cutout images encountered in the selected sample.

The other major results that came out from the analysis of visuals characteristics of the newspapers can be summarized as follows:

- High number of cartoons is characteristic of secular serious newspapers Cumhuriyet and Radikal.
- The radical Islamic newspaper Vakit uses more montage images than the other newspapers suggesting a higher tendency for visual manipulation.

In terms of the visual depiction of gender the main results of the study can be summarized as follows:

- Females are seen in much smaller numbers than the males, confirming the “underrepresentation” hypothesis with visual data.
- In news photographs the underrepresentation of the female is more pronounced than in advertisements and cutouts.
- The radical Islamic newspaper Vakit has the largest difference between the male and female images seen in the newspaper. The remaining newspapers are not statistically different from each other in terms of the gender gap whether Islamic, secular or tabloid.
- The newspapers with extreme characteristics in their own category (Posta as a more extreme tabloid than Sabah, and Vakit as an extreme Islamic newspaper in comparison to Zaman) show pronounced differences than the others with respect to the amount of females (Posta), gender gap (Vakit) and gender heterogeneous depictions (Posta).

In terms of the female and the male dress the main results of the study can be summarized as follows:

- Nudity, overall, appear in a small percentage (4%) in the main body of the newspapers.
- High quantities of female and male nudity are a distinguishing feature of the extreme tabloid newspaper Posta.
- Except from Radikal, all newspapers depict higher numbers of female nudes than males.
- Islamic newspapers avoid nudity, whether female or male.
- The majority of females seen in newspapers are seen without headscarf (84%). Headscarf is observed in a small percentage (16%).

- The radical Islamic newspaper Vakit depicts significantly higher numbers of females with headscarf than the other newspapers in the sample.

In spite of its advantages visual content analysis is criticized on the grounds that it fragments the image into codes and falls short of analyzing the expressive content of an image (Rose 2007: 72). Besides, “certain representations of what is visible depend on other things being constructed as their invisible opposite; and content analysis is incapable of addressing these invisibilized others” (Rose 2007: 72). Furthermore, as the results in this study suggested, the coding frames have certain limits as well. There are always categories that could have been coded further and there are others that turn out to be irrelevant (i.e. detailed types of male facial hair). It is important to look at the images of gender not only in numbers and frequencies, but also how they are represented in the context of particular newspaper pages and in terms of their associative content that is hard to code with quantitative measures. Thus, to address the questions that are left untouched by visual content analysis semiotics and iconography are used in the study.

The quantitative analysis of visuals showed that gender homogenous depictions and single person depictions are very frequent in selected newspapers. The characteristics of these depictions will be analyzed more in detail in the next chapter comparing the single depictions of males and females in different types of newspapers in the sample. What kind of similarities and differences can be observed in these depictions of males and females? The contexts of gender heterogeneous representations in different newspapers are an additional point that will be analyzed further in the qualitative chapter. The various contexts of headcovering that could not be addressed with visual content analysis will be inquired further with examples in the next chapter as well. Finally, representations of the male beard in newspapers will be analyzed and compared further in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **UNCOVERING THE DEEPER MEANINGS OF VISUALS: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED IMAGES**

Having the results from visual content analysis, this chapter aims to carry the quantitative results on gender depiction in newspapers further by focusing deeper on the meanings of the selected images with qualitative methods namely, iconology and semiotics. These methods are helpful in deriving information from the contexts of visuals, as well as their meanings that cannot be grasped with quantitative methods and numbers. Iconology approaches visuals as sources of information about the social and cultural characteristics of a particular period and semiotics aims to uncover the implicit power relationships embedded in images. Both methods focus on the hidden meanings of images as opposed to the manifest content. As mentioned earlier, the visual content analysis focuses mainly on the manifest meaning, and does not give clues about the possible hidden meanings and power relationships embedded in an image. This chapter aims to go beyond the manifest meanings and analyze the selected visuals in detail to see how socio-cultural conflicts, power struggles, inequalities and different world views are observable in images.

To proceed with the qualitative analysis, typical representative images for the categories defined for the visual content analysis were selected. During the selection, priority was given to photographs and cutouts, which altogether add up to 3016 images. Montage images and cartoons were selected only when they are seen related to a particular theme that emerged during the further analysis of gender representation in photographs and cutouts. In the end, 320 images, which make up around 10% of the gender images counted for the visual content analysis, were selected for further analysis. These images were scanned and digitized. They are compared with each other in terms of their visual similarities. They are grouped and regrouped based on their common motifs and subjects. Throughout this process, it was aimed to figure out if typical characteristics emerge while representing gender in different types of newspapers. Are there any commonalities crosscutting the different standings and layouts of newspapers while depicting females and males? What types of qualitative differences emerge between newspapers while depicting gender? Can we find answers to some of the questions raised by the results of the quantitative analysis? For instance, are there qualitative

differences between the tabloid and the serious newspapers in depicting gender heterogeneous images? Are there differences in the ways Vakit and Zaman depict females wearing a headscarf? Are there commonalities between the Islamic tabloid Vakit and secular tabloid Posta in terms of depicting the females with headscarf? Why do we have higher numbers of bearded males in Vakit? What are the major contexts of female and male representation in different newspapers? The quantitative analysis looks for answers to such questions.

Among the 320 images scanned and observed for the qualitative analysis in the sample, 157 images will be presented and discussed here. Originally, the newspapers were collected for 10 consecutive days but only 7 days were included in the visual content analysis (July 22–28, 2005). For the qualitative analysis the remaining three issues (July 29–31, 2005) were also examined and 20 images were included into the qualitative analysis from these issues. Supplements were also scrutinized and 5 images were selected. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, one of the main advantages of iconological analysis is its availability for intertextual analysis. In other words, themes and motifs found in a particular image can be compared with other images from different places and time periods. Based on this, aside from the selected newspaper images, additional images from other sources, such as magazines and websites, with similar motifs were also taken into account for the qualitative analysis of visuals in this chapter. These images are few (16 images in total), but they nevertheless contribute to the analysis here with the additional information that they contain. Altogether 198 images will be analyzed in this chapter (see the Illustrations to Chapter 5).<sup>1</sup>

### *5.1 Combining Iconology and Semiotics: Why and How?*

Iconology provides a general framework for image analysis and aims to see a particular image in light of its socio-cultural context. It aims to uncover the meaning of the image and what it says about the society and era in which it is produced. It proposes three steps for image analysis. The first step is called pre-iconographical description and focuses on the image *in itself*. This is what Panofsky has called the art work's *subject matter*. Things seen on the image are enumerated and described in depth at this level of analysis. The second step is iconographical description,

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<sup>1</sup> The reader will find 206 illustrations for this chapter in the CD of *Illustrations* (see Illustrations to Chapter 5). Eight of those images were repeatedly used for different comparisons and were not included for the calculation of the total number.

which looks for the links between what is depicted on the image and its meaning. In other words, this step focuses on what we understand from what we see. According to van Leeuwen (2001), this level corresponds to connotation in semiotic analysis. The third step is the iconological analysis and it focuses on the relations between the image and its wider context, interpreting what the image reveals about its time and culture. As discussed in Chapter 2, the third level is prone to over-generalizations about a particular society and period. Therefore, while working at this level it is important to resist tempting generalizations, and not to lose the variety out of sight.

According to Panofsky, working particularly at the second and the third levels of iconological analysis required a high level of expertise to be able to associate the visual motifs with their historical meanings (Panofsky 1955). It is clear that to be able to study the meaning of an image i.e. from the Renaissance, a high level of historical expertise is needed. But, this can be disputed for the meanings of today's mass media images which are more readily available to large audiences as well as to the experts. In that regard, applying iconology to mass media images makes sense particularly for cross cultural visual translation, such as the one this study undertakes: i.e. translating the meanings of visuals from Turkish newspapers to my German supervisors, and the English speaking readers.

In spite of its long tradition of visual analysis, iconography as a method is used particularly for the analysis of paintings and art historical images. Because it remained confined to art history, it did not develop necessary tools for photographic analysis, which is a very different medium than painting. As mentioned previously in Chapter 2, studies using iconology to analyze contemporary images are very rare. Therefore, without being backed up with some sort of semiotic analysis it is difficult to work with iconology for the analysis of contemporary media images. The concepts developed for the analysis of photographs in semiotic traditions, be it linguistic or, non-linguistic based, are very rich and complex, ranging from discussions on the framing of the photograph to the social meanings of various types of shots.

In this study, I propose to combine the iconological and semiotic analysis in the following way: I approach the three steps of iconology as basic guidelines defining the perspective and the purpose of image analysis. But, because iconology does not provide tools for photographic description and analysis, I turn to social semiotics, which provides such tools for in-depth photographic analysis. Among other semiotic schools, I prefer to use the social semiotics of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006).

Their detailed analysis and categorization of visual structures, in spite of their heavy and at times confusing terminology, brings a fresh perspective to semiotic analysis. I find their approach useful particularly in creating a vocabulary to describe photographic images and in the way they focus on the relationships between the image and the text. Below are selected social semiotic techniques from their work. I listed six items: five of them are taken mainly, but not exclusively, from Kress and van Leeuwen's suggestions. Based on my analysis of newspapers, I added the second item (background information) to the list. The items in the list provide tools to describe photographs at the pre-iconological level by taking into account the possible meanings of different social semiotic photographic techniques. This is not to say that these techniques are always consciously employed by the photographers and other image producers; yet they are to be taken into account by any deeper analysis of images. The photographic techniques which will be explained here in detail are:

1. Framing
2. Background Information
3. Eye contact with the camera
4. Eye contact between the subjects on the image
5. The relationship between the image and the text
6. The place of the image on the page

*1. Framing:* The frame is the boundaries drawn to an image. Among others, Barthes paid attention to framing as a photographic technique. Framing involves not only what is included in the photograph but also from which view point and angle it is shot. Kress and van Leeuwen, drawing on Edward Hall's work on people's use of space, looked for the relationship between the size of the frame and social distance (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 124, 125). What Kress and van Leeuwen call the "size of frame" corresponds to "kinds of shots" in Berger's work, namely: the extreme close-up, the close-up, the medium shot, the long shot and the extreme long shot. The kinds of shots have long been established through the history of cinematography and photography and "[e]ach of these shots has a particular function and conveys a certain kind of message (Berger 2008: 136). For instance long shots and very long shots convey a sense of social distance (van Leeuwen 2001).

In addition to the size of the frame, the shot angle is another feature that should be taken into account. It refers to whether the photograph is taken from above, from below, from the side, or from straight on (Berger 2008:

129). The shot angle is frequently associated with relations of power between the viewer and the image. For Berger,

[a] shot that 'looks up' to the subject conveys a different impression (such as reverence?) than one that 'looks down' on (and is superior to?) the subject (Berger 2008: 136).

Kress and van Leeuwen also draw attention to the power relationship established by the shot angle, and give school books from UK and advertisements as examples to illustrate the relations of power between the viewer and the image:

In many of the illustrations in school textbooks we look down rather steeply on people ... In such books the social world lies at the feet of the viewer, so to speak: knowledge is power. The models in magazine advertisements and features, and newsworthy people and celebrities in magazine articles, on the other hand, generally look down on the people: these models are depicted as exercising symbolic power over us (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 140).

A noticeable example from Turkey is shown in illustration 5.1, taken from Hürriyet's photo gallery (February 3, 2008) showing a demonstration against the government proposition for constitutional amendments allowing females to wear the turban and headscarf in universities. Hürriyet is not included among the sample of newspapers in this study. It is one of the high circulating secular newspapers in Turkey. In line with the newspapers position, the low angle is clearly visible in the photograph, placing demonstrators, the Turkish flags and the Atatürk poster in power positions. Recognizing the different elements of framing, the types and angles of shots is important in developing an awareness of social relationships implicated on an image. Yet, this is not to say that a particular angle or shot conveys always the same meaning across different images and in different places. Rather, the meaning of any image should be interpreted within its own particular context and together with the other elements of composition and visual conventions that make up that image.

Finally, in addition to the size of the frame and the shot angle, depicting the persons in an image from the frontal view, back view, profile and half profile conveys different meanings. The facial profiles for instance, are associated with figures of authority (Müller 2003). The tradition of having profile views of people of authority on the coins still continues

from Romans up to the present day.<sup>2</sup> Frontal views are mostly associated with involvement (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 133). Back views carry complex meanings ranging from abandonment and vulnerability (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 138), to alienation, strangeness and xenophobia (Müller 2008: 109).

*2. Background information:* Related to framing, the presence or absence of a background is crucial, especially for news photography. Newspapers publish not only the photographs of “hard news,” produced by photojournalists, but various types of other images used for decorative and illustrative purposes. The presence or absence of background information is important in distinguishing photojournalistic work from the others. The background may be totally absent, or blurred, depending on the context and the type of the image.

*3. Eye contact with the camera:* According to Kress and van Leeuwen “[t]here is...a fundamental difference between pictures from which represented participants look directly at the viewer’s eyes, and pictures in which this is not the case” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 117). Such an image “demands that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relation with him or her” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 118). In the absence of the eye contact, the viewer is placed into a voyeuristic position, free to look at the image without having the sense of being seen. “... [A] depicted person may also be shown as turned away from the viewer, and this conveys the absence of a sense of interaction. It allows the viewer to scrutinize the represented characters as though they were specimens in a display case” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 43).

*4. Eye contact between the subjects on the image:* The presence or absence of eye contact between the subjects depicted on an image point at the type of relationship between them. Kress and van Leeuwen point to the significance of imaginary lines connecting subjects on an image, which they call “vectors”. They pay particular attention to vectors especially when they are formed by an eyeline, by the direction of the gaze. When such vectors are present on an image they create “narrative” patterns as opposed to “conceptual”. For the authors narrative patterns “serve to present unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 59). Conceptual patterns in return, show the subjects on an image “in terms of

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<sup>2</sup> See for example the Euro coins of Belgium featuring King Albert II, Canadian Dollar coins with Elizabeth II, Swedish kronor with Carl XVI Gustaf, U.S. Dollar coins with Abraham Lincoln and other presidents, and the Turkish Lira coins with Atatürk all seen from the profile.

their class, structure or meaning, in other words, in terms of their generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 59).

*5. Image and the text:* In newspapers images do not stand on their own, as would be in an art gallery with minimum amount of text, but are juxtaposed to the news reports, to the written texts in length. The relationship between the image and the text is multifaceted and complicated, reflecting the social power relationships. As Kress and van Leeuwen point out:

Given that societies are not homogenous, but composed of groups with varying, and often contradictory, interests, the messages produced by individuals will reflect the differences, incongruities and clashes which characterize social life. It is likely, and in our experience often the case, that the different modes through which texts are constructed show these social differences, so that in a multimodal text using images and writing the writing may carry one set of meanings and the images carry another. In an advertisement, for instance, it may be that the verbal text is studiously ‘non-sexist’, while the visual text encodes overtly sexist stereotypes (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 20).

Such incongruous relationships are not only possible for advertisements but for also news reports and the accompanying images. In news units, image and text might complement, strengthen or contradict each other’s messages. The written text, captions for instance, might also work towards creating the “preferred level of generality” (van Leeuwen 2001: 95) limiting the possibilities for multiple interpretations to convey a particular message across to an audience (van Leeuwen 2001: 95).

*6. Place of the image on the page:* The placement of the image on a particular newspaper page is also another element that needs to be considered during the image analysis. In their analysis of double-page spreads in Australian women’s magazines, Kress and van Leeuwen figured out that “the right seems to be the side of the key information, of what the reader must pay particular attention to, of the ‘message’” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 180). They also point out that the information value of different zones, i.e. left and right, top and bottom, centre and margin, in a newspaper or in a magazine might change in different cultural contexts (2006: 180).

Table 5.1: Checklist for Visual Analysis\*

CHECKLIST FOR VISUAL ANALYSIS	
<b>1. Framing</b>	
<i>Kinds of Shots</i>	
	Close up (intimate / personal relations)
	Medium shot (social relations)
	Long shot (impersonal relations, social distance)
<i>Shot Angle</i>	
	Vertical
	Low-angle (power over the viewer)
	Eye-level (equality)
	High-angle (giving superiority to the viewer)
	Horizontal
	Frontality (engagement)
	Profile (authority and detachment)
	Backshot (alienation, vulnerability)
<b>2. Background Information</b>	
	Present (photojournalistic work)
	Absent (illustrative, decorative)
<b>3. Eye contact with the camera</b>	
	Presence of eye contact (demanding an imaginary contact)
	Absence of eye contact (lack of sense of interaction)
<b>4. Eye contact between the subjects on the image</b>	
	Narrative patterns (unfolding actions, events and processes)
	Conceptual patterns (structures, stable and timeless essences)
<b>5. The relationship between the image and the text</b>	
	Multimodality
	Complementarity
	Contradiction
	Limitations to multiple interpretations
<b>6. The place of the image on the page</b>	
	Information value
	Saliency (eye catchiness)

\* Table by the author adapted from Kress and van Leeuwen 1996 and Jewitt and Oyama 2001.

## 5.2 Analyzing the selected images

The selected images were observed carefully, taking into account the checklist presented above. The images were juxtaposed to one another in different constellations to see the similarities and differences among them particularly with regard to the female and male representations. During this process new categories were introduced that were not part of the

quantitative content analysis when necessary. The images will be presented in groups and they will be described also in groups to emphasize their similar and different motifs.

The quantitative results showed that 80% of the time females and males were depicted as single persons. The first part of the iconological analysis focuses on the single depictions of males and females and compares them across different types of newspapers. The single depictions of males with similar motifs were grouped together and compared with corollary female depictions. The second section of iconological analysis focuses on the couple and group photographs and looks whether the use of such images differs among the newspapers. The third section focuses on the family and the wedding photographs. The fourth section looks at the way the male beard is depicted in newspapers. The radical Islamic newspaper *Vakit* was statistically different from all the other newspapers in terms of showing the male beard, and therefore the use of male facial hair in this particular newspaper will be given special emphasis in this section and the reasons will be inquired as to why more bearded males could be seen in this newspaper compared to the others. The fifth section of the qualitative analysis focuses on the different contexts that the female headscarf is observed in different newspapers. During the qualitative analysis of images eight different contexts were identified where the headscarf is seen in different newspapers. These different contexts include Koran reading, rural settings, demonstrations, professional role modeling, crime, terrorism in Europe, funerals, and leisure and entertainment. All these are covered at length in the fifth section. The final section of the iconological analysis focuses on the newspaper photographs in which an image of Atatürk, as the founder of modern Turkey, is seen in the frame. After all the images are presented and discussed the results will be evaluated before concluding the study.

### *5.3 Male and Female Depictions in Comparison*

#### *5.3.1 Images of Male Professionals*

The results of the visual content analysis showed that gender homogenous depictions considerably outnumber the gender heterogeneous depictions in newspapers (Figure 4.12). The results further showed that 78% of gender homogenous depictions depict males and only 22% depict females. This means that a reader browsing through the selected newspapers will encounter a lot of single male depictions. What type of depictions are they? How are males seen in these images? Who are they

and what are they doing? Is there a recurrent pattern that we can identify in this category of male depictions? Is it true that males are seen in more active roles than the females as the literature on gender and media suggests? How are the females in similar roles and positions depicted in newspapers? This section will address these questions and provide answers on the basis of the analysis of images.

The pages 2 to 7 of the Illustrations to Chapter 5 show selected male depictions which are frequently encountered across newspapers. The males seen in these images (31 images in total) come from a variety of settings. Among them are politicians, businessmen, bureaucrats, actors, singers, religious leaders, journalists, civil society activists and men convicted of crime. Not in all, but in the majority of the illustrations we see them in suits, jackets and ties. As such, single male depictions seem to be the domain of the professional males, politicians and businessmen most of the time. Men of working class background are not observed often in these types of depictions. The selected male images are seen mostly in the politics, daily affairs and economy sections of the newspapers.

The selected male images are grouped on the basis of the similar motifs observed in images. In the first group of male depictions (pages 2, 3 and 4) the presence of hands in the frame is a common feature across the images. In the second group (page 5) we do not see the hands but we see the males in the middle of a speech act. These two groups of images are encountered quite frequently in all newspapers. In the third and the last group we see the males in other, less frequently encountered positions, while they are posing, smiling, laughing and standing with their arms crossed.

When we focus on the first group of male images (pages 2, 3 and 4), a similar feature of all the images is the visibility of hand movements in expressive positions. The hands and fingers are mostly in movement; they are sometimes held together and sometimes they point towards different directions with different gestures. This brings a sense of movement and action to the image, and at times makes the depicted males consume a large space on the page. The males seen in illustrations 5.9 and 5.14 in cutout form contain a large space on the page particularly due to the hand movements and arm positions. This observation is in line with Marianne Wex's (1979) study of female and male body postures which argued that men take up significantly more space than women. According to Wex, this is because of the patriarchal socialization engraved in body language (Wex 1979).

An interesting example emphasizing action in male hand movements is seen in Illustration 5.2. Here, we see a handcuffed man from the half profile view. His hand movements get immediate attention because they are central to the cutout image. Even though he is under arrest, his hand movements are expressive with his fingers pointing towards different directions. The man seen in the image is Alaattin Çakıcı, a top listed criminal and mafia leader known to have connections in the Turkish intelligence. Because the image is a cutout, we do not have any visual information on the background. The lack of background emphasizes his person and actions. The profile view in this image might convey both a sense of detachment and power. When we look through the other images in pages 2 to 7 we see the males depicted from the half profile view, profile view and from full frontal view. The half profile and profile views occur quite frequently in these depictions, more than the full frontal view.

In the first group of male images (pages 2–4) the hand movements seem to accompany a speech act in the majority of images. We see sometimes the mouth closed and sometimes open, but in either case the person seems to be “addressing an issue at hand,” which can also be read metaphorically. The speech act itself is more explicit in the depictions seen in page 5. Here, except from the illustration 5.23 (Vakit) we do not see the hands of the person, but we see them while their mouths are wide or half open. They all have a serious look in their faces and they appear to be talking about something important. Particularly the men seen in Illustrations 5.22 and 5.23 give an aggressive impression. The full frontal view is rare in these images as well. A common characteristic of all the male images seen through page 2 to 5 is the absence of the eye contact with the camera. None of the persons on the images looked directly into the camera. We see these people looking somewhere else outside of the frame. The absence of the eye contact, coupled with the frequency of half profile and profile views brings a feeling of detachment to the male images. They seem detached from the people looking at them on the newspaper page. The images convey the feeling that these are important people, actively addressing serious issues, and they are distanced from the viewer. The beholder looks at them but these male images of position and power do not look back.

Pages 6 and 7 show the male images that are different from the ones described above. In these images we do not see the males while they are talking with expressive hand gestures. They rather stand still, smile and laugh. In contrast to the images seen in the previous pages, the majority of males in this last group establish eye contact with the camera. When

the hands are visible, they are not in movement. We see examples of arms crossed and hands placed in pockets as gestures of power and self confidence (illustrations 5.24 and 5.29). In illustration 5.29 we see a male cutout that depicts a man standing, looking away from the camera, half smiling, and his hands placed in his pockets in a relaxed manner. The caption below reads “I don’t like to lose, I came here to win”. Combined with this caption his posture conveys the feeling of success and self confidence. He is the new CEO of a leading automobile company in Turkey working in collaboration with Italian Fiat. The absence of eye contact distances this success-oriented businessman from the beholder and the low camera angle places him even further in a power position.

In illustration 5.30 we see another male image, this time looking directly into the camera, his head resting on his left hand. The depicted person is a famous journalist that the newspaper Sabah transferred from its major competitor Hürriyet. The image was published on the front page for several days, right next to the nameplate of the newspaper in red color. This is not an image accompanying a news item, but rather a promo through which the newspaper makes an announcement to its readers. The image is symbolically important because it visually concretizes the ways that a newspaper journalist is presented to his imaginary future readers. The journalist in the image establishes eye contact with the camera, and with his future readers in Sabah. This can be interpreted as a demanding look, aiming to engage the readers to make them read his column. He is not smiling and looks serious. The hand gesture places an emphasis on his head, therefore symbolically conveying the impression that this is an intellectual man, a writer. He is seen from the full frontal view and from close shot which conveys engagement. He looks engaged and aims to engage the possible future readers.

In sum, the male images seen on illustrations through pages 2 and 5 are frequently observed in all newspapers as a major form of male representation. The main characteristics of these images are the feeling of action and movement brought to the image with the positions of the hands and the speech acts. The absence of eye contact, frequent use of profile views and the associated feeling of distance and detachment are other features that characterize the male depictions. Finally, the postures and the different hand positions make some of these depicted males wider and contain a larger space on the newspaper page. There is also another group of male images showing males with eye-contact, while they are smiling and laughing with different hand gestures. Yet, these images are not as recurrent as the others.

The single female depictions will be analyzed in two groups: Images of female professionals and images of female nudes.

### *5.3.2 Images of Female Professionals*

As the results of the content analysis showed, female images in total are few compared to the male images. Only 22% of the single depictions show females. The images of female professionals outside of the entertainment industry are even fewer. The pages 8 to 13 show examples of females seen in professional settings. In pages 8 to 11 the depicted females are seen mostly in jackets, blouses and in tailored suits, to put it shortly, in formal dress like male professionals. Among the depicted females are doctors, a top judge, politicians, businesswomen, musicians, researchers and nurses. When we compare these female images with the images of males in similar settings, we observe that the images where the females are seen with expressive hand movements and while they are talking are quite rare, in fact, rather exceptional. Females are mostly seen looking directly into the camera and smiling<sup>3</sup> (pages 8, 9). Rather than expressive arm and hand gestures we see arms crossed (illustration 5.36), arms held together at the back (illustration 5.32), hands held together in the front (illustrations 5.33 and 5.37), and one hand holding the arm (illustration 5.40). Among these depictions, the frontal view is more common than the profile and half profile view. In fact we do not have an equivalent female depiction to the male depiction seen in illustration 5.6, from the full facial profile view. The female depictions seen from the half profile view can be observed in page 11.

In rare instances such as seen in Illustrations 5.48, 5.49, 5.50 and 5.52, we observe females with expressive hand movements and during the course of a speech. These are the only exceptions that I could find in the sample of newspapers. Even successful businesswomen and women politicians are not seen simultaneously during the course of a hand movement or a speech act (illustrations 5.44, 5.45, 5.46, 5.47). Illustration 5.48 depicts a female who is seen while talking, with an expressive hand gesture and from half profile, the characteristics that we have observed for the

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<sup>3</sup> See Holland 2004 for an account of the smiling females in the British newspaper *The Sun*. In their study of the photographs of female and male professionals in business communication textbooks, Pomerence, Varner and Mallar (1996) also found out that females are seen smiling more often than men. Men were seen 86% of the time with a serious facial expression while women were seen with a serious face 64% of the time in the textbooks that the authors studied (Pomerence, Varner, Mallar 1996: 41, 42).

majority of male depictions. Additionally, there is no eye-contact to the beholder in the image. The female seen in this example is Güler Sabancı, a famous businesswoman, one of the top industrialists in Turkey. She is one of the very few women in the analyzed 42 newspapers depicted with similar conventions that apply to the male depictions. We see another exception to the hand movements in illustration 5.52. We see a female talking, delivering a speech behind a lectern and we partially see her hand and arm. She is a very famous public relations expert, Betül Mardin, and at that time she received “The Atlas Award for Lifetime International Achievement” from the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA). Following the award she delivered a press conference and appeared in the news in Sabah, Cumhuriyet and Zaman. The secular tabloid Sabah announced the award from the front page, with little space and a headshot image of Mardin and referred the readers to the inside pages. On page four of the newspaper the details of the story were given shortly. The story, together with the image seen in illustration 5.40, was published at the very left corner of the page and given very small space. The serious secular newspaper Cumhuriyet and the serious Islamic newspaper Zaman devoted larger space to Betül Mardin on their inside pages. In line with their ideological orientations, Cumhuriyet announced her as “the first Turkish national” who received this prestigious award in the field of public relations and Zaman announced her as “the first Muslim” who received the award. In contrast to the other images of professional females Mardin was depicted in a knee shot angle.

The images of professional women sometimes accompany news stories as complementary items. In such instances the news story is not about the woman seen in the image, but about something else. Mostly, such images of females are stock images “that do not record anything but evoke an idea or a feeling and can be used to add interest to a page” (Machin 2004: 317). These images are “multi-purpose, generic and decorative” (Machin 2004) which can be inserted into different types of stories and which can be repeatedly found either on different issues of the same newspaper or in totally different newspapers at different times. The main characteristic of such images is the lack of background information. The absence of information at the background de-contextualizes the images and makes it possible to use them for a variety of news items.<sup>4</sup> According to Machin stock images “need to be general rather than specific” (Machin 2004: 320), and they work with “[d]econtextualization, the role of attributes, and the use of generic models and settings” (Machin 2004: 325). The

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<sup>4</sup> See also Paul Frosh (2003) on stock images.

news item with an image of a professional female seen in page 12, illustration 5.54 shows such an example.

In this image we see a young woman against an empty landscape. Her light colored hair blows in the wind. The image might be shot in an outdoor setting or in a studio. The woman in the image wears a jacket and pants; she holds a file in her left hand and a mobile phone in her right hand. She looks at the mobile phone in her hand and has a serious facial look. All these attributes, the type of her clothing, the files and the mobile phone add up to convey the impression that she is a professional woman. As discussed by Machin (2004: 324) mobile phones and laptops in particular, are important objects in creating the image of a professional for stock images. The background does not give us information about what kind of profession the woman performs. We do not know what she is doing there, and why she is there. Yet, this lack of information becomes meaningful when the image is seen in relation to the news report it illustrates.

The news story accompanying the image is about unregistered mobile phones in Turkey. The caption says: “In Turkey, there are about 12 million unregistered mobile phones; and the state’s loss of tax revenues amounts to 1 billion dollars”. In the news unit, the relationship between the image and the text is not established by the caption, but by the headline: “you may receive this SMS too.” The subheading and the report make it clear that due to the new regulations on telecommunication a reminder SMS will be sent to the unregistered users. In that sense, the combination of the headline and the image works to create a sense of identification for the readers. The gaze of the woman directed at her mobile phone, and her serious facial expression create the impression as if she has just received an important SMS. The heading implies that this person could be “you”. The newspaper seems to have chosen a generic stock image to accompany the report. The image of a professional woman obviously is not an image that everyone could identify with. Yet, the successful combination between the image and the heading makes the woman on the image seem not like a woman i.e. who is about to call someone, but as someone who has just received a short message. In other words the text fixes the image’s meaning to strengthen its point and impact.

The same news story appeared in Posta also accompanying a female with a mobile phone in her hand (illustration 5.55). This female image can also be identified as a stock image that can be used to accompany various news stories. While the serious newspaper Radikal picked up an image of

a female professional, the tabloid newspaper Posta picked up a cutout of a non-professional female. These choices seem to comply with the layout and content styles of the newspapers. These particular images also show the insufficiency of only textual and news story analyses on gender representation. Female images also accompany such neutral news stories where there is no reference to males and females and where the story is not related with any particular gender at all. The interesting point is that both newspapers chose an image of a female to accompany the news items on mobile phones.

Page 13 shows other examples of female depiction in newspapers. In these images we see the women while they are at work. We see a doctor examining her patient, a nurse, a musician, a lottery seller and a photographer being photographed. In some of these examples, i.e. in illustration 5.59, it is not clear whether the woman playing the violin is posing or actually playing it. The images on page 13 are taken from Cumhuriyet, Radikal, Posta and Sabah. Women working in blue color jobs, in villages, and women running small family businesses were encountered more in the secular tabloid Posta and the Islamic tabloid Vakit. These images will be covered later in the sections on the representation of the female headscarf.

The image of a female medical doctor seen in illustration 5.57 is repeated in page 14 for comparison with a graphic depiction of a male medical doctor. The photograph seen in illustration 5.62 depicts a doctor and patient situation. We see a female examining the ear of another female. The news report is about a female doctor who volunteered to work in the underdeveloped South-East region of Turkey. In the visual we have a very important clue missing that could tell us about her profession: a doctor's white gown. Still, we can infer from her serious facial expression that she is performing an important job. We see her from the profile and the female patient with headscarf from a more frontal view. They are standing next to one another and the viewer is in equal distance from both of them. In contrast to this image, in illustration 5.61 we see a different visual construction of a doctor and patient relationship, not photographed but imagined and drawn. In the graphic seen in illustration 5.61, some factual data about blood pressure is provided with an accompanying image of a doctor and patient. The graphic designer who made the image imagined the doctor as a young male, as an authoritative figure seen from the profile; and the patient as a female. She is not young and slim and she is wearing a large headscarf. The doctor wearing the white coat is made to consume a large space in the graphic depiction, while the female patient is made to look small and distant. The power relationships

between doctor and patient, male and female, young and old are made explicit in the graphic representation.

Table 5.2: Images of male and female professionals in comparison

	MALE PROFESSIONALS	FEMALE PROFESSIONALS
<b>Frequent</b>	Expressive hand movements	Posing
	Speech acts	Smiling
	Profile	Arms crossed
	Half profile	Frontal view
	Absence of eye contact with the camera	Eye contact with the camera
	More space on the page	Less space on the page
<b>Rare</b>	Posing	Expressive hand movements
	Smiling	Speech acts
	Arms, hand standing still	Profile
	Frontal view	Half profile
	Eye contact with the camera	Absence of eye contact with the camera

### 5.3.3 Images of Female Nudity

The second group of female images focuses on the contexts of female nudity in different newspapers. The results of content analysis showed that we have nude females in newspapers almost twice often as nude males, and we have them in secular newspapers in particular. The pages 15 to 19 show the typical examples of scantily clad and nude females from the secular tabloid (Posta and Sabah), and secular serious newspapers (Cumhuriyet and Radikal). The content analysis also showed that the tabloid newspaper Posta has the highest amount of female nudity. The nude female images published in Posta are similar to the female nude images in Sabah as can be observed in the examples (pages 15, 16, 17). In the category of single female images these types of half nude females are encountered more often in secular tabloid newspapers Posta and Sabah than secular serious newspapers. Sabah publishes more nude content in its supplement than the main body of the newspaper. Yet, scantily dressed back page girls<sup>5</sup> are a regular feature of the newspaper. Sabah publishes

<sup>5</sup> In Turkish newspapers back pages are famous with their feature of almost-nude females which are referred to as *arka sayfa güzeli* (back-page beauty). Although not

single depictions of females with bikinis on the front page as well while referring the reader to its supplement (illustration 5.65).

The first two images seen in illustrations 5.63 and 5.64 are published in Sabah and they exemplify the use of female images to accompany different news stories. The first image is published in Sabah on July 22, 2005 on the last page and it is an image included in the sample. The woman on the image is shown while undressing herself. She looks young, slim, wearing bikinis. The image is a knee shot. The clothes she is putting off partly cover her face, especially her eyes, making her anonymous to the beholder. The concealment of her eyes and her gaze combined with her act of undressing, puts the beholder in a voyeuristic position. The beholder has the advantage of looking at her body without being seen. The news story accompanying the image is about women in the United States who illegally inject silicone implants to their bodies without medical supervision. It is a story on women and beauty. The caption says “The ‘silicon day’ ended with death”.<sup>6</sup> The same image was published in Sabah again in an issue that is not included in the sample, on January 31, 2006 on the first page, this time accompanying a story about the United Nations and its fight against human trafficking, reporting on how much money human traffickers earn from a sex worker. The same anonymous image without background is inserted into two very different types of news stories. Different lighting and color tones accompanied the same image. Such repetitions are difficult to notice by the readers unless particular attention is paid to them.

Aside from such illustrative purposes, in Sabah and Posta the female nudity appears mostly in celebrity stories,<sup>7</sup> particularly about fashion models (illustrations 5.66, 5.67). In Posta we have some of these images published on the page named “Summer Joy” (illustration 5.66). These images also accompany sections on diet menus (illustration 5.71) and television pages (illustration 5.70). We have eye contact in some of these images, in some of them not. Knee-shot is a very common form in these images, placing the females not too close and not too distant from the viewer. The females depicted are young, slim, scantily dressed and good looking. We see them in offering poses, demanding to be looked at.

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totally similar, these pages can be thought of as an equivalent of Page-Three in the British Sun newspaper.

<sup>6</sup> In Turkish: “Silikon günü ölümle bitti: Evde toplanıp güzelleşmek için birbirlerine silikon enjekte eden dokuz ABD’liden biri öldü. Evlerinde gizli gizli silikon enjekte ettirenlerin sayısındaki artış, yetkilileri korkutuyor.”

<sup>7</sup> For more information on the concept of “celebrity” see Becker 2008; Biressi and Nunn 2008; Holmes 2008; Turner, Bonner and Marshall 2008.

Through these images and the accompanying captions, the female bodies are sexualized. The caption in illustration 5.66 says: “The man who gets her will be very happy”. And the short story accompanying the images tells the reader that aside from being a successful model she is a very good cook. Thus, the way the newspaper presents her photograph, her bodily appearance and cooking abilities conveys the idea that having a slim body combined with good cooking is just enough to have a happy relationship. In the photograph she looks directly into the camera and her eye-contact together with the caption makes this an offering pose, an invitation for likely candidates.

In illustration 5.67 we see another young female with bikinis. The woman in the cutout image is looking directly into the camera. She has long light colored hair and she is posing with one leg straight to her left and she sits on the other leg. The short story next to her image says: “Italian photomodel Vanessa Hessler, aged 17, complains about men. Vanessa says she is verbally harassed all the time and she is taking taekwondo lessons, a sort of martial art. Vanessa says her harassers should be afraid now”. The image and the textual story work to justify the harassment that she complains about. The particular juxtaposition and the way the story is told diminish the seriousness of verbal harassment directed at a woman and present it as an ordinary thing, rather than an assault. It appears that, the fact that she is taking martial art lessons is mentioned only to add extra flavor to her sexy image in the photograph, rather than as a measure against disturbing behavior by men.

The examples of nude females and females with bikinis from the serious secular newspapers Cumhuriyet and Radikal are seen in pages 18 and 19 of the book of illustrations. The images where females are seen totally nude (illustrations 5.72, 5.73) are from Radikal. They are seen in the context of an art exhibition (illustration. 5.72) and a theatre play (illustration 5.73). The illustration 5.72 shows three people from the back, looking at two large paintings. Two females and a male are seen in the image. The female at the center is totally naked, the other female to her right is wearing bikinis, and the man on the left is dressed with a half-armed t-shirt and shorts. He is talking on the phone. According to the news text, this is a museum in Vienna which exhibits the scandalous nude paintings of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The museum decided not to charge an entrance fee from the nude visitors to create an impact. The image is sourced from Reuters and published on the front page of Radikal, July 30, 2005. In illustration 5.73 we see a nude female from the profile view. The image is published again in Radikal, on July 23, 2005 on the art and culture pages, accompanying a news item about a theatre festival in Paris.

In these two examples the nudity is justified in the context of Western art in Vienna and Paris.

The other examples of females with bikinis from *Radikal* and *Cumhuriyet* (illustrations 5.74, 5.75, 5.76 and 5.77) are used with news items related with tourism, summer heats and a Parisian beach along the Seine River. None of the images are cutouts and thus include contextual background information. The illustrations 5.78, 5.79 and 5.80 show examples of female images taken from the back page of *Cumhuriyet*. In the back page of *Cumhuriyet*, models with bikinis are given smaller space than the secular tabloid newspapers when they appear. The female images on the back page are generally from the contexts of gymnastics, ballet, fashion shows with interesting designs and famous female singers. For instance in illustration 5.80 we see an image from a fashion show where the designer uses recycled material to produce fashion clothes. In short, these are female images with some artistic touch (illustrations 5.78, 5.79). The depicted females are not nudes, but they are not in regular daily dress either. They are in special costumes designed for the specific requirements of their profession. These types of female depictions are not encountered in the secular tabloid newspapers *Posta* and *Sabah*.

In other words, the serious secular newspapers publish scantily dressed female images as well, but they have them placed in less sexualized contexts. These women are again young and slim; they are in bikinis or dressed in designer's cuts. Considering that no news item is encountered about summer heats, which is accompanied solely by nude male images, it might also be argued that such news items are used as pretext to publish images of nude females. Still, the nude female images are different in tabloid newspapers than in secular newspapers. First of all tabloid newspapers do not need a pretext to publish nude females. Scantily dressed female images are published for the sake of publishing them. The females seen in tabloid newspapers are in more offering poses and they occupy a larger space on the paper. The accompanying stories, when there are any, tend to sexualize and trivialize the issues like sexual harassment. In tabloid newspapers nudity is seen mostly in celebrity stories, fashion models, sex advice pages and diet menus. In comparison, secular serious newspapers depict female nudity sometimes in the context of art and in others provide a contextual justification such as news about summer tourism. Unlike *Posta* and *Sabah*, in *Radikal* and *Cumhuriyet* nudity is given an artistic touch. The use of cutouts in images of female nudes is very rare in serious newspapers whereas it is the common form in tabloid formats.

#### 5.3.4 Couples

In images of couples where a female and male are seen together in the same frame it is possible to identify two categories: the images where females and males are seen in professional settings and the images where there is an intimate bond between a female and a male. In page 20 we see four images where a female and a male are portrayed in a professional setting. In all these examples a female journalist is interviewing a male. The images are from the secular serious newspapers *Radikal* and *Cumhuriyet*. In these newspapers, including *Sabah*, the female journalists appeared in the frame when they interviewed people. The people interviewed are politicians, bureaucrats, businessmen and academics. In the photographs seen in Page 21 females and males are seen together in the context of business and politics. In illustrations 5.85, 5.86 and 5.87 in page 21 we see females and males as equals whereas the illustration 5.88 is typical in representing an unequal relationship between the men and the women in the realm of law and politics. In the image we see two males in the foreground shaking hands during an award ceremony. In the background we see a female applauding them. The image gives the impression that the female was doing some unimportant background work while men are actively engaged in social life in the front. In all the images in pages 20 and 21 we see a particular distance between the male and the female in the frame, and it is almost the same distance in all images.

In page 22 we see a female interviewing another female (illustration 5.89), and we see a male journalist interviewing a female (illustration 5.90). These types of images are encountered less frequently than the ones seen in page 20 showing a female to male interview setting. In illustration 5.90 where a female is interviewed by a male journalist we do not observe the regular gender-distance and professional-distance that was present in other images. The female in the photograph placed her arm over the shoulder of the male journalist. Conventionally, it is generally the males who place an arm over a woman's shoulder in protective gestures (i.e. illustration 5.97). Here, we have the opposite example. The woman in the photograph is a famous Turkish rock singer, Şebnem Ferah. In line with her rebellious image as a rock singer, she reversed the conventional power relationship between a female and a male, and disregarded the distance between interviewer and interviewee observed in other images.

Some selected images of couples in secular serious newspapers Posta and Sabah are seen in page 23. In these examples we have images of intimacy between a man and a woman. These are not the only images of couples in these newspapers but they are very frequent particularly in Posta. These images are seen mostly in sex advice pages. The image seen in illustration 5.91 was first published in Posta in black and white on July 23, 2005. It is among the images in the sample. Around two years later, it is encountered again on Sabah's website on May 14, 2007, this time in color. The repeated appearance of the image is an additional indication that it is a stock image like the others seen in page 23. The repetition of the image in different newspapers also shows that it gets the different page editor's attention. Compared to the other similar images of intimacy it has reversed motifs of gender representation and therefore it will be analyzed here in more detail.

The image shows a male and a female. They are probably sitting or lying on a couch, and there is no other background. We see the upper part of the man naked in the frame and the woman holds his head in her arm in an intimate gesture. The woman is sitting behind the man. She is smiling and looking at something beyond the frame. The direction of hand and gaze imply that she is leading a sexual activity involving the man's intimate body parts. The direction of the woman's arm and the position of the man's body, as well as his facial look imply intimacy and pleasure. We recognize pleasure based on larger social and visual conventions depicting it, and in this image we recognize it particularly from the man's facial expression. Compared to the other illustrations in the page 23 we see the woman in this image in a dominant position, holding the man from his back and taking the lead in the implied sexual activity. In all other images we see the man holding the woman or approaching her from the back. In that regard the image is counter-conventional, depicting the woman in an active and dominant position. The previous studies of content analysis focusing on stereotypical representations of gender have pointed out that men are generally depicted as active participants while females are depicted in passive roles. This is a counter-image reversing this relationship.

In the sexual advice pages of Posta, three (male) medical doctors answer the questions sent to them by the readers. The page generally contains two images of heterosexual intimacy, sometimes in color, sometimes in black and white. The couples shown on images are never completely naked and are shown in various positions of intimacy (i.e. a couple who are about to kiss each other). Such images play on the boundaries of showing sexual intimacy between man and woman. Every society has

certain limits to show nakedness and to talk about sexual relationships. Pornography and obscenity in the media have been subject to debate ever since such material was produced and consumed by the audiences. As a high selling tabloid newspaper Posta plays on a delicate boundary to balance the demand for the page and to keep the sexual intimacy shown on visuals at relatively acceptable levels not to be perceived as obscene. As such, this particular image, like others, successfully observes the limits by way of implication.

Other photographs of couples seen in newspapers are from weddings. The wedding photographs constitute a category of their own and they will be analyzed within the category of family photographs below.

#### *5.4 Images of the Family*

Four different types of family photographs are identified in the newspapers during the qualitative analysis. These are photographs of nuclear family, wedding photographs, photographs showing the father and the child, and photographs showing the mother and the child. Before analyzing these images it might be helpful to have a look at newspapers in terms of the existence of “women and family” or “mother and child” pages, relegating the family to the realm of women. The existence of “woman and family” or “mother and child” pages, named as such signals a gender stereotype at first place while less stereotypic or neutral naming possibilities like “woman, man and family” or “Mother, father and child” are theoretically available.

Not all the newspapers in the sample have a woman and family section in the main body of the newspaper. Cumhuriyet does not have a separate page devoted to women and family, but female visuals can be observed more often in health and culture pages, and on the back page. Radikal does not have a women and family page either. Posta has pages devoted to sexual advice and health problems, not necessarily targeted at female readers. Sabah does not have a women and family page in the main body of the newspaper but it has a daily supplement, *Günaydın*, “life newspaper of Turkey” with full of celebrity news, gossip, beauty, life, women and health pages. As such the whole supplement seems to target the female audience even though no section or page heading named “women and family” exists.

The Islamic newspapers differ from the secular newspapers in terms of placing, naming and using the pages devoted to women. The radical

Islamic newspaper Vakit has a page called “Family” with recipes for food and recipes for embroidery and hand work as well as health issues. Yet, an interesting characteristic of the page is its lack of visuals depicting humans. The articles are generally illustrated with non-human photos, showing the photographs of food, embroidery etc., but photographs of females or males are rare. An exception is seen in illustration 5.97a where a pregnant female is depicted. Sometimes, photographs of children are shown along with a male professional advising on health problems. In terms of the topics included, the page is obviously designed for female readers, but textual and visual presence of females seems to be avoided.

In Islamic newspapers the laden ideology towards the role of the woman in the family is more recognizable than the secular newspapers. The gender stereotypes that present motherhood and the family as unique duties of women are embedded in Islamic ideology to various degrees. In the case of Vakit we can see from the “Family” page that this ideology works in the extreme by the avoidance of having female visuals on a page devoted to females. In other words, the women are kept so private and distinct from the public sphere that they are invisible even on a page supposedly devoted to them.

The position of Zaman is rather different. Zaman does not have a daily supplement but it has a page named “Woman & Family” in the main body of the newspaper. Even though named as such, women are not always the regular visual inhabitants of the page. For instance on the Women and Family page on July 25, 2005, there is only the photograph of a child and there is “male authority” again speaking about the health problems of children. When a female authority figure was quoted on the page, as in July 24, 2005, her photograph did not accompany the news article on child psychology.

On the same page Zaman also publishes images and stories of professional female role models wearing a headscarf. The presentation of these role models in most cases affirms the women’s roles as mothers. For instance on July 23, 2005 an interview was published with a female author on the Woman & Family page in Zaman. I will take the report as an example showing the subtle conflict between the subject position of the author and the report itself. The title of the report is: “When you are a mother, you feel responsible for every single person who is subject to violence and injustice.”<sup>8</sup> The female interviewed on the page, Yıldız

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<sup>8</sup> In Turkish: “Anne olunca, zulme uğrayan her bir insandan kendini sorumlu hissedersin”

Ramazanoğlu, is a writer and a pharmacist. She wears a headscarf (illustration 5.97b) and apparently the Muslim identity is important for her. She is very well educated, and a traveler who has been in cities ranging from Yerevan and Iskenderiye to London, Frankfurt and New York. According to the news report her book is about the cities she traveled (the title of her book is *The cities that went through me/İçimden Geçen Şehirler*). She is also a mother of two daughters and the report conveys the impression that she values and enjoys being a mother. But, when we read her own words in the report, we see that she is critical of the exaggerated, traditional model of motherhood, argues for the need for a woman's own space outside of the family. She argues for opening up space for Muslim women and she sees it her mission, as an educated Muslim woman, to help create the Muslim elite. Yet, neither the main heading, nor the sub heading give a single clue about her critical position to traditional motherhood, rather there is a strong emphasis and mystification of motherhood in the titles. In other words, in spite of the fact that Ramazanoğlu could make it to the news, the ideological stance of the newspaper and the style of the reporting shadow the very criticism that she directs to the ideology of motherhood that the newspaper seems to value. Even more interestingly, the report is prepared by a female journalist. To be able to interpret the report, more information is needed, such as who decides on the main titles and standing heads, the journalist herself or someone else. In any case the report hints at a struggle, and even at a conflict to re-value, re-balance and re-define the motherhood in Muslim women's lives within the worldview and ideology of Islam itself. On the one hand, this is a success story of an educated Muslim woman, but on the other hand the success of a woman with Muslim identity, is acknowledged and approved when it reaffirms the family and motherhood.

A comparatively more egalitarian but "typical" image on a Woman and Family page, appeared in Zaman on July 26, 2005 on a report about "School for mothers and fathers." The title stressed the family again: "The family bonds will become stronger with the 'School for mothers and fathers.'" <sup>9</sup> The report is accompanied by a cutout of a young modern nuclear family where the woman is holding a baby, and the man is in a protective position (illustration 5.97). In spite of rare affirmations on the role of the father in the family, the name of the page remains "Woman & Family", excluding the males from the concept of the family. Illustration 5.98 shows another photograph of a nuclear family in Zaman, not published on a Women and Family page. In contrast to the images seen

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<sup>9</sup> In Turkish: "Aile bağları 'ana-baba okulu' ile güçlenecek."

on the Woman and Family page, this time it is the man who holds the child. While this might seem like a role reversal, the man is also the person who is doing the talking, having the active role in the depiction. We see his hand moving, and he is in the middle of a speech act as in the single male depictions analyzed before. Two different depictions of nuclear family attribute protective and active roles to the men independent of the female wearing headscarf.

#### *5.4.1 Wedding Photographs*

The weddings are initiation ceremonies of a marriage. They are organized and celebrated by the families of the bride and the groom and they are seen as the first step of establishing a new family unit. Wedding photographs of couples are much more frequently encountered in, for instance, streets and advertisements in Turkey than in Germany. Wedding photographs are the main display items at the windows of the photographer's shops in Turkey. Living together and cohabitation are not widely recognized nor approved in Turkey. Pre-marital cohabitation is seen mostly among the highly educated urban upper middle and upper classes. Families approaching positively to these forms of relationships are not yet too many. As a result, marriage remains to be the only socially recognized union of heterosexual couples. The marriage is celebrated as a crucial turning point in life, as entry to the adulthood and the images of happy couples at the time of the wedding can be encountered virtually everywhere.

The wedding photographs are another genre of family photos that appeared in the sample. They are basically encountered in two different contexts: first, in the context of a wedding. The weddings of the daughters and the sons of the famous businessmen (page 26) and politicians (page 27) are turned into news and the couple's photographs appear in the newspapers. If the married couple is a close relative of a top politician, like the niece of Prime Minister Erdoğan, the wedding ceremony gets into the news (page 27). In the selected week such wedding news were encountered mostly in the tabloid newspapers than in serious newspapers. For instance Vakit, Posta and Sabah covered the wedding of Erdoğan's niece while this did not appear in the serious newspapers Cumhuriyet, Radikal and Zaman. The identity of the particular politician and the businessman also influences which newspaper will cover the news about the wedding and to what extent it will be covered. Vakit for instance, gave larger space to the wedding of Erdoğan's relative than Posta and Sabah. Vakit included other guests and

family members in the frame, making the wedding an act of the larger circle of the family and the guests, whereas Posta focused only on the newly-wed couple. Sabah did not show the couple but a photograph of Erdoğan (Sabah July 25, 2005, page 27).

The second type of wedding photographs does not accompany the news about a wedding that took place, but they accompany tragic news stories about victims of crime, accidents and terrorism. These images are used to place an emotional emphasis on the happiness lost. For instance, several issues of the sampling week coincided with the coverage on Sharm el-Sheikh bombings in Egypt that took place on July 23, 2005. A number of Turkish tourists lost their lives because of the bombings. The newspapers covered the grief and the tragedy of these families in the following days. The wedding photographs of the victims were an integral part of the coverage. The illustrations 5.102, 5.105, 5.106 and 5.107 in page 28 show a married couple who lost their lives during the bombings. Different newspapers used the same image in different ways. In the image we see both the bride and the groom happily laughing and smiling. In Zaman we see them together with the other family members (or maybe friends) (illustration 5.102). The newspaper indicates the source of the image and used it without cropping it. The same image is cropped in Sabah and Radikal to leave only the married couple in the frame (illustrations 5.105, 5.106). Posta cropped the image even further, flipped it and used it as a cutout (illustration 5.107). A slight digital manipulation is also recognizable, making the couple stand closer to each other. The knee shot is the common form used in the wedding photographs seen in page 28 with the exception of the illustration 5.107, showing the cutout images of the Sharm el-Sheikh victims in Posta. The extreme tabloid newspaper Posta not only made the depicted couple stand closer to each other, but also made them stand closer to the viewer. All newspapers except from Vakit and Cumhuriyet published the wedding photographs of the couple next to the story. Cumhuriyet preferred to publish different photographs of the victims. Among all the others Vakit is the only newspaper in the sample that did not mention the victims and published their photographs at all. The newspaper reported the bombings only on a single day and implied that the states closing their eyes to what is going on in Palestine are now paying for it (Vakit July 24, 2005, page 1).

Wedding photographs seen in illustrations 5.103 and 5.104 accompanied crime stories. In illustration 5.104 published in Posta, we see a young couple in wedding costumes. The groom is holding the bride from her back and holding her hand. She is in an all white wedding dress with headcovering. The man is wearing a jacket and a bow tie. They are both

directly looking at the camera. The young man is smiling and the woman has a still face. The caption below says “Hakan killed his wife Serap with two bullets”. The woman in the wedding dress is a victim of murder. She was shot by her husband depicted in the photograph. The image depicts another happy moment in the past. A similar image seen in illustration 5.103 is from an engagement ceremony (*nişan töreni*) which in some instances is celebrated like a pre-wedding in Turkey. The image is published in Sabah. In the image we see a couple dancing. The woman’s face is concealed and the way the couple dressed indicates that this is a formal ceremony. This image accompanies another crime story. The caption says “fiancée is the key name in the murder investigation”. The man in the photograph was murdered two years ago two days before the wedding and his mother who was to appear as witness in court was murdered the night before the trial. The fiancée seen in the image and her family members are among the suspects and that’s why the woman’s face is concealed by the newspaper editors.

Finally, the illustration seen in page 29 epitomizes the illustration of tragedies with wedding photographs. In the photograph, we see a young woman in the back with a black headscarf, embracing a coffin and another woman in her back is trying to calm her down. There are other women in the foreground touching the coffin with their hands. Cameras at the back are recording the event and there is a soldier standing at the top corner of the coffin. According to the news report, this is a photograph showing the funeral of a lieutenant who died in a mine accident in Hakkari, a border town in the very south-east of Turkey. A second-lieutenant also died in the same accident, when their military vehicle drove over mines. Hakkari has borders both with Iraq and Iran. It lies in a highly mountainous area and suffers from PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) fighters, constant military surveillance, poverty and the general instability of the region. The photographs showing the funerals of soldiers who died in south-east Turkey either due to mine explosions or armed fights with PKK militants are very common in Turkish media with established conventions, which will be covered in a bit more detail in the coming sections. In this particular illustration, the woman embracing the coffin is the lieutenant’s wife. A wedding photograph in round form is inserted to the top-right corner of the photograph, showing the couple when they were newly-wed. The frame brings the moments of pain and happiness together, and emphasizes the tragedy and the lost happiness in an emotional way.

#### *5.4.2 Photographs of Father and Child / Mother and Child*

The father and child photographs are not frequent in the examined Turkish newspapers. Here, I will focus on an image that appeared in all tabloid newspapers, Posta, Sabah and Vakit, but not in the serious newspapers in the sample (page 30). The illustration 5.109 shows the image of two males holding babies in their arms. The men holding the babies in the photograph are father and son. Both of them had babies on the same day, meaning that the old man has become a father and grandfather on the same day, while the young man has become a father and a brother.<sup>10</sup> This news item appeared on the front page of Posta, on page 6 in Sabah and at the back page in Vakit. In line with its religious standing, Vakit included a female with headscarf in the frame, who does not appear in the other newspapers and whose appearance is not relevant to the news item.

The photographs of mother and child are not encountered in the examined newspapers very frequently either. Yet, considering the overall figures of female representation, it is safe to say that females are much more often seen with children than males. The illustrations seen on pages 31, 32 and 33 are the major representations of the mother and child relationship and these are almost all the representations that could be found in the main body of the newspapers during the sampling week. These representations basically fall into two groups. The first group is illustrated with three images in page 31. In this group of images we see mostly women from the high-society and celebrities with their children. The types of news reports accompanying such images vary. These are mainly tabloid stories about the relationships of the people involved. For example, the Hollywood star Angelina Jolie appeared in the newspapers a couple of times during that week with her adopted children (illustrations 5.113 and 5.114). Jolie appeared most often in the tabloid newspaper Posta. In the more serious newspaper Radikal she appeared on the back page, not with her children but her partner Brad Pitt.

Another example in this category is seen on the top left corner in page 31 (illustration 5.112). Here, we see a female cutout with three babies. The woman depicted in the cutout is the former wife of a businessman, one of the owners of a high profile restaurant in Istanbul. The husband is seen in

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<sup>10</sup> This is a little confusing. Apparently the editors of Sabah got confused too and wrote that the young man has become a father and “uncle” on the same day, which is wrong if these two men are father and son as the newspapers state. The old man’s new born child is the young man’s brother in spite of the big age difference.

the headshot next to her image. The heading says: “She is now a babysitter in her own house”. According to the newspaper, the couple got divorced because of an adulterous relationship that the woman had with her husband’s business partner. After the divorce the custody of the children remained with the father. Now, he is allowing his former wife to come home and have time with the children only when he is not at home. The mother is allowed to stay over night when the babysitter has time off, but she is not allowed to step in her former bed room and the living room. She is allowed to sleep only in the babysitter’s room. The photograph shows the woman happily and confidently smiling with her triplet babies; and the text next to the image tells about her miserable situation following the end of her marriage, a fall from grace. Combined with the photograph and the style of the text, the news report is highly sexist, glorifying the treatment given to the woman by her former husband, implying that a woman cheating on her husband deserves this as a punishment. To the author’s experience as a reader, it is unlikely to encounter similar news reports in Turkish press glorifying bad treatment of men because they entered into adulterous relationships.

The second type of mother-child depictions are seen on pages 32 and 33. In all these images we see a woman holding, embracing a child, or sitting/standing very close to her. The women seen on these images wear almost always a headscarf. These are various types of headscarves ranging from Islamic to traditional as defined in this study. In contrast to the previous group of mothers from high society and celebrities, the women in these depictions are generally from lower and lower middle classes. They are “ordinary” people. All the news stories accompanying these images are about a tragic or dramatic event. In most stories children suffer because of the insufficiencies of the health services, wrong treatment in the hospitals and poverty. Among them are stories of successful treatment of children with severe health problems or children with injuries due to accidents. Stories of small children falling down from their apartments’ balconies were the main accident stories encountered during the sampling week.

Among all others, poverty stories set in hospitals is a genre that can be encountered quite frequently both in print and broadcast news in Turkey. These stories generally conclude when the state enters into the scene and a minister from the government personally deals with the situation and solves the problem. The image seen in illustration 5.118 summarizes the content of these stories in a nutshell. We see two images juxtaposed to one another in the same rectangular frame. In the small image on the top-left corner of the rectangle we see the headshot of a man. In the larger

image, we see a woman sitting on a bed next to a boy, and she is holding his head. The boy is sleeping and the woman is talking to someone outside of the frame. She does not have eye-contact with the camera and the frame is shot from high angle, putting the viewer into a power position. Contrary to that, the man seen in the headshot is seen from the low angle, and he is looking ahead. This image is similar to the other typical images of males examined in the first section. We see him from the half profile view, during the act of speech and without eye-contact. The shot angle places him in a power position both over the viewer and over the image of the woman and the child. The man depicted is Beşir Atalay, then the Minister of State, and he provided for the hospital expenses of this particular family, which amounted to forty thousand dollars. As such, his image represents the benevolence and the power of the state over its citizens. The image reflects the rooted conception of the state as the benevolent father in Turkey. According to this, the state and citizens are not on equal terms. The state is more like an authoritarian father, protecting and overseeing his children. The power relationships established in this particular illustration concretizes visually the conception of the state as a benevolent authority to turn to in time of need.

Table 5.3: The content of couple and group photographs in professional and private settings

COUPLE AND GROUP PHOTOGRAPHS	
Professional Settings	
	Females and males as equals
	Females exercising power over males
	Females in secondary positions
	Female journalists interviewing men in positions of power
	Females doing the background work in official ceremonies
Private Settings	
	Females and males as intimate partners
	Family
	Wedding photographs
	Accompanying news about actual weddings
	Accompanying tragic news
	Nuclear family
	Father and child
	Mother and child
	High society mothers / celebrities with children
	Poor mothers / poverty stories

### *5.5 The contexts of Male Facial Hair*

Content analysis showed that *Vakit* differed from the other newspapers in terms of depicting the male beard. The newspaper is examined to see how the bearded males are depicted in this newspaper. The majority of columnists in *Vakit* have beards (page 34). The headshots of these columnists are repeatedly counted during the content analysis and that might have inflated the overall number. Yet, aside from the bearded columnists, *Vakit* features more news items about Afghanistan and Iran and publishes interviews with the writers and poets from the Islamic circles in Turkey. The males in these news items have beards most of the time. The illustrations in pages 34 and 35 show such examples.

The images seen in illustrations 5.131, 5.132 and 5.134 on page 35 are taken from a single page which presented information on the personality and teachings of a “jihad” leader, Abdullah Azzam. The article was published on July 28, 2005, five days following the Sharm el-Sheikh bombings, and seven days following a false terror alarm in London on July 21, 2005. According to *Vakit* the terrorist bombings in Western cities such as New York, Madrid and London were a “pay off” for the sufferings taking place in the Middle East. In the article *Vakit* placed Abdullah Azzam under a positive and affirmative light and argued that the secular media started giving wrong information about his person following the latest bombings. Among the secular newspapers in the sample, *Sabah* had published brief information about Abdullah Yusuf El Azzam<sup>11</sup> on July 26, 2005, page 6 following the Sharm el-Sheikh bombings in Egypt. *Sabah* presented Abdullah Yusuf El Azzam as an ideologue of Jihad, as the Lenin of Al-Kaida. In fact, the information content that was provided by *Sabah* and *Vakit* on the personality and the activities of Al Azzam is similar. He wrote extensively about jihad, worked actively to recruit, organize and train groups particularly in Afghanistan. What *Vakit* complains about seems rather the negative approach of the secular newspapers towards this famous ideologue of jihad. For *Vakit*, Al Azzam is a knowledgeable man. He is a martyr, murdered by Russian intelligence because of his involvement in the Afghan resistance to the Russian invasion.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *Sabah* used the longer version of the name, while *Vakit* used only “Abdullah Azzam.”

<sup>12</sup> Heading and the sub-heading from *Vakit* in Turkish: “Kartel medyası yalan yanlış bilgiler yazıyor. Şehid bir alim: Abdullah Azzam. Ortadoğu’da yaşanan acıların faturası olarak Batılı başkentlerde meydana gelen patlamalar, Abdullah Azzam isminin gündeme gelmesine sebep oldu. Kartel medyası 3 gündür Usame bin Ladin’in

Another image showing Taliban's previous leader Mullah Omar appeared in another issue of the newspaper during the same week (illustration 5.133). He has a long and black beard similar to the others. The beards of the males in these examples are more grown and longer than the ones seen in page 34. Aside from the images of the Islamist males, the newspaper seemed to prefer to publish a bearded Sean Connery rather than a shaved one (illustration 5.135).

Similar images of males with long and extensive beards appeared also in the secular serious newspaper Cumhuriyet, but for the opposite purpose. While Vakit glorifies these figures they are depicted in a negative light and presented as a threat to the secular order in Cumhuriyet. Illustration 5.136 in page 36 shows such an example. The newspaper published a series of articles on Al-Kaida and Salafism on July 23, 2005, which lasted until July 26, 2005 and corresponded with the sampling week.<sup>13</sup> In the selected example the article focused on the connections of militant Islamic organizations in Turkey that might be a potential for Al-Kaida. On the image we see males with long beards and on the logo of the article we see Usama bin Laden with a long beard. The main heading says: "Saudi Arabia supports the Salafis. Numerous organizations supporting Al-Kaida are actively working between Turkey and Afghanistan to destroy the secular regime."<sup>14</sup> According to the newspaper, the photograph on the left shows the Turkish members of the Salafi organization in Kayseri (a provincial Anatolian town in Turkey) while they are on trial for charges of usurpation. The photograph on the right shows the two top leaders of the organization's Kayseri branch.

Aside from its serial articles about various Islamic groups, Cumhuriyet has a long tradition of satire mocking Islamism, radicalism and religious figures, representing them all in black and white terms. The cartoons in Illustrations 5.137 and 5.138 from Cumhuriyet show bearded male characters as symbols of Islamic radicalism. The cartoon in illustration 5.137 shows an armed man on the right and an armed small boy on the

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hocası olduğu iddia edilen şehid Abdullah Azzam hakkında yalan yanlış bilgiler yazıyor. 24 Kasım 1989 yılında Rus istihbarat örgütü KGB tarafından şehid edilen Abdullah Azzam gerçekte kimdir? Nasıl bir hayat yaşamıştır? Hayatını neye adanmıştır? İşte cevapları..."

<sup>13</sup> Cumhuriyet publishes serial articles against various Islamic groups quite often. This is in the tradition of the newspaper.

<sup>14</sup> In Turkish: "Selefileri Arabistan destekliyor. El Kaide çizgisindeki çok sayıda örgüt, laik düzeni yıkmak için Afganistan-Türkiye hattında faaliyet yürütüyor." July 26 2005, page 6.

left. They sit on top of a mountain and the boy says: “Papa, why are we making ‘cihat’ (means *jihad* in Turkish) while everyone is making ‘chat’? The cartoonist plays with the words. The boy’s father in the cartoon does not seem sympathetic with his frowned face, with dark eye brows and a dark beard. The same features are repeated by the same cartoonist the next day (illustration 5.138). Criticizing the new regulations on Koran Courses passed by the Ministry of Education, the radical Islamist holds a photograph of the Minister of Education and says: “here is our champion!”

The page 38 shows selected cartoons published by the Danish newspaper Jyllands Posten on September 30, 2005 meant to depict the Muslim prophet Muhammad. These cartoons were highly controversial and offensive to the believers of Muslim faith, in the end, leading to boycotts and violent protests in many countries with Muslim populations. These controversial drawings used the same visual motifs that can be observed in Cumhuriyet’s cartoons. The dark beard, thick eye brows and hostility of the facial expressions are similar features of the cartoons seen on pages 37 and 38.<sup>15</sup> What distinguish Cumhuriyet’s cartoons from the Danish depictions are not their visual content but their targets and the contexts in which they were produced. In Cumhuriyet’s cartoons these depictions refer to radical, militant Islamism whereas radicalism is generalized to all Muslims through Muhammad’s person in Jyllands Posten’s drawings. In his article, “Fear of the Beard”, Farmanfarmaian (1995) focuses on the Islamization process in Egypt after Nasser and he argues that the beard has become the symbol of anti-American power after Khomeini’s Islamic revolution (1979) in Iran (1995: 54). The aftermath of 9/11 opened a new phase in the symbolism of the male beard. The thick and long male beard has increasingly been associated with Islamic extremism in diverse contexts, and similar stereotypical motifs can be encountered in the visual depictions of Muslim males in a conservative Danish newspaper as well as in a secular newspaper from Turkey.

Table 5.4: The male beard in newspapers

MALE BEARD	
Newspaper	Symbolic meaning
Cumhuriyet	Ridiculed and criminalized
Vakit	Glorified
Other newspapers	No particular symbolic focus on the male beard

<sup>15</sup> For more information on the visual motifs of Muhammad cartoons published in Denmark see: (Müller and Özcan 2007).

## *5.6 Images of Female Headscarf*

This part will focus on the different contexts of the depiction of headscarves as observed in the sample of newspapers. The images of headscarf are few, comprising 16% of the female images in total. Yet, they are rich in information, especially in terms of conveying social power relationships, emerging or rooted conflicts. In this section, I will first present the images of headscarf in the radical Islamic newspaper *Vakit*. I will then proceed to the type of images that can be found both in *Vakit* and the moderate Islamic newspaper *Zaman*. These are images of demonstrations against the headscarf ban in Turkish universities. After covering the commonalities between the two Islamic newspapers, images of headscarf that are encountered only in *Zaman* will be discussed. The female role models with headscarf seen in *Zaman* will be compared with the image of the secular woman typically found in secular newspapers. This will be followed by an analysis of images of headscarf seen in the tabloid newspaper *Posta*, depicting the headscarf in ordinary, daily life contexts and in crime stories. The headscarf as a stereotyped symbol of Muslims in Europe, the headscarf in the context of entertainment and leisure and finally, the headscarf in the context of grieving and pain will be the remaining key sections.

### *5.6.1 Depiction of headscarf in radical Islamic Newspaper Vakit*

The images in page 39 are taken from *Vakit*. In all these images we see females with headscarf reading the Koran as a common theme. In illustration 5.142 we see girls from behind, they are studying the Koran. Since we do not see their faces it is difficult to guess how old they are, but these must be young girls considering that most students of Koran courses are young children aged between 12 and 16. The news item itself is about the opening ceremony of a Koran course in a provincial town, Trabzon, in north-west Anatolia. Right below we see another image showing a young girl reading the Koran (illustration 5.144), this time we see her face and can safely say that she is very young. The illustration 5.143 depicts a woman with headscarf. She looks middle aged, she is covering her head extensively, including the shoulders and the chest and she is holding a Koran with both hands. There are men at the back and we also see a man photographing the event. According to the news report, in an act of protest, the woman depicted in the photograph wanted to give a Koran as a gift to the then President Ahmet Necdet Sezer, who was a staunch defender of Turkish secularism.

In illustrations 5.145 and 5.146 we see women with headscarf and there are open books in front them. Without textual information it is not possible to know what type of books these women are studying. The news item is about visually impaired women learning how to read the Koran. These types of images bringing females and the Koran together were observed only in the radical Islamic newspaper Vakit in the sample.

Similar types of images, showing young girls reading the Koran can be observed elsewhere as well. Interestingly, these types of images can be encountered often in news articles in Germany, discussing the issues relating to living together with Muslim migrants. Illustration 5.147 shows young girls wearing the headscarf. The theme and the motif in the image are very similar to the images seen in illustrations 5.142 and 5.144, published in Vakit. The image seen in illustration 5.147 was published in Spiegel Online on March 29, 2007, accompanying an article titled: "Paving the way for a Muslim Parallel Society." The article discussed the scandalous ruling by a German judge who decided not to dissolve the marriage of a German woman of Moroccan-Muslim origin who suffered from domestic violence on the grounds that she should have expected that her husband "would exercise 'the right to use corporal punishment' his religion grants him" (Spiegel Online: March 29, 2007).

According to the accompanying caption the image shows a class in a Koran school in Berlin's Kreuzberg district. The caption said in quotes: "There are groups that truly want to establish a separate world." The image seen here is one of the visual symbols of problems of integration, cultural conflict and the discourse of "parallel societies" in Germany. The same genre of images is encountered only in the radical Islamic newspaper Vakit in the examined sample of Turkish newspapers. While these images are used as typical representations of Muslim communities in Germany, they are seen only in radical Islamic publications in Turkey.

The second group of headscarf images in Vakit depicts females with headscarf in affirmative roles again. Yet, we do not have the Koran in the frame. In these images the newspaper presents the images of females and places their actions in a positive light. Illustration 5.148 depicts a female with headscarf in cutout form in black and white. The image accompanies the title that says: "Courageous move from Hülya Şekerci, the head of Özgür-Der, Greetings to the resistance in Guantanamo." The style and language of the accompanying report makes it clear that she is the head of an organization bringing Muslim identity particularly to the fore, and the report puts emphasis on the Muslim prisoners in Guantanamo, instead of

all victims. The woman's posture and fixated eyes distinguish her image from the various other images of females with headscarf.

The image is placed at the very center of the page. Therefore in terms of its placement it demands attention. The cutout shows only the head. Because there is no background the facial features and expression seem dominant. The size of the single face cutout is larger than any other face shown on the particular page, which adds to the salience of the image. The woman in the cutout wears a single-color headscarf in the black and white image. She does not have eye contact with the beholder, but her gaze seems fixed to a distant point, somewhere the audience cannot know. The position of her lips suggests that she is talking about something. Overall, she looks serious and she does not smile. When combined with the title, her posture resembles the position of salutation, like a soldier might take in front of his superior with a serious facial expression, eyes fixed to an unknown point in space.

When we compare this depiction with the male and female depictions examined previously, it has similar features with the majority of single male depictions. As in male depictions, the depicted female is from the half profile view, there is no eye contact and the mouth is half open during the speech act. In other words, the visual conventions that were observed in the depictions of male authority figures were used in this depiction as well, adding to her standing and image as an authoritative figure. When we compare this image with the illustrations 5.149 and 5.150, the main difference comes rather from the eyes. The female activist's eyes are fixed to a point while the others do not give the same impression. The image reinforces the perception of the headscarf as a symbol of radical, militant Islamism. In that sense it is self-stereotyping, working towards confirming the stereotypes of others on headscarved females. Instead of producing counter-images the radical stance of Vakit contributes to sustain the stereotypes rather than questioning and challenging them. It works towards justifying, affirming the fears the Kemalist secularists have about Islamic radicalism and Muslims.

The last image on page 41, illustration 5.151 depicts another female with headscarf in cutout form, wearing glasses. It looks similar to the image in illustration 5.148. Yet, it does not give the same impression of salutation; it looks more ordinary. The depicted female was a victim of internet fraud. Yet, according to the report, she courageously pursued the defrauders and detected them. Yet, no information is provided as to how she did it. We do not know anything about her identity and her education apart from the fact that she wears a headscarf. Did she detect the

defrauders because she knows a lot about computers? Is she an engineer or a housewife? We do not know. These cutout single images of females with headscarf, in bust form, seen from the close shot, were encountered only in Vakit among the newspapers in the sample.

The third group of images depicting the female headscarf in Vakit is seen on pages 42 and 43. In these examples we see the women in the context of village and factory work. Illustration 5.152 shows a single news item, depicting females in three different contexts. The heading says: “Lady’s hands are part of life.” The woman depicted on the left is making small, decorative houses from the old bricks. The woman depicted on top is changing the tire of a tractor in a village. The two females seen below are seen behind decorative small houses as well, and one of them wants to open up a training center for women, particularly for embroidery and handwork. The illustration 5.153 shows a woman aged 75, working in the village, earning her living by selling dried cow dung. These images give the impression that the newspaper values women’s social participation when it is confined in certain contexts, such as in a village, in a training centre teaching women embroidery or in a textile atelier (illustration 5.154). Women’s social participation is approved when it serves the Islamic cause as well (illustration 5.148). Women in top positions and in professional roles are encountered in Vakit only in news condemning secularist policies.

The page 44 shows selected examples from Vakit depicting females without headscarf. In illustrations 5.156 and 5.158 two females in leading positions are depicted. The female seen in illustration 5.156 was the Vice-President of Istanbul University at the time of the news item was published. She became a member of the Parliament following the general elections in July 2007 as a deputy of the Republican People’s Party. She was known for her severe attitude in applying the headscarf ban in Istanbul University. The other female seen in illustration 5.158 was at that time appointed as the Head of the Constitutional Court. In these examples, leading women from the secularist establishment are put in a negative light, not because they are women, but because of their secularist position. On the same page, in illustration 5.155 we see a montage image showing a female entertainer embracing a man from his back at the bottom. We see a repeated image of the woman and two other males at the top of the image. The caption says: “Enjoy yourselves. While the Muslim world is burning, dinner with dancer from the Arab

diplomats!”<sup>16</sup> The presence of a female entertainer in a dinner organized by the diplomats of some Arab countries is interpreted by the newspaper as disrespectfulness to the pains suffered in the Muslim countries.

Finally, in *Vakit*, there are also examples of positive references to females without headscarf. The illustrations 5.157 and 5.159 show such examples. Illustration 5.157 depicts a female from close shot, smiling, wearing a hat as part of a graduation gown. The female depicted is a young foreigner who had asthma and got cured in Turkey. The illustration 5.159 shows a pregnant woman. She is smiling and about to eat something. The image was published on the Family page.

### *5.6.2 Demonstration and Protest: Images of headscarf in Vakit and Zaman*

The images of victimhood due to the ban on the headscarf in universities constitute a common theme in both Islamic newspapers. Unlike in France, the headscarf problem is specific to universities in Turkey, but not to high schools. Although some amendments are on the way, the practice of wearing school uniforms in secondary education is widely accepted still and is not questioned that much. No need to say, headscarf is not part of the school uniform. Many female high school students who want to cover their heads, either with their own or with their family's wish, compromise for the rule and do not wear the headscarf when they are at school, wearing it again when they are outside of the territory of the school. In the Turkish education system aside from regular high schools there are vocational high schools training students not for the university education in particular but for specific vocations. Among these schools are Imam-Hatip high schools where students are trained to be Imams and preachers. Even though they are not appointed to mosques as imams girls are accepted and educated in these schools as well.<sup>17</sup> These schools are more lenient towards the headscarf, allowing the girls to attend classes with headscarf most of the time. The history of vocational schools in Turkey had its ups and downs and the system was never stabilized particularly because of the secularist establishment's concerns towards the Imam-Hatip schools. The vocational school graduates are allowed to enter into the university entrance examination, but their scores are calculated differently, putting them in a disadvantage in comparison to the graduates

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<sup>16</sup>In Turkish: “Monşer’lerin keyfi yerinde. İslam coğrafyası yanarken, Arap diplomatlardan dansözlü yemek!”

<sup>17</sup>For more information on Imam-Hatip high schools and the political discussions around these schools see: Akşit 1991, Tarhan 1996, Özcan 2000, Adam 2003.

of regular high schools. Initially this was meant to educate skilled technical labor and have these young people early in the labor force. Yet, different governments applied different policies towards these schools, at times treating the graduates of these schools as the graduates of regular high schools and facilitating their entrance into the university, at other times limiting their chances for university education by enforcing a different calculation system. The political parties' ideological positions towards the Imam-Hatip high schools and their hunt for votes always played a role in these decisions. Limiting the chances of the Imam-Hatip high school graduates in the university entrance examination was seen as a measure against the headscarf in universities.

Page 45 features selected examples showing demonstrations against the double calculation system for different types of high schools. The illustrations 5.160 and 5.161 are from the moderate Islamic newspaper Zaman and the illustration 5.162 and 5.163 are from the radical Islamic newspaper Vakit. These visuals were published on July 23 and July 28, 2005 in these newspapers. In both instances Vakit gave the news in the headlines and continued the story on inside pages while the moderate Islamic newspaper Zaman gave the same news on inside pages. Vakit's headlines were sensational, referring at the people involved in putting and implementing the calculation policies as "fossils" and "heartless" people, while referring to the students as "jewels." In three of the images (illustration 5.161, 5.162 and 5.163) we see females wearing the headscarf in the foreground carrying hand written banners for protest. The banners protest the Higher Education Institution and the double calculation system in the entrance examination, saying that this is unconstitutional and unfair (illustrations 5.160 and 5.161 published in Zaman). The banner in illustration 5.162 published in Vakit says "I am the 175<sup>th</sup> from the top, but I cannot register to the place I want." Vakit, as a radical Islamic tabloid newspaper published the photograph of a banner with a personal remark rather than criticism directed at the institutions, thereby personalizing the news.

In spite of such personalization, the lack of eye-contact is a common feature in these selected visuals. In illustrations 5.160 and 5.162 we see the depicted females from a knee shot perspective. We do not see them from the full frontal view, the angle is rather oblique and the girls do not look at the viewer. These visual conventions put the viewer in an ambiguous situation. On the one hand the viewer is relatively close to the depicted women (knee shot), on the other hand the lack of full frontal view and the eye contact associate the images with feelings of detachment and distance. This may also because the male

photographers<sup>18</sup> taking the shots observed the gender distance in Islamic terms and distanced themselves from the women seen in the photographs which produced an ambiguous effect in the end.

When we compare illustrations 5.160 and 5.163 we see that the newspaper Zaman focused more on the headscarved girls, while the same is not true for Vakit. In other images not presented here, Vakit showed the photographs of male Imam-Hatip students as well who sustain that they had been subject to unfair treatment. All four women that are depicted in illustration 5.160 in Zaman can also be seen in illustration 5.163 published in Vakit. Apparently, reporters from both newspapers were at the scene while these people were protesting, and they took different shots. In illustration 5.163, the individual features of the women seen in illustration 5.160 got lost within the larger group. The women are now not talking for themselves, but standing behind the three males in the front who are the spokesmen of the Association of the Imam-Hatip Members and Graduates. We see the female and male students sitting or standing at the back, leaving the ground to the elder males of the association.

### *5.6.3 Creating Muslim Elites: Females with headscarf as role models*

In this section I will analyze four images and compare them with each other. One of these photographs is from a web source and the remaining three are from the newspapers in the sample. The images can be seen in pages 46 and 47 of the book of illustrations.

Illustration 5.164 shows an image of a headscarved female taken from a web site. We see the female in the foreground and the shot is a portrait. The face and the body of the woman on the photograph is not seen totally from the frontal view, a little tilted, yet, this can still be considered a frontal shot. She does not have direct eye contact with the camera and the beholder. She is wearing a light blue jacket with collars, cut in the informal style of professional women's clothing. She is carrying a pin on her collar. Her suit is accompanied by a headscarf as tight-head. The headscarf combines dark-blue and white colors matching her light blue

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<sup>18</sup> Zaman sources the photographs with the photographers' names, which are male names in these examples. Vakit does not provide sources for the photographs but considering that photojournalism is rather a male profession in Turkey, and Vakit is a radical Islamic newspaper, it is safe to assume that these are male photographers as well.

jacket, and the white blouse she is wearing underneath. She is smiling, but we do not know why or to whom. She is wearing rimless glasses. Compositionally there is a contrast between the light foreground and the dark background. In the background we see males only. They are part of the dark background with their suits in dark colors. The woman in the foreground is the only female in this particular frame. The compositional contrast between the foreground and the background is also established between the males and the female.

The woman on the photograph is Merve Kavakçı, the first female deputy wearing headscarf in Turkey. She was elected to the parliament in 1999, and on the day of the opening (May 2, 1999) she was obliged to leave the parliament without taking the oath under the heavy protests of the secular-social-democrats who interpreted her presence with headscarf in the parliament as an outraging breach of the secular principles of the Turkish Republic. Secularism in Turkey, following the French model, is based on the exclusion of religious symbols from the public sphere. The question of which places are to be considered as public sphere has always been under heated debate, for universities in particular. Her election brought this question to the Turkish parliament, as the major public sphere representing the people. Even though specific clauses do not exist, particularly forbidding the female parliamentarians to wear a headscarf, the conventions of the parliament assumed by default that this would never occur. The dress code for parliamentarians, as well as the administrative staff of the parliament in the Hall of the National Assembly requires that both females and males dress in formal style. Males are required to have jackets and ties and females are required to wear *tayyör* (tailleur).<sup>19</sup> Adapted from French, *tayyör* is a two piece tailored suit, composed of a coat (or jacket) and a skirt. No further specifications exist in the bylaws regulating the dress code of the Turkish parliament.

Mass media started to follow Merve Kavakçı right after she was elected. A crisis had already been anticipated in case she did not agree to uncover her head during the oath taking ceremony in the Hall of the Grand National Assembly. Television cameras and photographers continued to follow her after the crisis in the National Assembly as well. Her presence in the Assembly Hall with her headscarf drew strong reactions. She was alleged of being an “agent provocateur” (Göçek 1999: 523). During these days it was figured that she had taken the U.S. citizenship shortly before

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<sup>19</sup> <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/ictuzuk/ictuzuk.htm> <29.09.2008> Item 56. No English version is provided.

she was elected, without notifying the authorities. On that ground she was stripped of her Turkish citizenship, and her membership in the parliament. Her story continued to draw media attention, especially when she remarried a Turkish national, giving her rights to become a Turkish citizen again. Later she moved to the United States and currently she lives there, and teaches at George Washington University. She writes weekly articles for *Vakit* in her column “Letter from Washington” (Washington Mektubu).

In her article *The New Islamic Visibilities*, Nilüfer Göle analyzes her case in particular, taking it as a snapshot.<sup>20</sup> According to Göle, Kavakçı’s story cannot be merely narrated as a political incidence. She draws attention to Kavakçı’s “cultural capital” in Bourdieu’s sense with recourse to both Islamic and secular life styles.

The case of Merve Kavakçı, although not an exception, serves as an example that carries the process of interaction with a program of modernity to its extreme limits; it thereby blurs the oppositional boundaries. Kavakçı had access to higher education, became a computer engineer, trained at the University of Texas (...), lived in the United States, had two children, divorced her Jordanian-American husband, returned to Turkey, and became a member of the pro-Islamic party. She had access therefore to powerful symbols of modernity and was simultaneously engaged in Islamic politics. Living in the United States (not in Saudi Arabia), speaking English fluently, using new technologies, fashioning a public image (light-colored headscarf and frameless eyeglasses)—these are all cultural symbols of distinction in a non-Western context of modernity. And Islamists are not insensitive to acquiring such cultural capital. In fact, though they are in an oppositional political struggle with the modern secularists, they often mirror them and search for public representatives who speak foreign languages and belong to the professional and intellectual elite. Even Kavakçı’s choice of a two-piece suit rather than an overcoat is a duplication of the Republican women’s dress code. With all her elite credentials, Kavakçı could have been used to bolster Islamic pride—if only she was not so “foreign.” (Göle 2002: 180)

Before and after the inauguration ceremony that was superseded by this crisis, a variety of images appeared in both print and broadcast media showing Merve Kavakçı. We do not know which image of hers Göle has taken into focus for her analysis. Her description fits to the image that I have selected from the web. But it is possible to encounter other images of her i.e. with a headscarf in dark colors, including the one she was

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<sup>20</sup> For other accounts of Merve Kavakçı’s case see Göçek 1999; Çemrek 2004; Shively 2005; Cindoglu and Zencirci 2008.

wearing at the time of her entry to the National Assembly Hall to take her oath. Göle takes the light colored headscarf and frameless eyeglasses as part of a fashionable look, and the two-piece suit as a duplicate of the Republican women's dress code. Here, even color takes on a particular importance; I will rather focus on the style of her headcovering than the color of her scarves because, while the color of scarves changes on a variety of her photographs, ranging from light to dark colors, the style remains the same. In fact, it is this very style that brings forth the similarities with the Republican women's dress code, making the jacket and the collars visible. For Merve Kavakçı's case the choice of the two-piece suit might have stemmed from the parliamentary bylaws asking women to wear them, a compromise, as well as part of a strategy to create a fashionable public image.

Illustration 5.166 shows a professional business woman in a photograph from the secular newspaper *Sabah*. She is a member of the board of directors of an insurance company working on a private pensionary system. Her photograph was published on a page giving insurance advice to the readers. In the related news reports two females in top managerial positions, one of them seen in illustration 5.166, are consulted for their advice and assessment of the sector.

Women in jackets and two or three-piece suits are associated with positions of power. Watkins's study suggests that "there are certain features of physical appearance that are associated with women perceived as powerful (Watkins 1996: 73). In sixty-six popular magazines in the United States Watkins identified a total of seventy-nine women "in positions of authority and responsibility in the work place" (1996: 72). Only 21.4 percent of women in such positions appeared in casual dress, while the remaining majority "wore formal office attire, such as suits or color-coordinated jackets and blouses. They did not confine themselves to dark colors, but wore very bright yellows and pinks as well. If they were not in formal office attire, they were more likely to be in uniform, whether the uniform was U.S. military, scientist's lab coat, or judge's robes" (Watkins 1996: 73, 74). Today's female professional dress has more possibilities than the style that was worn by the previous generation of professional women who had to compete with their male colleagues under harsher circumstances. "In the 1970s, women adhered to a carefully constructed appearance that more often than not involved a three-piece, dark toned suit, patterned after the 'power suit' worn by men in positions of authority" (Watkins 1996: 69). It should also be remembered that wearing informal suits is not always a personal choice. Organizations often require a certain dress code to be followed by their employees, as

well as their managers as part of their communication strategies with their customers. Therefore, the dressing style of the female manager in illustration 5.166 not only implies that she is a female professional, but also conveys her position of power with the associated visual cues to her dress.<sup>21</sup>

Both images visually confirm Göle's argument on the similarities between the Republican women's dress code and the style of Merve Kavakçı, headscarf being the only major difference. According to Göle it is exactly this "small difference" that ignites the conflict (Göle 2002: 180). Because: "[t]he issue of recognition arises when the Other, perceived as different, becomes closer in proximity – spatially, socially and corporeally" (Göle 2002: 186).

The third image that I will analyze in this framework was published in the moderate Islamic newspaper Zaman (Illustration 5.165). The image shows a woman and a child on a cutout. Stylistically the clothing of the female is closer to Merve Kavakçı's suit. She is wearing a jacket and a red blouse underneath. She placed the collar of her blouse over her jacket. Her headscarf in tight head style matches the colors of the jacket and the blouse. She is smiling and looking directly into the camera, into the eyes of the beholder. She is carrying a child. She looks confident and friendly, at ease with the child on her arm. The image was published on the Woman & Family page of Zaman and a success story accompanied the image, titled: "Keeping the hopes alive for disabled children and their families."<sup>22</sup> This is the story of a woman who pioneered in establishing an association that aims to bring the families of disabled children to support them. She is currently the head of the association.

Göle takes Merve Kavakçı's portrait as "both representative and distinctive in relation to other Muslim women in the Islamic movement" (Göle 2002: 179, 180). When we compare the two frames (illustrations 5.164 and 5.165) aside from the stylistic similarities in head-covering, there are two basic differences: the child on the arm of the woman in illustration 5.165 and the background presence of males in Merve Kavakçı's photograph in illustration 5.164. The image published in Zaman in fact is closer to the ideal image of an elite Muslim woman supported by the Islamic circles (she remains within the boundaries of the Woman & Family page), more than the image of Kavakçı, who stepped

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<sup>21</sup> For the significance of jacket in female professional dress and its implications in conveying an image of power see Molloy 1996.

<sup>22</sup> In Turkish: "Engelli çocuklar ve ailelerinin yaşama umutları sönmesin"

into a male domain, as can be symbolically read from the presence of all-males in the background. Merve Kavakçı is a mother too, but her motherhood did not become the focus of attention. Yet, motherhood constitutes one of the main backbones of Islamic ideology as mentioned before while analyzing the woman and family pages in Islamic newspapers. When there is no child visible in the frame motherhood is emphasized in the heading and in the news report like the one accompanying the illustration 5.168 depicting a female writer. Therefore, the female cutout seen in illustration 5.165 can be seen as a typical representation of the ideal image of the Muslim elite woman, good-looking and confident, and keeps her bonds with motherhood and family, rather than stepping into a male domain such as politics.

In the quotation above Göle refers to Islamic movements in general. When we look at the Islamic newspapers in particular we see that *Zaman* is concerned more about creating an Islamic elite than *Vakit*. The presence of such images in *Zaman* helps to build a positive image of an Islamic elite, and this is another characteristic that distinguishes *Zaman* from the radical Islamic newspapers. In other words, the moderate Islamic newspaper is concerned more in publicizing the bright face of Muslims. The idea of an Islamic elite also involves the creation of female elites, models for the rest of the Islamic community. Drawing on Bourdieu, Jenny White argues that “individuals or groups that desire to change their positioning in society may attempt to do so by strategically manipulating cultural symbols so that they vie with those of the elite for status and legitimacy” (White 2002b: 191). The image of the headscarved female (illustration 5.165), self confident, sympathetic mother, who pioneered in establishing an association to support the families of disabled children brings various cultural symbols together, re-arranges them, and aims to create a positive image on the headscarved females. This image presents the female shown in the cutout as a successful individual, as a mother, confidently looking into the beholder’s eyes. The clothing style that could not help Kavakçı in the political realm works on this image. The image provides an antidote to the stereotyped conceptualizations of headscarved females as outsiders and Islamist militants (as also reinforced by Kavakçı herself); and at the same time it remains true to the Islamic ideals set for women.

The Islamic newspapers, whether serious-moderate or tabloid-radical, examined here, publish the images of the headscarf in a number of limited news frames. These frames include presenting female role models for the Islamic community and the victims of secularist policies. Other type of news stories accompanying the images of females with headscarf

are available, particularly in the secular tabloid *Posta*, as will be analyzed below.

#### *5.6.4 Contexts of headscarf in the secular tabloid Posta*

Tabloid newspapers are known to portray ordinary people in their everyday surroundings (Becker 2008: 88) more often than their serious counterparts. When the images of females with headscarf are concerned, mundane and ordinary images of headscarf are observed more in the extreme tabloid *Posta* than the Islamic newspapers be it tabloid or serious. *Sabah* is also defined in the study as a secular tabloid but it is rather a moderate tabloid newspaper compared to *Posta*. The types of images observed in *Posta* that will be analyzed here are not encountered in *Sabah*. The images of headscarf seen in *Posta* are published in different contexts. Both Islamic newspapers rather publish exalted images of women with headscarf in tune with their different approaches towards Islam, while this is not the case for the secular tabloid *Posta*. The images seen on pages 48 and 49 are examples to the contexts that the female headscarf is observed in *Posta*: Females as small shop owners, females as crime victims, females as adulteresses. Females as mothers is another context in which the newspaper depicts females with headscarves, and this point is covered earlier while discussing the representation of mother-child relationship in newspapers (page 32).

The females seen in illustrations 5.169 and 5.170 are small grocery owners. Small neighborhood groceries run by families used to be the main centers where the inhabitants of the neighborhood bought their weekly supplies of food and other goods. Neighborhood groceries are still prominent in Turkey as small businesses yet, following the mushrooming of large supermarkets in big cities, it has become very difficult for them to compete with the market chains and they are having a hard time to survive. On July 27, 2005 *Posta* interviewed two females who were running neighborhood groceries as family business. The newspaper depicted them in active scenes and in a sympathetic way. Both women are smiling. The woman in illustration 5.159 is seen during a transaction and the woman in illustration 5.170 is seen while she is cheerfully talking. In the text they are mentioned as successful businesswomen, proficiently mastering the businesses that they run. The females are wearing different types of headscarves as defined in this study, but this point is not relevant to what the newspaper report aims to convey. The females here represent lower-middle classes, struggling to survive economically, yet still, open hearted and cheerful.

The illustration 5.171 shows another example depicting the headscarf in a positive story in Vakit. The female seen in the small headshot is a brain surgeon, wearing a headscarf in her daily life. She was appointed from a public hospital in Istanbul to another hospital in an utterly under-developed city (Hakkari) where the previous surgeon resigned from the job and left the city. The newspaper did not give information on why the previous surgeon left, but mentioned the under-equipment of the hospital. Referring to the new doctor, the heading says: “she wrote history with her cap.” The caption underneath the image where we see her examining a patient says: “Turban is forbidden in the public sphere, including the public hospitals. Emine Demir, brain surgeon, circumvented the ban by wearing a surgeon’s cap while at work.” The news item presents a successful medical doctor wearing a headscarf yet, celebrates the doctor without giving some essential information about her. We do not know why she was appointed to Hakkari: was it a regular appointment or was she having difficulties in her workplace because of her headscarf? How did she perform her job when she was in Istanbul? The news report celebrates her firstly because she agreed to leave her job in the big city and moved to an under-developed region, something not too many doctors in the public hospitals are willing to do, and secondly she compromised the way she was wearing the headscarf in her regular daily life and signaled that she is not an extremist, but ready to find a solution without sacrificing her highly qualified profession and her belief.

The images on page 49 accompany crime stories. The heading in illustration 5.172 says: “Porn Imam in Jail.” At the bottom of the news item there is a female cutout. She is wearing a headscarf loosely wrapped, different from the styles defined for the visual content analysis. She is wearing a denim jacket and skirt. Her face is concealed by the newspaper editors. Next to her image there is a small headshot depicting a male with beard and in suits. The news story reports that the preacher in question, married with two children, invited a female student of 15 to his home, who was attending the Koran classes in the mosque that he was in charge. When she was in his home he took her to his bedroom and wanted to show her porno movies. Upon the claim of the student’s family, he was brought to court and then put in jail.

The image seen in illustration 5.173 depicts a young woman wearing a headscarf and a man with moustache and accompanies a terrible violence story. The heading says: “Husband fright.” According to the news report this is an “unofficially married” couple. The young woman was forced to

marry the man in the photograph at the age of 11.<sup>23</sup> The couple was living together for eight years. At that very evening the young woman told her husband that she wanted to visit her mother who is living in another city. The husband rejected that and insulted the woman, and they started having a fight. The fight ended with the “husband” cutting the woman’s nose, ears, eye lids and throwing a knife to her vagina. Altogether 33 knife wounds were found in her body and she lost an eye. The same news item appeared in Sabah on the same day as well (illustration 5.174) but was accompanied with different images. Sabah showed the woman while she was being taken to the hospital. Sabah showed a headshot of the husband only and it can easily be noticed that this is the same image that appeared in Posta without the woman in the frame. The heading in Sabah said with the husband’s words “I showed her how to knife someone.”

The analysis of gendered crime reporting is a whole area of study in itself and here it can be only briefly covered.<sup>24</sup> In Turkish newspapers the third page crime stories in particular, is a genre in itself. In addition, in crime stories the news texts require careful in-depth analysis. As much as the visuals are important, in crime stories it is the news text that tells more about the ill-construed gendered ideologies and practices. In Turkish tabloid newspapers, these texts are full of contradictions most of the time. They are carelessly written and the factual information they provide are not always correct. In her memoirs, Canan Barlas (2002), a female Turkish journalist, wrote how the reporters and editors used to prepare the crime stories during the 1980s in Turkish newspapers. She confessed that the reporters used to walk away with the visual material they collected from the crime scene, to accompany the sensational stories made up by the editors.<sup>25</sup> The poor ethical standards aside, true or not, these stories reflect gender conceptions in the way newspaper editors construe and imagine them as news items that their readers might be interested to read and thus buy the newspapers.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Such marriages are illegal under the Turkish Law.

<sup>24</sup> For more information see Aziz 1994; Boom and Michielsens 1996; Meyers 1997; Carter 1998; Demez 1998; Kitzenger 2004; Alat 2006.

<sup>25</sup> Also see the article by a famous journalist who provided an account of forged news in Turkish journalism: Hıncal Uluç (September 21, 2008) “Gazeteciliğin neresindeyiz?”

<http://sabah.com.tr/2008/09/21/haber,2E45141D6FD6404BAEF6D6738D130A56.html> <02.10.2008> For insiders’ criticism of crime news in Turkish newspapers see also: Armutçu 2008.

<sup>26</sup> The author witnessed a ridiculous instance of forged news in Turkish newspapers. During the graduation ceremony at Jacobs University Bremen on June 1, 2007, a reporter from the Turkish newspaper Milliyet approached the young Turkish graduates, noted their names and took their photographs to be published in the

As an example to the contradictions in such news reports, in the item examined here in illustration 5.173, Posta uses the term “unofficial spouse” which is in fact a contradiction in terms. If this is a legally unrecognized marriage the man cannot be named a “husband.” On the one hand the report emphasizes the unofficial status of the victim’s relationship to the man and on the other hand it legitimizes this relationship by reporting it in spousal terms used for recognized, legal marriages. The news report also mentions that the female victim did not have a child during eight years of marriage. The news report does not connect this piece of information to what happened afterwards between the man and the woman. Yet, in the flow of the text it seemed as if the woman was expected to deliver a child and she failed to fulfill that expectation. Instead of pointing at the fact that this young woman had spent her whole childhood in an illegal “marriage” the newspaper ambiguously mentioned the point that she did not carry a child and made it seem as if this was a major problem in their relationship.

The last news item on page 49 (Illustration 5.175) depicts a female and male in small headshots. The male’s face is concealed by the editors. The woman in the headshot image is wearing a headscarf. Because the images are headshots we do not have much visual information. The heading says: “Mother of four, pregnant went away with her 19 year old lover.” While the heading gives the news as if this was a fact, the news text says that this was an allegation. According to the text, the young man’s father claimed a file and said that the young woman’s family is threatening to honor-kill both the woman and the man seen in the photographs. While the woman’s family can recognize their daughters anyhow, they might not know how the young man looks like. This is probably why the man’s face is concealed while the woman’s face is not. The unconcealed face exposes her as an adulteress to the reader at the same time.

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European edition of the newspaper. The news item that was published on the next day (June 3, 2007 Milliyet European edition, page 12) was a shock and a source of ridicule among the young graduates because the report made them say things that they never said to the reporter. The reporter simply imagined the “right” sentences, sort of clichés that he probably thinks the readers might enjoy to hear from “good and hard working” students studying abroad. Besides, the names and the photographs of the students were mismatched. None of the students received a scholarship from the German telecom company Vodafone, but the heading said they completed their education with financial support from Vodafone. At that time the company was just about to open branches in Turkey and enter into the cellular phone market. None of the students followed it up, yet, remained doubtful about whether the item is intended as news or as advertisement for the company.

Such crime and adultery news involving women wearing headscarf is not encountered in Islamic newspapers at all. Headscarved victims of patriarchal violence are not given space. The stories of adultery especially when it is the woman who leaves her family for another man is a sacrilege threatening the ideal of family, and this is a story not covered by the Islamic newspapers either. These women are neither Islamic role models, nor the victims of the secularist policies. On the contrary, the images of female headscarves in *Posta*, showing the women as competent shop owners, talented medical doctors ready to compromise, victims of sexual assault and violence, mothers and adulteresses strip the Islamic meaning of the headscarf and present these women as ordinary people. These are the instances where the different perceptions attached to different types of headcovering are blurred. The stylistic distinction between the “Islamic” and the “traditional” headscarf fails to analyze such images because it is possible to find Islamic, traditional, as well as modern elements in these images. While the Islamic newspapers elevate the images of headscarf, the tabloid newspaper *Posta* puts them in mundane contexts of ordinariness and de-Islamizes the meaning of the female headscarf.

#### *5.6.5 The Headscarf as a symbol of Muslims in Europe*

The sample of newspapers in the study was collected two weeks after the terrorist bombings attacks in London on July 7, 2005. The sampling week coincided with the Sharm El Sheikh attacks in Egypt on July 23, and bombing alarms on July 21 in London. Even though, not in the intensity of the first bombings, coverage on terrorism and Muslims in Europe appeared on newspapers during these days. The first image that will be analyzed here appeared on two different newspapers in the sample. As seen in Illustrations 5.176 and 5.177 on page 50, the image is distributed by the news agencies Associated Press (AP) and Reuters; and appeared first in *Radikal* on July 22, 2005 and later in *Zaman* on July 27, 2005. The image was published in a smaller size in *Radikal* than in *Zaman* (illustrations 5.176 and 5.177, not the real sizes but proportions are kept).

The image is black and white. In the foreground, to the right, we see a woman wearing a large headscarf and a long coat. She is walking on a small street, next to the pavement. She is carrying a baby lying in a small baby carriage. On the left side we see a policeman with a police dog, walking into the opposite direction. While the policeman is seen from the back view, the woman is seen from the frontal view. The policeman's face is turned towards the woman into towards the opposite direction. His

gaze is directed to the woman. He looks serious. Compositionally the woman is about to leave the frame. In the background there are other people walking, again toward different directions, adding movement to the scene. But the end of the street seems closed and contained, adding more to the atmosphere of tension in the photograph.

Compositionally, the contrasts in the image contribute to its meaning and impact. Here, the gaze of the policeman turned towards the woman casts the scene in the light of a police-suspect relationship. The relationship established by the direction of the policeman's gaze makes it irrelevant if he is actually looking, not at the woman, but at something else outside the frame. In fact, the narrowness of the street, its containment by high buildings on both sides makes this option unlikely. The serious facial expression of the policeman conveys the impression that he is looking at the woman because she may be a potential suspect. But the woman does not look back at the policeman, conveying the impression that she is innocent and is just passing by. The baby in her hand adds to her vulnerability and innocence. The contrast between the light colored baby carriage and the dark color of the police dog (as well as the male policeman and the female passer-by) points to an unequal relationship between the state authority with its privileged power to use force and the Muslim female citizen, represented with headscarf, in a vulnerable position. Additionally, she is the one who is about to leave the frame. Her position in the composition of the frame gives the feeling as if she wants to leave the mistargeted suspicious look behind as quickly as possible. The gaze of the policeman makes her a suspect and a victim at the same time. A detail that is impossible to notice in the small image is the signboard on the wall that says: "No through access for vehicles and pedestrians." The sign is irrelevant for the non-English speaking Turkish readers yet it is important for the analyst. It signals that this is a district forbidden for trespassing. Yet, the people walking in the street do not seem to care and among other trespassers the policemen looks only at the Muslim women wearing a headscarf. In a forbidden district her presence looks more suspicious than the other trespassers.

Even though there were no females involved in the London bombings (neither in 9/11), the suspicion of terrorism is represented in the image by the Muslim female with headscarf. Her way of clothing and headscarf are used as symbols indicating "Muslimness" (the static state of being a Muslim). Van Leeuwen calls attention to the significance of headwear as "a commonly used cultural attribute," citing the French beret and the workman's cap as examples (van Leeuwen 2001: 95). He mentions Barthes' concept of "object sign" that refers to such particular objects

with high symbolism and connotation value. The female headscarf, especially after 9/11, came to be regarded in Europe and elsewhere as a symbol of Islam, and of “being a Muslim”. On the image, the Muslim female’s headscarf works as an object sign, as a generic cultural and religious attribute representing (or misrepresenting) the totality of “Muslims.”

When we compare the same frame as published in two newspapers, we see that *Radikal* published a smaller version (illustration 5.177) and slightly cropped the image from the right. Even though this crop does not look like a big distortion, it added to the feeling of containment and marginalization, pushing the female to the fringe of the photograph. We do not know if *Zaman* had cropped the image to fit, but when compared with *Radikal* its version looks more true to the original. Additionally, the different sizes that the newspapers preferred to publish the same image show the different degrees of importance they attribute to the topic.

The two newspapers used different headings in the news report accompanying the image; but both of them mentioned in the captions the difficult circumstances that the Muslim populations are facing in Britain after the London bombings. The heading in *Zaman* reads: “Pressures on Muslims are overwhelming,”<sup>27</sup> and the caption reads: “Following the bombings in London, which came one after another in 15 days, the pressures over 1.6 million Muslims in the country are increasing.”<sup>28</sup> The news article reports the survey results published in the *Guardian* about how the life of Muslims has changed after the attacks. For the same image *Radikal* used in the heading a quotation from the then Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone, who had spurred a controversy with his critical remarks at the time, holding the British policies responsible for the attacks. The heading says with his words: “the attacks are because of the 80-years-long British policy.”<sup>29</sup> The caption below the photograph reads: “There had been a boom in the violence against Muslims following the London bombings on July 7”. Even though the image accompanied different reports it is used to illustrate more or less the same point: deteriorated circumstances for Muslims in Britain, increasing violence and pressure.<sup>30</sup> In that sense the relationship between the text and the image, for this example, is not one of contradiction, but of complementarity. This single frame narrates a lot about the new power

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<sup>27</sup> Baskılar Müslümanları bunaltıyor (*Zaman* 27.07.2005, page 13).

<sup>28</sup> For Turkish translation see the illustration 5.8.

<sup>29</sup> ‘Saldırıların sebebi 80 yıllık Britanya siyaseti’ (*Radikal* 22.07.2005, page 11).

<sup>30</sup> The image seen in illustration 5.178 is used to point out to the increasing association of Muslims with terrorism as well but not be analyzed here in depth.

relationships, tensions and unfolding processes taking place in Europe with regard to the Muslim migrants in the aftermath of the terrorist bombings.

Another repeated image accompanying the news reports on Muslims in Britain appeared both in Cumhuriyet and in Vakit. The same image is severely cropped and published in low quality in Vakit, altering the meaning that the image conveys (illustrations 5.179 and 5.180). The image source is given in Cumhuriyet as AP, while this is not mentioned in Vakit. On the image published in Cumhuriyet (illustration 5.179) we see two policewomen standing behind the police line demarcating a site of crime. They are standing next to a van. On the foreground we see a headscarved female from the back. The image can be taken as another example of stylistic marginalization. The backview makes it unclear to the beholder what type of relationship she might have with the British police. She is holding a child with her left hand and with her right hand she seems to point towards the left, as if asking for direction. We see the faces of the policewomen but it is not clear if they respond to the woman. The direction of their gazes is ambiguous, and the message the image conveys is ambiguous as well. Is the Muslim woman asking something to the police? Is she neglected or disregarded. The image does not give us clear information on such questions. The caption below says: “Following the July 7 bombings, where 56 people lost their lives, the city of Leeds has become the center of attention in England. Four of the three offenders involved in the bombings, were born and raised up in this city. Police forces are organizing security operations one after another. The inhabitants of Leeds are on tenterhooks.” (Cumhuriyet July 25, 2005, page 10)<sup>31</sup>

On the image published in Vakit (illustration 5.180) the policewoman standing on the right is totally cropped, and the low image quality makes it even harder for the viewer to establish the direction of the gaze on the image. The manipulation of the image changes the balance of the composition and puts the Muslim female in the position of direct confrontation with the British policewoman. The crop and blurring works towards not creating higher ambiguity on the image, rather it works towards decreasing it to convey a feeling of challenge and conflict. Vakit did not provide the image source and published the image without

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<sup>31</sup> In Turkish: “56 kişinin yaşamını yitirdiği 7 Temmuz saldırılarını düzenleyen 4 eylemciden 3’ünün Leeds kentinde doğup büyüdüğüne ortaya çıkmasıyla İngiltere’de bütün gözler bu kente çevrildi. Güvenlik güçleri kentte peş peşe operasyonlar düzenleyerek olağanüstü güvenlik önlemleri aldı. Leeds halkı artık diken üstünde yaşıyor.”

caption. The heading in the news item said in large fonts: “Interesting results from the survey on Muslims in England: Western society is in breakdown.”<sup>32</sup> The subheading said: “According to the survey by the British newspaper The Daily Telegraph, 56 percent of English Muslim citizens think that the Western society is not perfect.” (Vakit July 24, 2005, page 7).<sup>33</sup>

A significant point that requires further inquiry on both images is the backshot of the Muslim female. Depicting Muslim female migrants in Europe with the backshot seems like an emerging convention in print and online media. The illustrations 5.181 through 5.183 show some examples of backshots depicting Muslim female migrants in Germany. The illustrations 5.182 and 5.183 show stills from a documentary broadcast by the German public TV channel ZDF, covering the chances and the difficulties of living together between Germans and Turks.<sup>34</sup> The illustration 5.181 is another backview published in Spiegel Online accompanying the article “Immigration Law ‘hits the Turks below the belt’”. The article is about the controversy over the new immigration law in Germany. The new Immigration Law stipulated that “future spouses can only come to Germany if they can prove knowledge of German, a rule that does not apply to Americans, Japanese or European Union citizens and seems to have been created with Turks in mind” (Spiegel Online July 12, 2007). The major Turkish organizations in Germany argued that this is discrimination. The caption below the photograph seen in illustration 5.181 says: “Four major organizations representing the Turkish community in Germany have boycotted Merkel's integration summit.”

The backshot conveys the lack of interaction and communication, and in these specific usages reinforces the impression that “the migrants are turning their backs to the rest of the society.” Similar images are observed in other print publications in Germany as well, and the depicted people seen from the back are most of the time females wearing headscarf. In addition, the backshot images do not give any idea on the individual characteristics of the women depicted. It is the face that conveys the basic impression about an individual and his or her emotional state. It is not possible to convey this information with backshots. Backshots are also

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<sup>32</sup> In Turkish: “İngiltere’de Müslümanlarla ilgili yapılan ankette ilginç sonuçlar çıktı: Batı toplumu çöküntü içinde”

<sup>33</sup> In Turkish: “İngiltere’de yayımlanan The Daily Telegraph gazetesinin Müslüman vatandaşlar üzerinde yaptığı ankete göre, yüzde 56 oranındaki İngiliz vatandaşı Müslüman, Batı toplumunun mükemmel olmadığını düşünüyor.”

<sup>34</sup> <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFde/inhalt/7/0,1872,5239079,00.html> <29.09.2008>

characteristic of scenes where someone is leaving a place. We see people from their backs when they are leaving us and going somewhere else. As such the backshots of the Muslim females might also reflect a subconscious wish, following 9/11, Madrid and London bombings, to see Muslims leaving Europe with their particular identities and symbols. In fact this is made explicit in the controversial election poster of the extreme-right, neo-Nazi, “fiercely anti-immigrant”<sup>35</sup> party NPD (*Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands / National Democratic Party of Germany*), which showed female migrants with headscarf from the back carrying large bags, and said “Gute Heimreise / Have a nice trip to home”, home referring to the country of origin that migrants initially came from (page 54, illustration 5.184a).<sup>36</sup>

Aside from exploring the overt and covert meanings of backshot images, it is also possible to come up with a more practical interpretation: the photographers producing these images might think that the Muslim females with headscarf would not be willing to show their faces and be photographed. While this study focuses on the content only, it can only speculate about the production and selection processes behind backshot images and suggest that these might reflect their photographers and editors’ conceptualizations of migrants as well. The author had the chance to discuss this issue with a Swedish journalist at the 2008 Montreal conference of the International Communication Association (ICA), who pointed out that for him backshots signal “bad journalism” where the journalist, instead of approaching the people and talk to them, stayed in a distance and shot the people without them noticing that they are being shot. In short, these images represent the lack of communication between Muslim people of migrant background and the larger society in Germany. Making various interpretations possible, the emerging visual themes in depicting Muslim migrants in Europe should be carefully examined with their further social and journalistic implications.

Interestingly enough similar backshot images are observed in secular Turkish newspapers during the discussions on the constitutional amendments made by the AKP to remove the ban on the headscarf in universities in January and February 2008. The image seen in illustration 5.184 depicts a female with headscarf from the backview. The visual motifs, the shot angles in particular, observed in the illustration 5.183

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<sup>35</sup> Spiegel Online, November 13, 2006.

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/0,1518,448102,00.html> <30.09.2008>

<sup>36</sup> See Müller 2008b for an analysis of the NPD poster.

from the ZDF documentary, and in illustration 5.184 from the secular Turkish newspaper Sabah are very similar. This time, the backshot represents the lack of communication between the secular establishment and the females with headscarf. In both contexts, communication problems stemming from different social and historical backgrounds are depicted with backshot images. In addition, the distance towards an Islamic symbol is the common theme that connects the backshot images showing females with headscarf in totally different contexts.

#### *5.6.6 The Headscarf in entertainment: Challenging the established conceptions*

The image seen on illustration 5.186 was published on July 27, 2005 in two different newspapers, Posta and Hürriyet<sup>37</sup> that belong to the same media group. This is the image that was mentioned in the very first paragraph of this study. It was rather Hürriyet than Posta that drew public attention to the image. After its publication the image sparked an intensive debate involving writers from both Islamic and secular newspapers. Here I will particularly focus on the image as published in Posta and the text accompanying the image.

On the image we see two young women dancing in the foreground, one with and the other without headscarf. The face of the woman without headscarf is not visible but we can see the smiling and cheerful face of the woman with headscarf. Aside from the headscarf she is wearing a long sleeved shirt and jeans. This style of headscarf is coded in this study as “headscarf covering the head in total and the neck” and this is a moderate type of Islamic headscarf. On average there is around only 1 image of headscarf in this style seen per newspaper issue (see Table 4.24 in chapter 4). The value of the image does not come from whether the type of headcovering observed here is representative or not, but the range of discussions and questions the whole image generates. In the image, the young woman with headscarf is dancing surrounded by a crowd.<sup>38</sup> Her arms are lifted upwards and wide open, and probably due to that move her naked belly is partially visible.

The title accompanying the image in Posta reads: “Head covered, belly exposed”. This is an ironic title loaded with cultural references. The title

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<sup>37</sup> Hürriyet is not among the newspapers sampled.

<sup>38</sup> I am asked if this was a crowd of both sexes, and of course it is, as can also be noticed with a close scrutiny of the image. Instances of gender segregation in popular concerts does not exist in Turkey.

refers to a popular saying in Turkish making fun of the incongruent and irrational behaviors of people. In spite of the funny irony in the title, the content of the news article is quite positive. The whole text is as follows: “Alişan [a Turkish male pop singer] gave a concert in Konya fair [Konya is a conservative mid-Anatolian city]. Among the audience were girls with turban. Some of these young girls drew attention with their low-waist pants. These turbaned girls, who danced without being bothered with their sliding clothes exposing their bellies, testified to the great diversity of life in Turkey. And some girls with turban danced with scarves around their hips.”<sup>39</sup>

As such, this image goes against the radical Islamic conceptions of female modesty. For devout Muslims and Islamists following the revivalist ideologies, the headscarf signifies the control of the female body and sexuality, especially in public. This particular interpretation requires the headscarf to be accompanied by a long and loose gown, aimed to conceal the shape of the female body. Yet, the type of dress that the pious Muslim females are expected to wear in public has been a point of constant contention also in Islamic circles. The Islamic fashion shows and the related discussions on consumerism epitomized different views on “proper Islamic clothing” and brought divergent positions even more to the fore. For example jeans were not regarded as “proper” clothing for Muslim women, and questioned both because the way they emphasize the female features and their associations with capitalism. But Islamic fashion firms that are driven by market mechanisms and profit-oriented, introduced more variety for pious Muslim females; and this was always justified by saying that i.e. jeans are to be worn not in public, but in private, at home, or under the gown. In other words, not only the headscarf itself but the overall clothing of females is under scrutiny and discussion.

Taking such conflicts and discussions into account, this image seems like a contradiction. This is the type of “improper” clothing that a female with headscarf is not supposed to wear in public in strict Islamic interpretations. In these terms, dancing at a concert, in front of the whole audience, is even a greater breach than showing the belly. It is a type of behavior that a female with headscarf is not supposed to show in public.

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<sup>39</sup> “Başı kapalı göbeği açık. Konya’daki festivalde Alişan konser verdi. Şarkıcıyı dinleyenler arasında türbanlı kızlar da vardı. Bazı türbanlı genç kızlar, giymiş oldukları düşük belli pantolonlarla dikkati çekti. Göbeğinin açılmasına aldırmadan oynayan türbanlı kızlar, Türkiye’de yaşanan büyük çeşitliliğin bir göstergesiydi. Bazı türbanlılar da kalçasına eşarp bağlayıp göbek attı.” Posta 27.07.2005, page 3. Reporter: Özlem Doğan / DHA.

The writers in Islamic newspapers in particular did not feel comfortable with the image. Yet, we have the image; and how are we going to interpret it?

Ten days later, on the 6<sup>th</sup> of August, 2005, following the criticism coming from the Islamic newspapers on the publication of the image, the chief editor of *Hürriyet* wrote an article in his column defending the news value of the image. For him the image confirmed the explanatory potential of Nilüfer Göle's argument that the headscarf is, rather than a symbol of religious radicalism and backwardness, an indigenous way of modernizing for young women coming from conservative families. These young women wear the headscarf because it is part of their conservative family tradition and they don't use and perceive it as an Islamic symbol. The author speculated that the headscarf will eventually disappear within a couple of generations.

Independent of the ways in which the newspapers interpreted the image themselves, the image has multiple layers of meaning and point to an emerging conflictual field especially in terms of changing Islamic symbols and life styles. This particular photograph testifies to the complexities and the multiple levels of meanings one might encounter on a single image. It is a counter-image working against the conceptualizations and stereotypes on headscarved females, showing an example of the conflict between theory and practice. Contrary to the strict life-style framework that a pious Muslim female is expected to follow in theory, the image shows that the practice might be different. Additionally the image testifies to the fact that neither the practice nor the meaning of the headscarf can be fixed or controlled by a single group or ideology, be it Islamist, secularist or any other. New practices constantly create new meanings, challenging and re-shaping existing and fixated conceptualizations.

The new practices and associated conflicting meanings of the headscarf that are crystallized in this particular frame had actually started to create discussions long before. Kenan Çayır (2007) focuses on the literary practices of the Islamic movement and compares the Islamic novels of the 1980s with the Islamic novels of the 1990s. He argues that there is a shift from the 1980s to the 1990s in the way the Muslim-subject expresses itself in novels. He calls the novels of the 1980s "salvation novels" where the Islamists looked for collective identities and re-interpreted, reappropriated Islam as a remedy, standing against the ills of capitalism and modernism. But, for Çayır, the novels of the 1990s concentrated more on the inner worlds of the Muslim subjects and their conflicts. In

other words, the novels of the 1990s focused more on self-reflection and the individual than the collective identity (Çayır 2007).

Like the self-expression in novels, the self expression in the ways headscarved women use fashion and clothing have changed, and became much more varied today than in the 1980s. In addition, the Islamists of the 1980s who pioneered in carrying the headscarf to the public sphere, lost control over its meanings, as well as their authority to define the “proper” style it should be worn. As the practices become more dispersed, as people start to adopt it with various motives, the meaning of this clothing practice becomes even more blurred and open to new interpretations and conflicts.

On September 2007, another discussion, that can be taken as a follow up on the debates stirred by this particular image appeared in Turkish newspapers. A journalist from the radical Islamic newspaper Milli Gazete, which is not in the sample of this study, wrote an article in her column, complaining that today’s headscarved women are not following the overall requirements of the practice and they are like headscarved-half-naked.<sup>40</sup> Journalists from different newspapers replied to her criticism, and the secular independent newspaper Vatan published a page on the issue, asking different Islamist writers their position on the question. An Islamist writer interpreted the new clothing of the headscarved girls as a prior step before the “proper” covering, saying: “these girls will learn by time how to do it right”. Others argued that this is something conjectural, related with the rise of the Justice and Development Party to power.<sup>41</sup>

The questions introduced by such alternative images are intriguing. It does not mean that they did not exist before media paid attention to them and captured them in pictorial forms as still images. In fact, the discussions on the new Islamic practices challenging the fixated Islamic theories started to appear in academic publications (Göle et al 2000a) as well as in the Islamic print media, long before 2005, when this image first showed up in a secular high selling daily newspaper. But, the image crystallized the issue in visual terms and exemplified the collision of public and private in Islamic ideologies, as well as the fragility of the fixated Islamic theories preaching the Muslim women the “proper”

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<sup>40</sup> Mine Alpay Gün (19.10.2007): Başörtülü yarı çıplaklar, Millî Gazete: retrievable from:  
<http://www.milligazete.com.tr/index.php?action=show&type=writersnews&id=15084>  
<13.03.2008>

<sup>41</sup> Vatan, 21.10.2007, page 14.

behaviors they should observe in public. Thus, this particular image, together with other images of headscarf and entertainment, is a leitmotif in public discussions, stirring conflicting views on headscarf and challenging established ideas on how women should appropriate religious practices and behave in public.

Three years later *Hürriyet* published another image seen in illustration 5.187 on its front page and the same editor asked similar questions again in his column. This time the image shows a family celebrating their son's circumcision ceremony. According to the newspaper this is a middle Anatolian high-income family who could afford a helicopter to transport them to the place where the ceremony took place. They could also afford a famous singer and musicians. The mother wearing a headscarf is seen in the image dancing with the singer. The father distributes money and the young son collects the banknotes. Having fun in weddings and in these types of ceremonies with singing and dancing is very usual in Anatolia independent of the way people dress. Yet, the image of the headscarved woman having fun and dancing apparently remained puzzling and “out of place”<sup>42</sup> for the same editor even after three years to the point of declaring this image and the other shots from the same event as the picture of “the circumcision ceremony of the new Turkey.”<sup>43</sup>

#### *5.6.7 The Islamic Swimming suit: Testing the limits of tolerance in pools and beaches*

In the summer of 2005 the Caddebostan beach in Istanbul was reopened to the use of the city inhabitants for the first time after 40 years. This popular beach of the 1940s and 1950s was closed due to the problems of a fast expanding city, and the pollution of the sea. Caddebostan was, and still is, an upper-class urban area in the city. During the past 40 years the demographics of Istanbul changed dramatically due to ever increasing migration; skyrocketing the city's population from around 900.000 people in 1950s to 12.000.000 in 2007. Consequently, when it was re-

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<sup>42</sup> Ertuğrul Özkök (August 26, 2005): *Sünnet midir Farz mı*  
<http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=9746940&tarih=2008-08-26>  
<01.09.2008>

<sup>43</sup> Ertuğrul Özkök (August 26, 2005): *Sünnet midir Farz mı*  
<http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=9746940&tarih=2008-08-26>  
<01.09.2008>

See also Bekir Coşkun (August 26, 2005): *Yeni Türkiye*  
<http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=9746165&tarih=2008-08-26>  
<01.09.2008>

opened in 2005 to the public, the demand was higher than anticipated by the respective municipalities in charge of it. The socio-cultural profile of the new customers was different as well, comprised of lower-middle and lower classes, using the beach in ways unusual and unacceptable for Caddebostan's inhabitants, who very soon started to complain about the new visitors of the beach. The discussions over Caddebostan's new beach and the culture clash between the life styles of the inhabitants of the same city left its imprint on the summer of 2005. A famous journalist from Radikal lost her job because of her article defaming the new customers of the beach in a highly degrading language (Radikal July 27, 2005, page 7). Some of these discussions appeared in the newspapers sampled for this study as well. In connection to the debates on the Caddebostan beach, touristic services tailored for the demands of conservative customers received media coverage as well.

The image seen on Illustration 5.188 was published in the Sunday supplement of Posta Pazar Postası on July 24, 2005 on the front page. On the image, we see a group of people in a pool. In the foreground stands a woman, walking with all-pink clothing. Her clothes include a headscarf and pants. Her body is covered except for her face and hands. We do not see her under-knees; they are under water. While the other people on the image are mostly seen from the back, the woman is depicted in frontal view. She is the only one with full dress among the other people who all wear bikinis and swimming suits. There is a woman and a man in swimming suits standing close to her, and their gazes seem to be directed towards her. The other people at a distance seem indifferent to her presence. While the couple's gazes are directed towards the woman, their gazes are not responded by the woman's gaze. On the contrary, her gaze is not directed to anyone. It seems as if she is concentrating on her own movements, and not on anybody else. She does not have eye contact with the viewer either. The shot angle is at the eye-level, putting the viewer on equal relationship with the people on the photograph. The back views of the crowd and the frontal position of the woman bring contrast and action to the image. But the most salient contrast is established between the people with swim dress and the woman in total dress. The color pink makes this contrast even more obvious.

When we look at the image, we perceive at first sight that there is something strange. Being in a pool necessitates swimming suits and there is an accepted level of nudity recognized with bikinis and swimming suits. What is rather unusual in a pool situation is to swim with full dress. But here comes the context: this is not a regular dress that the woman with full clothing wears. This is a swimming suit produced for the pious

females who want to swim without showing their hair and bodies. In other words this is an Islamic swimming suit, *haşema* (*hashema*), as it is called in Turkish.<sup>44</sup>

In fact *haşema* dates back to the 1980s, but it started to be known more by the 1990s with the opening of the first “Islamic” hotels offering separate beaches for males and females.<sup>45</sup> During the 1990s the tourism industry noticed the demand coming from the rising Islamic middle classes. Subsequently the hotels and resorts tailored new offers for their new customers. Parallel to these developments Islamic textile companies started to produce *haşemas* in a variety of styles and models for different customers. First produced for the females with headscarf in mind, later the producers noticed that there is demand for their moderate models (i.e. models covering the body more than a regular swimming suit but less than an extensive *haşema* as seen on the image) from overweight females who do not use the headscarf at all. In short, this image depicts a female with *haşema* in a public pool. This is a salient image attracting attention even for the beholders who are not familiar with the context.

But, there is an additional element that makes the image even more interesting. The woman with *haşema* whom we see on the image is not someone who actually wears *haşema* in that particular public pool, but a journalist. She does not wear a headscarf in her regular daily life, and neither has she swum with *haşema* before. She wants to see herself how it feels to swim with *haşema* and how it feels to being seen with it in a public pool. In other words she is testing the Islamic swimming suit. We learn this information from her report which is covered on a double-page spread with additional photographs (illustrations 5.189 and 5.190). Therefore, the image is both real and fake at the same time.

After having the experience the journalist reports that it was mostly the children who paid attention to her. Adults, even though they sometimes looked puzzled or intrigued tried rather to avoid looking at her. In her report she says:

When I was getting out of the cabin with my *haşema* I was targeted more with the curious and direct gazes of the children. Some of them laughing,

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<sup>44</sup> This type of swimming dress is also known as burkini (or burqini) as a trademark of a Lebanese Australian designer. The word refers to burqa and bikini: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burkini> <13.03.2008>

<sup>45</sup> For more information on Islamic tourism see: Mücahit Bilici (2000): *İslam’ın brozlaşan yüzü: Caprice Hotel örnek olayı* (The tanning face of Islam: The case of Caprice Hotel). In Nilüfer Göle (Ed.) *İslamın Kamusal Yüzleri*. Istanbul: Metis.

showed me to their mothers, while others seemed engulfed in fantasies. The adults' evasive gazes were intrigued more with Muzaffer Bey [the photographer who plays the role of the father] and a female friend of mine who was wearing bikinis, looking more in "civilized dress." To buy drinks I started waiting in a long line. Meanwhile I talked to as many people as possible. I asked one about the end of the line, the other about how much a cup of tea costs. While I talked to people I felt something like this: the people became pleased for these dialogues and contacts. The curtain standing between me and them because of my dress started to disappear when we talked ...

Spending two days in pools and beaches with haşema ... from time to time I became a target to hostile looks. Some people laughed and some felt highly disturbed by the presence of a woman sitting next to them in such clothes. But nobody said a single word. That was their common denominator (Report by Zeynep Güven, Pazar Postası 24.07.2005, pages 6-7).<sup>46</sup>

The report itself is a documentation of tensions and dialogues brought with different mediums of communication. The questions of sharing a common space with different identities are carried into the pool situation. The journalist's experience about people's behavior, especially when she starts talking to them, is worth emphasizing, because it testifies to the power of acknowledging and recognizing the other. In such instances it does not matter how small the dialogue or contact is. The image did not actually capture a photojournalistic moment, but made it on purpose. We do not know if we will encounter females in full haşemas when we go to the particular pools and beaches she has been for the purposes of the report at a different time; but this remains a possibility. Even though it is not real, the journalists faked an image that is probable, somewhere in some other pools, if not in that particular one.

Altogether eight images accompanied the news report both on the first page and on the double page spread. In some of them the journalist posed

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<sup>46</sup> In Turkish: "Haşemamla soyunma odalarından çıkarken daha çok çocukların doğrudan ve meraklı bakışlarına hedef oldum. Kimisi gülerek annesine gösterdi, kimi bakarken daldı gitti. Yetişkinlerin kaçamak bakışları ise bana değil, daha çok Muzaffer Bey'e ve 'medeni kılıklı' kız arkadaşşıma takıldı. İçecek almak için uzun bir sıraya girdim. Bu arada mümkün olduğu kadar çok insanla diyalog kurdum. Birine kuyruğun sonunu sordum, diğerine çayın ne kadar olduğunu. Bu diyaloglar sırasında şöyle bir şey hissettim: İnsanlar onlarla diyalog kurmamdan hoşnut oldular. Giysim yüzünden aramıza giren perde, konuşunca aralandı.

İki gün boyunca havuzda, denizde, plajda haşema ile dolandıktan sonra öncelikle tepkimizi içimizde saklayan bir toplum olduğumuza karar verdim. Zaman zaman kaçamak, ama son derece ters bakışlara muhatap oldum. Kimi halime güldü, kimi ise bu giysilerle yanlarında oturan bir kadının varlığından şiddetle rahatsız oldu. Ama sonuçta hepsinin ortak noktası kimsenin ağzını açıp tek kelime etmemesiydi..."

and established eye-contact with the camera, as illustrated in image 5.189. In those images her momentary identity as a headscarved female and her identity as a journalist seem to collide. In these photos, as audience, do we see her as a female journalist in a “foreign” clothing, or as a woman in headscarf? Does her eye contact expose the play that she performed for her readers, and invite them to recognize it? The audience’s response and interpretation will be different depending on the different subject positions. Yet, the ambiguous twist in the image becomes more apparent when it is compared with the beach images published on the same day in Zaman’s Sunday supplement, *Turkuaz*.

The image shown in illustration 5.191 is published on the front page of the Sunday supplement of Zaman on July 24, 2005. In the foreground there is a male and a female playing with a ball in the sea. The female is wearing the Islamic swimming suit *haşema*, and the male has his regular swimming suit. This is a medium shot, low angle photograph. In the background we do not see other people but two boats. The boats convey the impression that the transportation to the bay is made by them. We do not see the two people on the image from the frontal view, but from their profiles. This photograph and the one shown in illustration 5.192 are not taken in a regular beach situation, but in an empty bay where no other people using the beach are visible.

The image shown in illustration 5.192 is a long distance shot. We see five people, one is a male boy, and the others are females. The personal and facial characteristics of the depicted people are not visible; we can only partially see the face of the boy from the profile. The shot and the angle increases the social distance between the beholder and the subjects on the image. When we compare the images published in *Posta* and in Zaman, the social distance between the subjects on the image and the beholder is higher in Zaman than in *Posta*. The subjects depicted on the images in Zaman do not interact with the beholder either. This point requires further consideration mainly because as such, the photographs showing the headscarved females on the beach in Zaman use visual conventions that work more towards stereotyping the depicted people. The profile and the long shots, and the absence of eye contact convey detachment and distance to the viewer, rather than closeness, sympathy and identification. Even though fake, the images in *Posta* are closer to the viewer. They exploit the freedom of not photographing a real, but staged situation, and the resulting playful images convey more attachment and closeness than distance to the viewer. Zaman, on the other hand, in most likelihood photographs real people, who might have concerns about appearing on a newspaper, and rather prefer that their full identities are not visible. In

consequence, the viewer looks and observes the people on the image without interacting with them. I will argue that the fake photographic treatment of *haşema* is more successful than the real in terms of establishing contact and interaction with the viewer, producing images in less stereotypical and more personal manner on a topic that divides different audiences.

The last image that I have selected showing a beach situation is from Sabah, published on July 27, 2005 on the front page (Illustration 5.193). The image is particularly worthwhile to analyze with respect to the way it juxtaposes two separate images from the past and the present to make a statement and create nostalgia with the additional use of text. The title of the news reads: “Where are those old beaches?” On the left hand side we see a black and white image, small in size. On the foreground we see a young woman in swimming suit who is about to jump from the springboard into the sea. Her position gives the impression that she is good at swimming, if not professional. In the background we see buildings, placing the scene in an urban setting. The text obliquely placed on the upper left corner of the photograph says “yesterday”. It is not possible to know for sure but it is likely that the image is cropped for this purpose.

In contrast, the photograph on the right hand side is larger, in color, without the background depth and information that the smaller image has. The text in the upper right corner of the image says: “today.” This is a familiar convention also as audience we know from films: depicting times past in black and white, and the present in color. At the center of the image there is a female, standing. She is wearing a large short sleeved t-shirt and short pants. She has covered her head from behind in a traditional style. While the woman seen in the other image is slim, she is a bit overweight. Her legs are partly under water, below her knees. There are children around swimming in the sea and there is a female with bikinis on the left hand side, but she is only partly visible. The smaller image partly covers the larger image including the female with bikini on the left side of the photograph. The two images are shot differently from different angles. On the color image a high angle is used, placing the audience in a power position to look down at the woman, who did not wear a swim suit or bikini, unlike the woman on the black and white photograph. When juxtaposed like this, combined with the nostalgic text, there is explicit contempt for the “not-yet-urbanized” female standing in the sea with her clothes. This particular juxtaposition explicitly brings the conflicting categories like urban vs. rural; modern vs. traditional, as seen in the huge metropolitan city of Istanbul.

### 5.6.8 *The Headscarf in Funerals: Gendering grieving and pain*

Photographs of funerals constitute a particular group in the selected newspapers. The images of funerals stemmed from two major events during the sampling week: first, the bombings in Sharm el-Sheikh, and second, the mine accident in Hakkari. According to the news report in *Radikal* (22 July 2005, page 6) a military vehicle drove over a mine placed by PKK militants who are known to be the only actors in that region targeting Turkish military forces. *Zaman*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Posta* reported that the mines were placed there by the terrorists. The word “terrorist” when used in the context of South-East Turkey immediately connotes PKK militants for Turkish readers without further explanation. Due to the long armed conflict in South East Anatolia because of the Kurdish problem and the PKK terrorism, images of grief in funerals are frequently found in Turkish newspapers. In fact, as in crime stories, the images of soldier funerals in the Turkish print and broadcast media constitute a category of its own and require a specific treatment within another theoretical framework, and with a larger data set collected over time, a task that is beyond the limits of this study.<sup>47</sup> What can be pointed at here is that, leaving their emotional charge and political implications aside, these images are gendered. They illustrate the “nation’s” suffering through the images of the females. In their analysis of iconic images from the Vietnam War Hariman and Lucaites (2003) argued that the use of female images in these photographs created “a fragmented regendering of the public sphere” (2003: 57). According to the authors, these images reinforce the divisions between the public and the private life and a feminized public is set against “a masculine monopoly on violence and state action that is increasingly irrational” (ibid.: 57).

Pages 61 to 65 show selected images of grieving and pain during the funerals of the victims of the Sharm el-Sheikh bombings and the mine accident. Without looking at the headings and the news texts it is difficult to distinguish the photographs of one event from the other even for the specialists, because they are treated with the same visual conventions that apply to the victims of terrorism in the Turkish media. As victims of terrorism, the mainstream Turkish media cover basically the lower-rank soldiers of the Turkish army who died during armed conflicts with the PKK. The reports about the tragedies of the families whose children

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<sup>47</sup> For more information on the textual representation of the Kurds and the PKK terrorism in Turkish media see: Ayaz 1997; Sezgin and Wall 2005.

joined the PKK and lost their lives during the armed conflicts are almost non-existent.

The concept of “martyrdom” has a wider range of meanings that are not only confined to religion. Today, particularly in the West, various conceptions of martyrdom in Muslim countries are reduced only to a single religious meaning and seen as stemming from the idea of Islamic jihad. Yet, even in the Islamic sources alone the concept of martyrdom is not confined to war and jihad, accepting i.e. a woman who loses her life during childbirth also as “martyr.” In its socio-political use the concept is translated into various contexts to legitimize different subject positions towards war and killing. With the rise of the nation state the idea of martyrdom has also acquired national meanings. The nationalist use of the concept of martyrdom surpasses its religious meaning, yet, sanctifies death for a national cause. In Turkey, for instance, while the army is the “guardian of secularism” par excellence the members of the Turkish army, dying on duty are considered martyrs. And in the Turkish media, the funerals of soldiers are referred to as “martyr funerals.” The police officers and firemen who lost their lives while on duty, teachers, medical and security personnel killed in a terrorist attack are considered martyrs as well, independent of whether they are believers of Islam or not<sup>48</sup> In short, the concept of martyrdom in Turkey encompasses a broad range of situations and is largely stripped from its religious connotations.

In the examples here, the victims of the Sharm el-Sheikh bombings are not named as martyrs. They are framed as “victims of terrorism.” Yet, visually, the funeral photographs of the victims of Sharm el-Sheikh (illustrations 5.194, 5.200 and 5.201) resemble the photographs of the funerals of the military members (illustrations 5.195, 5.196, 5.197, 5.198 and 5.199). In these photographs, the Turkish flag wrapped around a coffin, the females wearing a scarf and grieving, and the photograph of the deceased next to the coffin are the common motifs. The basic visual clues that give information about the different identities of the victims are the photographs placed next to the coffins in the images. For instance, in illustration 5.197 we see the photograph of a soldier in uniform placed next to the coffin. In illustrations 5.200 and 5.201 we see that the victim in the photograph is not a soldier but a civilian. Black, as the color of sorrow and grieving is dominant in the images, but it is not the only color that the people wear in the images.

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<sup>48</sup>[http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C5%9Eehit#T.C3.BCrk.C3.A7e.27de\\_.C5.9Fehit\\_kavram.C4.B1](http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C5%9Eehit#T.C3.BCrk.C3.A7e.27de_.C5.9Fehit_kavram.C4.B1) <06.10.2008>

Illustration 5.197 is from Zaman and is showing the wife of the deceased lieutenant grieving. She is looking at his photograph next to his coffin and other women are trying to hold her from her back. Sabah published a successive moment from the same funeral (illustration 5.198). In this image the same woman is seen while embracing her husband's coffin, and another image showing the couple when they were newly wed is inserted into the photograph. Sabah tabloidized the image, published it in black and white, and some very important details from the scene were lost. For instance, it is not possible to recognize the Turkish flag anymore. Even though Zaman did not tabloidize the image with inserts, the emotional impact of the image is more powerful than the image published in Sabah. The gaze of the woman looking at her husband in the photograph creates a narrative pattern and adds more to the emotional impact of the image.

Illustration 5.199 shows another example published in the tabloid newspaper Posta. The newspaper placed the headshots of the soldiers who died in the mine accident next to the images of their grieving, yet resolute, wives and children. In similar news items, not only in Posta but also in others, the resoluteness of the families while facing the deep pain was frequently mentioned. The news item in Posta published an image of a brigadier general and the same image is seen also in Zaman accompanying the story (Zaman July 22, 2005, p. 3). Although it is not possible to see that clearly in the image, both newspapers in the captions said that the general cried at the funeral. Images of males accompanying the photographs of grief and pain convey either the intensity of the pain and grief, i.e. even "the men" cry, or they point at the human side of the men who are expected to remain firm and stiff under painful circumstances. In these images, the photographs of the grieving brigadier general are used to emphasize the humane side of the army officials, grieving after their lost soldiers as a father does for his children. Criticism of the military's way of handling the Kurdish problem in South Eastern Turkey is very rare in the mainstream Turkish media. Among the newspapers in the sample, only in Vakit, the funerals of the soldiers who died because of the mine accident did not appear as news. Instead the newspaper published statements from a Kurdish politician who claimed that there are some powerful groups in the Turkish state, kind of an invisible government, that has strategic gains from PKK terrorism and the problem will persist as long as these groups benefit from the problem. In short, with the exception of Vakit that has an anti-state and anti-military stance, all the remaining newspapers, Islamic or secular, framed the funerals in similar ways and followed similar visual conventions in line with the national policies towards the PKK.

Table 5.6: Depictions of the female headscarf in different contexts

DEPICTIONS OF THE FEMALE HEADSCARF		
Newspapers	Themes and Contexts	Primary emphasis
Vakit	Females reading Koran	Exaltation of the headscarf. Islamic, religious meaning more dominant
	Role models	
	Rural women	
	Radical Islamic activists wearing large and extensive headscarves	
	Demonstration and protest	
	News given on the front page	
	Institutional support behind the women is emphasized	
Zaman	Role models	
	Urban women, writers, professionals wearing stylized headscarf (with an emphasis on motherhood)	
	Demonstration and protest	
	News given in inside pages	
	Less emphasis on institutional support behind the women	
	Headscarf in beaches	
Posta	Small business owners	Headscarf in mundane and ordinary contexts. De-Islamizing the meanings of headscarf
	Professionals compromising on their religious observances	
	Victims of crime	
	Adulteresses	
	Headscarf in entertainment	
	Headscarf in beaches	
Cumhuriyet Radikal Vakit Zaman	Headscarf as a symbol of Muslims in Europe	Islam in Europe
Cumhuriyet Posta Radikal Sabah Zaman	Headscarf symbolizing grieving and pain in funerals	Painful moments of the nation

### *5.7 Images of Atatürk: The omnipresence of official ideology*

The last group of images to be examined here are the images in which an image of Atatürk, as the founder of modern Turkey, is in the frame. The images of Atatürk are pervasive in Turkey. Especially at official occasions it is very likely that his photograph will be in the frame. Both in real and in photographic terms this shows the prevalence and omnipresence of official ideology. Five images are seen on pages 66 and 67. Three of them are published in the sample and two of them are not. The images that are not from the sample are seen in illustrations 5.203 and 5.206. The image seen in illustration 5.202 was published in *Sabah* on July 28, 2005, and shows the graduation ceremony of a military academy. The graduating students are seen in front of a large poster of Atatürk depicting him as a young graduate of the military academy of his time. The image published in *Zaman* on July 24, 2005 (illustration 5.205) shows a ceremony where a female Ukrainian student gives a mace as a symbol of power, to the Mayor of Bahçelievler district in Istanbul in front of an Atatürk poster. The image seen in illustration 5.204 was seen before among the single female depictions. The female seen is a young professional, head of an advisory committee of a company providing advice on European Union funds to small and medium sized enterprises. There is an Atatürk poster behind her work table. Atatürk posters are not just part of official occasions. They are widely appropriated in the daily lives of people and it is common to come across them in non-official, private contexts as well. (Özyürek 2006). This image shows the appropriation of the Atatürk image in a non-official context, in a private enterprise.

The remaining two images seen on pages 66 and 67 will be analyzed here in more detail. The photograph seen on Illustration 5.203 is published on NTVMSNBC's website in a photo gallery on the national celebration day, August 30, 2007. NTVMSNBC is an Internet news portal and it is a joint venture between the Turkish news channel NTV and MSNBC. NTV is the first television channel dedicated to news in Turkey. According to an audience survey carried out in 2002 "NTV was the first among the news channels and the sixth among the most frequently viewed channels. The survey also revealed that NTV viewers were mostly more highly educated, middle-aged cosmopolitans living in the Marmara region" (Çatalbaş 2003).

Being the newly elected president Abdullah Gül's first national day ceremony at the office, this particular celebration had additional significance. As mentioned at the beginning of the study, Gül's

presidency had become a source of strong controversy between the Justice and Development Party and the opposition. The media also paid particular attention to Gül's participation in the ceremony, as the first president with roots in the Islamic movement in Turkey.

On the image, in the background there is a huge Atatürk poster. In the foreground we see young women forming a line, in colorful dress and headscarves. Two of the girls standing closer to the camera do not have eye-contact with the viewers. They are looking at somewhere beyond the frame. The other girls in the line are looking directly at the camera, smiling, knowing that they are photographed at that very moment. The different directions of the girls' gazes give the image a pleasant twist. Yet, the two girls at the beginning of the line, standing closer to the camera, are more salient and their gazes fix the meaning of the image. In addition, the direction of the gaze in the Atatürk poster is similar to the direction of the gaze of the first female on the line standing closer to the camera. The symmetry between the gazes, both of them looking somewhere beyond the frame, connects the national hero with the young woman. The photo is taken from a low angle, giving an exalting aura to both the female and the poster of Atatürk at the back. Also the directions of the gaze can iconologically be interpreted as looking to the future. In a way the gaze of the female and the gaze of the national hero talk to each other; the long gone generation looks into the future, which is today's young woman, and she re-directs the gaze to the future again. The strong correspondence and relationship between the two gazes diminishes the significance of other gazes in the photograph. Yet, the gazes of the remaining girls connect with the beholder in a funny twist, bringing the transcendental gazes of the girl and Atatürk down to earth. Their awareness of being photographed brings an irony, and re-directs the beholder's attention to the present time, rather than the future. The conflicting directionalities on the image carry conflicting meanings. Yet, the primary meaning, due to the salience of the figures, is set by the connection between the gaze of Atatürk and the gaze of the first woman standing in the row.

Knowing how controversial the issue of the headscarf is in Turkey, and how the discussions are bound with protecting the secular principles of the founder, it might be surprising to see women wearing headscarves in a line, shot right in front of Atatürk's poster on a national celebration ceremony. What makes the girls' type of clothing acceptable for display on a national day is its folkloric nature. Their colorful dresses tell us that this is a folkloric dance group, which is a regular feature of national celebrations in Turkey. In other words rather than being a symbol of an

Islamic threat, the headcovering here symbolizes the nation's rich folklore and traditions. This might look like a contradiction. But, when the previous discussions on the different types of headscarves are recalled, and the way the headcovering from behind was not regarded as a threat, even offered as a solution by the radical secularist newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, then the co-existence of the Atatürk poster and the covered females will be better understood. The frame constructs a moment where head-covering is used for the affirmation of the nation and its traditions, distinguishing it from the Islamic threat, testifying to the multiplicity of the uses of head-covering and the associated multiple meanings.

Altogether 26 images are shown in the particular photo-gallery that the illustration 5.203 is published. Together with this image, only two images in total featured female figures with headcovering, the second one showing a female villager with a flag in her hand. Within the special context of the day, the image of the folkloric dance team can be read also as symbolizing the struggle over the possible meanings of head-covering. Compositionally, especially in terms of the way it creates an impact by the use of angle and perspective, this is a successful frame. Yet, we do not know the selection processes behind it. How the editors of NTVMSNBC decided to include the image into the photo gallery? Has the over-presence of head-covering (even though folkloric) come up as an issue during the selection process, particularly at a time when the new president had just taken the office? We do not know the answers to such questions. Yet, the photograph seems to make an implicit statement by affirming the headscarf as it is seen and used as part of the national, folkloric tradition on the first day that the new president with roots in the Islamic movement had taken part in a national celebration.

The last image of the iconological analysis chapter was published in *Hürriyet* on October 29, 2007 (illustration 5.206). October 29 is annually celebrated in Turkey as the day of the declaration of the republic. The image shows Hayrunnisa Gül, the first "first lady" in headscarf in Turkey at an official reception given at the home of presidency. Her head is photographed just in front of the Atatürk poster. And as such the frame gives the impression that he is watching over the headscarved first lady. Depending on the readers' subject position, the frame can be interpreted in both ways: first, as failure of the official ideology, showing the founder and the headscarf (as an Islamic form that official ideology wanted to eliminate) on the same frame, and second, as success of official ideology, showing Atatürk as guarding the nation whoever comes to power. As such, the frame testifies to both the successes and the failures of the

official ideology to come to terms with Islam and Islamic movements in Turkey.

### *5.8 Summarizing the Results of the Qualitative Visual Analysis*

This chapter focused on the in-depth analysis of selected visuals. Altogether 198 images were grouped, juxtaposed in different ways and analyzed. Single depictions of females and males, gender heterogeneous depictions of couple photographs and different depictions of family relationships were analyzed. Images of male beard and the images of female headscarf were analyzed in detail. The different contexts in which females with headscarf were depicted in the selected newspapers were further explored.

The female and male images were first compared in single depictions. In single depictions, males are most of time seen as professionals. Among them are politicians, businessmen, bureaucrats, journalists and actors. They are seen in professional dress, in jackets, ties and formal shirts. In these depictions they are frequently seen during the course of a speech act. The presence of hand and arm movements is a prominent common feature of these images. Half profile view is observed often in these images and the eye contact with the camera is rather rare. The feeling of action and authority is conveyed by the speech act, hand movements, the profile views and the absence of the eye-contact. Other types of depictions showing males from frontal views, smiling, standing still and establishing eye-contact with the viewer are available accompanying different news stories, yet these are not encountered as often.

Depictions of professional females share similar features with male depictions in terms of the dominance of the formal dress in images. Yet, images of professional females are less in numbers and at times they are not given as large space as the male professionals. In contrast to the images of males eye-contact with the camera and frontal depictions are observed more often in female depictions. Unlike males, females are rarely seen during the course of a speech act and hand movements. Images of professional women were encountered as stock images as well.

The results obtained from the analysis of the single depictions of the females and the males are in line with the findings of previous research (i.e. Wex 1979; Berger 1972). These previous results suggested that men are seen in more active roles in media depictions and they occupy more space. It can be argued that women have different ways of non-verbal

communication and use their body language differently (Kaypakoğlu 2004: 150), which are also reflected in media images showing males with more hand and arm movements. This study cannot go that far to argue about the non-verbal communication patterns of women and men. The results of the qualitative analysis suggest that there are differences between the ways men and women are depicted in media images. There are females depicted with similar conventions that apply to male depictions but these are rather few and confined to the females who occupy the very top positions in the corporate business. Taking the differences and similarities into account, it is difficult to know exactly why there are such differences and to what extent. First of all images of female professionals are in smaller numbers. Had there been an equal number of female and male depictions in newspapers showing them in the context of corporate business, would the differences observed here have still remained or disappeared? The results obtained from the qualitative analysis here indicate that different visual conventions apply to females and males in suits.

Aside from being depicted as professionals in formal suits, women are also depicted in bikinis as nudes. There is no corollary category among the male depictions, showing them scarcely dressed or in swim suits as often as females. In this category of images females are seen as fashion models most of the time. This is not to say that fashion models are not professionals. Fashion models *are* professionals as well, performing their jobs. This study does not intend to prioritize corporate women and women politicians over fashion models. Yet, in images showing fashion models we see the depicted females totally disconnected from their professional worlds. This applies most to the extreme tabloid newspaper *Posta*. The newspaper sexualizes the scarcely dressed images of females and reduces them to eye-candies. The texts accompanying the images of females with bikinis are sexist most of the time to the point of eroticizing sexual harassment. In *Posta*, images of nude females also accompany diet sections, as models for the beauty ideal, and the gossip pages. Scarcely dressed images of females also accompany various items and news articles as stock images without necessarily being related to the person of the women seen in the image.

In secular serious newspapers images of scarcely dressed females are used differently. In these newspapers nudity is seen in the contexts of art, tourism and summer heats. In other words secular serious newspapers provide different grounds for publishing scarcely dressed images of females and aestheticize nudity. Females in specially designed dresses,

like gymnasts and ballerinas appear particularly in the back page of *Cumhuriyet*. In Islamic newspapers images of nude females do not exist.

Various types of gender heterogeneous images are observed in the newspapers. The qualitative analysis here focused particularly on couple photographs where a female and a male are seen together in the same frame. There are photographs of couples in business contexts, in intimate, sexualized contexts and in wedding photographs. In serious newspapers couple photographs are observed in professional contexts most of the time. Particularly noticeable in serious newspapers are the photographs accompanying the interviews. Female journalists conducting the interviews are almost always included in the frame and the frequency of such images suggests that interviewing businessmen and politicians is a task given to female journalists. These images of interviews are observed more frequently in secular serious newspapers in the sample. On the contrary, images of couples with an intimate bond are observed more in secular tabloid newspapers. In Islamic newspapers images of couples seen in professional settings are observed in *Zaman* but not in *Vakit*.

In this study four types of images depicting families are identified: images of nuclear families, images of father and child, images of mother and child and weddings. Different types of images depicting nuclear families are encountered in newspapers but they are not too many. Images showing father and child are very rare. The only example encountered, accompanied a news item about an extraordinary situation, and appeared only in tabloid newspapers. In contrast, there are more images depicting mother and child relationships. Two types of mother and child depictions are observed in the newspapers. In the first group, mothers in particular are seen cheerful and happy with their children. Actresses, high society and celebrity mothers belong to this group. In contrast to this poverty, misery and tragedy are the main themes of the second group of mother-child photographs. The mothers in the second group represent ordinary people from lower income families, victims of poverty, accidents or ill treatment in the hospitals. These images are part of a broader genre of poverty stories in the Turkish news media that spotlights the tragedies of low-income families and call for the state to intervene.

Particularly noticeable in the newspapers are the images of weddings. Wedding photographs are observed basically in two contexts: first, in news items about actual weddings. In this case, weddings become news when the marrying couple is a very close relative of a famous businessman, politician or a celebrity. Second, wedding photographs accompany the news items about tragic events to depict the victims of

terrorism and crime. In such instances these photographs are used to add emotional impact to the drama of the news, to emphasize the lost happiness and pain experienced by the people affected by the tragedy. The more tabloid style the newspaper is, the more likely it is that these images are cropped, flipped, photoshopped or inserted into other images to add more drama to the news item.

Images of bearded males in Vakit are examined separately in this chapter. The majority of columnists in the radical Islamic newspaper Vakit have beards. The newspaper also publishes more news items about Islamic countries such as Iran and Afghanistan. While the images of males with full beards are accompanied by news items putting them in a positive light in the radical Islamic newspaper Vakit, the reverse is true for the radical secular newspaper Cumhuriyet. Images of males with full long beards are encountered mainly in these two newspapers holding totally opposite positions in relation to Islam and secularism. Cumhuriyet also uses the images of males with long black beards in its cartoons as a symbol of religious extremism. Like the headscarf, a full long beard has come to be seen as an extremist symbol in Europe carrying negative connotations.

Even though the images of females with headscarf are small in number, their contexts are highly varied. This study identified seven different contexts in which images of female headscarf were observed. Headscarved females reading the Koran is a theme that is observed only in the radical Islamic newspaper Vakit. Images showing headscarved females protesting the secularist policies keeping them away from higher education are observed both in the moderate Islamic newspaper Zaman and the radical Islamic newspaper Vakit. Yet, while Zaman focuses on the images of headscarved females only, Vakit also includes the institutional supports behind them headed by the males. Both newspapers offer female role models with headscarf to the readers. Unlike Vakit, the females depicted as role models in Zaman share more visual similarities with the ideal image of the professional republican woman. Yet, different from their counterparts in secular newspapers, the ideal of motherhood remains as the leitmotif behind the images of successful females with headscarf observed in Zaman. The Woman and Family pages in Islamic newspapers also emphasize the family as the domain of the women more explicitly than the secular newspapers.

In contrast to Islamic newspapers, the secular tabloid Posta depicts females in mundane and ordinary contexts. The “Islamic” meaning of headscarf has disappeared in these images. Headscarved females as

owners of small businesses, crime victims and adulteresses are seen particularly in *Posta*, and to a smaller extent also in *Sabah*. In other words, in secular tabloid newspapers the images of headscarves are placed in different contexts than in Islamic newspapers. Another category of images where the “Islamic” associations of the headscarf does not determine the primary meaning is the photographs of funerals. In funeral photographs female depictions represent loss and pain and the black headscarf is part of the symbolism of grief, not only as a Muslim, but as a cross-cultural symbol.

The photographs of the headscarf in the contexts of entertainment and summer beaches are mostly accompanied by reports and commentaries. These images trigger discussions and they challenge the fixated meanings of Islamic practices, women and the headscarf. These images seem puzzling to secularist editors, as well as to the journalists in Islamic media. The images invite people to think differently about the meanings of the headscarf and they point at the complex relations between the theoretical interpretations of Islamic headscarf and the variety of practices that can be encountered in the contexts of daily lives as reflected and framed in newspaper pages only to a limited extent.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

Since I started to work on this topic in 2005 there have been significant developments in the Turkish media, society and politics. Although few, new independent newspapers appeared and brought a fresh perspective to the media scene in Turkey that has an oligopolistic structure of ownership concentrated in just a few hands. Besides, as part of the EU harmonization process, there have been changes in the laws regulating press freedom and broadcasting. Yet, while some of these changes were in the positive direction, enlarging freedom of expression, such as making 24 hours broadcasting in the Kurdish language possible, which had been a taboo issue for a long time, others kept restrictive measures on the freedom of press and opinion. The political scene on the other hand, had sharp ups and downs during the past few years and it has become a challenge to follow up the new developments, to comprehend them and incorporate their relevant aspects to this work.

From a broader perspective, this study aimed to analyze the relationships between the press, modernity and gender in Turkey by focusing on the visuals of gender that appeared in newspapers with different socio-cultural and political standings. The study departed from the premise that visuals are not just illustrative and secondary research material; but important sources of information providing keys to reflect upon the social power relationships and conceptions. Gender images and particularly images of females are indicators of larger societal changes and transformations. The history of modern Turkey itself provides a major example in which changes in the gender images accompanied wide ranging social transformations.

The research question in this study explored how females and males are visually depicted in different newspapers and how the different ways they are depicted are related to the broader world views that they represent. The study argued that the visuals in different newspapers have the potential to provide a picture of the current dynamics in Turkish society. They point at emerging conflicts, they raise questions and they challenge long established conceptions. More importantly, they are underresearched. The dominance of the paradigms of “reading” and “literacy” overshadowed the emotive power of visuals as well as the different methodological treatments that they require. This study

combined visual content analysis, iconology and in part, social semiotics to analyze the visuals, taking their specificities into account, their differences from “texts”, and with respect to their relations to texts.

To address the research question, six newspapers from the Turkish press were selected: Cumhuriyet, Radikal, Posta, Sabah, Vakit and Zaman. Aside from methodological concerns, the selection process followed the country’s major social fault lines. Turkey has an authoritarian secularist system and the place of Islam in the public sphere has been a dividing issue in politics and society. Based on this, two pro-Islamic and four secular newspapers were selected for in depth analysis of visuals. Even though the labeling unavoidably sounds as if Islamic and secular newspapers in Turkey are in two totally separate camps, in fact they are not. There are many similarities and crossovers among them which are not covered by previous literature on the Turkish press. Actually, it is these crossovers that present puzzling questions for the researchers and give hints about the emerging demands and dynamics in Turkish society. Therefore the study aimed not only to explore the differences but also the similarities on the ways newspapers visualize gender. Aside from the newspapers’ standings with regard to Islam and Kemalist secularism, the journalistic style of the newspapers that can be observed in their visual layout either as tabloid or serious, was added as a second dimension. Thus, the visualization of gender in newspapers were analyzed, first, with regard to their standing in relation to Kemalist secularism, and second, in relation to their journalistic style. Visualizing gender is not exempt from cultural politics of power. It was one of the aims in this study to make these relationships manifest and explore the different cultural and political preferences behind them.

The theoretical discussions in chapter 2 aimed to provide the rationale behind this study. Why does it make sense to study visuals of females and the males in Turkish newspapers? There are three components to this question: Why visuals, why gender, why newspapers? These questions are closely linked to each other, and they were answered by reviewing the literature, firstly, on modernization and media in general and the Turkish modernization in particular, secondly, the literature on media and gender and, thirdly, the literature on visual research. The transformation (or westernization) of gender relationships constituted a major area in Turkish modernization and the Turkish media was part of this process with newspapers, magazines, films, radio and television. The media images provided new role models to the people. The modernization process in Turkey also politicized different types of dress and gave them new meanings. The female headscarf has become the quintessential

example of this process of politicization. It has acquired a high symbolic value, having multiple, even opposite meanings for different groups. Therefore, the study paid particular attention to the clothing styles depicted in newspaper images. The depictions of male and female nudity, the visualizations of dress and female headscarf were analyzed in depth both in quantitative and qualitative terms.

What are the answers to the questions posed in the beginning of the study? What are the similarities and the differences between the Islamic and the secular newspapers in Turkey? The basic answers found out in the study are as follows:

*What are the differences between the Islamic and the secular newspapers?*

The study has found out that in terms of visual characteristics of the newspapers, the categories “Islamic” and “secular” are irrelevant. The visual similarities and differences among newspapers depend rather on the journalistic style of the newspaper. In that regard, the main differences among newspapers in terms of the use of various types of visuals such as news photographs, cutouts, cartoons and graphics emerge not on the comparative dimension of Islamic vs. secular, but on the dimension of tabloid vs. serious newspapers.

In terms of the depiction of gender the quantitative and qualitative differences as well as similarities between the Islamic and secular newspapers can be summed up as follows:

1. With regard to the quantitative representation of the female, the radical Islamic newspaper Vakit is different from the secular newspapers, as well as from the moderate Islamic newspaper Zaman. The difference between the male and the female images is much larger in the radical Islamic newspaper than all the others.
2. Islamic newspapers, radical or moderate, do not depict female and male nudity unlike the secular newspapers.
3. Islamic newspapers associate women and family more explicitly than the secular newspapers.
4. In descriptive terms, images of females with headscarf constitute a larger percentage of the female images in Islamic newspapers. But in

inferential terms only the difference between the radical Islamic newspaper Vakit and the secular serious newspaper Cumhuriyet is statistically significant. Both newspapers have a radical stance in relation to Islam and Kemalist secularism in Turkey, but in opposing ways. In other words, only the radical secularist and the radical Islamist newspapers differ from each other in terms of the number of headscarved females that they depict.

5. There are qualitative differences between the secular and the Islamic newspapers in terms of the depiction of headscarf as well. The images of the female victims of violence and adulteresses did not appear in Islamic newspapers and the women with headscarf who suffer from the measures aiming to supplement the ban on headscarf in universities did not appear in the secular newspapers during the selected week.

6. The radical Islamic newspaper Vakit included more images of bearded males than all the other newspapers. No differences appeared between the moderate Islamic newspaper and the secular newspapers on the depiction of the male beard.

#### *What are the differences within Islamic newspapers?*

1. The Islamic newspapers examined in the study differ from one another in terms of the quantitative representation of the female. Vakit has much fewer numbers of females than Zaman.

2. There are basic qualitative differences in the ways the two newspapers depict females with headscarf. The images of females reading the Koran do not exist in Zaman, while they are encountered often in Vakit. The contexts of headscarf depictions differ in two newspapers.

3. There are stylistic differences between the newspapers when they address the same issues or report the same news. The headscarf ban is an issue for both newspapers. Yet, while Zaman focuses only on the individual women in visuals, Vakit focuses on the institutions supporting them, mostly headed by males, as well.

4. The female role models the newspapers promote are different from each other. The role models that the moderate Islamic newspaper Zaman promotes have more similarities with the successful secular republican women.

*What are the differences within secular newspapers?*

1. In terms of the basic visual characteristics as well as the female representation the journalistic style of the newspaper plays a big role for all secular newspapers in the study.
2. In some cases, the differences between the secular serious and secular tabloid newspapers are blurred, i.e. Sabah and Radikal have the same amounts of visuals per page.
3. The extreme tabloid newspaper Posta is different than the other secular newspapers in terms of the total number of females and the gender heterogeneous images it contains. Posta has the highest amount of nude images as well.
4. Different secular newspapers use nudity in different contexts. In the selected sample, scantily dressed images of females accompanied the news articles on art exhibitions, tourism and summer heats in the secular serious newspapers Cumhuriyet and Radikal while females with bikinis accompanied articles on diet menus and fashion models in Posta and Sabah. Although Sabah is categorized as a tabloid newspaper as well, not too many differences emerged between Sabah and Posta. Sabah has a daily supplement and publishes similar images of females observed in Posta rather in its supplement. Therefore, the difference between the two newspapers is most probably due to exclusion of daily supplements from the study.
5. The secular tabloid newspapers Posta and Sabah publish more images of females with headscarf than the secular serious newspapers Cumhuriyet and Radikal.

Aside from these basic answers, the quantitative and qualitative results of this study contribute to the literature on visual communication, journalism and gender in two major areas, first, the general visualization strategies of different newspapers, and second, the visualization of gender. The detailed visual analysis in this study provided a map of visualization strategies of different types of newspapers in the Turkish press. The results obtained from the general visual characteristics of newspapers provide hard data to the discussions over different journalistic styles, particularly on tabloid versus serious journalism. The tabloid newspapers in this study contained more visuals than the serious newspapers and they

used them in different ways. The frequent use of cutouts as a visual form emerged as a basic characteristic of tabloid newspapers. Another significant result that would contribute to the discussions on tabloid style journalism is that, as shown with Vakit, tabloid newspapers need not necessarily feature female nudes, on the contrary puritan ideologies can also publish in tabloid style journalism. The sensational visual style of the tabloid fits even better to the sharp ideological positions that negate and reject the other. Aside from the quantity of the visuals the newspapers contain, the ways visuals are used changes according to the journalistic style of the newspaper. This becomes particularly obvious when the same images are compared across newspapers. Tabloid newspapers tend to crop, flip and modify images more often. Slight modifications are difficult to detect most of the time even for the trained eye. Such images are encountered particularly in the extreme tabloid style secular newspaper Posta and the radical Islamist tabloid newspaper Vakit.

The analysis on the visualization of gender showed that the females are seen in much smaller numbers than the males. While this is a major finding in this study, confirming the results of previous studies with visual analysis, this is not the study's main contribution to the literature in the field. This was rather an obvious result. Taking the previous findings on the analysis of newspaper texts into account, it could not be expected that the female representation would be totally different, having females represented in much higher numbers in visuals. Nor, a revolutionary change could be expected since the last time such studies were conducted around 15 years ago, leading up to much higher representation of females in Turkish newspapers. This study's main contribution lies in its analysis of the various ways in which females and males are visualized in newspapers, and in which visual forms overrepresentation or underrepresentation takes place. The quantitative results point to the fact that cutouts are the key visual forms of female representation particularly in secular tabloid newspapers. The qualitative cross comparison of images suggests that the females and the males are depicted with different visual conventions. While profile views and low angles are more common for male depiction, frontal views and eye-level angles are more common for female depiction. Yet, it is necessary to emphasize that this is what the current data and analysis *suggest*. While there are not equal numbers of male and female depictions in newspapers it is not possible to know for sure and prove statistically that female and male depictions stylistically differ from each other in the selected Turkish newspapers.

Thus, the main contribution of this study is the analysis of the female and the male images in a large visual variety combining quantitative and

qualitative methods. The categorizations of different types of headcovering constituted a major part in this picture. While working on these categories I was in fact quite hesitant. I did not want to give a decisive meaning to the categories of the “traditional” and “Islamic” styles of headscarf. These categories are highly flawed in political terms and they contribute to the sustenance of an actual problem rather than its resolution. Therefore, reproducing these categories in the framework of a social scientific study seemed highly problematic to me. Yet, the discussions on the headscarf in Turkey in January and February 2008 showed that these categories correspond to certain perceptions particularly for the secularist establishment in Turkey, however faulty they are. Female dress as well as female visuals is loaded with cultural and political meanings and these meanings are sometimes independent of the daily life contexts and intentions of the people wearing them. It is important to note that the categories of headscarf created here may not necessarily correspond to the ways women who are actually wearing them would define and name them. These are categories created to study the various forms of headscarf seen in the selected Turkish newspapers. The iconological and semiological analysis showed that the contexts of headscarf are varied with multiple meanings, going beyond binary opposites. The variety of these contexts denies the categorization of headscarf into “traditional” and “Islamic” categories to a certain extent. Rather than the style of the headscarf, it is basically the context that gives it its meaning. Is it a mother-victim who is seen with headscarf in a secular tabloid newspaper; is it a female activist seen in a radical Islamic newspaper or is it a wife of a soldier crying at her husband’s funeral? The same style might mean different things and convey different messages depending on the news frame it accompanies.

One of the initial aims of this study was to explore the methodological possibilities and the scope of iconology for visual analysis. Initially, I aimed to use iconology only, for the qualitative analysis in this study. Yet, the absence of photographic analysis in the iconological tradition turned out to be a big drawback. Furthermore, iconology is difficult to handle for researchers without a background in art history. Art history is a marginal field in social scientific training, which makes it difficult and at times irrelevant for social scientists to read and comprehend the art historical literature on iconology. On the contrary, semiotics is more accessible to social scientists and has tools for the analysis of photographs.

The particular research design in this study might have also placed limitations to the potential of iconology as a visual method as well.

Within the limits of this study iconology proved most fruitful in figuring out the similar visual motifs across a variety of images both within and outside the sample of newspapers. Studying recurrent visual motifs that are found in totally different contexts and their multiple meanings in comparative perspective is one of the major strengths of iconology. Yet, this requires the researcher to focus simultaneously on a variety of media, such as the newspapers, magazines, the internet, television and the movies to be able to track how the same visual forms are used to mean different things in different places, which is a highly challenging task. A few examples are provided in this study pointing at the comparative potential of iconology in intertextual analysis. The backshot images seen in different types of publications were a case in point. Another example was the images of girls reading the Koran. In *Vakit*, these images give an idea about the radical Islamic publication and its readership which is around 60.000 in a country of 70 million. Yet, the same type of images symbolizes Muslim migrants and the “parallel society” in a prestigious publication in Germany. As such, the study points at fruitful realms of qualitative research in the field of comparative media studies on topical issues.

Another limitation in applying iconology to media research is related with iconology’s discipline of origin. In art history, iconology is used to understand the characteristics of a particular period, i.e. Renaissance, or the 17<sup>th</sup> century painting in Netherlands. Iconology as a method therefore, looks back; it is, after all, a method of history as a discipline. The historical era that is studied with iconology is already closed; as opposed to the contemporary time we are still part of. Panofsky could confidently talk about the basic attitudes and the spirit of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Netherlands as reflected in art historical works. But, it is not possible to talk so confidently about the present time while it is still in the making. That’s a major challenge in the social sciences: capturing the spirit of the time while we are still living in it, while we are part of it. Social sciences study the contemporary period, which lies open ahead of us. This presents another basic challenge in applying iconology to study media images. Therefore, projects covering recent history, such as the analysis of past decades, can provide a more fruitful realm for applying iconology in media studies (i.e. looking at the characteristics of gender representations during the 1990). Then, considering the amount of visuals produced in the media, the selection of the visuals will turn out to be the basic problem facing the researcher, which brings us to the question: in what types of research designs can the potential of iconology be best realized? Is it useless without having quantitative measures by its side? What are the other ways it can be used for the analysis of media images?

Finally, iconology is referred in the literature not only as a method but as an approach to studying visuals. In other words, iconology offers guidelines about how to analyze the visuals, which is a methodological endeavor, *and* it provides a framework as to how to interpret the meanings of visuals within the broader socio-cultural context, which is a theoretical endeavor. Yet, iconology's theoretical underpinnings are outdated. Its claim to uncover the spirit of an era, nation or culture poses huge theoretical questions particularly in the face of post-structural criticisms. The current literature on iconology is not yet well equipped to provide answers. In sum, the methodological possibilities and the limits of iconology need to be further inquired by applying it in different research designs, keeping in mind its theoretical drawbacks. Iconology's theoretical approach to culture and society is outdated to sufficiently address the complicated relationship between the current forms of visual media and the socio-cultural dynamics.

In how far can the analysis of visuals in newspapers be helpful to understand the dynamics in Turkish culture and society? There are definitely certain theoretical and methodological limits in searching insights about society through the analysis of its media. There are different ways the relations between the media and society can be theorized. The reflection hypothesis for instance, approached media as a mirror of society that *should* be true to the demographic structures and correctly reflect the social reality, and it is criticized on the basis of its underestimation of the different roles and functions that the media play in society. Furthermore the idea of representing the "reality" that everyone agrees on is questioned by the post-structural approaches to media content. While there is truth in these criticisms, the media may still reflect the sensitive issues and breaking points in society to a certain degree. Media is an important institution of cultural production. It is an arena where the boundaries of common culture are constantly redefined, contested and recreated. The media institutions in general and the newspapers in particular contribute to the sustenance of established conflicts, as well as their transformation. They provide an arena in which cultural symbols are played with, transformed and manipulated towards certain ends. The newspapers analyzed in the study are part of this arena. They provide concrete examples of the different ways contested cultural symbols are appropriated and used by various social actors. Images of the females in particular are politicized in different ways. The sheer existence of scantily dressed females in a newspaper might be an implicit statement endorsing the secular public sphere. Or, avoidance to publish female victims of violence and the adulteresses wearing headscarves might be

interpreted as an attempt to elevate the status of the headscarf, transform its meanings from a symbol of backwardness to a prestigious sign of the elite Muslim women. This study showed how different newspapers in Turkey play with the socio-political boundaries in subtle ways in defining their positions and conveying that to their readership through the images of gender. Yet, the results obtained from this study can neither be generalized to the whole Turkish press nor to the Turkish society because of the exploratory nature of the study. The sampling decisions taken in this study limit the generalizability of the results. Furthermore, the mere analysis of media content is not sufficient to provide inferences about the overall culture and society. This study provided hints and insights about the relationships between the images of gender, culture and the Turkish press. As in every analysis, this study rendered some aspects of its research topic more visible than the others. What this study left unanswered and rendered invisible remains to be studied in further research.

The production contexts of visuals in newspapers are not given space in this study. The accounts of not only what images show, but also how they are produced by photojournalists and how they are selected by the editors, are significant points for further inquiry. Research projects aiming at conducting in-depth interviews with the visual journalists and page editors would contribute greatly to the knowledge and analysis about the Turkish press.

As much as this study aimed to address the crossovers between the Islamic and the secular newspapers, there are still open areas for research where the boundaries between these two categories are blurred. The categorization of the “Islamic” and “secular” newspapers itself is questionable, overshadowing the very areas that cannot be categorized. An analysis of the Turkish press that pays particular attention to the ambiguities that resist categorizations is also needed. At the beginning of this concluding chapter it is indicated that the media scene in Turkey has changed during the past four years. New competitors emerged for readership in the Turkish press. If a new sample of newspapers were to be chosen today, different selection criteria would have to be taken into account. Two independent newspapers, *Birgün* and *Taraf* that appeared in the Turkish press in 2004 and 2007 respectively would probably be candidates as independent newspapers not owned by the oligopolistic media giants in Turkey. *Taraf*, in particular, became very influential in less than a year in bringing taboo issues in Turkish politics to the public debate. Although it is not an Islamic newspaper, it is the only newspaper to my knowledge so far where female columnists wearing headscarf are

employed, writing in the newspaper side by side with leftist intellectuals. *Birgün* is a left-oriented newspaper, similar to *Radikal*, yet unlike *Radikal*, its ownership is divided into shares and sold to the readers. Another newspaper, *Bugün*, appeared in the Turkish press in 2005, and although by ownership it is regarded as an Islamic newspaper, the composition of the writers makes it difficult to characterize the newspaper as “Islamic.” In other words, what makes a newspaper “Islamic” or not is becoming more questionable. It is this dynamism in the Turkish press itself that requires specific treatment in a different framework without having binary categories that reduces the amount of information that could be obtained about the Turkish press only to a few limited dimensions such as “Islamic vs. secular” or “tabloid vs. serious” created to fulfill the requirements of statistical analysis. In broader terms, theorizing the media system in Turkey in comparison to the other media systems is a field waiting to be explored further as well.

Within the constraints of this study only six newspapers are explored, four of them are categorized as secular and two of them as Islamic. Some of the results the study produced, such as the lack of nudity in Islamic newspapers, may appear commonsensical. And indeed they are. For instance, some of the quantitative differences between the radical Islamic newspaper *Vakit* and the moderate Islamic newspaper *Zaman* in terms of style and content are quite obvious to the analysts as well as the Turkish readers who are familiar with these newspapers. If more “Islamic” newspapers that stand between *Vakit* and *Zaman* could have been included in the study the results pertaining to the differences within Islamic newspapers would have a stronger empirical basis. Still, this study named and underlined the differences between the newspapers in terms of their visual arrangements in a systematic manner, opening up the way for follow up studies that would focus on other newspapers in the Turkish press that could not be covered in this study. Furthermore, the results obtained here form a basis for cross-cultural comparative studies analyzing newspapers from different countries. The methodological tools developed in this study can be replicated both in similar-system and different-system designs in comparing print media in different countries.

As to the context of gender images this study brings questions that need to be answered with further quantitative and qualitative studies. The findings in the study that suggest that females are depicted more in cutouts without background needs to be inquired further. Does the representation of the female in cutouts prevail across different roles attributed to females, or is it prominent only in the depiction of female celebrities? The use of stock images in Turkish press also constitutes

another point for further inquiry. Questions that would contribute to our understanding of images and their global distribution such as, how the global corporations and image banks influence the use of images in national newspapers remain to be studied for the future.

In terms of the visual representation of headcovering the study focused on a tension-free week, where no intensive debates on the headscarf ban in universities or Islam and women took place. In that regard the study focuses on the representations of headscarf in a regular week in national press. Yet, the representations of headscarf might be different in different newspapers at times of tension and conflict over the problem. The problem of headscarf has remained on the agenda in Turkey for around forty years with ups and downs. Therefore a visual as well as a textual analysis of the representation of headscarf in Turkish newspapers, including the time dimension would be very fruitful in tracing the transformations and continuities in the ways the Turkish press dealt with the issue over the years.

The qualitative analysis provided in the study carries the seeds of new research topics that could not be handled with more in-depth analysis here. Images of soldier funerals for instance require specific treatment within a different theoretical framework, and with a larger data set collected in time. Aside from their emotional charge and political implications such images are gendered as well, and require in-depth analysis which went beyond the limits of this study. The images of headscarves on beaches and in entertainment also require more in-depth treatment across different types of media, magazines and other newspapers that could not be included here.

Finally, going back to the image of the young woman dancing that was mentioned in the first paragraph of this thesis and analyzed later in-depth, the images of the females testify to the changing gender relations as well as the changing cultural conceptions on women, religion, secularism and modernization. The images of gender will remain as important sources of information giving the researchers clues about the cultural demands and social dynamics taking place. Tracing the changes in the images of gender both in present societies as well as in history is an open task for the researchers interested in studying the relations between socio-cultural change, the media and politics.

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