

Representations of Foreign Women in the Turkish Media: A Study on Regional Supplements of National Newspapers and Local Newspapers in Antalya*

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Abstract

Media reality is an important tool in how people perceive, interpret and evaluate the world. Therefore, the power of the media in the formation of positive or negative judgments about different cultures is inevitable. Antalya is a place of intense human mobility due to its historical past and climatic conditions. In such an environment of intense cultural diversity, the study of how women from different cultures are represented in the media becomes worthwhile. The role of the media in alleviating or worsening conflicts is significant and its contribution to the creation and shaping of public representations of the body is huge. The media present the element of sexuality through the female body and thus shape the opinion of readers within the boundaries of traditional gender roles. This study seeks to answer the question "how do 'foreign women' become represented in newspapers printed in the Antalya region?"

keywords: media, diversity, gender, foreign women

* This article is based on the revision of the paper presented at "Body and Masculinity in the Globalizing World" International Symposium with a title "Representation of Foreign Women in the Turkish Media", 15-16 October 2009, Akdeniz University, Antalya, Turkey.

Résumé

La représentation de “la femme étrangère” dans les médias Turcs : une analyse sur les suppléments régionaux de la presse nationale et la presse locale d’Antalya

Les médias sont l’instrument principal de l’accès à l’information et la connaissance. Ils occupent aujourd’hui une place importante dans les activités de loisir, dans l’éducation, dans le monde professionnel, voire à chaque instant de la vie quotidienne. La réalité médiatique, en tant que réalité subsidiaire, joue un rôle déterminant dans la perception, l’interprétation et l’évaluation du monde. L’influence des médias sur les jugements positifs ou négatifs que l’on se fait des cultures différentes est très souvent déterminante. Ce travail analyse les femmes étrangères en Turquie ainsi que leur représentation dans la presse écrite. L’objectif principal est d’analyser les formes de représentations des femmes étrangères dans les informations médiatiques. Celles-ci sont souvent transformées en objet érotique et assimilées à un objet sexuel. Pour ce faire, nous allons analyser les faits divers dans trois quotidiens nationaux et quatre quotidiens locaux de la ville d’Antalya ainsi que leurs suppléments.

mot-clés: médias, diversité, gender, femme étrangères

Özet

Türk Medyasında Yabancı Kadın Temsilleri: Ulusal Gazetelerin Bölgesel Ekleri ve Antalya’daki Yerel Gazeteler Üzerine Bir Çalışma

Medya, insanların dünyayı algılamaları, yorumlamaları ve değerlendirmelerinde önemli bir araçtır. Bu anlamda farklı kültürler üzerine olumlu veya olumsuz yargıların oluşmasında medyanın gücü tartışılmaz. Ekonomik, teknolojik küreselleşmeye bağlı olarak bilgi akışı ve insan hareketliliği arttı, farklı kültürlerin biraradalığı olağan hale geldi. Kültürel çeşitlilikle birlikte hem karşılıklı etkileşim hem de farklılıklar temelinde çelişkilerin yaşanması da kaçınılmaz oldu. Antalya, tarihi ve iklim koşulları dolayısıyla insan hareketliliğinin yoğun yaşandığı bir bölgedir. Böylesine kültürel çeşitliliğin yoğun olduğu bir ortamda farklı kültürel gruplardan kadınların medyada temsilleri araştırılması gereken bir alan olmaktadır. Çünkü medyanın farklılıklar temelinde çelişkileri artıran ya da bütünleştiren rolü önemlidir ve medya beden ile ilgili toplumsal temsillerin üretilmesi ve şekillendirilmesinde önemli rol üstlenmektedir. Medya, günümüzde kadın bedeni üzerinden cinsellik öğesini yoğun biçimde sunmakta, böylece yerleşik toplumsal cinsiyet kalıpları doğrultusunda okurlarını yönlendirebilmektedir. Bu çalışmanın amacını “Antalya’ya yönelik yayın yapan gazetelerde ‘yabancı kadınlar’ nasıl temsil edilmektedir” sorusu oluşturmaktadır.

anahtar kelimeler: medya, farklılık, toplumsal cinsiyet, yabancı kadın

Introduction

The history of migration in Turkey includes the two stages: the rapid internal migration from rural areas to big cities of the 1950s and 1960s, and the external migration extending to Europe. Large-scale studies have been conducted both in Turkey and in European countries receiving Turkish immigrant workers about immigrants' adaptation and language problems, issues related to immigration policies and media consumption habits of immigrants. While Turkey has largely remained a sender country, it recently started to both receive immigrants and host transit ones, due to globalization, economic integration, advanced communication, migration, and tourism related human mobility. However, the conditions and profile of immigrants in Turkey are different from those who go to other countries, with respect to their reasons for immigrating and the duration of their stay. For instance, the foreigners who live around Antalya do not constitute a homogeneous group. Their reasons for being in Antalya and their age groups are also different. Antalya and the cities around it constitute an important center for tourism mobility, attract the interest of foreign investors, and are especially preferred by European retirees to live in. Dividing their time between their home countries and Antalya, where they own property, gives a different profile to foreign retirees, investors, tourism workers and those who settle in Antalya by way of marriage.

As a result, immigrants in Antalya and other similar coastal locations have a culturally non-homogeneous structure. While this structure enables the coexistence of differences with the support of global communications and economy, at the same time it also brings conflicts and problems. Respecting differences becomes more critical in places with cultural diversity. Naturally, ensuring such respect cannot be limited to the goodwill of individuals. Today, media reality plays an important role and it is an effective tool in the perception of reality while opinions are formed. The media are not only a tool of communication but also of education, and play a significant role in the socialization of individuals, similar to the roles of the family, school, and peers.

Visual, audio and printed media are a representation of the cultural system. In this context, media content cannot be seen simply as an advertisement, a piece of news, a film or TV series; their ideological functions are also important.

Media not only produce the reality, but also describe it. And this produced reality is represented with linguistic practices. The representation mentioned here "implies an active selection, presentation, configuration and formulation". All these reasons require analyzing the ideological configuration of media messages as well as obvious meanings of media messages. (Hall, 1999:88). According to Marcuse (1997:24-25) who asks "Could we make a real distinction between mass media's role as an information and entertainment tool and as forming the mass consciousness and conditioning tool?", mass media have to

be ideological. Because mass media play a mediator role between the lords who form the ideological pattern of the community and people who live dependent to them. Thus the relationship between media as publication of the status quo and ideology is inevitable. Hall (1999: 90) discusses, "How does the ideological process work and what are the mechanisms of it?" and exhibits the production and transformation of ideological discourse with the theory related to symbolic and linguistic characteristics of ideological discourse. According to Irigaray, discourse has gender, as well as language. Due to the determination of word types in sexual connotations or the determination of words close to sexual characteristics, language has gender in terms of vocabulary and the basic rules of language (2006: 32). Accordingly, the development of ideology creates a proper area of articulation for itself, first. So, it is accepted that ideology exists in the language which shows latent structure and level of meaning (Sancar, 2008: 93-94). Van Dijk (1994:275) emphasizes that, "one of the most important conditions of social control practice through discourse is the control of discourse and the production of discourse itself". It is stated that mass media organizations and anonymous owner of these organizations control not only financial and technological conditions of discourse, but also the industry of telecommunication and computer, as well as newspaper and television. With this perspective, when the media becomes a mediating power, it begins to play an autonomous role in the production of social power structures. Media determine how the actors will be re-presented and what will be told about them by eclectic sources, routine news tempo, and selection of title of the story (1999: 366-367). This is achieved by the language used in the news, word choices, and active and passive sentence structures (Dursun, 2001: 170-171). As indicated by Fowler, women are represented in media with stereotype terms like "frivolous", and sexy. According to Fowler, this reality seen in media news is not only related to social distribution of gender roles, but also a problem of continuous use and normalizing of these expressions. Because presenting this approach like a "normal thing" effects gender classification (1991:103).

The representation of women in the media is also a problematic and controversial area. They are mostly positioned as mothers and home-makers or erotic objects to be watched by males. Tuchman (1978) seeks an answer to the following question in the introduction to his book entitled *Women and the Media: How can we rescue women from the cruelty of the media*, which limits their lives to love and the home (cited in van Zoonen, 1997: 467-509).

How, then, are foreign women represented in the media of a country other than their own? This study is an analysis of how foreign women are represented in the media, what kind of news they take part in, and how the media present them. The main questions of the study are as follows: What is the role of the media in the perception of foreign women, in the formation of the image of foreign women, in the creation or reinforcement of prejudice against female tourists or women from other cultures, and in their stereotyping as sex

objects? It is hoped that this study will reveal how integrative or othering the role of the media is, by examining the regional copies of three national newspapers in Antalya and four local newspapers. Such an analysis would help clarify the perceptions and representations of foreign women in the Turkish media, and reveal the role of the media in the culturally diverse environments of today's globalized world.

Method and Technique

Images of women in both audio-visual and print media (Çelenk and Timisi, 2000, Alankuş ve İnal, 2000, Bükler ve Kıran 1999, Gencil-Bek, 2006;) were investigated and examined through different dimensions in TV series, in advertisements, in talk-shows and in movies in Turkey. Although the presentation of woman who is free, independent, trying to stand on her own feet, struggling for her rights can be seen in these studies, mostly, the dominant image of woman stands out within the border of family, marriage and the passive spectacle of sex and violence object. The news about women has either magazine or sexual context, and the traditional division of tasks is not questioned in the messages. Furthermore by legitimating violence against women, what they should do or what they shouldn't do is advised in the news. Thus by scaring women they are advised not to go beyond their given roles (Abisel, 2000:197). Bükler and Kıran emphasize that, today mass media generally limit women giving only one role and one function, because of the sexist perspective against women. Accordingly, women who are mostly demoted to an object in advertisements are violence or this violence is legitimated (1999: 56-57). "When women's naked body is consumed as a spectacle object by both themselves and men, women are reduced to an object status and used as an object" (1999: 58-59)

Gencil Bek and Binark (2000:6-16), discuss representation of women in their study called '*Media and Sexism*' under these titles: "Woman as a mother and a wife, woman as a sexual object, presentation of woman as an object of violence and different types of women on the basis of femininity: advices to women from media. In this context "media put the existing values into circulation and reproduces them by accepting without questioning". The mentality accepted and put into the circulation is primarily "being a mother and a wife, as a role which is attributed to women by male dominant ideology". In the same way, beyond the exhibition of the woman body to men's glances in the media, women can be transformed to delicatessen for men's concupiscence. As a result, the limits of women's daily life are determined by the male perspective. Reduced to a passive and sexual object, women can be abused every second in the streets, at work, and even in the bus. Such events are mostly normalized in the magazine newspaper with the news which uses macho and sexist language and present women as a sexual object.

Onaran who have studied "female image" in the foreign films on TV, emphasizes that the female identity constructed in the media is increasingly having a form congruent with male dominant discourse. Accordingly, woman as a watching object is in the position of "being watched", but the man is in the position of "watcher" so the distinction between "active" and "passive" is seen clearly. Indicated by Onaran, especially feminist writers notice the increase of the women's presentation as a sexual object in the western capitalist societies in the current century (2000: 6, 228, 229).

Tools of mass media in general, and print media in particular constitute a controversial area with respect to production of free thought and consciousness, views of the majority, and the image or representation of the other. Thus, the outcomes and meaning of ideologies created through media content and language deserve a closer examination because media reality is starting to replace reality, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish reality and fiction in today's media. According to Bourdieu, the hypothesis that mass media tools like television or newspaper will create a free environment to express itself is a universal demand will never come true. The mass media show the reality more different than it should be or change it to something which makes any sense (Bourdieu, 1997: 23).

As a result of globalization, information networks and human mobility erase national and international boundaries, and bring space and time closer, while at the same time differences lead to discrimination. Discourse analysis of news text is one of the main tasks of the media researches, as most of our social and political information and beliefs about the world derive from hundreds of news which we read, hear or watch everyday (Van Dijk, 1991:110).

Van Dijk who have made a case study of press news based on discourse analysis, indicates that, "there are less news about minorities, immigrants, squatters, third world and its people and they can't be news resource much in the reputable news, whereas they stand out with stereotypes and risk and threat factor". All these consequences can be revealed with the production, width, rate, style of the news and the analysis of the dominance of the issues (1999:368).

The aim of this study is to reveal the role of print media in the "othering" of what seems different. At the same time, it will discuss the role of the print media in the idealization of the gender approach and in the exclusion of women from different cultures by turning them into erotic objects.

The technique of qualitative text analysis has been used in the study, and each news item, column, interview, series, and photograph was considered as text. The following questions were asked of the texts taken from newspapers:

How are texts about foreign women structured?

Within what context and approach are they described?

What types of headlines are used?

What implicit and explicit messages are given in headlines and photographs?

What types of distortions are used in texts and photographs?

Does the press use different attitudes and approaches in the presentation of foreigners?

How does the sex of the reporter who writes a news item about foreign women affect the content?

Based on the qualitative text analysis method used as a data collection technique in communication studies, this study examines explicit and implicit messages in the news items about foreign women in Antalya both in the national and local press. The study was limited to the daily print media in Antalya, which is commonly preferred by foreign tourists in Turkey.

A total of 7 newspapers were selected; three represented Turkish national print media and four represented the local press of Antalya. The representation of women in the three national newspapers -Hürriyet Akdeniz, Sabah Akdeniz and Cumhuriyet Akdeniz - as well as the four local newspapers - Gerçek, Beyaz, Ekspres and Manşet - were analyzed for the duration of a month (15th June - 15th July) by using the prespecified questions to examine the representations of foreign women in Antalya during the tourist season. While headlines and photographs are generally used in newspapers to summarize the content for readers, they are also used to draw attention. In addition to photographs, the analyses here also included the context of words used to shape the readers' opinion, and the implicit and explicit visual and language distortions. Text analysis focuses on the cultural, political and ideological meaning of a text (Erdoğan, 2003: 198). In this study, the individual, ideologic and cultural factors used in forming a text were studied by focusing on the meaning loaded upon them by the sender of the message. As stressed by Erdoğan, content and text analyses are important; however, these should not be isolated from the qualitative whole and the organized life process of people and their relationships (Erdoğan, 2003: 200). A metaphor is expressing the unfamiliar from the perspective of something that is familiar. The meaning of the unfamiliar is revealed by the tools of the familiar. The similarities and differences of the metaphor are used together and the metaphor has "an ideological meaning in the final stage" (Fiske,1996, 126-127). The media do not turn all events and issues into news stories; on the contrary, they make news stories so as to support the achievement of certain aims and goals (Staab, 1990: 198; cited in Alver, 2006: 9-33).

Thus, media professionals reflect their individual/subjective thoughts, political/ideological views and aims not only at the stage where events are made

into news, but also at the stage where they are represented. Similar to prejudices and stereotypes, the absence of background information and the time, place and type of news stories affect the content (Alver, 2006: 22). Masses are influenced through the pictures and language used by the media. The words chosen and their meanings particularly affect the reader politically, culturally and emotionally with their associations. "Colours, styles, words represent certain institutions, concepts and people. These representations reflect the place of the represented in our lives and the meaning we attribute to it. Different representations come together to shape our outlook on the world, society and people. Representations contribute to the constant reproduction of this outlook, values in general, and behavior styles" (Uğur Tanrıöver, 2007: 149-166).

This study focuses on the photographs used in news items, the headlines which summarize the content of the texts, and the words used in them. The content of news items about foreign women from selected newspapers reveals how they are presented to the society.

Theoretical Framework

In general, media has a key role in the construction of "the stranger" or "the other". It continuously functions on the one hand as "the window to the world", on the other as a filter. This mechanical filtering operates on the media's own picture as well as on the representation of "the other". For example, Farrokhzad expresses the problem in the representation of Muslim women in the German media:

"That immigrant Muslim women are constantly living under fear, aggression and oppression due to their religious, regional and traditional relations is emphasized by the German press. This way, the freedom of German women in accordance with the Western culture's dominant structure is highlighted by the reproduction of the gender equality understanding in the dominant Western culture" (2006: 55). In response to this, Saktanber (1993) calls attention to the fact that Turkish media in the representation of women is not much different from the Western media. According to Uğur Tanrıöver, how women are represented in the media is important because these forms of representation are about how the media perceives not only the women but also the world and it is significant that media, by legitimizing this viewpoint, presents the women to the society with its own viewpoint (cited in, Uğur Tanrıöver, 2007: 154-155). In their study on media and sexism Gencel Bek and Binark emphasize that the media reproduce the unequal position of women in society by its editing about the women condition. While women are reduced solely to body, they are exploited over their bodies (2000: 4). In a way, as Öztürk stated, we are all products of a sexist culture Sexism penetrates to our society, influences our attitudes. The driving force of sexism is not legal constraints, but subconscious

motives. Dominant culture disseminates the sexist patterns which invaded TV, cinema, books, newspapers, magazines and music (2000: 68).

The body politics of the media is shaped by the body image of media professionals such as media owners, editors, writers and publishing directors; the ideological mechanisms that play a role in their body code processing; and the ways in which news, content and messages in the media about foreign women's bodies emphasize, otherize, exclude or prioritize certain things. The selection, presentation and discourse of news may create a large area of distortion. Therefore, methods such as discourse, selectiveness or short or long-term preferences are able to influence the public opinion to favor certain things over others (Özdemir, 1998: 58). As was the case in the past, news and photographs of women also take up a huge space in today's newspapers, from the first page to the women's pages, presenting them as mothers, wives, lovers, working women, housewives, models, actresses and tourists, or akin to beauty, skincare, aesthetics or other light-hearted issues. Women's magazines and women's pages in newspapers mostly present women from the perspective of official ideologies as either beautiful and sexy objects, or as wives, mothers and housewives. As emphasized by Odabaş, when featuring women and their bodies, "the media not only presents competitive and hierarchical body representations fed by the different positions of bodies and body communities (such as woman, man, homosexual, beautiful, ugly, healthy, diseased, disabled, slim, overweight, poor, rich, covered, uncovered), but at the same time structures, arranges and justifies values, boundaries and hierarchies between bodies in a network of social relations" (2008: 53-72). Therefore, the place of women and how the media view them historically has not changed in either audio-visual or print media.

Previous studies have emphasized that women are only rarely given a place in the media and when they are, they are reduced to the roles given to women by the society, such as wives, mothers, daughters, girlfriends, either doing traditional women's professions or as sex objects. Constant use of gender stereotypes by the media reflects dominant social values. At the same time, such as the gender approach, women's class and economic conditions, ethnic differences, sex preferences, and cultural conditions also determine their representation in the media (van Zoonen, 1997: 467-509). Women who are emphasized with their national or ethnic identities become generalized both as women and within the boundaries of their cultural group, thus being limited to the two dimensions of 'woman' and 'foreign woman'. Generalizations depend on the physical features, behaviors or actions of a subject or object (Lauber, 2003: 39). However, individuals cannot be understood by only looking at their physical features, behaviors, actions or their society; "the relationships of individuals with groups within the society, individuals themselves and their personal history have a structure that distinguishes them from others in the

society and 'forms their own identity'" (Kaplan and Akyol, 2006: 197-202). "Therefore, it is a rigid approach to associate people with the groups they live in and limit them to the point-of-view necessitated by their own identity and that of the society" (2006: 201).

Even though Barloeven states that the global culture eliminates local and regional differences and makes common value judgments more widespread (2001: 14, cited in Meral, 2008: 179), globalization is also considered to be a process that promotes local values. The duality between the poor and the rich is reflected in globalization as the duality between the global and the local. It will therefore be inevitable for global and local cultures to interact and lead to hybridization and differentiation. According to Smith, "the local refers to small-scale, geographically limited traditions and lifestyle, while the global refers to spatially large social and cultural forces" (2007: 310).

In fact, globalization as a concept was born from an approach related to the organization of the world economy, and the acceptance of the concept coincides with the process of freeing and privatizing communication networks (Tekinalp and Uzun, 2004: 176). Information and human mobility caused by the integration of economies and communication systems, regional organization of international companies, tourism, migration, international companies and thus international immigrants have made it easier for differences to exist together. In the age of transnational companies, there is an international work market for qualified people and the mobility of such people beyond borders stress the importance of international brain drain (Miles and Satzewich, 2007: 303-333). Dealing critically with McLuhan's global village, Mattelart poses the question how we should explain this historical development phase of our societies without being trapped by concepts of identification, standardization and massification of words that express the ever-increasing cliché ideas (2001: 121). According to Mattelart, "with the mismatch between the central and unifying powers of cultural plurality, division and globalization become important as a tense couple that is effective in the separation or reestablishment of social and cultural identities". In other words, the network between the global and local necessitates new interpretations at the inevitability of a singular culture (2001: 124). As the discourse of globalization legalizes economic and cultural globalization, it uses the values of communication and those of democracy, which are promised by mass information (Tutal, 2006: 15). However, the mass information function of communication tools plays a key role in the local-global dualism because the post-modernization of culture, the media, consumerism, tourism and transnational companies as well as social forces has a central role in the establishment of an increasingly intertwined world (Smith, 2007: 308). The global media have created a common audience throughout the world and the globalization of media content causes homogeneity on the one hand and ethnic, religious, cultural differences on the other. Cultural diversity and the process of homogeneousness, different cultures living together and each cultural group

seeing others through the lens of their own values lead to problems and conflicts, creation or reinforcement of prejudice and generalization. The media undoubtedly plays a role in this process.

Representations of Foreign Women in the National Press

Generally, the representation of foreign women and tourists in newspapers is a problematic area. The underlying reason for limiting this study to the Antalya region, which is fed by tourism and tourism-related establishments, and for conducting a comparative study between local and regional newspapers was the assumption that the press of a tourism region and the national press might have different attitudes towards foreign women. Similar to the image of foreign residents and employees, that of tourists also become affected positively or negatively by the media. Robinson and Levy (1986) argue that "in contrast to popular and academic beliefs, it is generally easier for news in the print media to be remembered than TV news" (cited in Van Dijk, 1994: 303). This may "enrich the convincing effect and thus the power of news in the print media" as stressed by Van Dijk (1994: 303).

In addition, the media mostly tend to reflect ethnic and racial minorities and people from different cultures through ethnocentric cliché news or presents foreigners as problematic people (Van Dijk, 1994: 307). By doing so, they create a scapegoat in foreign people who threaten 'our values' without going to the root of the problem. Thus, when foreigners feature in the media they are often otherized and not evaluated objectively. The structuring of the news content about foreigners is far from understanding their expectations and problems and mostly position them as people who do not comply with the general moral and cultural norms of a given place. The representation of immigrants as "cliché and problematic" in the Western media also concerns the representation of foreign women. However, these representations differ with the cultural diversity of the society. For instance, while Muslim women are often presented as uneducated and weak women who suffer from men's cruelty, are abused and unable to stand up for their rights, Latin women are equated with nakedness, being sexy and erotic, and African women are reduced to exotic objects.

In the Turkish media too, foreigners and groups from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds mostly become presented negatively. Similar to the representation of minorities, different ethnic and religious groups, and foreigners in the media, women are also shown within the official ideology. According to the gender approach, women are represented in two different ways in the media. This means that women are either represented as home-makers, mothers and good wives in line with the roles given to them by the society or shown in advertisements, films, and prints and visual media through largely erotic photographs of sexy, neat, beautiful and seductive women.

News about foreign women in the Turkish media generally stem from Antalya and its surrounds, which are the main tourism areas. Therefore, this study was limited to the representation of foreign women in the regional issues of national newspapers and the local press of Antalya during the high season for tourism. The number of news items on foreign women increases during the high season in *Hürriyet Akdeniz*. While between 15th June - 1st July, there were 12 items about foreign women, there were 25 between 1st July - 15th July. This shows that the number of news items increases between the beginning of the tourism season and the high season.

These news items are largely supported with visual elements, and many pictures are used for the same item even for short ones. It is worth noting that most photographs feature naked women. However, most pictures were not relevant to the content of the news item, and photographs about the real theme are either not used at all or used as very small visual texts. For instance, the news item in *Hürriyet Akdeniz* (16th June 2009) with the headline "Golden Pomegranate Festival Resembles Rio" was about the annual festival organized in Kemer but used a large picture of Rio carnival girls dancing half naked. The reasons for using this picture are to make a reference to the Rio Carnival. However, the content stated that the first deed of the new mayor was to remove a nude statue from a park, only to erect it again, together with the artists invited to the festival, in a new location upon protests from the public. The photograph related to this was much smaller than that of the carnival girls. The continuation of the same news item in an inside page offered a single sentence about people who joined the float, and another single sentence about the show groups in nightclubs accompanied by a large picture of nude Russian dancers which overshadowed the news item itself. The photographs of the news item suggested that the participants of the Golden Pomegranate Festival were dancers from different countries, but there was no information about which national or international artists participated in the event or what the festival entailed.

Table 1: National Press

	Date	Number of news items	Number of photographs	There is consistency between news item and photograph	There is no consistency between news item and photograph	First page	Inside page	Middle page	Last page
<i>Hürriyet Akdeniz</i>	15.06.2009-15.07.2009	37	51	26	11	17	7	5	4
<i>Sabah Akdeniz</i>	15.06.2009-15.07.2009	30	74	24	6	5	10	4	5
<i>Cumhuriyet Akdeniz</i>	15.06.2009-15.07.2009	37	53	9	28	6	7	-	19

As it can be seen on Table 1 in *Hürriyet Akdeniz* news items about foreign women generally featured on the first page of the newspaper (17 news) but news or pictures about foreign women also existed in the inside pages. Generally the news items are consistent with the news photographs. In *Hürriyet Akdeniz*, foreign women are mostly presented with headlines alluding to prostitution, lying, cheating or eroticism. For instance, the news item entitled "Isabella's harassment lie", it was claimed that "Isabella claimed that a young man working at a boutique harassed her physically but the Turkish police released the youngster when her cousin did not confirm her" (*Hürriyet-Akdeniz*, 30.06.2009). What is described here was girls drinking in a club and asking for the help of a young man who they met in a shop when Isabella got drunk and what happened to them during this process. What is emphasized, on the other hand, was that Swedish girls were using alcohol, dancing in a disco and wrongly blaming another person. In *Hürriyet Akdeniz* dated 14th July 2009, the picture of a young tourist woman in a bikini featured next to the headline "88% Humidity in Alanya". The real content of this news item was about the rapidly increasing heat in Alanya, the accompanying humidity and that it was impossible to find a free sun-lounge on the beach. What is suggested, though, was that whoever went swimming there were beautiful foreigners in their bikinis. In other words, Turkish tourists, the other sex and other age groups did not exist among the people who flooded the beaches with the increasing heat, but the image of the young and beautiful foreign women in their bikinis was emphasized.

Table 2: National Press

	Date	Number of news items	Concept of the news-light-hearted	Concept of the news /Changing religion	Concept of the news/Routin-daily news	Concept of the news / Criminal
<i>Hürriyet Akdeniz</i>	15.06.2009-15.07.2009	37	26	-	8	4
<i>Sabah Akdeniz</i>	15.06.2009-15.07.2009	30	20	1	5	4
<i>Cumhuriyet Akdeniz</i>	15.06.2009-15.07.2009	37	29	-	5	-

As it can be seen on Table 2 there are mostly magazine news in *Hürriyet Akdeniz*. Twenty-eight of the news items in *Hürriyet Akdeniz* were written by male journalists and 8 did not have names on them. The gender point-of-view in the media seems to be the product of a common understanding between newspaper owners, administrators and journalists.

Another newspaper examined for this study was *Sabah Akdeniz*. Between the study period of 15 June and 15 July, an equal number of news items (both in June and July 15 news) were published. Similar to *Hürriyet Akdeniz*, photographs outnumbered news items. While there are 30 news item, there are 74 photographs (see Table 1).

In Sabah Akdeniz, regardless of the news content, photographs always stand out. The photograph next to the news item always contains a foreigner, mostly a Russian female. However, a smaller number of foreign women constitute the news content (30 news item) in Sabah Akdeniz when compared to other national newspapers (Cumhuriyet 37 and Hürriyet 37). In addition to tourism-related topics, these news items in Sabah mostly include the marriage of foreign women with Turkish men, becoming home-makers and converting to Islam. The photographs which accompany these items display women as conservative and covered family women, mothers and wives. This creates the image of a woman who gets married and changes suddenly, covers herself and finds happiness. For instance, on 23.06.2009, a headline in the newspaper which read: "Came for business, changed her religion" was congruent with the photograph. The news item reported that a Russian woman working at a hotel chose Islam. The photograph shows a covered Russian woman with no make-up, posing with the Holy Book. Therefore, the alternative for nudity and using the female body as a sexual object was coded in this news item as finding the "right path", converting, reading the Koran and marrying a Muslim. Presented with the headline "Crazy fun on the boat", another news item reported that Alanya hosted a party called Summer Splash attended by 10,000 students. The photograph of this item showed female students at the party in their bikinis. The students were photographed as if they were doing a sexy pole dance at the sail of the boat. While the photographs showed female students in their bikinis, there was no mention of male participants at the party. Only 1 out of the 4 photographs of this news item showed male students while listening to a concert. While females were associated with fun, madness and nudity, males were depicted as serious and conservative. The news item titled "The coolest July" reported that it was the coolest July in Antalya in many years. As its visual, the news item had a picture of four female tourists lying by a swimming pool in their bikinis, being splashed with water from an icebox by two young Turkish males. Here, a double-entendre was attempted by using this photograph with the news item that said July was cooler than previous years. The young males in the photograph were wearing shorts and T-shirts, while the women were wearing small bikinis and pretending eroticism with their facial expressions and body language. This item not only stressed the close relationships of Turkish males with nude foreigners, but also underlined that these males "cooled down" female tourists. The headlines, contents and photographs thus used not only emphasize young, attractive and nude female tourists as a part of the entertainment culture, but also reduce them to a body and thus give a hidden message to Turkish males. Female tourists are thus presented to the males of a closed society as vulgar, immoral, and free to experience their sexuality, and equated with "available", "easy to have fun with" and "easy to take to bed". Additionally, they get involved in crime in the news item "These are tourist thieves", and flock to Kemer in the item titled "Kemer, not Russia" and its accompanying photographs of Russian women. No statistics were given in the news item; only visual texts were used to exaggerate. Also, instead of

mentioning the problems tourists or foreign women in Antalya face, most items were superficial and scandalous, and used colorful pictures of naked women.

The difference of *Cumhuriyet Akdeniz* from all others is the feature called "Miss Mediterranean" published every day in either the inner or last page until 6 July. This feature largely used photographs of Russian and Eastern European women. The photographers were, without exception, male. Below the photograph was the name of the woman and the hotel she was staying at. While selecting Russian and Eastern European women as hotel pageants, these hotels were advertised at the same time and associated with the existence of attractive Russian and Eastern European women. The disintegration of Soviet Russia and the economic and political instability in previously Socialist countries led to many Russian and Eastern European women to go to Turkey for not only "luggage trade" but also prostitution.

Extensive coverage of this in the media has led to the association of all Russian and Eastern European women with prostitution, and caused the common Russian name "Natasha" to become synonymous with a prostitute. For many long years, the Turkish media covered news stories of Turkish families breaking up due to "Natashas" who seduced Turkish men, at the same time offering Russian and Eastern European women as an alternative to Turkish females. This negative image generalized to all Russian and Eastern European women is reproduced with news items and photographs emphasizing their beauty and nudity during summer. Disclosing the hotels where these women were staying may also be accepted as showing targets. This feature known as Miss Mediterranean was stopped as of 6 July. Despite being a leftist newspaper, *Cumhuriyet* did not have a different outlook on foreign women from the *Sabah* or the *Hürriyet*. Also in *Cumhuriyet Akdeniz* there is no consistency between the news item and the news photograph about foreign women and there are more magazine news than the other two national press. In *Cumhuriyet Akdeniz* the news about foreign women are mostly on last page (see Table 2). In a sense, as emphasized by Uğur Tanrıöver (2007: 158), the utilization of women as a sexual object to satisfy men's gaze in the media is the "back page beauty" phenomenon which has been Turkish journalism's source of pride. With this picture, a "filling" text which has no news value is used and this picture is often chosen from one of Western models. According to Tanrıöver, another aspect of the use of these pictures is the emphasis on the notion that all women must be "beautiful". Under a headline open to multiple readings, "On the land first, in the sea next", three large photographs taking up more space than the news item itself were used. Two of these photographs depicted foreign women dancing wildly in their bikinis. In the other photograph, a boat was shown with two men on it. The news item was about boat racing and the content did not match the photographs at all. The content of the news story reported that "Turkey Offshore Championship 2009" boat race had started. The men who participated in the race were depicted as sitting on their boats wearing shorts and T-shirts but the

two other large photographs showed many young female tourists dancing wildly, half-naked and not at all interested in the championship. In another news item "Comfort for the tourist, danger for the farmer", it was mentioned that tourists in Antalya were basking in the sun while the same sun damaged the health of farmers in the region, causing skin cancer. Here, two situations are contrasted. With the headline, tourists who go to Antalya for the sea and the sun are contrasted with the local farmers. The content focused on the dangers of the midday sun. The news item was once again enriched by pictures of attractive foreign women in their bikinis. This equates tourists with half-naked attractive foreign women, in addition to being an example of a photograph not matching the news content. Also, when Turkish farmers work in the fields, they cover their bodies and heads. Contrasting farmers with attractive foreign tourists in this way implicitly blames the latter for something they are not responsible for, as well.

The reason of the difference between number of news item and number of photograph is because of the lots of photographs for only a news item (see Table 1).

Representations of Foreign Women in the Local Press

Four local newspapers were also examined in this study. Differently from the national press, the local press deals with the issue of foreign tourists in more noteworthy ways. It was assumed that as Antalya is economically rather dependent of tourism, the target audience of this sector would be displayed more objectively in the local press. The study centered around the representations of foreign women, who can be employees (in the tourism sector as guides, PR people, saleswomen, barmaids, dancers, animators, etc.), residents, or tourists in Antalya. For the purposes of this study, though, only news about female tourists were examined. The local press should be considered as more aware of the local problems and local cultural diversity than the national press. Köker states that the relations between woman and media are multi-layered. Accordingly, we face the pluralism of various women with several different female experiences. This abundance can be considered according to racial, ethnic and class differences or according to spatial criteria, that is, on the basis of local, regional, national, international differences (2007: 119).

Table 3: Local Press

	Date	Number of news items	Number of photographs	There is consistency between news item and photograph	There is no consistency between news item and photograph	First page	Inside page	Middle page	Last page
Akdeniz Beyaz	15.06.2009-15.07.2009	15	22	9	6	3	5	5	-
Akdeniz Gerçek	15.06.2009-15.07.2009	18	18	13	5	3	5	9	-
Antalya Ekspres	15.06.2009-15.07.2009	25	62	18	7	10	5	5	-
Akdeniz Manşet	15.06.2009-15.07.2009	50	96	26	24	10	15	16	5

In Akdeniz Beyaz, 9 news item in June and 6 in July focused on foreign women. During the time of the study, light-hearted news in Beyaz about foreign women (4 news item) were not as many as other newspapers. The news items that were published were concerned with prostitution and foreigners detained for it, female tourists who had an overdose of alcohol or drugs, women who converted to Islam, and tourists preferring to spend their vacation in Antalya. However, there was also a news item in the story about the number of tourists expected to visit Antalya. The news item stated that the number of Israeli tourists would fall due to Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's quarrel with the Israeli President in Davos, but the number of Pakistani tourists would rise. Presented with the headline "The effects of One Minute continue", the item emphasized that Israeli tourists gave up on visiting Turkey due to political tensions, while Muslim countries had a renewed interest in visiting the country. There were differences between the photographs of women used in the news story about Belgian and Dutch women choosing Islam after marriage and those used in the news item about Russian and Eastern European women who had an alcohol overdose. For instance, the metaphors and various associations created by using pictures of slim, attractive and blonde foreign women in a news story about foreign students who came to a farm to spend their summer break, despite the mismatch between the news content and the photograph, do not occur in news stories about women who marry Turks and choose Islam. It seems to be essential to picture converted Muslim women in daily clothes, or with their husbands and children, and certainly with a traditional headscarf on their heads. This reinforces the judgments that these women who choose Islam and get married become good wives and mothers, and obey the norms of the society and their in-laws. Another news item titled "Russian woman in alcohol coma" recounted the story of the hospitalization of a woman "guessed" to be Russian for alcohol overdose. In contrast to the news items about foreigners converting to Islam, the woman depicted here was the "baddie". What underlies

this type of news stories is a belief that drinking women, female prostitutes and drug-addicts, women who display their bodies through their clothing must be foreign women, who are thought to be in a moral degeneration. With this belief in mind, the body of foreign women, who are considered to be morally weak, are used even in irrelevant news items. To illustrate, a news story with the headline "Tourists worry about being discharged" discussed the worry of foreign tourists that they get overcharged in Turkish shops, while displaying the photograph of a female tourist sunbathing on a seabed in a pool.

Akdeniz Gerçek, as a local newspaper, contains in equal number of photographs and news items (18 photographs and 18 news items). As it can be seen on Table 3 while there are consistency with news item and photograph in 13 news item, there is no consistency in 5 news item. Also the news items relating to foreign women are featuring with light-hearted news less than the other local press and those news are predominantly in middle page (see Table 4). One of the examined news stories, "Russian belly-dancer causes jealousy", made a reference to the "potential Russian threat". This headline uses competitive discourse while the news item reports that Eastern European women are increasingly preferred for business across Antalya. Stating that 27 women from Georgia and Ukraine were arrested for prostitution, the news item "Password is 'rabbit'" was featured on the first page of Gerçek. In all the newspapers examined, women detained for prostitution were without exception foreigners, mostly Russian or Eastern European. These detained women are pictured on the first page of newspapers, without having been found guilty, thus freely exposing their identity. The news story "Tourists worry about being discharged", which featured in Beyaz, was also presented in Gerçek with a similar photograph. Instead of the sun-bathing woman in the pool, female tourists wearing bikinis and sun-bathing on the beach accompanied the news item. In news concerning prostitution, Köker (2007: 140-141) mentions that woman's body is exhibited, that the woman in question is prostituting becomes highlighted by the use of pictures where the woman tries to hide her face. Gencil Bek and Binark draw our attention to the fact that women are wedged in two cliché typecasting: "either seductive evil woman or mother or a good wife" (2000: 4).

Table 4: Local Press

	Date	Number of news items	Concept of the news-light-hearted	Concept of the news /Changing religion	Concept of the news/Routin-daily news	Concept of the news/Criminal
Akdeniz Beyaz	15.06.2009-15.07.2009	15	4	2	5	4
Akdeniz Gerçek	15.06.2009-15.07.2009	18	6	2	8	2
Antalya Ekspres	15.06.2009-15.07.2009	25	13	1	9	2
Akdeniz Manşet	15.06.2009-15.07.2009	50	31	3	12	2

Known for its photographs, Antalya Ekspres presented a news story entitled "Far-eastern abundance". It was rather difficult to guess the content of this news item by looking at the photograph used. The text reported that Far Eastern countries had started recently to visit Turkey for their holidays, while the photograph depicted three Far-Eastern women dancing. Even though news stories about tourists from Far-Eastern or Muslim countries also feature women, their representation is different. The photographs in the same newspaper about the increasing number of Indian, Pakistani and Far-Eastern tourists, nudity is not underlined as it is in news stories about European, Latin, Russian and Eastern European women. This suggests that religion is a determining factor in the representation of women. The sexual stereotypes of Muslim women are not the same as Christian and Orthodox women. While Muslim women are represented as honorable and moral home-makers and family women, non-Muslims are reduced to sexual objects by being shown as immoral and alcohol-loving exhibitionists who experience sexuality freely.

Akdeniz Manşet is the newspaper that used foreign women the most (50 news items in total). Due to the number of news item, the number of photograph increases (96 photographs) (see Table 3-4). Also using many photographs in their news stories, this newspaper does not cite the name of their journalists. Therefore, the sex of the journalists who create the biggest number of news items about foreign women is not known. On 20 June 2009, there were two stories titled "Fines for hotels that cheat tourists" and "Decrease in the number of tourists in Alanya". Thus, similar to Beyaz, two significant news stories about the region and their problems existed. However, despite the headlines for both stories and their content, one of the photographs showed a foreign woman licking an ice-cream, and the other another foreign woman looking away from the camera in a sexy pose. In both the national and local press, the first picture that comes to mind about foreign women is nude and erotic female bodies. These sexist photographs reveal that both national and local newspapers make it a priority to catch readers' eyes rather than present news content. One of the most striking news stories in Manşet was the one with the headline "Tourists

complain about physical harassment". What makes this story striking is not only the fact that the way newspapers present foreign women results in their being harassed, but also the mismatch between the story and the photograph. While the news story revolved around tourists complaining about harassment, the photograph depicted a topless tourist woman smiling happily with a wineglass in one hand, and a man wiping her thigh. The story rightly focused on a problem in the country - the harassment of women - but it continued the harassment even when discussing this problem. Thus, harassment of foreign women became justified and even supported by the local press, which made light of a serious problem facing women on the streets and beaches of Antalya. As a result, women are presented as sexual objects and victims, in traditional roles, in a spurious equality or are symbolically destroyed by means of various text and image combinations (Uğur Tanrıöver, 2007: 159-162). Thus, major mechanism of perception about women's roles in the society are formed. Cordelia Dilgt emphasizes the power of images utilized in the news. According to her, cliché images have an international function. Because they are false and accessible also for the illiterate. According to Dilgt, there are certain images carved in us by certain concepts: "like hunger, happiness, violence, motherhood or Africa" and moving from these concepts, we have certain ideas (cited in, Farrokhzad, 2006: 57). As stated by Dilgt, by the representation of women in cliché roles in the media, sexual inequality is reproduced and thus women are perceived in a narrow perspective while the existing understanding persisted.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Despite the big number of news stories about foreigners in both the national and local press, columnists mostly do not write or comment directly on foreigners or foreign women. However, Russian women were announced with their photographs, names and the hotels they were staying at everyday in *Cumhuriyet*. The same news stories about foreigners mostly appeared in newspapers but the same topic was presented with different headlines and the same photographs. The common features of news stories are fun and dance shows in tourist clubs, and beautiful and attractive foreign women. Holiday flings of female tourists, their weddings, holiday problems, thefts, harassment, sunbathing tourists, the temperature, reasons why tourists choose Antalya, dance shows at hotels with Brazilian Samba dancers and Russian dance groups are presented with colorful visual materials. Even though the content of the news stories may not be relevant, large photographs of dancing girls are used often. Provoking photographs of half nude and sexy dancing girls in the disco, at the pool, in the sea, on a sun-lounge, on a boat, or on the beach are used alongside news stories about how tourists have fun, drink, use drugs, flood to the beach, dance in clubs, dress, choose Antalya, belly-dance, do business and have holiday at the same time, prefer certain regions, enter beauty contests, have fun in the pool, celebrate their birthdays and weddings.

Mostly, metaphors in the headlines become important. Headlines such as "Having fun on the banana before the contest" (Hürriyet Akdeniz, 4.07.2009), "The coolest July" (Sabah Akdeniz, 10.07.2009), "88% humidity in Alanya" (Hürriyet Akdeniz, 14.07.2009), "Kemer is like paradise" (Akdeniz Manşet, 30.06.2009), "Quarter gold coin for the hardest-working" (Hürriyet Akdeniz, 18.06.2009) are supported by many female photographs that reduce them to sex objects. At the same time, unfortunate events that happen to tourists are also given place, albeit rarely. However, these news stories also present foreigners as part of the problem with headlines such as "Cousin stops Isabella's harassment lie" (Hürriyet Akdeniz, 30.06.2009), "Russian tourist victim to accident", "Here are tourist thieves" (Sabah Akdeniz, 13.07.2009), "Prostitute causes AIDS panic in Antalya" (Akdeniz Manşet, 22.06.2009), and "Housing development meeting under gendarmerie surveillance" (Akdeniz Gerçek 23.06.2009). Also, the headline "Russian winds exhibition in AKM" (Sabah Akdeniz 22.06.2009) aimed to introduce a painting exhibition in Atatürk Culture Center by foreigners living in Antalya, but neither of the 6 photographs used alongside the news item depicted the exhibition but young women in traditional Russian clothes with their husbands and children, or well-dressed middle-aged ladies at the exhibition. This story exhibited Russians living in Antalya as members of a certain community and family women. In Sabah Akdeniz (26.06.2009), the headline "German Night" reported on a fun night that Germans living in Turkey and working in the tourism sector and presented them as 'non-problematic foreigners', 'adapted foreigners' and thus 'one of us' with their clothes, behavior and partners. However, there is no unity in the national or local press in Antalya in the representation of foreign women.

The profiles of foreign women in newspapers are as follows:

Young, beautiful, nude and easily available tourist girls, who are mostly blonde,

Eastern European or Russian prostitutes causing problems such as prostitution and AIDS,

Middle-aged or elderly female tourists who always spend their holidays in Antalya or Turkey without exception,

Good-intentioned volunteers of tourism,

Females settled in Antalya for work or marriage reasons,

Foreign women who converted to Islam after marriage or by reading about Islam.

There are not enough news reports about foreigners settled in Antalya, columnists who discuss Antalya's tourism issues in a serious manner, news series or interviews with experts. Foreigners are represented as easy to be otherized, different and potential problems, instead of regular elderly people, women, men, and children.

In sum, the national and local press presents foreign women in two different ways by using the gender approach: Those who become homemakers, mothers and good wives by getting married and/or choosing Islam, or attractive and nude prostitute-like women. The headlines and visual material used in the press structure femininity at the basis of male passion and desire. The names of reporters were cited in most national newspapers while only three names were cited in the local press. Sixty-seven of the news items about foreign women were made by male journalists. Throughout the entire month, only three female journalists wrote related news items. However, two of the news stories by women were exactly similar to those written by male journalists in that they presented women as sex objects with the headlines "Comfort for the tourist, danger for the farmer" and "The coolest July". This may be due to two reasons. Firstly, woman journalists may also have adopted the sexist approach of the mainstream media and the male discourse about the female body; and secondly, they may not have sole responsibility over the making of the news story, headlines and photographs. After all, it is others such as newspaper owners or editors-in-chief who determine a newspaper's ideology and not reporters. Similar to the local press, the national press also uses foreign women in their stories with a social sexist approach. No differences were found between the two presses regarding this. While the national press used more sensational and colorful pictures of women, local ones have more variety as they also center on foreigners settled in Turkey, tourists and issues about tourism. Furthermore, the representation of foreign women did not seem to differ in liberal, Islamist, or leftist newspapers.

As a result of this study we can affirm that the representation of foreign women is not different from their Turkish fellows' representation and the women are framed in two perspectives; as family, virtue, housewives or sexual objects. For this reason to see a change in women's representation in media, women should fight more consciously and sensitively, and woman should be aware of their rights in a solidarity way.

As Köker (2007:117-118) emphasized the relationship between women and media is multi-layered. It is possible to categorize women in many different scales such as race, ethnicity, status, national and international differences. This diversity effects the themes related to women in media, on the other hand it helps women to be aware of their problems both in national and international platforms and produce solutions together so they can create the conditions of claiming their rights. The women who work for the media should participate much more in the media products which are able to raise women's awareness. Moreover the women should use the technical facilities of the media for their own benefits. Modern human life has been surrounded by the media. In such a process critical media literacy has become a significant competence. The individual gains required technological knowledge and facilities for transforming media as a tool for their own benefits through the media competence. The

women must play an active role by questioning, researching, criticizing, changing, transforming rather than being a passive audience. In addition, through more studies in this field, it will be possible to reveal the false conscious created on women, to gain sensibility towards women rights and to develop awareness, regardless of women's nationality, ethnicity or religion.

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