

TWO COUNTRIES: ONE PATTERN

A Comparative Study of Gender Representation in the News of
Norwegian and Turkish Newspapers

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SUMMARY

In this study we try to show that unequal gender representation as portrayed in Turkish and Norwegian mainstream media contribute to the social reproduction of cultural values and structural dynamics of dominance with respect to gender disparity in the coverage of news.

The broad objective of this study is to enable media professionals and ordinary consumers of the media products to critically view the messages conveyed by the mass media, especially with regard to women, and develop an understanding of the factors which govern and shape media content and emphasis. We have deliberately chosen Norway and Turkey as countries of the research to show that gender imbalance of the news media is a global problem despite the countries' socio-economic structure or levels of development.

The challenge is not simply to notch up a few percentage points in women's share of time on air or in print. The issue is the structural values and routines that determine how news issues are selected and presented and how these routines are creating the same gender imbalance in two different countries.

Media politics of gender deserve much more critical attention than they have typically received to date. We try to address the multiple interconnections between news, gender and power. We have to deal with the issue to draw upon the rich sources of feminist or gender-sensitive critique with the aim of providing fresh insights into a various set of debates.

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1 MEDIA AND SOCIETY

1.1 Introduction

Media is an important part of the 21st century's democracy and has a lot of ties with the social structure within which it evolves. The social structure produces norms and attitudes that define aspects of social life which are of either interest or importance to citizens. As an inseparable part of the media, news, and development of the news has links with the development of today's social structure.

Everyone, from politicians to academics, now agrees that public communications systems are part of the 'cultural industries'...these organizations are both similar to and different from other industries. On the one hand, they clearly have a range of features in common with other areas of production and are increasingly integrated into the general industrial structure; on the other, it is equally clear that the goods they manufacture – newspapers, advertisements, television programmes and feature films – play a pivotal role in organizing the images and discourses through which people make sense of the world.¹

As Stuart Hall points out, millions of events which occur every day in the world, only a tiny proportion ever become visible as 'potential news stories': and again only a small fraction are actually produced as the day's news in the media.² The definitions of news remain dependent upon both the social structure and also on the activities of newswriters and news organizations. So, we can not simply claim that news are the mirror of the society because events are selected, construed and constructed as a news story by the newswriters who have some taken-for-granted values as individuals in the society.

News stories not only lend occurrences their existence as public events, but also impart character to them, for news reports help to shape the public definition of happenings by selectively attributing to

¹ Golding, Peter and Graham Murdock (2000) 'Culture, Communications and Political Economy' in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds.), *Mass Media and Society*, third edition, Arnold Press, London, p.70.

² Hall, Stuart (1973) 'The Determination of the News Photographs' in S. Cohen and J. Young (eds.) *The Manufacture of News: A Reader*, Sage, Beverly Hills, p.181.

them specific details or 'particulars'. They make these selected details accessible to news consumers.³

For example, Gaye Tuchman defines news as a window on the world, but she adds that the view through a window depends upon whether the window is large or small, whether the window faces a street or a backyard.⁴

Many theorists in the field of sociology have consistently argued that a society's mass media necessarily legitimates its status quo. Some of them define media as 'cultural arm of the industrial order' from which they spring or 'the consciousness industry', whose main business is to sell the existing social hierarchy to consumers.

Making news is the act of constructing reality itself rather than picture of reality and media's role could be seen both as reinforcing status quo, and as agents of social change, but the most important point is that media are seen as being capable of playing a positive or negative role which could influence to the social status of the men and women.

As such, we try to assert that mass media in general and news content in particular have an important power and responsibility. Beside their power of influencing to the status of men and women, they are also responsible for making representations of society in all its diversity. They have to inform all citizens on events and processes taking place in that society; in that way, they should provide a forum for critical debate on matters of interest. When the media do not fulfill any or all of their prescribed roles, they not only reflect default of the reality but also help to reproduce the relations of injustice and inequality. This is the case for the representation of women in media and specifically in the news content of the media. Women remain unheard, underrepresented and marginalized both in the media and in society.

It has taken two decades since the first United Nations Conference on Women for the international community to formally acknowledge that the media are central to the role and status of women in society. Finally the Platform of Action was adopted at the Fourth UN Conference in 1995. It is the first UN document that recognized the media as critical areas of concern for women. At the platform as well as in the document, media are listed

³ Tuchman, Gaye (1978a) *Making news: A Study in the Construction of Reality*, The Free Press, New York, p.190.

⁴ Tuchman, Gaye (1978a), p.1.

as one of the ten major obstacles to women's advancement and calls strategic action to achieve equality.

1.2 Research Issues and Approach

The aim of this study is to monitor the news content of four selected national daily newspapers in Turkey and Norway from the gender aspect and make some comparisons and generalizations about representation of the gender in the news articles. The reason for choosing news as a research material is that, news are generally seen as an aspect of everyday life in a specific culture, but normally most of the people in the society do not seem aware of the news from the prism of gender equality.

Although Karl Marx saw 'class' as axial principle of the social division and class struggle as the principle engine of historical change⁵ gender inequalities is another aspect of the struggle and it can be examined in everyday practices of life, such as news of media. According to Michael Shudson "a cultural account of news helps to explain generalized images and stereotypes in the news media"⁶ and that is the aim of this study.

We need facts and figures to inform programme makers and media professionals about the diverse and unbalanced portrayal of women and men. Quantitative differences are obvious: we see and hear more men than women.⁷ We are constant consumers of news but we may occasionally question what we read, hear and see from the gender perspective, therefore news is selected as research item to monitor. Analysis focuses on the national daily print media. In the analysis the term media or daily refers to the dailies of the research which was chosen to examine. To monitor the gender representation in the news of the selected dailies we employ quantitative content analysis.

⁵ Murdock, Graham (2000) 'Reconstructing the Ruined Tower: Contemporary Communications and Questions of Class' in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds.) *Mass Media and Society*, third edition, Arnold Press, London, p.9.

⁶ Schudson, Michael (2000) 'The Sociology of News Production Revisited (Again)' in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds.), *Mass Media and Society*, third edition, Arnold Press, London, p.189.

⁷ Kuipers, Dorette (1996), 'NOS Gender Portrayal Project: Experiences and Practical Impact' in *Kjønn i Media: Konferanse om Utviklingen i Mediene i et Kjønnsperspektiv*, Rapport, Likestillingsrådets publikasjonsserie, nr:6, p.54. [*Gender in Media: Conference on Development A Gender Perspective in Media*, report, Gender Equality Council publication series, nr:6].

In a summary, the expectation of this research is to assess the situation of the news media from the perspective of gender equality and provide a valuable insight into the situation of representation of men and women in 21st century.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to examine and compare the news through the gender prism in the Turkish and Norwegian media. There are countless ways of monitoring gender representation in the media content. It is important therefore to note which aspect is going to be highlighted in the analysis. The study seeks to find out whether or not the selected media represents real gender diversity which these countries reach in their society. Therefore the intention of this study is to answer the question of ‘how’.

How news media represented women and men in a relatively long period of time in selected dailies of the two countries?

The objectives of the study are to:

- Examine and monitor the proportion of male and female who are presented in the news and also the gender of the news reporters.
- Examine previous researches in both countries regarding gender representation of media and compare with international findings.
- Compare the findings of the analysis between countries of this research.
- Examine the dominant societal images about women in Turkey and Norway and assess the way the selected printed media under this research reflect and portray the women, in the connection to this aim.
- Examine the current situation of women in Turkey and Norway and the changes of their status and evaluate whether the media are responding and reflecting to these changes or not in their news.

Basing on the above aims, this thesis investigates a number of issues. First it seeks to find out about the relationship between media and society. In examining the current situation of Turkish and Norwegian women, the study operates on the view that in the world today,

the role of women in the society is changing rapidly. Their current situation in terms of their occupational and educational structure is changing beyond the confines of traditional roles.

The information regarding their current situation is viewed to be necessary in shedding light to the understanding of their present status. This information would also enable us assess whether there are changes in their present status or not.

In a nutshell, this acts as a reality check, it is not possible to determine precisely their current status in the society, however it is a relevant background for the study.

1.3.1 Research Questions

Before the research was carried out, we formulated the following research questions and hypothesis to guide us in our analysis of ‘Gender Representation in the News of Norwegian and Turkish Media’:

1. The first hypothesis of the research is that there are enormous differences of the general/editorial features of Norwegian and Turkish dailies.
2. Second hypothesis is that the gender representation in the media coverage reflects a significantly balanced picture in **Norway** as a western industrialized country which considers itself among the most gender equal countries in the world. We expect to find these images reflected in the Nordic news media.
Turkey as a developing Muslim country, women are still between liberalization movements, traditional institutions and patriarchal norms of society. We expect to find lower gender equality in the news coverage of Turkish print media than the Norwegian counterparts.
3. Our assumption is that the amount or frequency of attention to something is a reliable guide to message meaning, intention and effect. Therefore the proportion of women and men as the main character or sources of the news articles or proportion of male and female bylines will help us to find out portrayal of gender balance in newspaper in order to ascertain how poor or fair the coverage of the representation in terms of sex.

4. The media, in most cases, prefer persons who hold positions of power, prominent figures or influential persons. Is that statement true? And how about the gender distribution of the people which the media prefers?
5. A sub-hypothesis that there is more gender balance in the newspapers which have female chief editors than the newspapers which have male chief editors.
6. How much women issues are represented in each paper and how gender balanced is this reflected in the first pages of the dailies under the investigation?

1.4 Theory

Our overriding argument is that although various perspectives have viewed the role of media in society differently, the media have the potential of impacting change.

Besides theories of media and society, the thesis mainly adopted transmission model of critical feminist theories as well as functionalist feminist media theory and critical cultural theories which was dealt broadly in the second chapter of the study, under the heading of theoretical perspective.

1.5 Methodology

Methodology as a body of methods of analysis employed by a discipline or field of research can either be qualitative or quantitative. It is also possible to use both research designs to complement each other in a research.

Quantitative analysis seeks “a set of universal statements which will define and describe the characteristics, practices, causes and consequences of human communication.”⁸ We can say that it is about generalizations that seek to predict outcomes of situations in different contexts. Therefore, quantitative research starts from existing theory which the researcher begins with a hypothesis, or a statement, which suggests a relationship between two or more variables and then approaches phenomena to

⁸ Anderson, James A. (1987) *Communication Research: Issues and Methods*, McGraw-Hill, New York, p.89.

support or prove it false. Findings are generated by statistics and other forms of quantification.

Formally, content analysis is defined as “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”.⁹ A focus on manifest content of the media outputs is an important limitations for the quantitative content analysis because researcher is prevented from reading between the lines of media output, this method is not available to search latent meanings- only explicit signs which actually appear in the media text- are taken into account.

On the other hand, qualitative research is interpretative analysis that the researcher approaches the investigation from the perspective of the actor. The researchers establish a special perspective and then interpret it to make sense of the phenomena.

Zoonen asserts that quantitative content analysis is often employed to assess the manifest characteristics of large quantities of media output. In general its aim is to compare features of media output with concomitant features in reality.¹⁰

Although quantitative analysis has limitations, the aim of this study as van Zoonen calls it is the “desire to have fresh hard data” on the research field. We are also interested in assessing whether or how transformations in women’s position in society are reflected in the news of the printed press. Therefore, we found it more useful to employ quantitative methods of data collection and conduct content analysis to the research material. The subject matter, which is gender representation, can be grasped better with quantitative methods and for the purpose of enquiry this method was more suitable.

1.5.1 Data Collection

The data for this study was obtained by a quantitative content analysis of news chosen from selected daily newspapers of two countries, namely, Turkey and Norway from the second half of 2003.

⁹ Berelson, Bernard (1952) *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, The Free Press Publishers, Glencoe, p.18

¹⁰ Zoonen, Liesbet van (1994) *Feminist Media Studies*, London, Sage Publications, p.68-9.

Secondary data was obtained from books, journals and other studies which were carried out researches in the same field. The mass media theories of Denis McQuail and feminist approaches of Liesbet van Zoonen helped us to evaluate the research findings.

1.6 Significance of This Study

Existing study is significant in a number of ways. Although the gender and media issue is a global concern, an in-depth examination and comparison of the situation in two specific regions like Turkey and Norway is necessary. The non-existence of research in this field, which compares Norwegian and Turkish media, was also a driving force for this thesis. We, therefore, expect that the findings of this study will add more knowledge to the current growing awareness of gender imbalances in the news media with an international comparative perspective.

It is our hope that this study's findings will provide practical suggestions and ways that would contribute to the awareness of the gender imbalances and add more knowledge within the discipline.

The study should also be of interest to the general public, media professionals, students and planners who are concern with gender and media issues and with the status of women in society.

Being channels of news and information, it is hoped that those in charge of the information disseminated to the public will take into consideration the kind of information, particularly on gender issues, which they convey to the public. The findings of the study will also help to examine the consequence of their practice for the journalists and possibly modify or change this practice.

1.7 Thesis Outline

The thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter one explores the purpose of this study. It enumerates on the approach the thesis is adopting as it highlights the various issues that

are considered in the thesis, including the theories and methodologies adopted. The final part of this chapter discusses the importance of carrying out a study like this.

In chapter two, we present the theoretical perspective upon which the thesis is built on. Here, we discuss the theories of media and society, and we also examine different approaches and perspectives on gender and media. In the final part of the chapter we examine body of international as well as national studies which is relevant for the present thesis.

Chapter three describes the Turkish and Norwegian media structure and makes some comparisons. In the same chapter the situation of women in both countries is also presented in detail. Here we take a historical look from the past to the present. The purpose of this is to see how women have been viewed in the society and how this would eventually enable us understand gender imbalance in the media.

Chapter four follows with the findings from content analysis, which constitutes the empirical aspect of the study. We present variables and a result of the content analysis based on quantitative method is employed. We also make comparisons of research findings with cultural context of two countries.

Finally, chapter five provides the summary and conclusion of the thesis. Besides the generalization of research findings, this chapter also provides suggestions or solutions for the problem which the study dealt with.

We now turn to the next chapter where we discuss the theoretical frameworks for the thesis.

2 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1 Introduction

The lesson of common sense and everyday observation, as well as of research, should tell us that mass media constitute a public institution that may rarely initiate change independently but that does provide the channels and an arena for playing out of society-wide process in which many actors and interests are involved, often in competition.¹¹

In his regard, the theories of media and society become of paramount importance to the evaluation of this study, because they explore several varying perspectives, through which the performance of media in society has been viewed.

2.2 Theories of Media and Society

Mass media industry is one of the dominant structures of our economic, social and political system, and even without any empirically proven mega theory, however general agreement remains that the media, like family, education and occupation, are a powerful socializing institution in all over the world.

Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, for example, coined the phrase ‘culture industry’ in referring to the collective operations of the media, whereas, Louis Althusser has grouped the media with the family, the church and the education system¹² to draw attention of the importance and affects of media on shaping culture of the society.

Although to draw the full picture of media theories is more complex because there are cross-currents from other disciplines, therefore many theorists explain the significance of the mass media in terms of schools and various approaches which are sometimes called

¹¹ McQuail Denis (1988) *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*, second edition, Newbury Park, Sage Publications, p.291.

¹² Bennett Tony (1982) ‘Theories of the Media, Theories of Society’ in Michael Gurevitch, Tony Bennett, James Curran and Janet Woollacott (1982) (eds.) *Culture, Society and the Media*, London, Methuen, p.31.

paradigms. Two major alternative versions of media's role in society can be distinguished depending on which media theorists are dealt with. The first version proposes that the media either reflects the status quo, thus contributing to its maintenance in society, or that they reinforce it. The second version perceives the media as agents of social change.

According to McQuail the main dimensions of media theories were two polarities: the first dimension contrasted a 'subjective' with an 'objective' approach; the second distinguished 'radical change' from 'regulation'. He is mapping out the main alternative approaches also suggests four types or 'paradigms' of sociology and communication theory, namely, 'functionalist', 'interpretive', 'radical humanist', and 'radical structural'. He argues that the division of media theories by their distinctive chosen methodologies and their degree of commitment to radical change. He mainly divides media theories into four categories:

Firstly, there is a 'functionalist' approach that emphasizes the 'positive' contribution of media to the existing social order and favours empirical, quantitative research...Secondly, there is an approach that focuses on cultural issues of quality and meaning in content and uses mainly qualitative methods. Thirdly, there is a critical-cultural approach that uses interpretative methods to expose the ideological working of mass media or to explore the implications for dissident groups in society, based on class, race, gender, etc. Fourthly, media are also examined critically as a material- mainly political and economic- force in society, open to objective analysis.¹³

Tony Bennett also attempts to explain general characteristics of four different approaches within media theories. Firstly, with the mass society tradition reaching back into mid-nineteenth century, has viewed the development of the media as a threat either integrity of elite cultural values, or the viability of the political institutions of democracy, or both. On the contrary, the second theory is the argument of liberal-pluralist approach that says that media functioning as the 'fourth estate', play an important part in the democratic process in constituting a source of information that is independent of the government.¹⁴

On the other hand, the third approach; a critical media theory of the Frankfurt School contains philosophical negativity and draws attention that the media made the world of serious culture more widely accessible only at the price of depriving it of its critical

¹³ McQuail Denis (2002)'Origins and Development of the Field of Study' in Denis McQuail (ed.) McQuail's Reader in Mass Communication Theory, Sage Publications, London, p.6.

¹⁴ Bennett Tony (1982),p.31.

substance. For the media, by bringing culture into everyday life, wrenched it from the tradition which had guaranteed it its separateness just as the techniques of mass reproduction deprived the work of art of the 'aura' of its uniqueness on which alone its critical function could be predicated.¹⁵

Frankfurt School critical theory attempts to secure a basis for emancipatory communication in industrial societies through the lens of a radical critique of Enlightenment-based epistemology. They affirmed the familiar dictum that 'power is knowledge and knowledge, power'.¹⁶

This approach, which is quite contrary to the optimism of such liberal-pluralist media theory, argued that the media eliminate the prospects of social change, because the consciousness of a need for such change had been eliminated by the media. The fourth general approach, Marxist media theories was also explain media as a cultural institution to reproduce and perpetuated class domination within Marxist framework.

As we understand from the brief explanation of mass media theories as well as researches can be distinguished from 'mainstream' to 'critical' standpoint against media and effects to the masses. Speculation about media effects had to be subjects to the kinds of empirical test which characterized positivist social science. This approach was installed as the dominant one in the flowering of media research in the United States in the 1940s.¹⁷ After the institutional hegemony of American behavioural science, there was a paradigm shift for the media researches from 'mainstream' to 'critical' approach.

According to Stuart Hall, in the mirror approach, media messages assumed empty linguistic constructs, it was held to mirror the intentions of its producers in a relatively simple way. At the broader level, media were held to be largely reflective or expressive of an achieved consensus.

The finding that, after all, the media were not very influential was predicated on the belief that, in its wider cultural sense, the media largely reinforced those values and norms which had already achieved a wide consensual foundation....In sum, that the media – though open to commercial and

¹⁵ Bennett, Tony (1982), p.45.

¹⁶ Jansen, Sue Curry (2002) *Critical, Communication Theory: Power, Media, Gender, and Technology*, Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., p.43.

¹⁷ Hall, Stuart (1982) 'The Rediscovery of Ideology: Return of the Repressed in Media Studies' in Michael Gurevitch, Tony Bennett, James Curran and Janet Woollacott (eds.) *Culture, Society and the Media*, London, Methuen, p.57.

other influences – were, by and large, functional for society, because they functioned in line with and strengthened the core value system of society. They underwrote pluralism.¹⁸

After the mirror argument there was a paradigm shift and with the critical approach the media were not simply reflect the social order, but instead tended to reproduce the definitions and situation which favored and legitimated the existing structure.

For reality could no longer be viewed as simply given set of facts; it was the result of particular way of constructing reality. The media defined, not merely reproduced, ‘reality’...But representation is a very different notion from that of reflection. It implies active work of selecting and presenting, of structuring, and shaping: not merely the transmitting of an already-existing meaning, but the more active labour of making things mean. It was a practice, a production, of meanings...¹⁹

The attempt of critical theories to expose the way in which media organizations routinely operate to perpetuate a very limited view of ‘social reality’, either for pursuit of their own organizational goals, or as an expression of dominant ideology in society. On the whole, the pursuit by the media of their own goals was seen a contribution to maintaining the ‘status quo’ rather than helping to promote social change.²⁰

In sum, theorists divide media theories into two basic division; media emphasized theories which called media-centric theories; attributes a specific role to the medium as a particular vehicle or carrier of meaning, so they mostly focus on the texts and meanings in media outputs. On the other hand, socio-centric theories accepted technology and culture as dependent more fundamental forces.

After this brief explanation of the distinctive theoretical framework, we need to move to the mass communication theories with cultural dimensions which is the main intention of the study.

2.2.1 The Cultural Approach in Mass Communication Theories

The domain of ‘culture’ refers primarily to other essential aspects of collective social life, especially **meanings** and **practices** (social customs, institutional ways of doing things and also personal habits).²¹

¹⁸ Hall, Stuart (1982), p.61-2.

¹⁹ Hall, Stuart (1982), p.62.

²⁰ McQuail, Denis (2002), p.9.

²¹ McQuail, Denis (1994) *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*, third edition, Newbury Park, Sage, p.61-2.

Society and culture are inseparable units therefore most media theories relate to society and culture together and try to explain mass media as both a ‘societal’ and a ‘cultural’ phenomenon. It is a general agreement that every aspect of the production and use of mass media has an obvious cultural dimension. According to McQuail, as an institution, mass media is part of the structure of society, and its technological infrastructure is part of the economic and power base, while the ideas, images and information disseminated by the media are evidently an important aspect of our culture.

The theories which try to explain interrelation between mass media and other changes taking place in society; it is generally accepted that media exert influence and cause of social change within society; the unique function of mass media is to provide both to industry and to society a coherence, a synthesis of experience, an awareness of the whole.²²

As McQuail asserts, in critical cultural approach media is accepted as ‘consciousness industry’, driven by economic logic as well as by cultural changes.²³ In the cultural media approach, media texts are as mechanisms for ordering meaning in particular ways.

Although critical concern in media theories goes back at least mid-nineteenth century, the critical tradition actually began with the work of group of scholars from the Marxist School of Applied Social Research in Frankfurt, members such as Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer etc. The group contained sharp and pessimistic attacks on mass culture. They explained mass media as a powerful influence for preventing fundamental change and by promoting ‘false consciousness’ among the working masses and helping to assimilate them to capitalist society.²⁴ The argument of critical theory, which was raised by Frankfurt School members, developed by critical theorists with ‘hegemony’ notion to explain the interrelationship between media and culture.

The concept of ‘hegemony’ which is borrowed from Antonio Gramsci tries to explain how media with its variety of genre helps to maintain the existing order within the class-dominated society. In hegemony theories, mass media do not define reality on their own but give preferential access to the definitions of those in authority²⁵, which we can claim a kind of distorted realities given to the masses as a form of ideology.

²² McQuail, Denis (1994), p.73.

²³ McQuail, Denis (1994), p.96.

²⁴ McQuail, Denis (1994), p.98.

²⁵ McQuail, Denis (1994), p.99.

Furthermore another approach which is also critical media theory was developed at the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham. According to McQuail, the Birmingham school approach as a social-cultural theory, seeks to attend to both messages and public, aiming to account for patterns of choice and response in relation to the media by a careful and critically directed understanding of the actual social experience of sub-groups within society. The approach also proposed a model of 'encoding-decoding media discourse' to draw attention an important shift from the question of ideology embedded in media texts to the question of how this ideology might be 'read' by its audience.²⁶

Another area that is quite useful for the purposes of this study is critical cultural theories which is related with gender.

Especially the collaboration with feminist researches, mass media theories developed more radical critical perspective to the gender-blind media theories. The question of gender touches almost every aspect of media-culture relationship in feminist media theories.²⁷

Cultural theories have been used to explain media effects in interactive settings including economic, social and political contexts. On the other hand, feminist theories developed and extended this perspective with including intersection of gender within other contexts, such as class, race, ethnicity and sexual preferences. As Pamela Creedon points out, both traditions suggests that to understand media effects, one must understand the cultural contexts in which the message are received. The others draw attention gendered nature of the media messages.²⁸

According to McQuail, a gender based approach also raises the question of whether media choice and interpretation can provide some lever of change or element of resistance for women in a social situation still generally structured by inequality.²⁹

As we try to explain gender is an important aspect in critical cultural theories as well as in feminist theories and needs more focus of attention for the purpose of this study.

²⁶ McQuail, Denis (1994), p.100.

²⁷ McQuail, Denis (1994), p.99.

²⁸ Creedon, Pamela J.(1994) 'Women, media and Sport: Creating and Reflecting Gender Values' in Pamela Creedon J.(ed.) *Women, Media and Sport: Challenging Gender Values*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, p. 12.

²⁹ McQuail, Denis (1994), p.102.

2.2.2 Media and Gender

Since 1970s gender studies have been growing within the disciplines and increasingly, new journals and researches are appearing which include the word 'gender' in the title.

Gender as a category is often linked by sociologists to other forms of social classification such as class or ethnicity...For the sociologist investigating gender, the media play an important part in setting stereotypes and promoting a limited number of role models.³⁰

In relation to analyzing gender and sexuality, essentialism refers to arguments to biological or genetic determinism, or explanations based on the idea of 'human nature'. Social constructionism, on the other hand, appeals to the idea that these are not natural, fixed or universal but specific to their social, cultural and historical context. Whereas essentialist explanations suggest that change is difficult to achieve, social constructionism emphasize change, discontinuity and contradiction.³¹

Gender, race and sexuality are still not established as ways of seeing the world in the way that class is within politics or history. More positively, though, if Women's Studies and feminist theory has only been in existence (in an institutional context) for twenty years, then even small shifts in malestream though can be seen as beginning to displace centuries of male academic bias and power.³²

Most of the theories which examine gender and media relation define sex as a culturally constructed biological characteristic and as well as in this study, gender accepted as socially constructed an ongoing cultural process that constructs differences between women and men and also being as important variable such as class in theory.

If we accepted gender as a social construction, media as another social institution has an important relationship with this socialization process. Gender values are the core of the media system as well.³³ The object of analysis for many has shifted from 'women' to 'gender', with the implication that both women and men should be regarded as gendered

³⁰ Macdonald, Myra (1995) *Representing Women: Myths of Femininity in the Popular Media*, London, Arnold H.H.G., introduction, p.13.

³¹ Stacey, Jackie (1993) 'Untangling Feminist Theory' in Richardson Diane and Victoria Robinson (eds.) *Introducing Women's Studies: Feminist Theory and Practice*, The Macmillan, Basingstoke, p.68.

³² Robinson, Victoria (1993) 'Introducing Women's Studies' in Diane Richardson and Victoria Robinson (eds.) *Introducing Women's Studies: Feminist Theory and Practice*, The Macmillan, Basingstoke, p.6.

³³ Creedon, Pamela J. (1994), p.4.

subjects.³⁴ Therefore this study focuses on gender balance of the news media instead of monitoring just women and women invisibility in the mainstream media.

2.3 Feminist Media Theories

The term ‘feminist theory’ generally defines a body of knowledge that offers critical explanations which attempts to challenge of women’s subordination.

Gender is an important social reality in every society in the world. As sociologists define it is the main axis to construct of human socialization. Gender shapes identities and perception, international practices, and the very forms of social institutions, and it does so in race- and class-specific ways. If we did not see gender social phenomena, we were not seeing clearly.³⁵

In feminist theories male and female are accepted as biological terms that represent physical differences, however feminine and masculine correspond to social, historical and cultural meanings that have been associated with these biological differences and varying according to the culture to culture. Feminists claim that sexual differences, which is physical, becomes a social difference with gendered context of the societies.

There are differences between standard feminist perspectives. As Jackie Stacey posed it; radical feminism focuses on male violence against women and seeing men as a group as responsible for women’s oppression; Marxist feminism, in contrast, sees women’s oppression as tied to forms of capitalist exploitation of labour. Finally liberal feminism is distinctive in its focus on individual rights and choices, which are denied women, and ways in which the law and education could rectify these injustices, on the other hand, socialist feminism believing that women’s liberation and socialism are joint goals.³⁶

The apparent naturalness of this social arrangement is evidence of the success of patriarchal ideology. If ninetieth-century feminism may be characterized by struggle for the vote, for the right to be represented in a legislature that had power to determine so many aspects of women’s lives, the ‘new wave’ feminism of the later twentieth century can be seen as enlarging the concept of politics to include the personal, the cultural and the ideological. This was not just a question of disillusion with the power of Parliament, but an awareness of the ‘over-determined’ nature of women’s oppression in society: the way in which their subordinate position in a multiplicity of structures,

³⁴ Robinson, Victoria (1993), p.24.

³⁵ Messner, Michael A.(1997)*Politics of Masculinities: Man in Movements*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, introduction, p.x.

³⁶ Stacey, Jackie (1993), p.52.

institutions and value systems interacted with each other to lock women into an overall subordination.³⁷

The media have always been at the center of feminist critique as an important institution which can help to shape identities. The most valuable argument that feminist criticism in communication field bring a 'female viewpoint' or a 'female angle' to media researches and theories which was gender-blind in communication field. According to McQuail the significance of the media for women was initially seen to lie in the socializing role of the media, especially through the repetitive depiction of different gender roles and reinforcement stereotypes.³⁸

In spite of the marginal position of feminist media studies in the discipline as a whole, there are at least two themes taken up and/or revitalized by feminist communication scholars which have gained a more habitual importance: stereotypes and gender socialization, and ideology, the latter of course erstwhile prominent in critical studies.³⁹

If we need to sum up the feminist communication studies, gender itself accepted as a concept in the definition of identity. Feminist media theories share the similar assumption that media is playing a pivotal role in the construction of gender. Further, they are perceived as the main instruments in conveying stereotypical, patriarchal and hegemonic values about women and femininity. As van Zoonen asserts, in the research of feminist media studies, media are conceptualized as agents of social control employing a structural functionalist media theory.

In feminist terminology media are thought to transmit sexist, patriarchal or capitalist values to contribute to the maintenance of social order. In such models meaning located primarily in relatively consistent and uncontradictory media texts.⁴⁰

Gaye Tuchman was among the first to produce research within a well developed theoretical framework claiming that the present media fail to live up to represent the whole picture of society, instead media reflect society's dominant social values and denigrate women either by not showing them or depicting them within stereotypical roles in the content of the media outputs. She studied television content and found out that

³⁷ Marshment, Margaret (1993) 'The Picture is Political: Representation of Women in Contemporary Popular Culture' in Richardson Diane and Victoria Robinson (eds.) *Introducing Women's Studies: Feminist Theory and Practice*, The Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, p.123-4.

³⁸ McQuail, Denis (2002), p.15.

³⁹ Zoonen, Liesbet van (1994), p.15.

⁴⁰ Zoonen, Liesbet van (1994), p.27.

television portray women as incompetent, inferior and subservient to men.⁴¹ She coined the phrase 'symbolic annihilation' to explain the invisibility of women and gender imbalance of television output in American media.

2.3.1 Distortion of 'Reality' in Feminist Media Theories

Typically, feminist theory offers some kind of analysis and explanation of how and why women have less power than men and how this imbalance could be challenged and transformed. Feminists have produced diverse and competing theories about the general patterns of inequality and the broader structures, belief systems and institutions which produce and organize particular experiences, in order to analyze, understand and, hopefully, challenge women's subordination.⁴²

'Distortion', is seen as a key concept for many feminist media theories. It is nearly a cliché to claim that women are underrepresented in the media content when compared to the 50 percent of population which they constitute. The feminist accuses to the distorted media representation of female that media is not keeping up with changes in society although the demography changing rapidly, the attitude of media is not reflecting the changing cultural beliefs, attitudes and opinions which can establish 'real' reflection of women.

There is a critique to the feminist claim that media distort reality by showing them in stereotypical roles of housewives and mother, and that in reality many women are mothers and housewives too...⁴³

According to van Zoonen there are also fallacies to the claim of media's role distortion of 'the reality' because as she explains the idea of 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 reconstructing. 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;

⁴¹ Tuchman, Gaye and Arlene Kaplan Daniels and James Benet (1978b)(eds.) *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media*, Oxford University Press, New York, p.13.

⁴² Stacey, Jackie (1993), p.50.

⁴³ Zoonen, Liesbet van (1994), p.31.

finally reality itself is not only objective collection of things and processes, but it is socially constructed in discourses that reflect and produce power.⁴⁴ This is why feminist theories emphasized that media should construct a kind of ‘positive reality’ which can shape public attitude and in the long term develop the condition of women and men in society.

2.3.2 'Patriarchy' in Feminist Theories

‘Patriarchy’ as another central term in feminist theory, has used to explain the women’s subordination in terms of historical, material, psychoanalytic definitions.⁴⁵ Patriarchy describes the power of the father as head of household, the term has been used within post-1960s feminism to refer to the systematic organization of male supremacy and female subordination.⁴⁶ According to Maria Mies ‘patriarchy’ signifies the historical emergence of particular forms of inequality between women and men, in contrast to the view that gender inequality is natural.⁴⁷

All three of these theoretical uses of the concept of patriarchy, the historical, the material and the psychoanalytic, have produces generalized explanations of the subordination of women. They offered analyses of how patriarchy is organized and how power relations within it are reproduced at a general level.⁴⁸

The aim of employing all different definitions and terms which can explain patriarchy, is try to explain the historical roots and universalism of women’s subordination in most of the world. Deniz Kandiyoti calls the term ‘classic patriarchy’ which senior males hold authority in patrilocally extended households and adds that the gender asymmetry, which existed in Turkish society, is produced, represented and reproduced through a wide variety of cultural practices that extend beyond household, class and labour market.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Zoonen Liesbet van (1994), p.40-1.

⁴⁵ Stacey, Jackie (1993), p.54.

⁴⁶ Millett, Kate (1970) *Sexual Politics*, London, Abacus, reprinted in 1977, London, Virago, p.25.

⁴⁷ Mies, Maria (1986) *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour*, London, Zed Books, p. 38.

⁴⁸ Stacey, Jackie (1993), p.59.

⁴⁹ Kandiyoti, Deniz (1995) ‘Patterns of Patriarchy: Notes for an Analysis of Male Dominance in Turkish Society’ in Sirin Tekeli(ed.) *Women in Modern Turkish Society: A Reader*, London, Zed Books, p.306-7.

It is therefore important to examine the media as a form of cultural practices which reproduce existed gender relations and specifically news media as an important part of symbolic reproduction. Definition of patriarchy can explain this with strong concepts such as oppression or male hegemony. The notion of patriarchy will help us to understand the Turkish society and help us to argue out the existing media bias in reflecting gender order in Turkish society.

2.4 News and Media

Democracies need informed and participant citizens to manage their common affairs. It also believes that public debate is more likely to produce rational and just outcomes if it takes account of different views and interests.⁵⁰

The principal democratic role of media, according to liberal theory, is to act as a check on the state. The media should monitor the full range of state activity, and fearlessly expose abuses of official authority. This watchdog role is said to override in importance all other functions of the media⁵¹ and news as a specific basic function of the media has a significant role in this informing process. As McQuail draws attention the importance of the news with these words: “media institutions could barely exist without news and news could not exist without media institutions”.⁵² The media as main setters of public agenda choose what they consider important enough to be news.

News as a term has different meanings according to Teun Van Dijk, his third explanation seems useful and valuable for the aim of this study, which is “a news item or news report, i.e., a text or discourse on radio on TV or in the newspaper, in which new information is given about recent events”.⁵³ News will refer to a news item or a news article in the physical sense, which we can see, read or clip from the newspaper under this study.

News, as we refer to the definition, has been only about providing information in the narrow sense, but also a contribution to dialogue about values and collective identity

⁵⁰ Curran, James (2000) ‘Rethinking Media and Democracy’ in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds.), *Mass Media and Society*, third edition, Arnold Press, London, p.128.

⁵¹ Curran, James (2000), p.121.

⁵² McQuail, Denis (1994), p.267.

⁵³ van Dijk, Teun A.(1988) *News As Discourse*, Lawrence Erlbaum Inc., Hillsdale, p.4.

within specific society. As Tuchman points out, news like all cultural phenomena, develops in conjunction with socioeconomic and political institution.⁵⁴

(N)ews emerge within institutionalized forms of knowledge production. Tuchman refers to it as ‘news frames’, others as ‘paradigms’, ‘scripts’, or ‘mapped readings’. It boils down to the observation that all knowledge production reflects and reflects upon its origin and its means of production. This ‘artful construction’ refers as well as to the story telling character of modern news production. Reporters and source interact with, and play on the technological and economic constraints on news institutions, thus effecting a reconstitution of world events which is fundamentally value-determined.⁵⁵

Many critical media theorists assert that news are construction of the realities, so they do not exactly mirror the society. For example, Tuchman claims, news are kind of public document and like all public documents, it is constructed reality possessing its own internal validity.⁵⁶ Walter Lippmann, in *Public Opinion*, his classic work on the press, distinguished grandly between truth and news: “The function of news is to signalize an event, the function of truth is to bring to light the hidden facts, to set them into relation with each other, and make a picture of reality on which men can act.”⁵⁷ Although news is a material product there are political, economic, social and cultural dimensions to understand meaning and functioning of the news in a society.

There are three perspectives on newsmaking as Michael Schudson underlined. The first is the view of political economy that relates the outcome of the news process to the structure of the state and the economy, and to the economic foundation of the news organization. The second approach comes primarily out of sociology, especially the study of social organization, occupations and professions and the social construction of ideology. This perspective tries to understand how journalist’s efforts on the job are constrained by organizational and occupational demands. Third, a ‘cultural’ approach emphasizes the constraining force of broad cultural traditions and symbolic systems, regardless of the structure of economic organization or the character of occupational

⁵⁴ Tuchman, Gaye (1978a), p.157.

⁵⁵ Tveiten, Oddgeir (1993) ‘News Ideology and the Realization of Guilt and Innocence: The US Media and Nicaragua’ in *Journalistikk – Forskning – Et Felt på Nye Veier?*, NLM Rapport:4, Norsk Medieforskerlag, Oslo, p.95. [Journalism –Research –The Field With The New Ways, Report:4].

⁵⁶ Tuchman, Gaye (1976) ‘Telling Stories’, *Journal of the Communication*: 26 (Fall), p. 97.

⁵⁷ Romano, Carlin (1986) ‘The Grisly Truth About Bare Facts’ in Robert Karl Manoff and Michael Schudson (eds.) *Reading The News: A Pantheon Guide to Popular Culture*, New York, Pantheon, p.42.

routines. “all of them recognize that news is a form of culture. It is structured genre, or set of genres, of public meaning-making...”⁵⁸

As McQuail also points out, news has more attention in critical content analysis, because of its ideological significance in defining the social world and the world of events.⁵⁹

The importance of news for democracy, which needs an informed citizenry and the media, is that they are the chief vehicles for achieving an established platitude.⁶⁰ However if the media typically mirror the views and voices of established government officials, then the media are more nearly the natural servants of a democratic order.⁶¹ This is the critical point and also claim of the critical media theories as well as feminist theories that news media do not live up this responsibility but support to the established order.

One fundamental point about the role of the news media in transmitting values and standards: through much of their history the media have been to a significant degree supporters of the status quo...In a literal sense, the media of mass communication are built into the structure of things as they are. The media interact with and are interdependent with the other segments of our social and political structures. It is understandable, then, that the news media would tend to support and protect the overall structures of which they are a part.⁶²

It is widely accepted that the media produce and reproduce the hegemonic definitions of social order. There are four general claims to this overall thesis.

First, ‘news net’ of the media corresponds to the hierarchical order of political power and the prevailing belief system that defines this order. Second, even in a democratic society, news production must inevitably epitomize the capitalist mode of production and serve the financial-ideological structure and interest of the dominant class, race and gender.

⁵⁸ Schudson, Michael (2000), p.177.

⁵⁹ McQuail, Denis (1994), p.259.

⁶⁰ Dahlgren, Peter (2000) ‘Media, Citizenship and Civic Culture’ in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds.), *Mass Media and Society*, third edition, Arnold Press, London, p. 322.

⁶¹ Schudson, Michael (2000), p.185.

⁶² Hulteng, John L.(1979) *The News Media: What Makes Them Tick?*, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, p.99.

Third, the ideology of the journalistic professionalism, as enshrined by the creed of objectivity, is predicated on an unarticulated commitment to the established order.⁶³

In her analysis Tuchman also argues that news depends not only on the facts but also on the structure of the news organization, journalistic values and constraints in news production can provide valuable insight to understand this cultural phenomenon.⁶⁴ Therefore it is also important to define general institutional, organizational imperatives and journalistic conventions which is also fundamental to shape the news environment.

2.4.1 Institutional and Organizational Imperatives

Gaye Tuchman defines the newspaper as a bureaucracy.⁶⁵ Rodney Tiffen also describes news as “regular production of an irregular and unpredictable commodity” and draws attention to the organizational attributes for the quality of the news.⁶⁶ To become news, an occurrence or issue must come within either a reporter’s or a news organization’s purview.⁶⁷ Although many theorists claim that news is shaped by professional news judgment of journalists, it is also clear that organizational values and requirements determining selection of the news. It is the argument that both commercial imperatives and their structure and division of labour affect story selection.

Journalists do apply news judgment, both as members of a profession and as individuals, but they are by no means totally free agents, and in any case, they rarely make selection decisions on overtly ideological grounds; rather, they work within organizations which provide them with only a limited amount of leeway in selection decisions, which is further reduced by their allegiance to professionally shared values.⁶⁸

The central dilemma for news organizations is the ‘deadline’ and the ‘news hole’ pressures. They have to, in theory, select only a tiny part of billions of potential events as a news story in a limited time for their limited space. Because of these ‘deadline’ and

⁶³ Lee, Chin-Chuan, Joseph Man Chan, Zhongdang Pan and Clement Y. K. So (2000) ‘National Prisms of A Global “Media Event” ’ in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds.), *Mass Media and Society*, third edition, Arnold Press, London, p. 296.

⁶⁴ Tuchman, Gaye (1978a), p.99.

⁶⁵ Tuchman, Gaye (1978a), p.149.

⁶⁶ Tiffen, Rodney (1989) *News and Power*, Sydney, Allen and Unwin Australia Pty. Ltd., p.15.

⁶⁷ Tuchman, Gaye (1978a), p.138.

⁶⁸ Gans, Herbert J.(1980) *Deciding What’s News: A Study of CBS Evening News,NBC nightly News, Newsweek and Time*, London, Constable, p. 79.

‘news hole’ parameters organizations must routinize their task in order to make it manageable.

These organizational decisions, which is also derived from cultural values of the society effect the who or what will become news in the news media. The media do not usually create new codes and attitudes on their own; they function instead as universal showcases that gradually accustom the viewing or reading public to new ideas, trends or practices, and thus in time make those ideas, trends or practices acceptable so that in some instances they become a knit into the fabric of our cultural values.⁶⁹

As we look at the organizational constraints from the perspective of the critical and feminist media theories, The news media that changes in moral attitudes are brought to wide attention and thus given a chance to ‘take’ with substantial segments of the population. However with routinizing news selection and not representing the whole society or representing dominant values in the society, news media as an institution exercise of power in the transmission of information and as Tuchman argues that news organizations also provide some justification for viewing news crusades as legitimating the status quo.⁷⁰

Herbert Gans asserts , news organizations are pyramids, with only limited number of top jobs⁷¹ and every journalist involved in story selection or production applies overriding organizational consideration, although the power of top editors and producers is not absolute, they affect the value judgments in major stories. However journalists determine what actors and activities routinely become newsworthy. To make further evaluations we have to touch upon journalistic conventions which is another paradigm of the news media and its content.

2.4.2 Journalistic Conventions

Media technologies for production and distribution are increasingly sophisticated, but human activity is still the key source in manufacturing the news content. Contemporary

⁶⁹ Hulteng, John L.(1979), p.100.

⁷⁰ Tuchman, Gaye (1978a), p.158.

⁷¹ Gans, Herbert J.(1980), p. 97..

mass media transmit and create important cultural information. The media brings us the news with a value system.

The media produce news, not truth. Although the media appear simply to report 'what happened', they actively construct news through frames, values and conventions. Having made the initial decision that an incident is worthy of treatment as news, reporters and editors make a number of choices that foreground some elements of the potential narrative and obscure others, and they define and delineate issues through a series of choices including headlines, descriptive word choices, photographs who to authorize with an interview and what to report.⁷²

In this respect, journalism is different from the 'classical' professions – law, medicine, architecture, engineering- in that its practice is not based on any systematic body of knowledge.⁷³ And journalistic norms can be described as a process involves selecting, production and shaping information. Tuchman also draws attention to the journalistic conventions which is intricately embedded in the activities of men and women-in the institutions, organizations, and professions associated with their activities and that they produce and reproduce, create and recreate.⁷⁴

We need to mention some of journalistic norms which have effects on the coverage of the news media. With objectivity; reporters are taught to deny their experience of the world. As journalists virtue, then, objectivity requires that reporters not let their preconceptions cloud their vision.⁷⁵

(W)ith the most fundamental journalistic values- objectivity is a corner stone of the professional ideology of journalists in liberal democracies.⁷⁶

In critical and feminist media theories reality is socially constructed, not 'out there': it is something humanly produced and humanly maintained and so there are as many realities as there are social perspectives on the world. However, objectivity of journalists is done through the idea of balance. In exploring controversial issues, the journalist does not himself commit to a view, but instead gives voice to different sides of the story. The

⁷² Birrell, Susan and Cheryl L. Cole (1994) 'Double Fault: Rene Richards and the Construction and Naturalization of Difference' in Pamela J.Creedon (ed.) *Women Media and Sport: Challenging Gender Values*, Thousand Oaks, p.215.

⁷³ Hallin, C. Daniel (2000) 'Commercialism and Professionalism in the American News Media' in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds.), *Mass Media and Society*, third edition, Arnold Press, London, p.220.

⁷⁴ Tuchman, Gaye (1978a), p.216.

⁷⁵ Lichtenberg, Judith (2000) 'In Defence of Objectivity Revisited' in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds.), *Mass Media and Society*, third edition, Arnold Press, London, p.252.

⁷⁶ Lichtenberg, Judith (2000), p.238-9

reader is left to judge the truth.⁷⁷ We can claim that with objectivity, journalists describe different side of the story and that will help to create different realities and perceives.

The task of the news media and newswriters, conveying information, remained the same. But their interpretation of the task was now radically different: Not only must newswriters be factual, but the facts must also be fair. By balancing opinions of newsmakers and weighing evidence, newswriters must strive to achieve fair presentations of the facts in order to inform the public and to maintain credibility.⁷⁸

Another journalistic convention is the determining of the sources. Journalists because of the time efficiency determine the suitability of available sources. For example eager and powerful sources are appearing in the news because they satisfy the source considerations for authoritativeness and productivity.⁷⁹

Besides facticity and factualness of the news, which journalists achieve through the objective reporting, news, values is also another journalistic norm that determines by the journalists.

As Gans asserts that news does not limit itself to reality judgments; it also contains values, or preference statements.⁸⁰ Although journalists try to be objective, neither they nor anyone else can act without values because reality judgment is not value free. The cultural knowledge that constitutes 'news judgment' is too complex and too implicit to label simply 'ideology' or 'common sense' of a hegemonic system. News judgment is not so unified, international and functional a system as these terms suggest.⁸¹ The important point is that when the journalist deciding the news worthiness or making the reality judgment of the news, he or she was supposed to serve the public as a whole, and not particular interests or dominant group in society.

2.5 Gender and the News from Critical Media Perspective

Van Zoonen describes media as technologies of gender, accommodating, modifying, reconstructing and producing disciplining and contradictory renditions of sexual

⁷⁷ Lichtenberg, Judith (2000), p.251.

⁷⁸ Tuchman, Gaye (1978a), p.161.

⁷⁹ Gans, Herbert J.(1980), p. 144.

⁸⁰ Gans, Herbert J.(1980), p. 39.

⁸¹ Schudson, Michael (2000), p.191.

difference.⁸² Feminist and critical media theorists tried to unravel both dominant and alternative meanings of gender which encoded in media texts in the context of media representation. In this respect, news, as an important output of media is an arena to observe the practice of gender representation in media.

In feminist theories, media transmission model which is applied to many media outputs assume that mass media conveying a distorted picture of women's lives with stereotyped images of women and demanding more realistic reflection instead. Feminist claim that these stereotyped image of women seem natural because media symbolically denigrates women by showing an overwhelming majority of men in almost all kinds of media output. Media symbolically undervalue women by portraying them as incompetent, inferior to men. According to Tuchman this symbolic annihilation of women will endanger social development.⁸³

News is a realist project of reflecting the world, it is a factual representation. So equal representation of both men and women is more important in this journalistic genre because the invisibility or subordination of women will affect the gender balance of news in the press and this cause to empowerment of women to develop an image of themselves as powerful. In the long term, invisibility of women, this deliberated process of oppression, might seem to be common sense and this appears to be natural order of things.

Fundamental to feminism is the premise that women have been 'left out' of codified knowledge; where men have formulated explanations in relation to themselves, they have generally either rendered women invisible or classified them as deviant...The description and analysis of the omission of women as autonomous human beings has been one of the most significant contributions made by feminism.⁸⁴

As Margareth Marshment argues in her chapter, representation is political issue which gives power to define our interests and to participate in the decisions that effects us, if women do not have equal representation – like any other group in society – will be subject to the definitions and decisions of others. Therefore it has an important part to

⁸² Zoonen, Liesbet van (1994), p.66.

⁸³ Tuchman, Gaye (1978b), p.7.

⁸⁴ Spender, Dale (1981) (ed.) *Men's Studies Modified: The Impact of Feminism on the Academic Disciplines*, Oxford Press, Pergamon, p.2.

play in it, and needs to be taken very seriously by anyone who wishing to analyze, and change, women's subordination to men.

Equal gender representation in content of the media output is important, but it is also important the gender balance of the journalists in the media organizations. It is obvious that if women are under-represented in professions which produce and reproduce definitions of gender and gender relations, then they are not in a position to speak for themselves and in their own interests. It must therefore be a necessary, if not sufficient, project of feminist politics to work towards proportionate representation of women in the professions of media and cultural production.⁸⁵ Therefore feminist researchers and women's groups have emphasised the quantity aspect, the lack of women in the media as the key issue to be solved in order to improve the media coverage of gender issues and the representation of women.

Representation is defined differently in feminist theories than the reflection of liberalism. In liberalism, reflection which need to be representations of reality has in a way problematic, because if it will be real reflection in a patriarchal society, representation of women will shown predominantly subordinate roles, as oppressed as victims. But this reflection will be just the evidence of the oppression. Indeed contrary, in the feministic argument they should reflect the 'positive' images of the women, showing that what women can do, to act as role models to empower women in their sense of themselves and perhaps even in the conduct of their lives.⁸⁶

Communication research is peculiarly positioned in relationship to gender studies and gender is primarily constituent of the anatomy of all forms of knowledge and power relations. So that we must consider and examine the exclusion of women as a constitutive, gendered behaviour rather than as an incidental practice of these organizations.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Marshment, Margaret (1993), p.126-7.

⁸⁶ Marshment, Margaret (1993), p.131.

⁸⁷ Jansen, Sue Curry (2002) *Critical, Communication Theory: Power, Media, Gender, and Technology*, Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., p.34-5.

2.6 Evaluating Previous Research Findings in General and Research Countries

A gap noted by all researchers is the lack of comparative studies.⁸⁸ The assessment of Margaret Gallagher also draws attention to the same problem that in gender researches “studies spanning more than one country are rare”⁸⁹ and a comparative study which explores gender balances of Norwegian and Turkish media is unfortunately not exist.

In 1995, the most and probably the first extensive research which monitored women’s portrayal and gender balance in the news media, Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), examined quantitative measures of media content on television, radio and in newspapers on one ‘ordinary day’. The research, which was covering seventy-one countries, found out that there is a gender imbalance in news media; 83 percent news subjects were men whereas 17 percent of them were women. The proportion of female news subjects was lowest in Asia with 14 percent and highest in North America with 27 percent. Women were least likely to be news subjects in the fields of politics and government (7 percent) and economy/business (9 percent). They were most likely to make the news in terms of health and social issues, and also well represented in arts and entertainment.⁹⁰

Five years after first GMMP, in 2000, fifty-two of the countries monitored their news media again and the result hardly changed. Just 18 percent of the news subjects were women, but 82 percent of men.⁹¹ This is the only research in which Norway and Turkey were included. The proportion of female news subjects rose to 12 percent in 2000. In economic/business news the proportion of female news subjects rose to 17 percent. It is intriguing to think that they might signal a change. However, it still did not change the

⁸⁸ European Commission (1999) *Images of Women in the Media: Report on Existing Research in the European Union*, Brussels, European Commission, p. 35.

⁸⁹ Gallagher, Margaret (2001) *Gender Setting: New Agendas for Media Monitoring and Advocacy*, London, Zed Books in association with WACC London, p.4

⁹⁰ Media Watch (1995) *Women’s Participation in the News: Global Media Monitoring Project*, Toronto, Media Watch.

⁹¹ Spears, George, Kasia Seydegart and Margaret Gallagher (2000) *Who Makes the News? Global Media Monitoring Project 2000*, London, The World Association for Christian Communication, p.28.

total 18 percent of female representation in world's media. Both in 1995 and 2000 GMMP was documenting gender bias and exclusion in the favor of men.

The country specific results of 1995 GMMP* showed that in the coverage of three newspapers in the Turkish press the women as news subject was just 11 percent, the women journalists were 10 percent, and as experts or news sources women constituted 12 percent. The situation was not extremely different with the monitoring of eight dailies in 2000 GMMP. Although the proportion of women news subjects decreased to 7 percent, there was an obvious increase in the proportion of women journalists with 23 percent; more than two times more women journalists reported the news. But the proportion of woman as news sources or experts constituted 15 percent, which was not a big change, compared to the results of 1995 GMMP. Other interesting findings of the research were that newspapers contained more women news subjects than television and radio news in both GMMP projects. The women news subjects constituted two times more in newspapers than TV news. On the other hand, radio did not contain any. Contrary, TV news reported by more than two times as many women journalists than newspapers, while radio did not contain any. The appearance was important for the television, so 80 percent of female announcers appeared in 1995 and 53 percent in 2000 GMMP.

An EU publication which examine the review of researches on the gender dimensions of media production, media content, and media audiences in European countries found out that the overall picture of gender portrayal which emerges from the recent research is no longer monolithic stereotyping of the kind described in content studies of the 1970s and 1980s. Greater diversity in images of women and men is indeed recorded in many contemporary studies. But other research shows that new and highly sexist depictions of female characters continue to co-exist alongside more unconventional roles for women.⁹² In the same report was stated that the most of the studies conducted in Nordic countries dealt with analysis of press and broadcasting content, and in Norway approximately every other study⁹³ in this field concentrated on the content dimensions of media process.

* Country specific results was kindly sent by Ayseli Usluata who directed the GMMP 2000 in Turkey, 03 November 2003.

⁹² European Commission (1999), p. 7.

⁹³ European Commission (1999), p.26-8.

Report was also concluded that there is a concentration of studies in Nordic countries in relation to gender aspect of the traditional media.

Another international study, which was published in 1981, concludes that although women consist the other half of the world's population, news items about them were not more than 20 percent in any research countries all over the world.⁹⁴

A more geographically limited comparative study of prime time television content was carried out in 1997 and included Denmark, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden as research countries. Women were most often portrayed in roles associated with low social status; 47 percent of the ordinary citizens and 37 percent of the victims were women, whereas 72 percent of the men represented politicians and experts in the television content.⁹⁵ Despite the low female proportions in the media, these European countries have women in the national parliaments ranging 31 percent in Germany to 43 percent in Sweden which means high representation of female in decision making bodies of the countries`. This study was another documentation of gender bias in the media.

Furthermore, starting 1989 a long-term study from USA* aiming to examine the diversity in news coverage of and by women was tracked in an annual survey, which was originated and conducted by M. Junior Bridge.⁹⁶ Women, Men and Media project (WMM) began to monitor newspapers coverage and in succeeding years a television component was added to the survey. The study examines the percentage of female references, bylines and photos on key pages of more than ten major newspapers, the smaller market papers and television news. Again the main findings of this long term study pointed out at the male face of the news.

⁹⁴ Gallagher Margaret (1981) *Unequal Opportunities: The Case of Women and The Media*, Paris, Unesco Press, p.77.

⁹⁵ Eie Birgit (1998) *Who Speaks on Television? A European Comparative Study of Female Participation in Television Programmes*, Oslo, NRK (Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation).

⁹⁶ Bridge, M. Junior (1995) 'What's News?' in Cynthia M. Lonth (ed.) *Women and Media: Content, Careers, Criticism*, Wadsworth Publishing Company, a division of International Thomson Publishing Inc. Fairfax, Virginia, p.16.

* All eight annual surveys from 1989 until 1996 which was sponsored by Women, Men and Media Project underline that although women constitute nation's 52 % majority , male voices, activities, and images saturated newspaper front pages with highly visible percentages in the USA. Women in power in both the public and private sectors received minimal coverage, either as newsmakers or sources of important information.

Since the initial study in 1989, front-page references to females have more than doubled and the highest percentage was recorded in 1994 survey which was 25 percent on average.⁹⁷

Norwegian studies also documented that national or local press represented the same patriarchal order⁹⁸ with smaller representation of female news subject or news sources in their articles. Sigurd Allern carried a national research in the Norwegian daily newspapers and has found out that 19 percent of news sources were female, whereas 81 percent of them were men. A gender researcher, Elisabeth Eide examined news of 103 Norwegian newspapers from gender perspective and found out that 62 percent of the news stories were represented from male angle. However, only 14 percent of them have female angles in the news item.⁹⁹ Ten years later another research carried out on the same research sample, but the situation was not really different.

Norwegian studies of, 1989¹⁰⁰ and 2001¹⁰¹ show a stagnation of trends in gender representation in media. Male representation remains unchanged throughout the last twenty years, while the number of articles by women increases in the first period, yet remains constant after that.

Another national research in Norway, which is dealing with the representation of the gender equality, has found out that in spite of proportional equal representation, the program makers reflecting their traditional gender behaviours in the second biggest TV channel in Norway, TV 2. In this specific analysis, body representation of TV2 hosts were examined with a gender perspective to find out whether or not there is a change of

⁹⁷ Bridge, M. Junior (1994) Arriving on the Scene: Women's Growing Presence in The news, Unabridged Communications, Women Men and Media Annual Survey, p.1.

⁹⁸ Allern, Sigurd (2001) *Nyhetsverdier: Om Marketsorientering og Journalistikk i ti Norske Aviser*, IJ – forlaget, Kristiansand, p.186. [Newsvalues: Market Orientation and Journalism in Ten Norwegian Newspapers, IJ Publishing].

⁹⁹ Eide, Elisabeth (1991) 'Kvinnebildet i Norsk Dagspresse ved Inngangen til 1990-Årene- og Journalistenes Bilde', Norsk Journalisthøyskole, Forskningsrapport nr:6, p.43-4. [Women Aspect of Norwegian Daily Press in the Beginning of 1990s and Situation of Journalists, Norwegian Journalism High School, Research report].

¹⁰⁰ Eide, Elisabeth (2000) 'Falske Speil: Hvorfor Misforhold Samfunn-Medier?' in *Narrespeil: Kjønn, Sex og Medier* (red.) Elisabeth Eide, HøyskoleForlaget, Kristiansand, p.198. [The False Mirror: Why There is an Imbalance in Society's Media ? in *The Tricky Mirror: Gender, Sex and Media*, High School Publishing].

¹⁰¹ Allern, Sigurd (2001), p.189.

traditional gender behaviours.¹⁰² The result of this study concluded that the body language of TV2 hosts was conventional from the aspect of gender equalities.*

The few researches, which were carried on gender representation of Turkish media reflected the same results.

According to Ayse Saktanber the way the media depict women is directly related to the way in which the women are socially defined. When the women become the subject of factual newspaper reports, the reports are inline with the nature of the discourse of news media, instead of signifying the reality of women. They are no longer reflections of the essence of womanhood, but become instead parts of the reality that constitutes that essence. In this context, women feature as news items in relation to issues such as social morality, virtue and honor, and are newsworthy so far as they adhere to or more frequently violate, such norms.¹⁰³ She also carried out a survey of *Hurriyet*, which is a leading national daily with high circulation, between December 1989 and January 1990 and found out that women constitutes 70 percent of the visual material in the coverage of the newspaper. She is concluding with these words: "Whatever the content of the news, Turkish dailies have made the use of women as visual material their almost traditional practice. This is a clear indication of their exploitative attitudes towards women."

Another research, which was carried out by Ayse Catalcali between the years 1990-1998, examined the womanhood in the news and photos of three newspapers, which have different policies. In this semantic content analysis 506 headlines and 508 photographs were studied and it found out that 42 percent of them were coded as traditional. Another important finding was that although the news content or the policies of the three

¹⁰² Gundersen, Hege and Wencke Muhleisen (2002), ' "– Blir så jævlig breibeint." Iscenesettelse av Kjønn på TV2' in Gunn Sara Enli, Trine Syvertsen og Susanne Østby Sæther (red) *Et Hjem for oss- Et hjem for deg? Analyser av TV 2 1992-2002*, Kristiansand, IJ Forlaget, p.157-8. [The Production of Gender in TV2 Channel in *Home for Us Home for You: Analysis of TV2 1992-2002*].

* The analysis was conducted to the debate and entertainment programs of TV2 between 12-18 September 2001. In total, 23 programmers were monitored whom 43 percent of were female. Although it seems female and male represented equally as a programmer, their body language reflecting conventional gender order; men are masculine, females are feminine. The findings of the analysis explored that within 23 programmers just 5 males and 2 females were not reflecting conventional body language of femininity and masculinity.

¹⁰³ Saktanber, Ayse (1995) ' Women in the Media in Turkey: The Free, Available Woman or the Good Wife and Selfless Mother ' in Sirin Tekeli (ed.) *Women in Modern Turkish Society: A Reader*, London, Zed Books, p. 163.

newspapers were varying sharply, their messages were represented on the basis of cultural codes and traditional values to secure the social order.¹⁰⁴

The study of Lale Kabadayi focuses on the women television news reporters and journalists in four local private television station in Turkey and explores that the discrimination against women in the society and at the media organizations have a crucial impact on the news of which the main subjects are women.¹⁰⁵ Although almost all of the women journalists have complained about the unfair treatment they receive from their men colleagues, they still preferred to work more with men than with women reporters. With this irony she draws attention to the fact that the media industry is still male dominated both in terms of the workforce, and perhaps more importantly, in terms of the mentality.

A questionnaire was carried out with 15 women reporters in total working in these TV stations in which 13 of them have participated in the study. They were given the questionnaire form and were asked also to write a news text in which they should use the words ‘woman’, ‘man’, ‘assault’, ‘rape’, ‘night’, ‘chase’, ‘dirty’, ‘old’. Seven journalists participated in writing news texts and researcher applied discourse analysis of news texts to demonstrate ways in which stereotypes, prejudices and images on gender, class, race and ethnicity have been reproduced and consolidated by the dominant ideologies in different spheres of society. News related to controversial issues is presented generally within the context of binary oppositions, which is described as ‘us’ and ‘them’.

She also draws attention at the socio-cultural values and knowledge of women journalists about their society and the patriarchal ideology, which has its roots in the historical, political, and socio-cultural discourses. Both relate to the woman as ‘the other’. She concluded that women have secondary importance in the organizational structure of the news media despite the considerable increase in the number of women journalists and reporters working in Turkish media. The study shares the view of van Zonnen that in spite of the growth of women workforce in the media and the improved standards of their

¹⁰⁴ Catalcali, Ayse (2000) ‘1990-1998 Yillari Arasinda Yazili Basinin Kadin Olusuna Yaklasimi’, unpublished MA dissertation, Ege University Social Science Institution Journalism Department, Izmir, p.161. [The Approach of Printed Media Towards Women Concept Between 1990 and 1998].

¹⁰⁵ Kabadayi, Lale (2002) ‘Women and the Media: The Profile of Turkish Women Reporters, Their Understanding of News and Definition of Women’ paper presented at the Women and the Media at 8th International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women, Kampala, Uganda (21 -26 July).

academic and professional education women have still unfair portrayal in the media because we shall not expect that the sole increase in female communicators will have enough affect to produce a radically different type of media or media content in the existing organizational context in which media production takes place. The study suggests that the mainstream media should give access to pluralist, alternative and more challenging views on the people in the news and calls to the individual women journalists to change existing structure at least on individual levels by avoiding the use of the dominant norms and discourses in constructing the negative and stereotypical images of the women. Only in this way their cooperation in the reproduction of hegemonic ideologies on women might be diminished.

Furthermore, there was another study which examined gender in popular domestic television serials by Dilek Imancer. It concluded that media as a societal organization legalizes societal differences between men and women when representing women in traditional gender role settings. It was expected to reconstruct and reflect real life experiences of women and men, however media was not functioning the way it should be, so they merely become arena to discuss traditional gender values in society.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, they are influential in perpetuating women's status, which is lower in comparison to men.

Another small scale monitoring project was done to the news related to the coverage of 8 March International Women's Day in Norwegian and Turkish print media.* The evaluation of the analysis findings explored that traditionally this specific day is a kind of tool for the media and women organizations to send the messages to the public, but in Turkish media, celebrations seem to have more space than the content of the messages which should have emphasised gender inequalities in the society. On the contrary, Norwegian papers, for example Dagsavisen, has information about one of the women

¹⁰⁶ Imancer Dilek (2000) 'Televizyonda Toplumsal Cinsiyet Sembollerinin Turk Aile Dizilerinde Sunumu', unpublished Phd dissertation, Ege University Social Science Institution Radio and Television Department, Izmir, p.215-6. [Representation of Societal Gender Symbols in Domestic Television Serials].

* In total, 122 news items and columns were examined in Norwegian and Turkish papers on 8th and 9th of March 2003. The selected national newspapers in both countries were Aftenposten, Dagbladet, VG, Dagsavisen, Klassekampen as five Norwegian dailies and Hurriyet, Sabah, Stargazete, Zaman and Cumhuriyet are five Turkish dailies which the content analysis was conducted.

organizations and its initiative on the front page of the paper. It seems that Norwegian papers do not need sensational news to be placed on the front page of the paper.¹⁰⁷

These findings, and those of many other studies, illustrate clearly that despite the small shifts, large media contents still reflect traditional patriarchal gender order in Turkish media.

Other recent findings from national studies in Africa¹⁰⁸, Asia, and Latin America confirm the broad pattern of gender portrayal in the media and identified it with both global and European research.¹⁰⁹ These researches and data illustrate just how is the problem of women's representation in the media is deeply rooted in the situation of women in society and it requires a wide scale social and political transformation.

Images of the 'new women' as an independent consumer...illustrate new stereotypes of women...The picture that emerges from most analyses of new media content is still male-dominated, with representations that are frequently sexualized and often sexist.¹¹⁰

In conclusion, these national and international studies pointed out in many countries women are less represented than men in news media either as news subjects or reporters. The distribution is striking, although women's participation in decision-making and public life is high in some countries such as Norway, representation of gender balance in the media is less than the expected proportion. This statement interested us and we wanted to look at the situation in Norwegian and Turkish media and compare the statistical results.

¹⁰⁷ Toker, Huriye (2003) 'Just A Routine Activity or Not? Comparative Study: Analysing Media Coverage of International Women's Day in Norwegian and Turkish Newspapers', unpublished term paper, Department of Media and Communication, University of Oslo, p.12.

¹⁰⁸ Southern African Gender and Media Baseline Study. *Here is the News: Where are the women? Where are the men?*, published by the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) and Gender Links (GL). Johannesburg, March 2003, 78 pages.

¹⁰⁹ United Nations (2000) *The World's Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*, New York, Department of Social and Economic Affairs, United Nations, p.99.

¹¹⁰ United Nations (2000), p.99.

3 MEDIA STRUCTURE AND WOMEN IN SOCIETY

3.1 Introduction

Turkey and Norway have diverse media structures ranging from a variation of newspapers, magazines to TV and Radio stations. There are 122* Turkish and 219¹¹¹ Norwegian newspapers. The national daily press, which is the concern of this study, comprises of 81 dailies in Norway and 28 dailies in Turkey.

In the Republic of Turkey, Office of the Prime Minister, the Directorate General of Press and Information has listed 27 national and 15 local broadcasting stations, 31 radio stations, and 64 Internet newspapers.

In Norway, there are 5 national television stations, and 6 national radio stations in addition to numerous local and regional television and radio stations. Two television channels and five radio channels are state-owned. Access to the Internet is widely available and unrestricted.¹¹²

Hans Fredrik Dahl asserts that newspaper variety in Norway has been more differentiated. He says that Norwegians have access to three types of daily newspapers namely: local, regional and national dailies. Although television is more time consuming and in spite of the newspaper variation most of the Norwegian households keep their habit of buying at least two newspapers a day.¹¹³

According to Helge Østbye the 1990s saw far-reaching changes in the structure of Norwegian media sector. This claim is also true for the Turkish media landscape.

* Republic of Turkey, Office of the Prime Minister, Directorate General of Press and Information have listed 28 national and 94 local newspapers in their information pages about Turkish press. Although other sources have different information we accepted official source in this thesis.

¹¹¹ Østbye, Helge (2001) 'The Norwegian Media Landscape: Structure, Economy and Consumption' in Ulla Carlson and Eva Harrie (eds.) *Media Trends 2001: Statistics and Analysis in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden*, Nordicom, Goteborg University, table1, p.21.

¹¹² Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, March 31, 2003.

¹¹³ Bastiansen, Henrik, G. and Hans Fredrik Dahl (2003) *Norsk Mediehistorie*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo p.490.

Although Robert G. Picard posed the situation that media competition and concentration varies from country to country and region to region depending upon culture politics, and the traditional role of the media in political and social processes.¹¹⁴ Commercialization and concentration of ownership are common structural changing in media sector of both countries.

3.2 The Norwegian Media Landscape

Countries like Norway, Sweden and Denmark still have a high number of newspapers in relation to their small population.¹¹⁵ The daily press, which is a part of the Norwegian tradition and culture, enjoys a strong position in this country. There are a great number of newspapers, as well as about 220 titles serving a population of only 4.5 million.¹¹⁶

The most frequently used mass medium in Norway within all demographic groups are the newspapers. On an average day some two thirds have read at least a regional newspaper, and one third have read one of the two national dailies.¹¹⁷

Østbye draws attention to two main factors to explain the high level of readership. The first is historical: Norway has a long tradition of public education and widespread literacy. Secondly, there is a three level press structure because of the country's topography and history. Since 1960s a nationally distributed press emerged, but readers did not abandon their local and regional press. It can be another reason that subscription to newspaper is a general distribution in Scandinavian countries. So with the help of all these factors daily newspaper circulation figures in Norway is 606 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1995. In the north, newspaper reading is high in all sections of society, including the working class, and in rural areas as well as urban.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Picard, Robert G (1998) 'Media Concentration, Economics, and Regulation' in Doris Graber, Denis McQuail, Pipa Norris (eds.) *The Politics of News The News of Politics*, Washington D.C., CQ Press: a division of Congressional Quarterly Inc., p. 193.

¹¹⁵ McQuail, Denis and Karen Siune (1998)(eds) *Media Policy: Convergence, Concentration and Commerce*, Euromedia Research Group, Sage Publications, London, p. 8.

¹¹⁶ Høst, Sigurd. (2000) *Avisåret 1999*, Revidert utgave Institutt for journalistikk, IJ-rapport:2:Frederikstad, p.23. [Newspapers 1999, rev.ed, Journalism Institute report:4].

¹¹⁷ Argel Liv (1994) 'Experiences From Dissemination Statistics to Media', Conference on Work Session on Statistical Output for Dissemination to Information Media, Oslo, Norway, (15-17 March).

¹¹⁸ McQuail Denis and Karen Siune (1998), p.17.

The commercialisation of the press related to the emergence of national tabloids which media researchers claim that emergence with the boulevard press between 1965 and 1995 with adoption of stylistic and thematic characters of tabloids. It was also related with concentration of ownership structure. Traditionally Norwegian newspapers have been locally owned. Starting in the mid-1980s, the structure of newspaper ownership has changed.

All over Europe, small marginal newspapers have been taken over by the large press holdings, and as remaining press groups have increased their market segment, it has become almost impossible for new entries to obtain a share in the daily newspaper market. It becomes obvious that concentration has made it very difficult for outsiders to establish new titles. The market is no longer open. Following the gradual opening and extension of commercial radio and television in Europe, the newspaper industry has become more and more integrated with other media.¹¹⁹

Dahl also asserts that after the cross-ownership in media organizations at the same time newspaper ownership structure of the country has definitive chain structures.¹²⁰ Today, three media concerns dominate newspaper ownership and newspaper publishers also moved into audiovisual media. In circulation, Shipsted as a public stock concern is the largest of these and is the main newspaper shareholder in commercial television¹²¹ which we can call the largest multimedia concern in Norway. The next largest newspaper concern is A-pressen, and the third one is Orkla. Virtually all of the larger newspapers in Norway are affiliated with one or the other of these three concerns.¹²²

Broadcasting in Norway was, for almost 50 years from 1933, identical to NRK (Norsk Rikskringkasting), a state-owned public service monopoly financed mainly by a licence fee. In 1981, local radio and television were introduced. In the existing structure there are two national TV broadcasters, the state owned National Broadcasting Company (NRK), and the privately owned TV2. In addition there is the privately owned TVNorge, which covers about 83 percent of the population, and TV3, which covers about 58 percent of the population. There are four national analogue radio channels; the three NRK channels P1, P2 and P3 and P4. The latter is privately owned. In addition, the Ministry of Culture and

¹¹⁹ McQuail Denis and Karen Siune (1998), p.11.

¹²⁰ Bastiansen, Henrik, G. and Hans Fredrik Dahl (2003), p.481.

¹²¹ McQuail Denis and Karen Siune (1998), p.13.

¹²² Østbye, Helge (2001), table1, p.241-3.

Church Affairs have issued a license to a new private radio channel (Kanal 4) which will start broadcasting in 2004.

In spite of the existing diversity of television and radio channels in Norway, ownership structure is heavily concentrated. Newspaper publishers also moved into audiovisual media. Schibsted is the main newspaper shareholder in commercial television.

Employment structure and gender distribution in Norwegian media is another aspect of the media landscape. There are seven thousand male and five thousand female journalists working in the field of media.¹²³

Following the gradual opening and extension of commercial radio and television in Europe, the newspaper industry has become more and more integrated with other media.¹²⁴ Although ownership of Norwegian newspaper market is concentrated in a few big concerns, the editor-in-chief is solely responsible for the editorial content of the paper. The owners are expected not to intervene in its day-to-day editorial.

3.3 The Turkish Media Structure

In Turkey, the competition between the written and visual press is still a problem which we can trace from the low newspaper readership. Despite their low circulation-around four million, there are 122 Turkish national newspapers serving more than 65 million population in Turkey.¹²⁵ A significant part of the national press utilizes the highest technology available in the world. According to the polls, the habit of reading newspapers in total population is 66 percent.¹²⁶

The media in Turkey today is caught between two contradictory roles. On the one hand, it tries, not without some success, to report news objectively and serve as a forum for public debate....What is written in newspapers-despite their low daily circulation of only around three million-still counts.¹²⁷

Television was introduced in Turkey in 1963 with the establishment of the state-run Turkish Radio and Television and in 1990 private foreign broadcasters could send programs to Turkey via satellite. At present, there are sixteen national television stations

¹²³ *Statistics Norway*, Table 16 Employed persons by sex and occupation (4-digit level).

¹²⁴ McQuail, Denis and Karen Siune (1998)(eds), p.11.

¹²⁵ *Human Rights Watch* (1999), *Violations of Free Expression in Turkey*, New York, p.25.

¹²⁶ Internet newspaper, Enjoyturkey.com

¹²⁷ *Human Rights Watch* (1999), p.25-29.

and another 360 local stations. Today the majority of Turks, like people all over the world, get their news from television.

In Turkey, 11,929 journalists are working in the field of media according to the Ministry of Labor and Social Security and 9547 of them are male whereas 2382 of them are female.¹²⁸ The gender imbalance of journalist who are working in the media sector is obvious. There are four times more male than female journalists working in the media sector according to the statistical data. However, in Turkey the private media organizations recruiting journalists under different type of contracts, probably there are two times more journalists working in media field.

The total annual sales of the written press are around 1 billion US dollars. The leading group's newspapers account for two thirds of Turkish newspaper advertising revenue. It is obvious from the aspect of annual sales, the press is an important sector. Furthermore, because of its effectiveness for forming public opinion, it is an area that attracts the most entrepreneurs. Consequently, the Turkish media generally, the written press specifically, suffers from increasing monopolisation and concentration of ownership.¹²⁹ Three major media owners dominate. For example one media group which is the largest, includes three major newspapers, many daily publications and periodicals, publishing houses, distribution companies, two major television companies, and many other companies in automotive, banking, insurance, finance, electricity, energy and oil industries and the internet sector.

This causes some problems for employees and the new entrepreneurs rather than for the publication policies and news perceptions of the newspapers. We can say that although there are more than 28 newspapers at the national level, significant portions of these are collected among a few groups.

According to many journalists interviewed by Human Rights Watch, more and more newspaper owners have begun to play an unhealthy role in setting editorial policy. They are all too eager to fall into line to support official state policy, even at the cost of sacrificing journalistic ethics and standards. This tendency has only been exacerbated by

¹²⁸ Ministry of Labor and Social Security in Turkey, statistical data from January 2003.

¹²⁹ Toker, Huriye (2003) 'Media Concentration and the EU: A Comparative Study of Press Ownership in Turkey and Norway within the EU Perspective', term paper, University of Oslo Department of Media and Communication Institute, p.6.

increasing monopolization of the media. At present, two main holdings, the Dogan and Sabah groups, control between 65 and 70 percent of daily newspaper sales, depending on circulation. One of them Aydin Dogan owns three of Turkey's leading dailies that control about thirty-five percent of daily circulation.

A general view is that media holding groups have increasingly moved away from the news as their main source of activity and income to other, more lucrative fields. They want a free hand to run their business as they see fit and in return offer, through favorable coverage, legitimization of government and state.

The 'new owner' is a stranger to the business. S/he is often a very rich person who has accumulated her/his capital in a different sector and who has had nothing to do with journalism in the past. The answer to why s/he has entered into the not-so lucrative media sector even though s/he had different businesses and companies is always the same: To gain power for personal political or commercial interests and to open the doors for the other companies s/he owns!¹³⁰

3.4 Comparison of Turkish and Norwegian Media Structure

The structure of Norwegian media landscape has more differences than similarities with Turkish media. First of all, the daily press enjoys a strong position, with approximately 3.1 million copies of daily circulation¹³¹ as media researcher Karl Erik Gustafson claims, Norwegians are the most newspaper oriented people in the world.¹³² On the contrary Turkey, like many other developing countries is a television-oriented nation.

In most European countries, the national daily newspaper market consist of a very limited number of newspaper titles¹³³ This claim is more true for Norwegian national daily newspapers which is not more than 10, however in Turkey there are more than 28 titles which are published nation wide. It becomes obvious that concentration has made it very difficult for outsiders to establish new titles.

¹³⁰ Tilinc, L. Dogan (2000)'Media Ownership Structure in Turkey, report, Progressive Journalists Association', Ankara.

¹³¹ Østbye, Helge (2001), p.239. also see Høst (2000).

¹³² Høst, Sigurd (1993) ' "Men Avisen Var ikke Død..." - Nye Tendenser i Utviklingen an Avisstruktur og Avisjournalistikk' in Ove Solum and Eli Skogerbø (red) *Journalistikk – Forskning – Et Felt på Nye Veier?*, NLM Rapport:4, Norsk Medieforskerlag, Oslo, p.33. ["But The Newspaper Was Not Dead" New Tendencies to Development of Newspaper Structure and Press Journalism in *Journalism – Research – The Field With The New Ways?*, NLM Report: 4].

¹³³ McQuail, Denis and Karen Siune (1998), p.11.

Commercialisation of media and as a result of this tabloidisation of the press and concentration of ownership structure seems similar in both countries` media structure. However, in Norway, only two papers are sold on single copy basis, whereas all other Norwegian papers are subscribed, this is exactly the opposite in Turkey and attracting readers to buy the paper is effecting editorial judgement of non-subscribed papers.

Furthermore, there has been a change in ownership structure in both countries` media: family or political party owned dailies have been bought by major commercial media companies. This has been regarded with some concern by the authorities as well as by editors and journalists. It is now being debated how this may effect the freedom of the press, which is considered very important in this country.¹³⁴ According to Dahl the media concentration and increasing cross-ownership structure within Norwegian media and he raises the question of how profit maximization of international media organizations effect to the editorial freedom which now the most of the Norwegian media enjoy.¹³⁵ He also admits that in a historical perspective, the Norwegian media organizations have never expanded that much in other countries before.

Following the gradual opening and extension of commercial radio and television in Europe, the newspaper industry has become more and more integrated with other media.¹³⁶ This is the issue in both countries; Shibsted concern in Norway, which is the largest, measured in circulation, has a controlling interest of three of the country`s four largest newspapers. Similarly, Dogan Group owns three of Turkey`s leading dailies that control about thirty-five percent of daily circulation.

After the brief explanation of media structure of countries we need to give some information about the situation of women in both countries which is an important aspect of the study.

¹³⁴ Argel Liv (1994) 'Experiences From Dissemination Statistics to Media', Conference on Work Session on Statistical Output for Dissemination to Information Media, Oslo, Norway, (15-17 March).

¹³⁵ Bastiansen, Henrik, G. and Hans Fredrik Dahl (2003), p.483-485.

¹³⁶ McQuail, Denis and Karen Siune (1998)(eds), p.11.

3.5 Situation of Women in Turkey and Norway

A precise understanding of the economic and social roles of media in different societies within gender perspective we must have a good picture of present situation, and the development, leading up to it. Facts about women's and men's situation in various spheres in society are needed to raise consciousness about problems relating to equality of sexes, to stimulate ideas about steps to be taken, and to form the basis for decision making.

Norway has made good progress, real change in the quality of women's lives- the achievement of social, economic and political equality and basic human rights, although for other countries it will take years to accomplish.

In all Nordic countries, political unity prevails in the awareness that society can progress in a more democratic direction only when both women's and men's competence, knowledge and experiences and values are recognized and allowed to influence and enrich development in all spheres of society.¹³⁷

Although both Norway and Turkey established legal and governmental bodies to achieve equal opportunities which ensures rights, responsibilities and possibilities to women and men; Norway, as a developed country, reached quantitative and qualitative components of equal opportunities which means an equitable distribution of women and men in all areas of society.

The most important and basic gender gap in education is key to empowering women to participate more fully in the development process. According to UNESCO, two thirds of the world's 876 million illiterates are women.¹³⁸ Norway as a developed country enjoys a high level of education, however, illiteracy still exists in Turkey. Despite significant gains in school enrolment, 69 percent female versus 84 percent male enroll to the school and illiteracy is 11 percent among women versus 3 percent men between the ages 15-24.¹³⁹

In terms of education and training in media field, women are a priority better equipped for carriers in the traditional media than male counterparts. UNESCO data covering 83

¹³⁷ *Women and Men in the Nordic Countries: Facts and Figures* (1994), Nord 1994:3, p.10.

¹³⁸ *UNESCO Statistical Yearbook* 1999.

¹³⁹ United Nations (2000), table 4-A, p.104.

countries show that in 53 countries, women account for at least 50 percent of third level graduates in journalism and other traditional communications fields. However findings of the analysis has shown that the proportion of women finding employment in mass media is by no means commensurate with their share of training.¹⁴⁰

The research findings also reflect the existing situation in Turkey and Norway that journalism in particular attracts substantial number of women by the mid-1990s and consisted a large proportion of graduates in media field; respectively 58 percent in Norway, 46 percent in Turkey¹⁴¹. Despite their formal training, not many women are working in media and communication field, and even less in decision making bodies of these countries` media institutions.

In Europe, periodic comparative studies show that proportion of female middle and senior managers in radio and television increased...however, the senior-most positions still elude women...across all big European companies women held just 12 percent of the top positions.¹⁴²

As an international perspective, the Nordic countries enjoy a very high standard of living and regarded as pioneers in the promotion of equal opportunities,¹⁴³ however there is still income inequality between women and men and a large proportion of women who work part-time is high. Women continue to earn less than men in all countries and areas; the labour statistics show that the differential between women`s and men`s earnings narrowed to 1 percent in Turkey but differential is still 13 percent in Norway.¹⁴⁴

Women comprise an increasing share of the labour force in almost all regions of the world. In Turkey the rate of women`s gainful employment has risen in recent decades and reached to 28 percent,¹⁴⁵ however in the same statistic Norwegian women accounted for 46 percent of labour force and 38 percent full time and 31 percent part time jobs.¹⁴⁶

Like Turkey, the Norwegian labour market is characterized by both a horizontal and a vertical differentiation; women and men to a great extent work in different industries, occupations and functions. In Turkey women also carry the burden and responsibility for

¹⁴⁰ United Nations (2000), p. 96-7.

¹⁴¹ United Nations (2000), chart 4-13, p.97.

¹⁴² ERICArts: Women as Directors General or TV Programming Directors in EU Public Broadcasting Companies, at <http://www.ericarts.org>.

¹⁴³ *Women and Men in the Nordic Countries: Facts and Figures* (1994), p.12.

¹⁴⁴ United Nations (2000), chart 5-23, p.132.

¹⁴⁵ United Nations (2000), chart 5-D, p.14.

¹⁴⁶ *Women and Men in the Nordic Countries: Facts and Figures* (1994), p.83.

child-bearing and running households as well as caring for children, the sick and the elderly.

Nordic countries reflected their equal opportunity policy to facilitate both women's and men's possibilities to combine economic activities and parenthood, so they reached a highest labour participation force for both men and women among the highest in the world.¹⁴⁷

Another variable the distribution of women and men is in national governments which can help us to understand women's position in the country. The majority of decision-making bodies in all areas consist of men, however women constitute 36 percent¹⁴⁸ of Norwegian parliaments, and according to statistical analysis, the Nordic countries and the Netherlands had the world's highest representation- women accounted for more than a third of parliamentarians, as high as 43 percent in Sweden. On the other hand, the proportion of women in Turkish parliament is just 4¹⁴⁹ percent. If we look at the proportion of women in decision-making positions of government cabinets, with 20 percent of women representations at minister level, women are well represented in Norway, contrary to 5 percent in Turkey.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) is the most comprehensive treaty on women's human rights which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1979. It came into force in 1981 and is often described as the international bill of rights for women. The convention, as the only human rights treaty, which calls equality between women and men in all aspects political, economic, social and cultural life, was ratified and accepted in 1981 by Norwegian Parliament and also in 1985 by Turkish Parliament.¹⁵⁰ States that have ratified or acceded to it are obligated to abolish all forms of discrimination, in public and private life, and to ensure that true equality between women and men is realized.

The CEDAW convention is also an important documentation which recognizes that culture and tradition shape gender roles and family relations, while emphasizing that they should not be used to justify discrimination.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ *Women and Men in the Nordic Countries: Facts and Figures* (1994), p.12.

¹⁴⁸ United Nations (2000), chart 6-8, p.165.

¹⁴⁹ United Nations (2000), chart 6-A, p.173.

¹⁵⁰ United Nations (2000), p.151.

¹⁵¹ United Nations (2000), p.173.

There are no longer any legal obstacles to equality between the sexes, however, in all countries and regions of the world, regardless of the level of development or socio-economic and political system, equality between the sexes is still far from being met.

Women and men are differently represented in influential and leading posts in public life, such as in politics, the labour market, industry and the media. We will look at specific conditions of each country of the analysis from gender equality aspects. We need gender specific information to make some generalizations, reach conclusions and also discuss and ask for changes.

3.5.1 The Women in Turkey

Turkey stretches across Europe and Asia bridging to two continents geographically, economically and culturally. It is surrounded by the Black Sea in the north, The Marmara and the Ege in the west, and the Mediterranean in the south. The Country is a constitutional republic with multiparty Parliament and the only secular country with a predominantly Muslim, approximately, 68 million populations.

The War of Independence through 1919-1923 accepted as milestone for significant changes to gender roles in Turkey. Women took over many of the roles ascribed to men. The Republican State in the post 1923 period made radical reforms for liberating the status of Turkish women.

The decisive actions of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, with respect to women's emancipation were the evaluation of Islam from the legislative and broader institutional sphere, and the inclusion of women into a new notion of 'citizenship' dictated by the transition from a monarchy to a populist republic.¹⁵²

The Kemalist reforms concerning the legal, political, and social status of women was part of an effort to Westernize Turkish society and according to Binnaz Sayari a catalogue of such reforms are impressive for a Muslim country, especially in 1920s. She describes the reforms in the following sentences.

The adaptation of Educational Bill of 1924 which secularized the educational system and provided equal educational opportunities for men and women; the adaptation of Swiss Civil Code in 1926

¹⁵² Kandiyoti, Deniz (1991) 'End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey' in Deniz Kandiyoti (ed.) *Women, Islam and the State*, Basingstoke, Macmillian, p.39.

which outlawed polygamy and gave equal rights to men and women in matters of marriage, divorce, inheritance and property ownership; the adaptation of Western styles in clothing in 1925 which legally allowed women to unveil; the granting of political rights to women in 1934; and finally, the opening of career and employment opportunities for women.¹⁵³

In Turkey, the equality of men and women was recognized in the Constitution, but the difficulties emanating from globalization, modernization and deeply rooted traditionalism interplayed strongly in the context of the status of women. Being a secular country with a predominantly Muslim population, it is not easy to change social conditions that Islam has sanctioned for centuries.

In Islamist discourse on the notion of gender equality perceives meaningless and a biological determination; the natural differentiation of men and women, is accepted. Therefore, in Islam, justice is important, rather than equality. Justice is claimed to protect women better and provide them with broader and more appropriate rights. The Islamic order, it was argued, would bring about true justice and ultimate happiness both to men and women.¹⁵⁴

In short, the success of legal reforms in changing women's condition has been limited to the extent that Islamic beliefs and traditions is based on the Koran which explicitly states that men are superior to women. So we can easily claim that Islam has contradictions with egalitarian perception of equality between the sexes.

Muslim societies have generated a cultural understanding which is explicitly based upon sexual inequality, both in public and in the family. In Islamic culture (and in many pre-Islamic Mediterranean cultures as pointed out by Germaine Tillion), male honor is closely linked to female purity. This requires virginity for the unmarried, fidelity for the married, and continence for the divorced or widowed. This conception of honor means that the behaviour of an individual woman affects not only her own reputation, but that of all her male kin. This logical consequences have been in general terms, men assume all public roles, and women assent to the domestic ones.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Sayari, (Toprak) Binnaz (1981) 'Religion and Turkish Women' in Nermin Abadan-Unat (ed.) in collaboration with Deniz Kandiyoti and Mubeccel B. Kiray *Women in Turkish Society*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, p. 287-8.

¹⁵⁴ Acar, Feride (1995) 'Women and Islam in Turkey' in Sirin Tekeli (ed.) *Women in Modern Turkish Society: A Reader*, London, Zed Books, p. 53.

¹⁵⁵ Abadan-Unat, Nermin (ed.) (1981) in collaboration with Deniz Kandiyoti and Mubeccel B. Kiray *Women in Turkish Society*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, p. 219.

Islam is intrinsically patriarchal and inimical to women's rights,¹⁵⁶ but it is not the only reason of the unequal treatment of men and women, as Deniz Kandiyoti draws attention that "subordination of Muslim women can neither be read off solely from Islamic ideology and practice, nor be entirely derived from global process of socio-economic transformation, nor for that matter from the universalistic premises of feminist theory." All these liberalization movements and resistance from traditional institution and practices are involved shaping existing gender inequality of Turkish society.

Besides in Islam, there is another specific cultural practice - a way of understanding world- which is an important barrier against achieving gender equity. Kandiyoti calls the term 'classic patriarchy' which senior males hold authority in patrilocally extended households and adds that the gender asymmetry, which exists in Turkish society. She continues to explain effects of patriarchy with these sentences:

(T)urkish state has moved to curtail the legitimacy of domestic patriarchy: directly, through family legislation, and indirectly, through the inclusion of women in the definition of full 'citizenship'. It has on the other hand continued to endorse discriminatory practices in employment, education and social welfare.¹⁵⁷

We may well discover concentration on men and masculinity not only in relation to the subordination of women, rather than in the broader context of the institutionalization of forms of power and domination in Turkish society, because patriarchy, domination of women by men is considered natural. It is seen as unchanging and generally; except a marginal segments of society- remains unquestioned in Turkey. It cannot be examined by only gender inequality, it has more strong ties with existing institutions.

(T)he role of the women as critical element in the reproduction of its own value system. This led to a striking phenomenon: despite the enormous complexity of the diversified social structures that I have tried to describe above, the most groups uniformly agreed on one thing, and that was the necessary continuation of the patriarchal domination of men over women.¹⁵⁸

It is possible to experience the continuation of patriarchal order and its institutions in every aspect of society, politics, no doubt is the most manifest institution in this regard.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Kandiyoti, Deniz (1991) (ed.) *Women, Islam and the State*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, p.1-2.

¹⁵⁷ Kandiyoti, Deniz (1995), p. 306-8.

¹⁵⁸ Tekeli, Sirin (1995) 'Introduction: Women in Turkey in the 1980s' in Sirin Tekeli (ed.) *Women in Modern Turkish Society: A Reader*, London, Zed Books, p. 10-1.

¹⁵⁹ Erturk, Yakin (1995) 'Rural Women and Modernization in Southeastern Anatolia' in Sirin Tekeli (ed.) *Women in Modern Turkish Society: A Reader*, London, Zed Books, p. 142.

With four percent of female representation in the Parliament¹⁶⁰, invisibility of women in politics can be explained as a prototypical attitude of formally accepting women's rights since 1934, but tacitly supporting inequality.

According to the dominant authority relationship, men are expected to make decisions, and women are expected to obey them. This general norm has at the level of political decision-making the important consequence that political decisions must be made by men and not by women.¹⁶¹

The lack of political female voice in the decision making bodies of the Parliament established many inequalities between men and women in Third world countries, such as existing education gap between sexes. The quantity and quality of education women in Turkey have enjoyed since the foundation of the Turkish republic is still far from neither empowering women nor changing their social position. The fact is, with help of patriarchal order education is also not functioning satisfactorily, instead, as an institution which supports the status quo.

Education is obviously a viable and decisive means of orienting the masses towards change in a short time. But it can do this only when the educational system itself is established on healthy grounds. In Turkey this is not the case. Instead of inducing social change and mobility, education as an institution protects the existing, and in many respects, the traditional structure. Thus, one should not expect this system to foster any significant advancements in the field of women's development.¹⁶²

According to Ferhunde Ozbay's argument, education in Turkey has traditional structure, however it is still an important international development variable, which can enable women to play a more productive role in society and in the long run help to increase gender awareness within society. The statistical data from 2003 UNICEF report explored that the literacy rate for world women in 2000 was 77 percent, compared with 94 percent for men. However, in rural areas the rate could be as low as 50 percent for women. Particular problems persisted for Turkey's rural women in eastern and southeastern Anatolia, who continued to live in traditional social frameworks and their access to opportunities and services remained severely limited. We would like to explain the status

¹⁶⁰ United Nations (2000), chart 6-A, p.173.

¹⁶¹ Tekeli, Sirin (1981) 'Women in Turkish Politics' in Nermin Abadan-Unat (ed.) in collaboration with Deniz Kandiyoti and Mubeccel B. Kiray, Leiden, *Women in Turkish Society*, E. J. Brill, p. 306.

¹⁶² Ozbay, Ferhunde (1981) 'The Impact of Education on Women in Rural and Urban Turkey' in Nermin Abadan-Unat (ed.) in collaboration with Deniz Kandiyoti and Mubeccel B. Kiray, *Women in Turkish Society*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, p. 179.

of women who live in eastern and southeastern Anatolia that is totally different from the western part of the country.

Geographically and economically the Turkish society as well as women is divided into two major groups. Borrowing an explanation of Sirin Tekeli, the first group is identified as traditional rural culture in which status of women is generally low and under strict control by social values which we can categorize as classic patriarchy. Especially, women who live in the east and south east of the Turkey are still struggling to live under remnants of traditional and feudal conditions. We can say that traditional tribal relationships still exist in some regions in the east part of the country. The Second group are the women who live in the west part of the country, especially, in urban, industrialized segments of the society. This one has had greatest opportunity to benefit from the Republican reforms and are relatively more free, both in family and as individuals, and have achieved more egalitarian status with men.¹⁶³

In a developing country an obvious inequality of women vis-à-vis men in every sphere of social and economic life is not unexpected.¹⁶⁴ The socio-economic structure of Turkey as developing country is another hindering factors for the liberation of women, because existing structures and value systems continue to impose that the primary role of women is to be a good wife and mother. With 28 percent¹⁶⁵ of female labour force in economic life, it is far from the ideal gender representation in socio-economic life. This is the reality of the third world women that to promote women's liberalization will remain superficial 'reforms' without introducing basic changes in economic and social spaces, because the problem of women's rights cannot be studied as an entity separate from the socio-economic structure of the society.

The status of women in Turkish society has inseparable ties with the institution of the family as a male bastion of patriarchy and also noteworthy that "Turkish society differs from Western societies in the stability and power of this institution. Intra-family relations remain predominantly patriarchal".¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Tekeli Sirin (1995), p. 4.

¹⁶⁴ Gok Fatma (1995) ' Women and Education in Turkey' in Sirin Tekeli (ed.) *Women in Modern Turkish Society: A Reader*, London, Zed Books, p. 131.

¹⁶⁵ United Nations (2000), table 5-D, p.147.

¹⁶⁶ Tekeli, Sirin (1995), p. 9.

Civil society, which played enormous role the liberalization of Western women, has gained some autonomy, but still not powerful enough to shape the state structure according to its needs and establishing de facto gender equality in the Turkish context.

Finally, civil society is defined by a multiplicity of cultural and ideological dimensions. We are far from the Ottoman period's cultural undimensionality based on religion; we are far from the nationalist undimensionality of the founding years of the Republic; we are far from the 'tentative realizing of the East-West synthesis' of the 1970s. At present the cultural mosaic of Turkish society is made up of many different value systems: elements of Mediterranean culture, of Islamic culture, of secular Western culture, of atheistic socialism and various regional cultures, are interacting with each other to create an extremely rich and complex whole.¹⁶⁷

Although the feminist movement was able to gain legitimacy in public opinion, it is seen a luxurious¹⁶⁸ for the Turkish women's everyday. The importance the gender question acquires in the social and political agendas of Third World states does not, however, imply a promotion of feminism as an autonomous movement or ideology.¹⁶⁹

In 1989, the First Feminist Congress was held in Ankara, ending with a manifesto which summarized ten years of feminist thinking in Turkey. The manifesto claimed that women's oppression is multiple, as all male-dominated social institutions- the family, schools, the state and religion- subjugated women's labour-power, their bodies and their identity.¹⁷⁰

Nevertheless, it is difficult to say that feminism, both as an ideology and as a social movement, was accepted as a legitimate discourse, because it was considered by different sectors of public opinion as a Western-originated and divisive ideology foreign to the national culture...¹⁷¹

The bourgeois women think that men are bent on oppressing women but not them, because they think that they are struggling shoulder to shoulder with men on an equal footing, but still they are oppressed because women question which can no longer denied by anyone, is a oppression which we are living in everyday. Then we think that the Revolution and gains of the Republic has a symbolism for the outer shape of things, but inner world goes along on the old tracks of patriarchy.

¹⁶⁷ Tekeli, Sirin (1995), p. 8.

¹⁶⁸ Sorgun, Huseyin 'Feminizm, Kalamar Gibi Luks Bir Sey Olarak Algilaniliyor', *Zaman Newspaper*, Turkuaz supplement, 9 March 2003. [Feminism is Perceived Like a Luxus Meal].

¹⁶⁹ Cagatay, Nilufer and Yasemin Nuhoglu-Soysal (1995) 'Comparative Observations on Feminism and the Nation-Building Process' in Sirin Tekeli (ed.) *Women in Modern Turkish Society: A Reader*, London, Zed Books, p. 264.

¹⁷⁰ Tekeli, Sirin (1995), p. 14.

¹⁷¹ Cagatay, Nilufer and Yasemin Nuhoglu-Soysal (1995), p. 263.

As Fatmagul Berktaý concluded and suggested, the only safeguard for sustaining change in that direction can be for feminism to continue to increase its role in pushing the entire Turkish women's movement forward; to evolve into a movement of truly broad scope; and to persist, as a genuinely oppositional locus, in shaking men's and women's inner world's.¹⁷²

The main problem the women faces is with conservative, patriarchal values in their family and community. On the other hand, it is modernizing, egalitarian and secular messages received through the education system and political authority. As Feride Acar points, the republican ideology could not translate its promises of social and political equality into everyday reality for a large numbers of Turkish women. The public promises of official ideology remained meaningless at the level of personal experience in the private sphere.¹⁷³

We feel obliged to sketch the above main characteristics of the Turkish society and women's position within cultural and historical context. It is more true that the women's situation has been improved in legal, cultural and economic respects, even though it is a fact that for the majority of women this has not become a social reality.

3.5.2 The Women in Norway

Equal rights and opportunities for women and men in all areas of society are essential for sustainable social and economic development, and empowerment of women is the key to achieving equality. According to the UNIFEM surveys and rapports, Norway has kept promises made in international conferences and reached effective implementation of gender equality and a gender perspective in all areas of society.

Although emancipation of women dates back with Industrial Revolution, the true feminist movement of Norway began under the leadership of authoress Camilla Collett, who was the pioneer and precursor of the movement that started in 1813.¹⁷⁴ The

¹⁷² Berktaý, Fatmagul (1995) 'Has Anything Changed in the Outlook of the Turkish Left on Women?' in Sirin Tekeli (ed.) *Women in Modern Turkish Society: A Reader*, London, Zed Books, p. 260.

¹⁷³ Acar, Feride (1995), p. 62.

¹⁷⁴ Selid Betty (1970) *Women in Norway: Their Position in Family Life, Employment and Society*, published by The Norwegian Joint Committee on International Social Policy, in association with The Department of Cultural Relations, Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo, p. 7-9.

important mile stones in gender equality was that in 1884 women were admitted to study in all faculties and colleges at the university. In the same year the Norwegian Association for Women's Rights was founded to work for women's rightful position in society.

Furthermore, according to Betty Selid, in 1913 Norway was one of the first nations in the world to admit women to universal suffrage and in 1912 they were granted the right of appointment to any government position. We have to keep in our minds that all these developments were gained by fights in the history of the country. The fight for suffrage went on side by side with the fight for equal rights for women in other areas.

As we noted above the general trend of Norwegian legal development for the last century has been to make women fully equal to men under the law. Nevertheless it soon became evident that the legal rights of women were hardly more than precarious appendages attached to a social structure which was still completely dominated by male leadership. The Women's movement showed how women's social position really was, and how little the ideology of equality between the sexes had permeated the public mind.

Since the 1970's, the authorities, influenced by the new and strong women's movement, have consciously pursued a policy to integrate gender equality into policy-making. The recruitment of women into politics has therefore been acknowledged as an important political goal for the last three decades. Political participation for women has been the most important tool to invoke changes for women in other fields of society.

Real gender equality can only be achieved if we, as a Community make equal opportunities for women and men *everybody's* priority - a priority within every field of policy, and at every level of activity...The great changes in the population's attitudes toward gender equality occurred in Norway between about 1980 and 1990. After 1990 an overwhelming majority - over 90% - answered positively to general attitudinal questions designed to show whether one is positive toward equality between the genders.¹⁷⁵

The most important step to reach a gender equal society is that the people aware of the existing inequalities and were willing to change it. This was the driving force in Norway especially between 1980-1990 to ensure that equal opportunities for women and men are built into all policy areas.

¹⁷⁵ 'Gender Equality Across Borders', Conference report, Oslo, 27th. April 2000.

The Norwegian gender equality machinery today consists of three different governmental bodies: **The Ministry of Children and Family Affairs**, **The Gender Equality Ombudsman** and **The Centre for Gender Equality**.

The Gender Equality Act was adopted in 1978, the background for the adoption of this law was a need for commitment and an active effort on the governmental level to promote the status of women. Gender balance in decision-making is a question of democracy. During the 1970s women became an important group in elected political assemblies as well. The use of quotas by political parties was an important factor in this development. Norway was a pioneer country when the then Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland in 1986 appointed her cabinet with 40 percent women. Later, all governments have followed suit. The Gender Equality Act prescribes a gender balance in all publicly appointed boards and committees. The political parties on a voluntary basis adopted a similar practice. After the municipal and county government elections in 1999, female representation on municipal councils was 34 percent, on county councils, 41 percent.¹⁷⁶

The focus on equal opportunity between the sexes in teaching and education is a primary political goal in politics. Equal opportunity work applies to all areas of education on all levels. Gender equality work has coincided with a greatly augmented level of education in the population at large. Simultaneously, a balance has been achieved between the sexes. The total number of female students enrolled at Norwegian colleges and universities is slightly below 60 percent (2001).¹⁷⁷

Women constitute 55 percent of full time and 45 percent of half time labour force in Norway.¹⁷⁸ Although men and women actively engage in economic production, women have still some disadvantages with lower representation on the executive boards of firms listed on the stock exchange. It was just 6.4 percent in 2000.¹⁷⁹ The Act amending the Gender Equality Act was passed by the Norwegian parliament in 2002 to promote gender equality in all sectors of society, especially to the private sector and to contribute to

¹⁷⁶ Norway's sixth periodic report on the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women 1998 – 2001', Norwegian Ministry of Children and Family Affairs.

¹⁷⁷ *The Gender Equality Center*, Equality Barometer for 2001.

¹⁷⁸ Employment in Europe 1999 and Schlüsselzahlen zum Bildungswesen in der Europäischen Union, Amt für amtliche Veröffentlichungen der Europäischen Gemeinschaft 1997, Luxemburg; European Database -Women in Decision-Making and data by transnational experts.

¹⁷⁹ Norway's sixth periodic report on the UN convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women 1998 – 2001'.

leveling out gender based wage differences between men and women and to combat gender segregation in the labour market that still exist in Norway.

As we try to state some major steps toward gender equality in Norway. United developments Program (UNDP) prepares indexes in terms of life expectancy, education and income and often cited by journalists, academics, governments and non-governmental organizations to make comparative researches. In United Nations Human Development Index (HDI), Norway ranked 3rd position as a developed country, but position of Turkey as a developing country ranked 82nd among 174 countries. Although HDI is only a 'partial' measure of the full scope of human development, results of another measurement, the gender-related development index (GDI), which adjusts the average achievement of each country in life expectancy educational attainment and income in accordance with disparity in achievement between men and women also proves the same point. Norway ranked 2nd however Turkey ranked in the 85th position.¹⁸⁰

The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), on the other hand, shows the number and percentage of women in parliament, in leadership and managerial positions, in professional and technical jobs, and the per capita product specifically of the female population are among the gender empowerment indicators. In this measurement, Norway ranked 1st, while Turkey ranked 63rd. According to these indexes, the position of Norway is very different from Turkey, because Norway seems to reach the goals which they set ahead of time.

The aim of giving all these statistical results of international indexes is to show that the countries under this investigation are really different in terms of the economy, politics and especially women equality issues. We will try to compare a country, which ranked nearly in the first position of human development measures in many years, and on the other hand, another country which has a lot of steps to reach average development and equality level.

Despite these successful implementations there isn't any society which has reached actual equality in the world. In all countries and regions of the world, regardless of the

¹⁸⁰ UNDP (2000) *Human Development Report 2000*. New York: Oxford University Press.

level of development or the socio-economic and political system, ideal equality between the sexes is still a distant goal.

Although Norway is recognized as a world leader in the advancement of women in government, and has been for more than a decade, in the private sector Norwegian women are still lagging behind. A new survey released here by the shows that Norway has the most gender-segregated labor market in all of the OECD. Women's pay is still lagging 5 percent behind men's pay for comparable work. Even more disturbing: It also shows only 5 percent of women working in offices occupy managerial positions, compared with 33 percent of men -even though the women are at least as well educated. And even though women constitute a majority of university students, 88 percent of university professors are men.¹⁸¹

Equality policies have by no means led to equality among men and women, but they have had two important consequences: They have reduced the distance between men and women more than in most parts of the world, and they have given Norwegian women, regardless of social status and labour market tie, a standard of living above the poverty line.¹⁸² According to Hernes, the Norwegian policies affect the direction and speed of social change to synchronize the life course of men and women in order to make them 'equal'.

Gender Equality as we have seen is a question that goes across and beyond national borders. We have also seen that what is sometimes easily achieved in one country, can be a much longer and problematic process in another. Regardless of what has so far been achieved, there are still tremendous challenges ahead of us.

¹⁸¹ Freeman, Jack 'Norway Looks to Advance Women in Private Sector ', Earth Times, 9 Sept., 2000.

¹⁸² Hernes Helga Maria (1987) *Welfare State and Women Power: Essays in State Feminism*, Norwegian University Press, Oslo, p.17-20.

4 PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

Among the clearest effects of the mass media in modern society is bringing the 'whole world' into the focus of attention. What happens in the world, in the country, in the city or in the neighborhood is immediately available, through media representation of what happens in various areas of life, such as; education, politics, business, religion, personal life, art and entertainment. Our content analysis was searching for an answer to a specific question of gender representation in the news media in two countries of the analysis, namely; Norway and Turkey.

4.2 Research Design

The media, by the way they report news and tell the readers what is newsworthy, influence the society. According to Tunstall the newspaper is “the archetype as well as the prototype of all modern mass media”¹⁸³, and ‘news’ is the “central ingredient of the newspaper”¹⁸⁴, which allows media to express opinion in the name of the public and thus gives media its special status and protection in society. A newspaper, historically is the oldest and contains more news item than the other media. To some extent, radio and television were modeled on the newspaper, with regular news as their chief anchor point. Therefore newspapers were chosen as research medium under this study because of this special attribute.

¹⁸³ Tunstall, Jeremy (1977) *The Media Are American*, London, Constable, p.23.

¹⁸⁴ McQuail, Denis (2000) *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, fourth edition, Sage Publications, London, p.337.

As McQuail points out, news merits special attention in a discussion of media content just because it is one of the few original contributions of the mass media to the range of cultural forms of expression. So, news is very central in considering the position of the media as a privileged social institution. Therefore this study did not focus on gendered form of media output such as soap operas or feature articles in women magazines. Instead, news, as an objective and unemotional genre of the media was examined.

Theories and researches concerning mass media content consistently indicate the distinction between message and meaning. It is also accepted under this analysis that the physical text of the message in print media is what we can directly observe because it is in a kind of fixed or self-evident message. On the other hand, meaning, which is embedded in the texts of the media is diverse and often ambiguous. Therefore, the main intention of this study was to investigate messages of the content and to provide some evidence relevant to the question of representation of gender in print media message. This was because it is the most accessible output for an examination of gender imbalances in the media.

Furthermore we would like to shed light on the representation of women's relationship to or views about, political, economic, or social matters in print media news. We would ask how much women issues are represented in each paper and examine the difference of male and female proportion as the main character or source of the news articles and the proportion difference between male and female bylines. A quantitative measure of media content was used for this investigation. This was because it could be universally used and in the process provides useful and comparable research data as well as documentation.

With these intentions in the mind, newspapers as a print media were chosen from the universe of the communication. As we stated under the heading of Turkish and Norwegian media landscape, there are 122 Turkish and 219 Norwegian newspapers. However, 81 dailies in Norway from which 21 titles¹⁸⁵ are distributed nationally, and 28 dailies¹⁸⁶ in Turkey are published nation-wide.

¹⁸⁵ Østbye, Helge (2001), table 1, p.239.

¹⁸⁶ Republic of Turkey, Office of the Prime Minister, Directorate General of Press and Information have listed 28 national and 94 local newspapers in their information pages about Turkish press.

Since the main purpose of this investigation was comparison of gender representation in newspaper content between national dailies of two countries the selection was not done randomly. Four newspapers were selected due to their specific features. The prime consideration was national representation and prominence as reflected in circulation. All of them are national, daily newspapers. Hurriyet and VG were chosen because of their highest circulation in their own countries and known as general-interest newspapers. Aksam and Dagsavisen were reflecting another purpose of the research. Both these two national dailies are the only newspapers which have female chief editors. This, it is believed will help us to compare and evaluate the findings of the analysis.

Norway: VG (circulation: 390.510) and Dagsavisen (circulation: 33.816)

Turkey: Hurriyet (circulation: 411.132) and Aksam (circulation: 346.735)

The content analysis adopted 10 issues to the four national dailies which were chosen as our research sample. The period for monitoring the coverage was decided every fifteenth day of the month. A random sampling on the basis of semi-structured synthetic weeks was applied and one specific day every 2nd and 4th weeks of five months from the second half of 2003 were analyzed. The aim of this specific method is to give appropriate weight to each month during the half year and each day of the week. The same sample of the day was used for analysis of the two Turkish and two Norwegian dailies. In total, the monitoring project focused on the newspaper content audits of 40 sample issues.

These are the sample of issues from the second half of the year 2003:

7 July Monday 5 August Tuesday 10 September Wednesday 9 October Thursday
21 July Monday 19 August Tuesday 24 September Wednesday 23 October Thursday

7 November Friday

21 November Friday

The data collected from the survey of the press was quantified both in terms of the total number of items on each issue in every news page of the paper. The placement and type of the coverage given to an issue signify the relative importance granted to it by a newspaper. The analysis conducted every news item which appeared in the selected sample issues. News articles, columns, article serials, features, letter to readers, articles of quest columnists, debate pages are included in the research.

For the purpose of this study we made some exclusions such as sports pages of the dailies, supplements of the newspapers and etc. This is because in sports coverage, men predominate in numbers and prevail in presence...¹⁸⁷ Sport news is the main category which is excluded from this analysis because many research findings show that sport news are mostly dominated by male reporters and the majority of the news sources are male. The conclusion of Global Media Monitoring Project 2000 draws attention that “Sport, with only 15 percent of stories filled by women, is clearly dominated by male reporter.”¹⁸⁸ Many researchers are also expressing similar results about gender imbalance in sport media in many other countries.

Woolard (1983) found that 85 % of newspaper coverage of sport was devoted to men’s sports, while Coakley (1986) estimates that 95 % of total sport coverage deals with males.¹⁸⁹

Norwegian researcher, Elisabeth Eide emphasizes that sport is one of the categories which has ‘certainly’ high and precious priority in most news media and it appeals strongly to men.¹⁹⁰ In his analysis of ten newspapers, Sigurd Allern also explored that the lowest female percentage was found in sport and crime news.¹⁹¹

Furthermore, we attempted to make a small analysis of the first sample issues of the analysis and found out that 13 pages of VG, 8 pages of Dagsavisen, 4 pages in Hurriyet and 4 pages in Aksam were devoted to sport on 7 July of 2003. Nearly all reporters and news sources are male in sport news, and this might affect the results. Therefore we

¹⁸⁷ Sabo, Donald and Sue Curry Jansen (1992) ‘Images of Men in Sportsmedia’ in Steve Craig (ed.) *Men Masculinity and Media*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, p.174.

¹⁸⁸ Spears, George, Kasia Seydegart and Margaret Gallagher (2000), p.22.

¹⁸⁹ Sabo, Donald and Sue Curry Jansen (1992), p.174.

¹⁹⁰ Eide, Elisabeth (2001) ‘Mannsbastioner med Iboende Treghet: Medier, Kjønn og Makt’ in Martin Eide (red.) *Til Dagsorden! Journalistikk, Makt og Demokrati*, Gyldendal, p.330. [Male Bastions with Innate Languidness: Media, Gender and Power in *Daily Order! Journalism, Power and Democracy*].

¹⁹¹ Allern, Sigurd (2001), p.194.

decided to exclude it from the analysis. Since the main intention is to measure the gender diversity, sport news is not suitable for the purpose.

Secondly, we excluded weekend magazine supplements or any additional supplements of the newspapers. They were not included to the analysis although they can afford to be more detailed and evocative since they have less inflexible deadlines, and fewer space constraints than daily news reports, but they do not reflect many hard news and are not considered serious enough like the news in main part of the dailies. Hard news is traditionally associated with narrow political and economic issues, while soft news is associated with social and cultural issues.

Especially Turkish dailies have additional supplements, which carry feature stories and heavily art and entertainment topics. These articles contain mostly female sources and female reporters. However, these additional supplements are perceived as magazine parts and were therefore excluded from the investigation. These decisions were taken not in order to avert in the results, but to establish realistic expectations from the research material. Furthermore, all kind of written or drawn material which were not accepted as news items were excluded, such as puzzles, competition and offers, cartoons, comic and strips, all kind of classified or unclassified advertising and announcement content, weather reports, etc.

Dagsavisen is the only subscription newspaper in the analysis while the others are non-subscription sale papers. In that case Dagsavisen does not need sensational first page coverage, but the others need to attract the readers to buy them. Therefore we accepted the first page as an announcement page and began to investigation from the second page of each sample. We examined the first news page as a sub-variable in this analysis to see how each paper's coverage is reflected on the front page from the gender diversity perspective.

After deciding on 18 different main and sub-variables, which were appropriated with the research questions of the study, a coding frame listing the basic categories for classification was first drawn up. The analysis was carried by MS Windows and Excel programs to create tables and charts. Each newspaper chosen for analysis was then read and its entire printed area was allocated item by item to provide a set of mutually exclusive research units. Each news story was accepted as a separate item in the paper.

Each journalist and each news source who appears in the story was described separately in the coding frame. This classifying process was carried out by the researcher alone to increase the overall consistency and to prevent variations of judgment. The researcher also made a double coding check to maximize the validity. Generally, the same story classified similarly in different newspapers and placed in a category to which it seems to belong.

In most content analysis, one can argue that research sample is not representative enough for the entire universe. Uncertainty of categorization widens the margins of error and this study is not an exception. The results of this analysis process are subject to several kinds of errors or uncertainties, which are dealt in the next heading.

Furthermore, in presenting percentage figures, these have generally been rounded up or drawn to the nearest whole number although the graphics are based on the exact calculation. The benefits are simplification of interpretation and the existence of sampling and coding errors justifies the resulting small inaccuracies. Although there are some small-unintended errors of measurement or categorization, results appeared to be accurate after double-checking done by the same researcher. Despite these limitations, this study is extensive, unique and the only available monitoring project which compares the two countries' print media output.

4.2.1 Quantitative Content Analysis

Through academic research, a substantial body of information and knowledge has been constructed in the field of communication and a set of research techniques developed.

But the problem is,

There is no coherent theory of media content and no consensus on the best method of analysis, since alternative methods are needed for different purposes and for different kinds of content and different media **genres**. The concept of genre is an essential tool in the study of media content...¹⁹²

The existing study deals with news as a research genre and the purpose is making generalizations from quantitatively big amount of research sample. Therefore content analysis was chosen as a quantitative form of classification. The method assumes that the

¹⁹² McQuail, Denis (2000), p.306.

surface meaning of a text is fairly unambiguous and can be read by the investigator and expressed in quantitative terms. The quantitative technique, unlike qualitative research method, places a strong emphasis on quantification, rather than on interpretation, which is subjective to the investigator. Furthermore, the quantitative method produces a statistical summary of a much larger media reality.

The contrast between traditional content analysis and interpretative approaches such as structuralism and semiology is that the former deals mainly with the quantification of the research result, whereas on the contrary, the interpretative approaches derive meaning from context rather than the numerical balance of elements in the texts.

Secondly, attention is directed to latent rather than to manifest content, and latent (thus deeper) meaning is regarded as actually more essential. Thirdly, structuralism is systematic in a different way from content analysis, giving no weight to procedures of sampling and rejecting the notion that all 'units' of content should be treated equally.¹⁹³

As McQuail concludes both research approaches are essentially good for different purposes. Structuralism does not offer a systematic method and is not accountable in its results according to normal standards of reliability, nor it is easy to generalize from the results to other texts. In short, content analysis is the most appropriate technique for the purpose of this investigation, since it can provide the over-all picture of the product which otherwise might be lost.

Content has a central position in the communication process. Systematic analysis can disclose differences in the communications available in various countries. What news of common interest and relevance are carried in newspapers? How they are portraying the gender balance of the society in their news content? These questions can be answered through comparative content analysis that will reveal the differences in the focus of attention of gender dispersion of the dailies. The differences in the subject matter can be systematically monitored with content analysis and furthermore the comparative dimension will add a good deal to the total analysis.

After the brief explanation of reasons, which help us to select the most useful technique, we need to focus on quantitative content analysis that was applied to the investigation.

¹⁹³ McQuail, Denis (2000), p.327-8.

According to Bernard Berelson content analysis answers the question of *what*, what is said in communication of various kinds.¹⁹⁴ And the definition is varied;

- The content analyst aims at a quantitative classification of a given body of content, in terms of a system of categories devised to yield data relevant to specific hypotheses concerning that content.¹⁹⁵
- One chooses a population (a media type), draws a sample within it for respondents representative of the whole (the units of analysis), collects data about individuals according to variables and assigns values to these variables.¹⁹⁶
- *Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.*¹⁹⁷

As implied in the definitions, certain characteristics of this technique are distinctive, such as requirement of system, quantification, and objectivity.

For the requirement of system: The inclusion and exclusion of content or categories were done according to consistently applied rules. This requirement clearly eliminated analyses in which only materials supporting the investigator's hypotheses were admitted as evidence. Instead, categories were defined in a manner which permits them to be used according to consistently applied rules.¹⁹⁸ A single set of categories is developed and applied in content analysis. Gender balance of news media cannot be examined until standardized categories of description have been developed. Care is taken while constructing a systematical category system before applying the content analysis. This is done in order to avoid the risk of a meaning-system imposed by the investigator rather than discovered in the content.

¹⁹⁴ Berelson, Bernard (1952) *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, The Free Press Publishers, Glencoe, p.13.

¹⁹⁵ Kaplan, Abraham (1943)'Content Analysis and The Theory of Signs', *Philosophy of Science*, 10, p.1, quoted from Bernard Berelson (1952), p.15.

¹⁹⁶ McQuail, Denis (2000), p.326-7.

¹⁹⁷ Berelson, Bernard (1952), p.18

¹⁹⁸ Holsti, Ole R. (1969) *Content Analysis for the Social Science and Humanities*, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Ontario, p.4.

For the quantification: The aim of the study is to investigate the balance of gender portrayal in the newspapers in order to ascertain how poor or fair the coverage is and the representation in terms of sex. The content is of such magnitude that it cannot be adequately handled without counting; therefore the numerical values would give more precise answer and hence specify the result. The systematically specified categories and the careful counting will validate the results.

For the requirement of objectivity: According to Holsti, *objectivity* stipulates that each step in the research process must be carried out on the basis of explicitly formulated rules and procedures. With objectivity, decisions are guided by an explicit set of rules that minimize the possibility that the findings reflect the analyst's subjective predispositions rather than the content of the documents under analysis.¹⁹⁹ We need to use our judgment in making decisions about sample selections and in describing the categories and deciding the content unit of the analysis. The objectivity principle helps the other analysts, following identical procedure with the same data, to arrive to similar conclusions; therefore we described the procedure of the research's design to fulfill the requirement of objectivity.

For the generality: findings must have theoretical relevance. Findings take on meaning when we compare them with other findings. Thus all content analysis is concerned with comparison; the type of comparison being dictated by the investigator's theory. Thus in general terms, content analysis is the application of scientific methods to documentary evidence.²⁰⁰

Content analysis has also limitations and pitfalls. For example the central practice of this research technique requires constructing category system because as Berelson draws attention, "Content analysis stands or falls by its categories. Particular studies have been productive to the extent that the categories were clearly formulated and well adapted to the problem and to the content."²⁰¹ As we understand, without clearly formulated

¹⁹⁹ Holsti, Ole R.(1969), p.3-4.

²⁰⁰ Holsti, Ole R. (1969), p.5.

²⁰¹ Berelson, Bernard (1952), p.147.

problems for investigation and with vaguely drawn or poorly articulated categories, findings would be of low quality as a research production, so that categories containing the substance of the investigation, the formulation and the definition of appropriate categories take on central importance.

Furthermore, the method of content analysis, as it is used in this study, is based on the requirement that account should only be taken of what is present as a matter of surface meaning. Although this method has somewhat mechanistic character and it is not very sensitive to the context or nuances of meaning, this specific method has been chosen more for its objectivity than its sensitivity. So, the counting of references that appeared in the content gives no direct indication of the importance or salience of theme in a given news report.

4.2.2 Definition of the Research Variables

1- Genre of the newspaper texts

This variable defines different type of newspaper texts, which appeared in the pages of research issues. We categorized them into 11 different groups such as, news articles, interviews, comments, feature articles, contribution, report, and article serial. There was also news interview, which has similarities with both interview and news genre and therefore was classified as a separate genre. Short news article, placed mostly in the top of the Norwegian dailies with short headlines and a few line texts was classified as separate genre under the investigation.

2- Topic/theme of the newspaper texts

Gaye Tuchman defines category as classification of the objects according to one or more relevant characteristics ruled salient by the classifiers, frequently by what anthropologists' term 'formal analysis'.²⁰² We used the same definition and set prefixed 19 different themes* to categorize the topic of the articles in order to

²⁰² Tuchman, Gaye (1978a), p.50

* Coding schema of the analysis is placed in appendix 2.

measure the proportion of the news articles, which have the same topic in the research sample.

3- Size of the news

If the article was smaller than a quarter of newspaper page it was classified as small news. If it was bigger than a quarter of the newspaper page, it was classified as medium size news, and a big news is an article bigger than half page size under this analysis.

4- Gender of the main character in the story

The term 'main character' refers to the main person in the story, for example the criminal in a crime story, or victim in an accident story. The aim is to examine the gender of the main character, which the article explores. The categories of the variable was classified into five different groups. The intention was to find out more than gender, to examine whether the main character was quoted or placed without a quote in the news story.

4a- Position/occupation of the main character in the story

The profession or position of the main character was also important for the purpose of this investigation. Each research item, which had a main character was classified according to prefixed 20 position/occupation categories. The intention was to examine the most preferred position/occupation category of the main character which was frequently represented in the news stories in the research sample.

5- Gender of the main source in the story

This variable is different from the gender of the main character. The 'source' refers to all those who give their opinion as 'experts' upon the issues. The 'source' can be a university professor upon education system, or a politician upon the elections, or criminal police officer upon one of the crimes. Most news stories

have both main source and main character and therefore we classified them as different variables.

5a- Position/occupation of the main source in the story

Each research item, which had main source in the story, was classified according to prefixed 21 position/occupation categories.

6- Gender of byline

'Byline' refers to the journalists who signed at the top or bottom of the each news article. We excluded photojournalists and examined only the reporters in the research sample. The intention was to find out the proportion of news that were written by male and female journalists and opinion and contribution columns, which were written by male or female columnists or contributors. We classified nine different categories to find out the gender of the journalist, contributor, columnist, or news texts that were signed by both sexes in the sample.

7- Gender of the people photographed

We examined the gender of the person who appeared in the photos of the news. If there was only a female in the news photo, we coded it as only female, if there were male and female together, we coded it as 'both' under this variable. If it was not possible to identify the gender of the person in the photo, we did not include it in the analysis.

7a- Size of the photos in the news article

Photos are important part of the news. We measured all the photos as square meter and divided them into three groups upon their size as small, medium and big. If there was more than one photo in the news we included in the analysis the one that had the biggest size.

8- Placement of news in the newspaper pages

The intention of this variable was to categorize the articles according to the section in which they were placed. News items were categorized under five page categories: general news pages, economy pages, foreign/international news pages, consumer pages and culture pages.

9- Categories of the news

As Gaye Tuchman describes the news categories, 'hard' and 'soft' news are the main characters that should distinguish the news articles. Hard news are mostly interesting to human beings and concern important matters, unexpected news and also have deadline. On the other hand, soft news focus on the interesting matters to human foibles²⁰³ and soft news are mostly scheduled and do not have deadline pressure such as in entertainment, environment, health issues. We classified news as hard and soft news to examine and compare the news items under the investigation.

10- News categories upon sex of bylines

We set another variable to find out the news categories upon sex of bylines. This variable would help us to examine the gender of the journalists who were assigned mostly to which news category. Variable had nine categories for classification.

11- Scope of the news articles

The term 'scope' refers to the geographical area in which the story is important. Most news articles contain information inside the news texts or sign at the top or bottom of the articles, which helps to divide them as local, national, or international/foreign news. But we had some difficulties to separate local and national news items so we accepted the news from two big cities as national and metropolitan news and the rest of the news as foreign and local news in the research sample.

²⁰³ Tuchman, Gaye (1978a), p.48.

12- Scope of the news article against sex of byline

This variable would help us to find out whether or not gender was a factor in news assignments and the proportion of male and female reporters against the scope of the news. We classified this sample into 12 different categories.

13- Gender of columnists or contributor

There were many opinion columns in Turkish newspapers and therefore the gender of the columnist would show us the gender balance of columnists in the research sample. Contributor columns were another common genre both in Norwegian and Turkish dailies. Therefore examining gender of contributor would also be relevant for the purpose of the investigation. The sample was categorized into six groups.

14- Gender of the secondary character or source

Most of the news articles contained more than one character or source in the story, so examining just the main character or main source would not be enough to get the whole picture of the gender balance. Therefore statistical results of second character and/or source of the story would help us to reach more accurate results. The sample was categorized into three groups for the coding.

Sub variables of the research:

15- Themes of stories which have women as their central focus

The intention while defining this variable was to find out the proportion and topic of the stories in which women are central focus in the news article. 'Central focus' refers to the story, which has woman as the main character or main source. Some news which were dealing with women generally were also coded them under this variable. The sample was classified into 10 categories such as: violence, women's health, women and power (in the fields of politics, education or business, art/entertainment), changing roles of women, childcare, portrayal of women (in television, film or newspapers), and sensational issues.

16- Portrayal of women in the news item

If a woman was the central focus in the article, the way she was defined was also important. If they were represented as a victim of a crime, they would be classified as negative portrayal. On the other hand, accomplishments of a woman politician was classified as positive portrayal, and funeral of an important female author (if there was not any positive or negative attribution in the news story) was classified as neutral portrayal of the woman.

17- Theme/topic of the stories on the first page

The purpose of this variable was to find out the proportion of the news articles, which had the same topic on the front page of the dailies under the investigation. There is a general assumption that the degree of occurrence of topics on the front page has a relation with the prominence they received inside pages of newspapers. This variable aims to investigate this general statement. The sample was classified into 19 different categories like the second variable of the analysis.

18- Gender of the bylines which appeared on the first page of the newspapers

Gender of byline is an important axis of this analysis. It was also examined in the first page articles in order to find out the proportional difference between female and male journalists who were assigned to the first page news.

4.3 Evaluation of the Research Findings

Under the quantitative content analysis of gender diversity in Norwegian and Turkish media, 3519 news items were coded and analyzed. In total, 40 issues of two Norwegian and two Turkish dailies were chosen as representative sample of the research universe and each article was coded against the above mentioned 18 different variables.

As we have many variables, many results were available for each newspaper. From reasons of practicality we established three sub-categories to explain the findings of the analysis, namely:

- Findings upon general/editorial qualities of the dailies
- Gender related findings
- Women related news subjects

4.3.1 Findings Against General/Editorial Qualities of the Dailies

A summary of the general and editorial qualities of national papers that emerges from a brief look at this research sample might include both differences and similarities. In Norwegian dailies 1695 news items were counted. However, with 1824 news items, Turkish dailies placed more news because of their broadsheet size. On the other hand both Norwegian dailies have tabloid format and less space.

The genre of the newspaper texts, which is the first variable of the analysis, has some interesting results to mention. There wasn't a big difference in the quantity of genre distribution within dailies under the investigation. In terms of overall allocation of space, 59 percent of the texts under the analysis material were news articles and both Norwegian and Turkish dailies devoted most of their spaces to the news articles as a journalistic genre. However, as a comparison, Turkish dailies placed more than two times as many news articles than the Norwegian newspapers. The distribution of news items from each type in the four national daily newspapers are shown in Table1.

| | 1- Genre of the newspaper text | | | | | | | | | | | Total |
|------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|---------------|------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------|-------|
| | News article (1) | Short news article (2) | Interview (3) | Report (4) | Feature article (5) | News interview (6) | Government statements (7) | Comment (8) | Contribution (9) | Articles serial (10) | Others (11) | |
| Hurriyet | 415 | 158 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 95 | 40 | 151 | 38 | 6 | 0 | 924 |
| VG | 198 | 170 | 15 | 8 | 20 | 214 | 5 | 46 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 776 |
| Aksam | 435 | 157 | 3 | 10 | 7 | 89 | 37 | 136 | 17 | 9 | 0 | 900 |
| Dagsavisen | 137 | 427 | 19 | 14 | 14 | 152 | 8 | 72 | 74 | 0 | 2 | 919 |

Table 1: Genre of the newspaper texts

Although the news article was the most favorable item in the dailies, there were some differences we need to mention. The comparative results of the analysis showed that, firstly, news interview was a well-established journalistic genre in Norwegian dailies and

approximately 21 percent of the news items were coded as news interview. However only 10 percent of articles in the Turkish newspapers were coded under this genre as we can observe in Chart 1 below.

Secondly, short articles, which are short news stories with just a few sentences were commonly used in different pages of both countries` newspapers, but Dagsavisen used this genre much more than the other papers. Short news made up nearly half of (46 percent) its coverage.

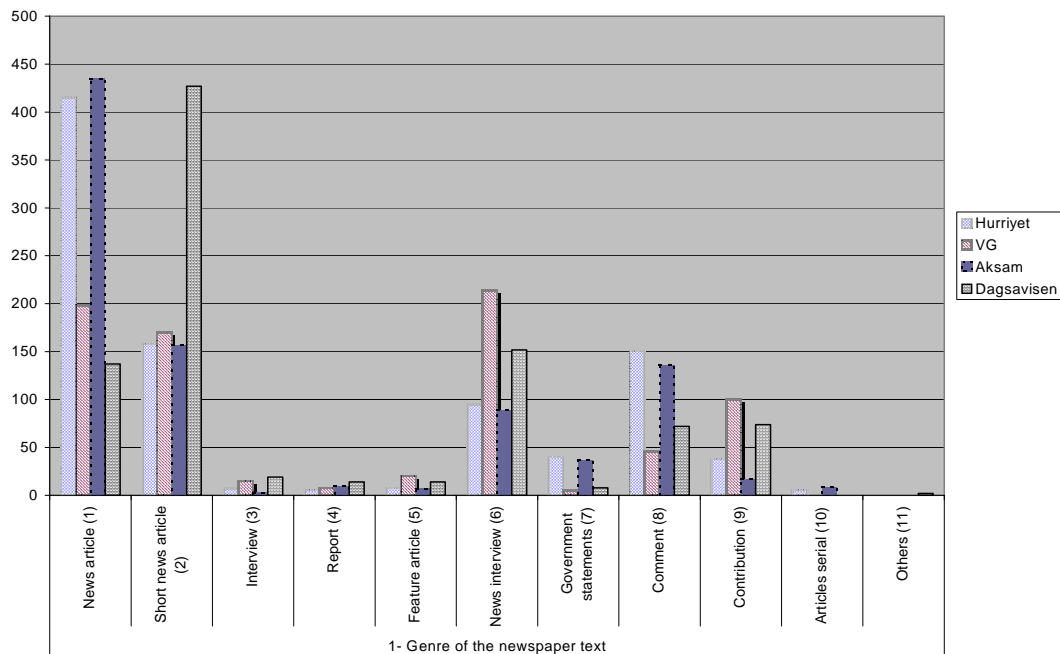


Figure 1: Genre of the newspaper texts-Chart 1

Thirdly, another difference was space allocation for the government statements. Four percent of the texts were coded as government statements, which were a common genre in Turkish newspapers. However, the 0.7 percent coverage shows that government news was not a usual genre in Norwegian papers.

Fourth comparative result is that Norwegian dailies prefer to devote more space to readers and their critics as a contribution. However, Turkish dailies favor to give space to the senior journalists or experts and their views as a comment nearly in every page of the dailies. The findings showed 15 percent of the journalistic genre accounted for columns

in the research material which means that that comments are an important part of Turkish dailies.

In Norwegian dailies, columns accounted for approximately 7 percent of all news items under the investigation, indicating a less frequent journalistic genre than in the Turkish dailies. On the other hand, contribution was a more common journalistic genre than comments and 10 percent of the articles in the Norwegian dailies were contributions from readers or experts. On the contrary, contribution, which usually has a poor coverage, made only 3 percent of the texts in the Turkish newspapers.

The other genre categories, such as reports, article serials, feature articles had a poor coverage of below 2 percent, with no big differences between the Turkish and Norwegian dailies.

Coverage of the topics adds a few more points about similarities and differences. The news coverage of the countries centered on three major topics – Art/entertainment, politics/government, and economy/business as shown in Chart 2.

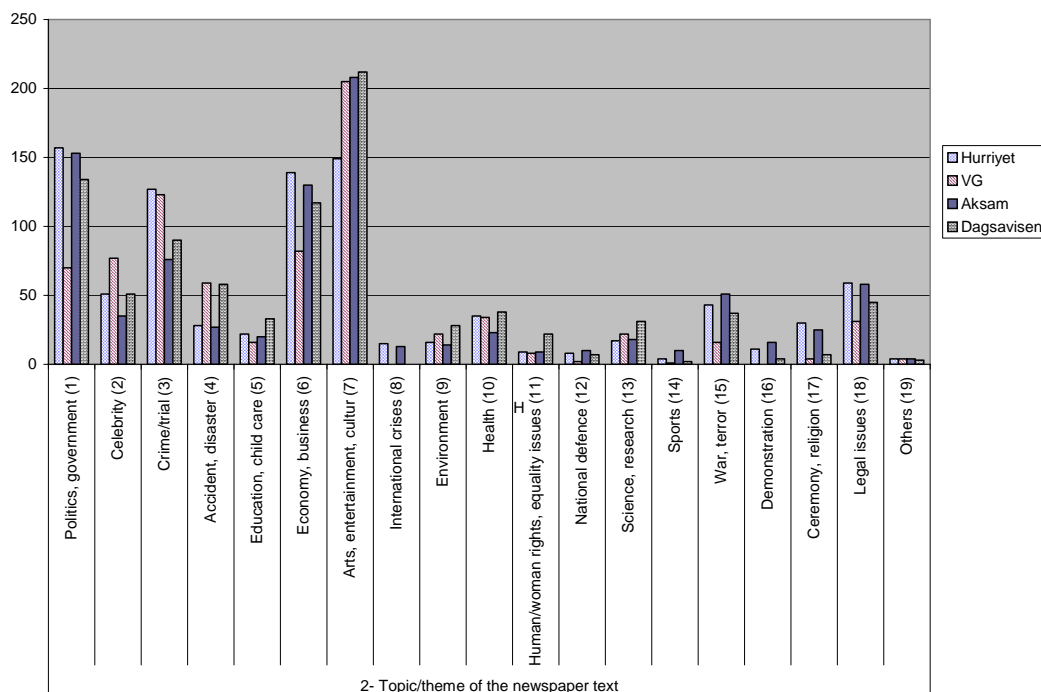


Figure 2: Topic/theme of the newspaper texts-Chart 2

Art and entertainment was similarly the major topic but the percent of articles in Norwegian coverage was more than the Turkish one; 24 percent in the Norwegian and 19 percent in the Turkish newspaper items were under this topic.

Politics and government as a second major topic accounted for 16 percent of the Turkish and 12 percent of the Norwegian research item.

Economy and business, which was the third major topic, made up 14 percent of Turkish and 12 percent of Norwegian coverage. The exact figures for this distribution are shown in Table 2 below.

| | 2- Topic/theme of the newspaper text | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-------------|--|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------|-------|
| | Politics, government (1) | Celebrity (2) | Crime/trial (3) | Accident, disaster (4) | Education, child care (5) | Economy, business (6) | Arts, entertainment, culture (7) | International crises (8) | Environment (9) | Health (10) | Human/woman rights, equality issues (11) | National defence (12) | Science, research (13) | Sports (14) | War, terrorism (15) | Demonstration (16) | Ceremony, religion (17) | Legal issues (18) | Others (19) | Total |
| Hurriyet | 157 | 51 | 127 | 28 | 22 | 139 | 149 | 15 | 16 | 35 | 9 | 8 | 17 | 4 | 43 | 11 | 30 | 59 | 4 | 924 |
| VG | 70 | 77 | 123 | 59 | 16 | 82 | 205 | 0 | 22 | 34 | 8 | 2 | 22 | 1 | 16 | 0 | 4 | 31 | 4 | 776 |
| Aksam | 153 | 35 | 76 | 27 | 20 | 130 | 208 | 13 | 14 | 23 | 9 | 10 | 18 | 10 | 51 | 16 | 25 | 58 | 4 | 900 |
| Dagsavisen | 134 | 51 | 90 | 58 | 33 | 117 | 212 | 0 | 28 | 38 | 22 | 7 | 31 | 2 | 37 | 4 | 7 | 45 | 3 | 919 |

Table 2: Topic/theme of the newspaper texts

It is apparent from Table 2 above that newspapers differed from each other rather little in their relative attention to the main topics. In interpreting the figures, we should bear in mind that a small percentage difference was not really the matter because Norwegian dailies had less space because of their format. Therefore their topic coverage was smaller than the Turkish newspapers.

Human/woman rights, equality issues, which is another subject of this investigation, was covered poorly both in Turkish and Norwegian dailies. Attention to this topic was fairly equal, approximately 1 percent in Turkish, and 1.7 percent in Norwegian dailies. Actually only Dagsavisen had more than twice as many articles under this topic than Aksam, Hurriyet and VG.

The general division between ‘Quality’ and ‘Popular’ titles is based on the fact that the latter is characterized by some familiar differences in news topic matter as well as by

giving proportionately more space to news rather than to features. Although Norwegian dailies have tabloid format, which is different from the Turkish broadsheet appearance, coverage of the topic areas did not vary sharply. So we could not distinguish them as quality or popular papers.

In summary, all dailies devoted their space similarly to art/entertainment, politics and economic news. As general interest newspapers they did not differ much.

Under the Size of the news category, differences were noted in each country. The small size of news, which was mostly seen in Norwegian dailies, made up 35 percent of the total coverage, but it reached only 19 percent in the Turkish dailies. On the other hand, medium size news had 55 percent of the total coverage in Turkish news, but Norwegian coverage reached up to 28 percent.

Another difference was under the category of big news. Although Turkish broadsheet papers have more place, they apparently do not prefer big size news because it made up only 5 percent. However, Norwegian coverage was 18 percent as shown in Table 3 and also in Chart 3 which is placed in the appendix.

| | 3- Size of the news | | | | <u>Total</u> |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| | Article is not a news item (0) | Small size news (1) | Medium size news (2) | Big size news (3) | |
| Hurriyet | 189 | 174 | 510 | 51 | 924 |
| VG | 146 | 166 | 267 | 197 | 776 |
| Aksam | 153 | 185 | 509 | 53 | 900 |
| Dagsavisen | 148 | 436 | 211 | 124 | 919 |

Table 3: Size of the news

From the above, it can be seen that Norwegian dailies carried more big size news, which means that these dailies were offering much more background to the news. This difference leads us to the conclusion that they can cover the important news better with more space and it could help them to reach more diversified and intense coverage.

Size of the photos, which were published by the news article and do complement the news stories, had similar result like the variable which indicates figures of the size of the news. The general impression left by this variable is that it is of less diversity to use photos by the news stories in the two countries` dailies. As Table 4 indicates, medium size photos were mostly preferred in the sample. In total, 14 percent of pictures were small size, 16 percent medium and 10 percent big size.

| | 7a- Size of the photos | | | Total |
|-------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| | Smal size of photos (1) | Medium size of photos (2) | Big size of photos (3) | |
| Hurriyet | 175 | 210 | 56 | 441 |
| VG | 106 | 83 | 137 | 326 |
| Aksam | 112 | 219 | 54 | 385 |
| Dagsavisen | 133 | 64 | 127 | 324 |
| | | | | |

Table 4: Size of the photos

The results of the comparison between the two countries showed that as for using small pictures there was not big differences, with 15 percent in the Turkish dailies, and 14 percent in Norwegian, but medium size picture was the one mostly preferred category, with 23 percent among Turkish, but only 8 percent in the Norwegian newspapers. On the other hand, Turkish dailies used less big pictures, only 6 percent, but it was two times more in the Norwegian press at 15 percent. The difference of the picture size of the dailies under the investigation is shown in Chart 7a in appendix.

Placement of the news contains interesting results. Generally, articles were placed in general news pages that reached 53 percent of the total coverage in both countries dailies, while 19 percent of the news item were placed in culture pages. Furthermore, 13 percent of the articles out of the total coverage appeared under the economy pages.

| 8- Placement of the news in the paper; newspaper page | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------|
| | General news page (1) | Economy page (2) | Foreign/international news page (3) | Consumer page (4) | Culture news page | Total |
| Hurriyet | 562 | 229 | 66 | 20 | 47 | 924 |
| VG | 388 | 3 | 48 | 35 | 302 | 776 |
| Aksam | 492 | 224 | 81 | 17 | 86 | 900 |
| Dagsavisen | 433 | 18 | 153 | 59 | 256 | 919 |

Table 5: Placement of the news in the newspaper page or section

As it is indicated in Table 5 general news, which were placed in general pages, were nearly the same in both countries, but 24 percent of the articles were under the economy pages, although just 1 percent of them was in Norwegian dailies. Especially VG did not contain specific economy pages and economy news were covered under general pages. Chart 8 below also helps us to understand dispersion of news in section or pages of newspapers.

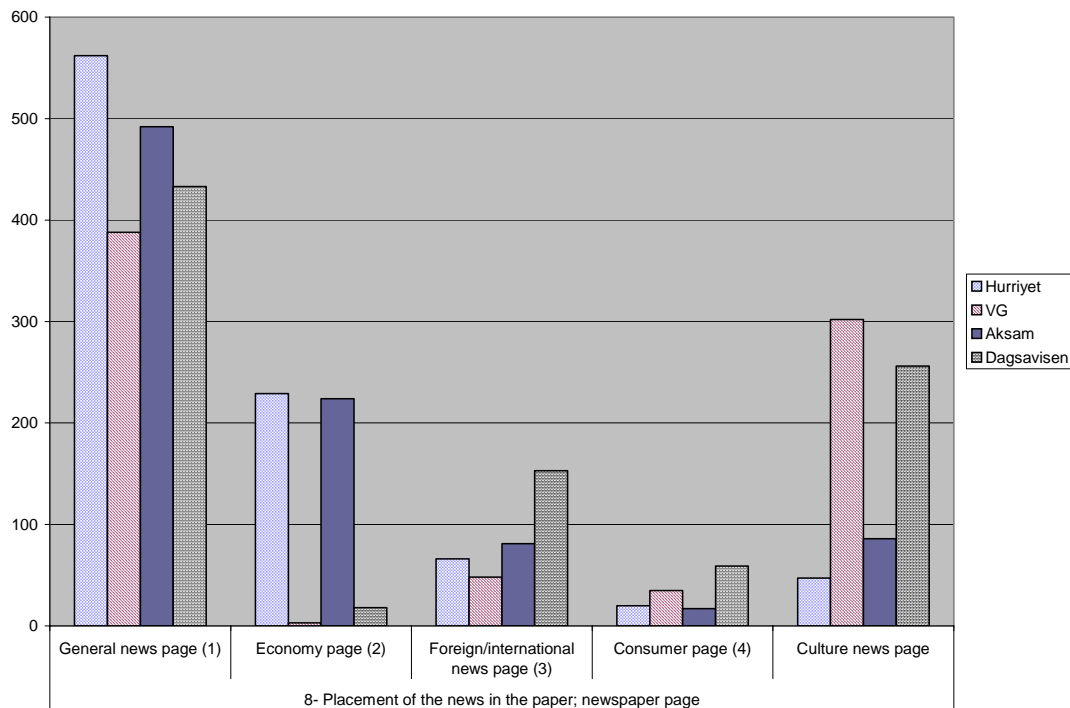


Figure 3: Placement of news in the newspaper page or section-Chart 8

Another general finding is that economy and business news were more important for the Turkish papers and run on more than 4 pages of each issue. On the contrary, culture news were poorly covered under specific culture pages in Turkish papers with only 7 percent, but were 32 percent in Norwegian dailies.

From the statistical results it is apparent that culture/entertainment had more coverage in Norwegian dailies. On the contrary, economy had broad coverage in Turkish dailies. The most evident pattern of differentiation is to distinguish newspapers as 'Qualities' and 'Populars'. The former give relatively more attention to news about economy and business and the latter to the art and entertainment. Although this brings us to a conclusion that Norwegian dailies can be called more 'Popular' than the Turkish dailies, we have to be careful in reaching this conclusion. Art and entertainment topics included mostly cultural events and critics of books or of other forms of art, so it more or less of 'respective' coverage in Norwegian newspapers. On the other hand, there were many sensational news in Turkish dailies which were covered as art and entertainment news. Thus it is not sufficient in order to label Norwegian dailies as more 'Popular' than the Turkish newspapers.

Hard news can be explained as 'serious', fact based news, whereas soft news refers to the human interest, interpretation-based news.

As Tuchman explains the newswriters' main distinction is between hard news and its antithesis, soft news. As they put it, hard news concerns occurrences potentially available to analysis or interpretation, and consist of 'factual presentations' of occurrences deemed newsworthy.²⁰⁴

Categories of news as hard or soft was another variable under this analysis and had similar results. It is expected that both country dailies devoted most of their spaces to hard news as a general interest papers.

In the analysis of the total coverage 18 percent of the journalistic genre was not news, 48 percent was coded as hard and 33 percent was coded as soft news.

²⁰⁴ Tuchman Gaye, (1978a), p.47.

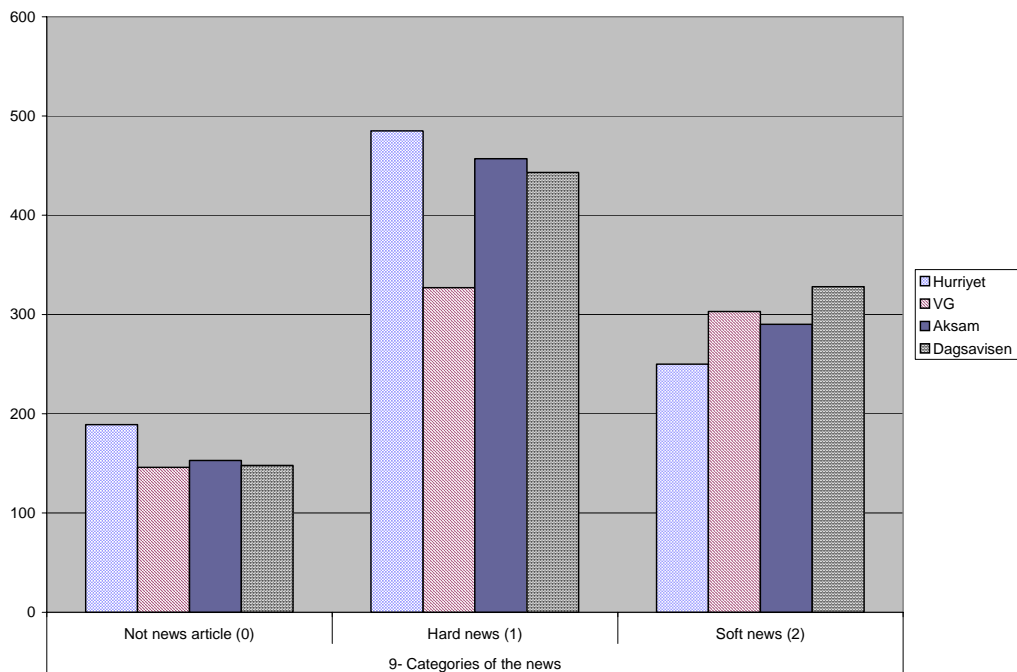


Figure 4: Categories of the news-Chart 9

In their coverage, Turkish dailies devoted 51 percent of the articles to hard and 29 percent to the soft news. Norwegian dailies on the other hand devoted 45 percent to the hard and 37 percent to the soft news. The figures are showed in Table 6 below.

| | 9- Categories of the news | | | <u>Total</u> |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| | Not news article (0) | Hard news (1) | Soft news (2) | |
| Hurriyet | 189 | 485 | 250 | 924 |
| VG | 146 | 327 | 303 | 776 |
| Aksam | 153 | 457 | 290 | 900 |
| Dagsavisen | 148 | 443 | 328 | 919 |

Table 6: Categories of the news

There were more hard news articles in the Turkish newspapers. On the other hand, soft news had much broader coverage in the Norwegian dailies. Turkish papers had additional supplements, which were mainly focused on culture/art/entertainment and celebrity news

and as such were not included in the research. That can be an explanation for the less soft news coverage in the op-ed pages of Turkish dailies.

Distribution of the news articles according to their scope. Forty-five percent of total coverage was devoted to national news, 24 percent to the international and foreign news, and 12 percent to local news. As the figures of Table 7 indicate, the distribution of news items by their scope had more or less the same result both in Turkish and Norwegian research sample.

| | 11- Scope of the news article | | | | <u>Total</u> |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|
| | not news article (0) | Local news (1) | National news (2) | Foreign, international news (3) | |
| Hurriyet | 189 | 151 | 401 | 183 | 924 |
| VG | 146 | 123 | 320 | 187 | 776 |
| Aksam | 153 | 107 | 426 | 214 | 900 |
| Dagsavisen | 144 | 69 | 442 | 264 | 919 |

Table 7: Scope of the news articles

This finding corresponds with other researches around the world, which indicate that nearly half of the total coverage is about national matters. We can observe these findings of the analysis in Chart 11, which is placed in appendix.

The topic of the news on the first page had some limited results. Turkish papers are broadsheets, and have more place to reflect many different news, so there were naturally more news on the front coverage, but Norwegian dailies have tabloid structure, therefore they mentioned just a few of the news on the front coverage.

In total, 291 news items were monitored on the front page of our research issues. Seventy percent of them were in Turkish and 30 percent in Norwegian dailies. The first three topics are: politics with 53 percent coverage, economy and art/entertainment/culture all had 31 percent of coverage while sport, with 29 percent, was another broad coverage in the dailies.

A look at the distribution of the topics in Turkish dailies shows that politic as a main coverage made up 21 percent of news items on the first page. However, it was 10 percent, less than half of the amount in Norwegian dailies. Economy, which consisted an important coverage in Turkish press, making up 12 percent of front coverage, received only 6 percent in the Norwegian press. On the other hand, art/entertainment/culture coverage was really high with nearly 24 percent in Norwegian dailies, and reached only 5 percent of the coverage in Turkish front-page articles.

| 17- Theme/topic of the stories on the first page | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total |
|--|--------------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-------|
| | Politics, government (1) | Celebrity (2) | Crime/trial (3) | Accident, disaster (4) | Education, child care (5) | Economy, business (6) | Arts, entertainment, culture (7) | International crises (8) | Environment (9) | Health issue (10) | Human/wo man rights, equality (11) | National defence (12) | Science, research (13) | Sports (14) | War, terrorism (15) | Demonstration (16) | Ceremony, religion (17) | Legal issues (18) | Total |
| Hurriyet | 22 | 13 | 13 | 5 | 1 | 13 | 6 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 12 | 0 | 3 | 7 | 111 |
| VG | 0 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 35 |
| Aksam | 22 | 4 | 9 | 5 | 2 | 13 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 10 | 96 |
| Dagsavisen | 9 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 16 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 49 |

Table 8: Theme/topic of the stories on the front page

Surprisingly, sport got 7 percent of coverage in Turkish front pages, but more than two times, that is, 16 percent of coverage in Norwegian dailies (mostly in VG). Although art and entertainment topics had a broad coverage and were a leading topic in the Turkish papers, it was reflected poorly in the front pages with 5 percentage of the coverage. Politics and economy were the leading topics in the front-page coverage as they were the main topics inside the Turkish newspapers. We can claim that except in art and entertainment topics, the distribution of inside coverage in Turkish papers was reflected similarly in their front pages and this evaluation is clearer in Chart 17.

We need to mention that although sport received more coverage in Norwegian front pages, VG had two times as many topics than Dagsavisen. On the topic of art/entertainment/culture, in which again Norwegian front-page coverage seems extremely high, Dagsavisen had 4 times more coverage than VG. It seems that sport had a broad coverage on the front page of VG, but it was not the issue in the overall coverage of the papers, so, we could not claim for tabloidisation of VG only due to the high

percentage of sport coverage on the front pages. VG's inside coverage was more diversified and parallel to the other dailies under this investigation.

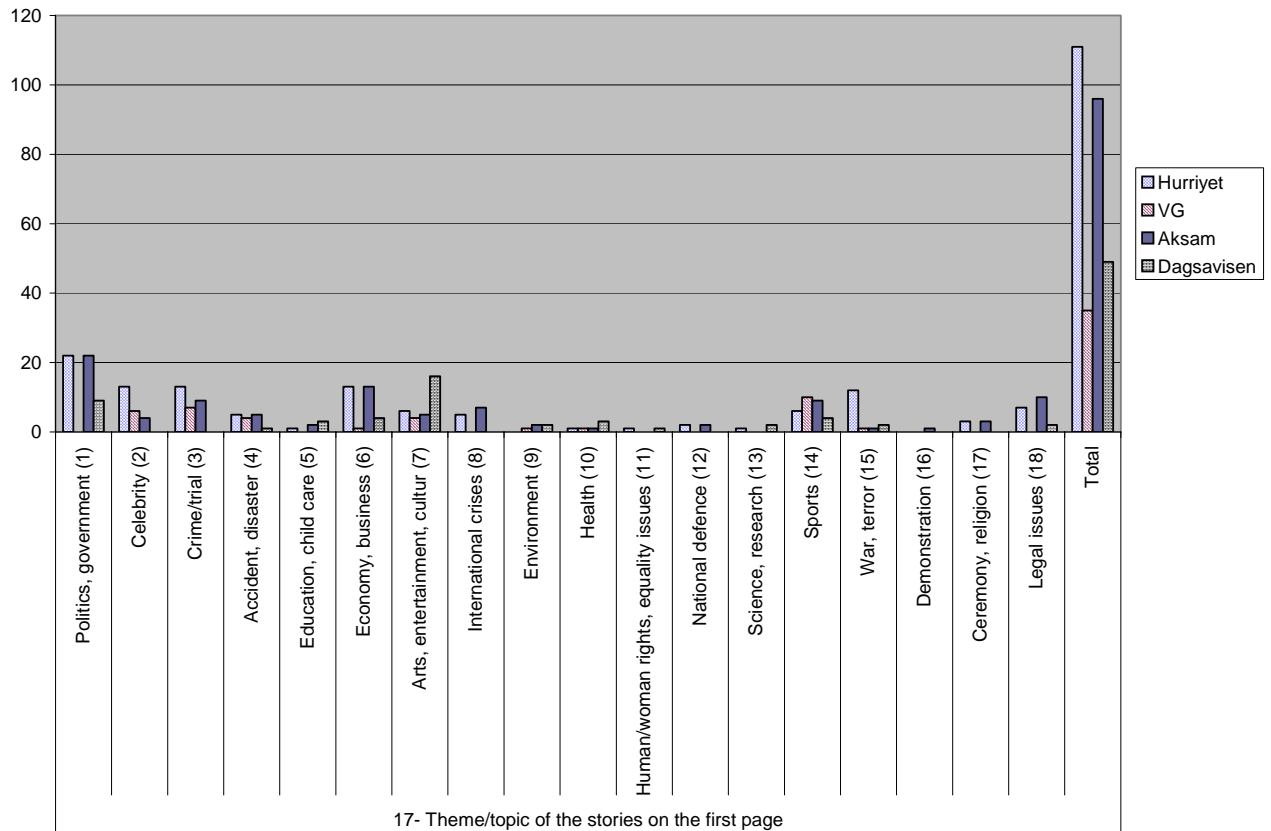


Figure 5: Theme/topic of the stories on the front page-Chart 17

The main conclusions to be drawn from these results are; firstly, politics, which was an important topic of Turkish news coverage, was reflected more intensely on the front pages. On the other hand, news with culture/art entertainment topics received more coverage in the front page of Norwegian dailies.

These results of the analysis can be concluded by stating that the dailies under the investigation are general interest papers which reflects more or less the same general qualities and news values. To make further comparison between them we need to look at the gender related findings of the analysis.

4.3.2 Gender Related Findings

The gender balance in the news and newsroom has long been considered a critical media aspect, therefore we intended to explore the findings of the analysis relating with this issue.

Gender of the main character, which was an important variable under the analysis, showed us that 46 percent of the total news articles had a main character. If we need to explore country specific results; 46 percent of Norwegian and 41 percent of Turkish articles had a main character. So we can claim that news is generally about individuals as an accepted media practice.

| | 4- Gender of the main character in the news story | | | | Male as the main character without quote (4) | Both male and female as the main character (5) | <u>Total</u> |
|-------------------|---|---|--|---|--|--|--------------|
| | Not main character (0) | Female as the main character with quote (1) | Female as the main character without quote (2) | Male as the main character with quote (3) | | | |
| Hurriyet | 418 | 52 | 50 | 59 | 322 | 23 | 924 |
| VG | 376 | 43 | 56 | 89 | 170 | 42 | 776 |
| Aksam | 453 | 38 | 49 | 53 | 271 | 36 | 900 |
| Dagsavisen | 522 | 23 | 68 | 50 | 223 | 33 | 919 |

Table 9: Gender of the main character in the news story

The female as a main character in Turkish dailies was only in 10 percent of the news items and also only 11 percent in Norwegian press. On the other hand, the articles, which had male as a main character, consisted 38 percent of Turkish and 31 percent of Norwegian news items which we can see in the figures in Table 9 above.

In Turkey, males have definitely the coverage superiority upon females and also reached slightly the higher percentage than the Norwegian newspapers. The difference was significant as we compare the figures between items, which had male character without quote. The articles, which had both male and female main sources were nearly the same, 3 percent in Turkish and 4 percent in Norwegian dailies.

It is evident from Chart 4 below that males were the main character of the news stories in more than a quarter of news items. However women consisted as main character only in 10 percent of the research item, which means that men were three times more quoted or referred to than women in the stories of the news. We need to also mention that there was a significant difference between the stories, which had male main character without quote. Those were more than two times more in Turkish dailies than in the Norwegian newspapers.

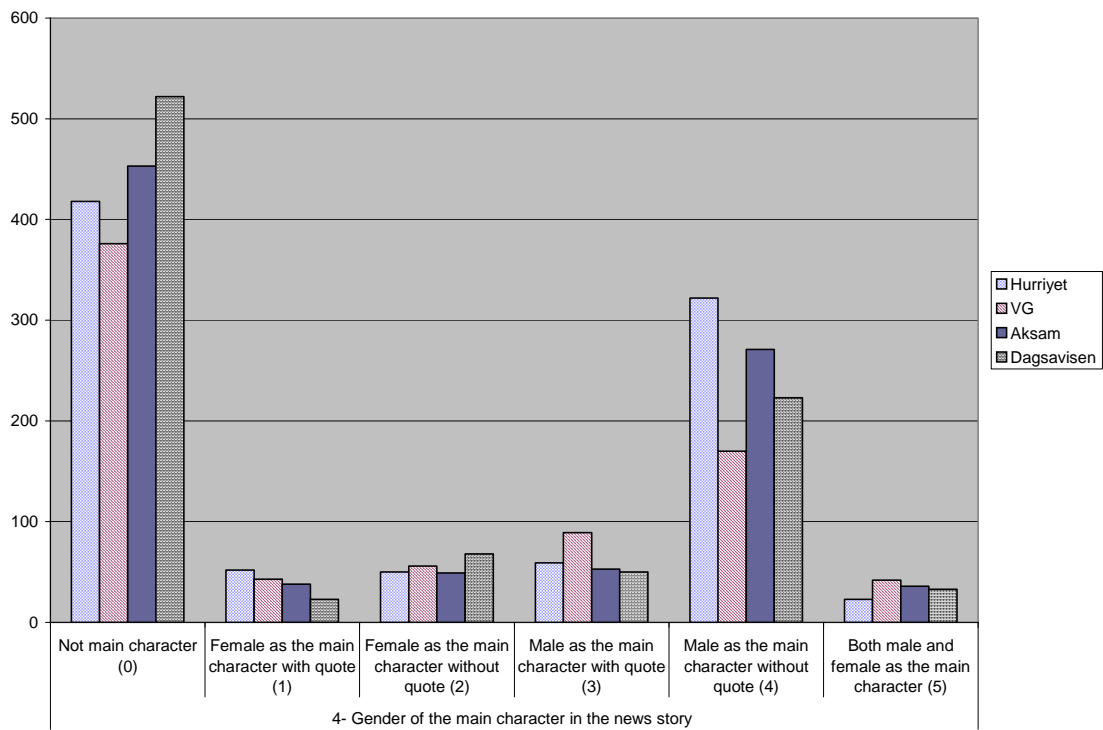


Figure 6: Gender of the main character in the news story-Chart 4

The occupation or position of the main character will widen our perspective to make healthy comparisons. The first three occupation/ position categories, which were mostly represented under this investigation, were politician, celebrity and businessman/manager categories.

Sixteen percent of the Turkish and 10 percent of the Norwegian articles had politician as a main character in the news story. If we add government employees, who are mostly bureaucrats, to the politicians category, the percentage could reach up to 18 for the Turkish articles. The figures are shown in Table 10.

| 4a- Position/occupation of the main character in the news story (Total:G-A) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|--------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|----------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|-------|
| | Not stated in the article (0) | Politician (1) | Celebrity (2) | Government employee (3) | Home maker /parent (4) | Police military (5) | Criminal (6) | Education professional (7) | Businessman/manager (8) | Science/technology (9) | Sportsmen (10) | Agriculture/fishing/forestry (11) | NGO (12) | Student (13) | Media professional (14) | Retired (15) | Health and social service professional (16) | Religion leaders (17) | Judicial persons (18) | Office and service worker (19) | Others (20) | Total |
| Hurriyet | 23 | 152 | 93 | 20 | 23 | 20 | 23 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 367 |
| VG | 50 | 65 | 156 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 14 | 0 | 27 | 12 | 15 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 399 |
| Aksam | 20 | 142 | 106 | 21 | 16 | 12 | 9 | 1 | 29 | 13 | 16 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 16 | 1 | 7 | 10 | 2 | 13 | 13 | 457 |
| Dagsavisen | 24 | 116 | 145 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 11 | 3 | 39 | 14 | 5 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 9 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 397 |

Table 10: Position/occupation of the main character in the news story

Celebrity, as a second biggest category, made up 10 percent of Turkish and 17 percent of Norwegian articles of main character. Norwegian dailies gave priority to the businessman and managers in 4 percent of the articles, which means two times more than in the articles of Turkish dailies. The figures are shown also in Chart 4a in appendix.

If we need to sum up, the main position/occupation category was politician (16 percent) in Turkish papers which indicates that items dealing with actions by the Government or other political figures were the most likely to be given extensive placing. On the other hand, celebrity (17 percent) was the main category in the Norwegian dailies.

Gender of the main source as another variable of this analysis has also significant results from the gender perspective. The findings of the analysis illustrate a classic pattern that women were less likely to appear as news sources in the dailies of both countries. The difference is substantial:

Female news sources accounted for just 5 percent of total articles under the study, while male news source accounted for 30 percent within total articles, and news source as both male and female made just 2 percent of the total coverage.

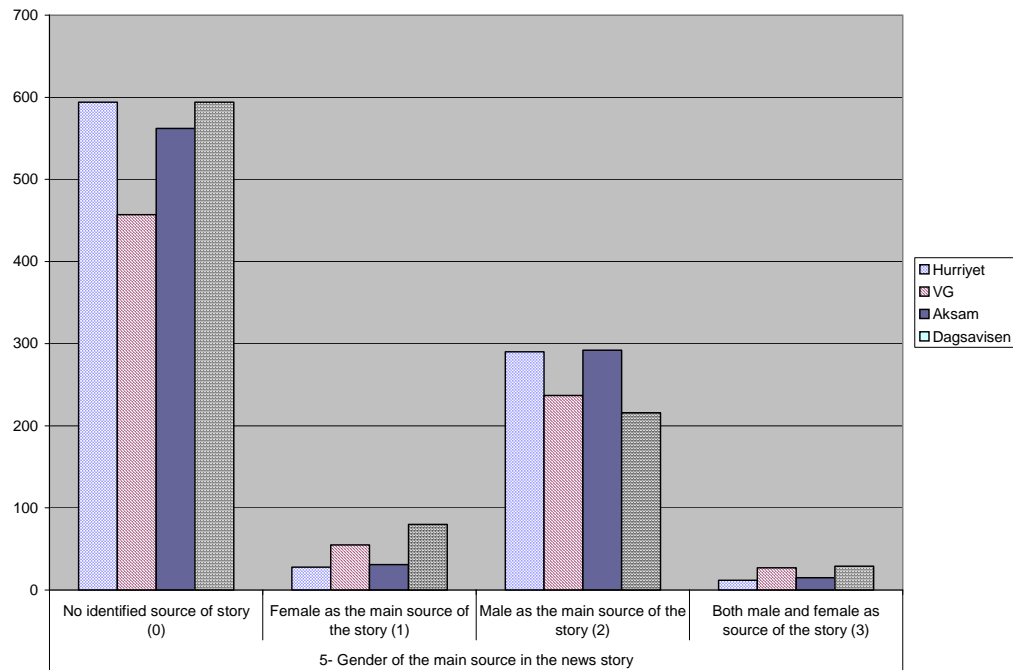


Figure 7: Gender of the main source in the news story-Chart 5

As Chart 5 above indicates, the male new sources were significantly more than female news sources and it was the situation in both countries` dailies: 3 percent of the news sources were female, but 31 percent was male in Turkish dailies.

| | 5- Gender of the main source in the news story | | | | Total |
|-------------------|--|---|---|--|--------------|
| | No identified source of story (0) | Female as the main source of the story (1) | Male as the main source of the story (2) | Both male and female as source of the story (3) | |
| Hurriyet | 594 | 28 | 290 | 12 | 924 |
| VG | 457 | 55 | 237 | 27 | 776 |
| Aksam | 562 | 31 | 292 | 15 | 900 |
| Dagsavisen | 594 | 80 | 216 | 29 | 919 |

Table 11: Gender of the main source in the news story

The figures were not much different in Norwegian newspapers under this category; 8 percent of sources were female, but 26 percent of news item had male news source under the analysis. The exact figures were shown in the above Table 11.

It is also important to explore that Turkish dailies gave space to one female as a news source versus ten male news sources in the coverage, but the difference was not as extreme in Norwegian coverage in which one female as news sources stood against three male sources in the stories. So, it is considered an important finding that three times more female news sources were coded in Norwegian papers than the Turkish dailies. It should be mentioned that Dagsavisen had more female sources than VG. Articles, which had both male and female as news sources, were just one percent in Turkish and three percent in Norwegian dailies.

Occupation/position of the news sources also has some interesting results to mention. When we compare the occupation/position of the news sources, the majority of occupation categories were politicians. It is more clearer in the figures of the news item in Table 12.

| 5a- Position/occupation of the main source in the news story | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------------------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|----------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|--|------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|-------|
| | Main source not stated (0) | Politician (1) | Celebrity (2) | Government employee (3) | Home maker /parent (4) | Police, military (5) | Criminal (6) | Education professional (7) | Businessman/manager (8) | Science/technology (9) | Sportsmen (10) | Agriculture/fishing/forestry (11) | NGO (12) | Student (13) | Media professional (14) | Retired (15) | Health and social service professionals (16) | Religious leaders (17) | Judicial persons (18) | Office and service worker (19) | Others (20) | Total |
| Hurriyet | 6 | 123 | 9 | 34 | 7 | 9 | 1 | 6 | 67 | 20 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 8 | 0 | 13 | 1 | 12 | 6 | 1 | 330 |
| VG | 10 | 38 | 9 | 21 | 4 | 39 | 0 | 3 | 70 | 26 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 17 | 1 | 30 | 0 | 30 | 12 | 3 | 320 |
| Aksam | 4 | 105 | 7 | 35 | 3 | 18 | 1 | 4 | 71 | 30 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 14 | 2 | 12 | 2 | 12 | 8 | 1 | 338 |
| Dagsavisen | 4 | 94 | 9 | 21 | 2 | 22 | 1 | 5 | 70 | 34 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 20 | 2 | 15 | 8 | 1 | 325 |

Table 12: Position/occupation of the main source in the news story

Under the analysis, 10 percent of the articles had politician as main source and if we add the 3 percent government employees which were mainly bureaucrats, it comes to 13 percent of the sources were either politician or government employees.

The politicians category made up 12 percent and government employees, 3 percent of Turkish articles. On the other hand, this stood at 7 percent for politicians and 2 percent for government employees in the Norwegian newspapers.

Businessman as a second major occupation category made up 7 percent of the coverage. This was at 7 percent in Turkish and 8 percent in Norwegian dailies as main source. Science and technology, as the third major category, consisted 3 percent of the total coverage and it was source of more than 2 percent in Turkish and similarly more than 3 percent of Norwegian articles. In Chart 5a, which is placed in appendix, these results are shown in a comparative manner.

Gender of byline showed that slightly more than the half of the news items (52 percent) had a byline. The gender of byline varied significantly as can be observed in Chart 6.

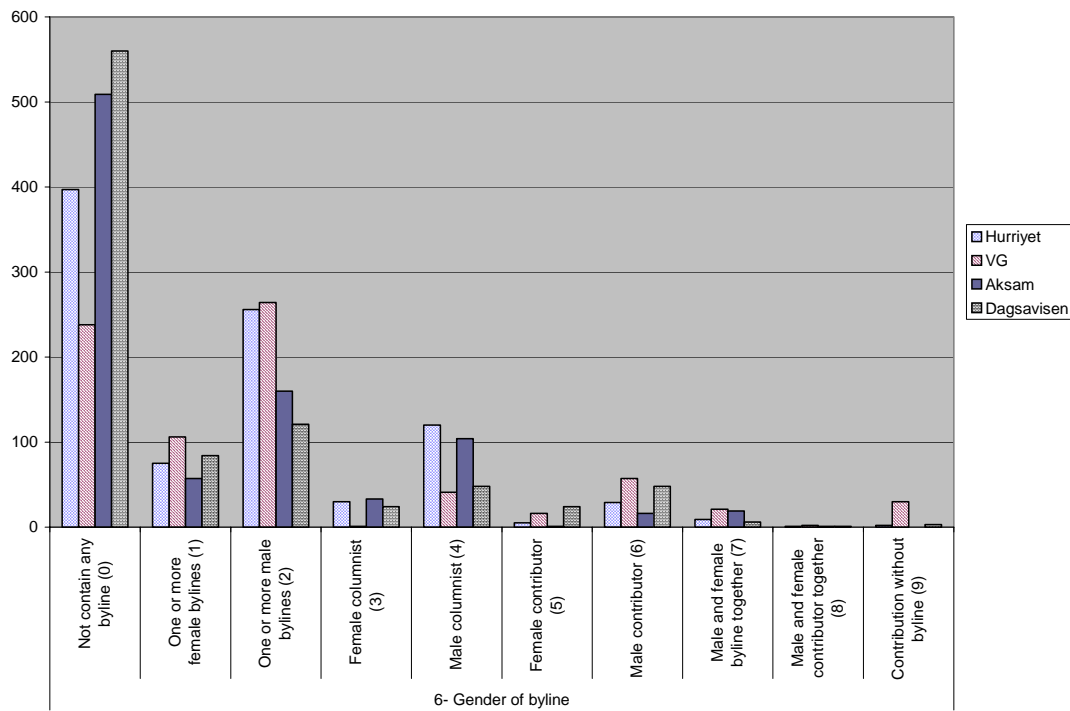


Figure 8: Gender of byline-Chart 6

Nine percent of the articles contained female byline under the analysis; 7 percent of them in Turkish and 11 percent in the Norwegian dailies. Male byline consisted 22 percent of the total coverage. Exactly the same figure, 22 percent, was found in both Turkish and Norwegian dailies. Similarly, the results of analysis indicate that female bylines were half of male bylines and even less than half in Turkish dailies. This means that females were

not represented equally. These results are shown in detailed figures by the Table 13 below.

| 6- Gender of byline | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|-------|
| | Not contain any byline (0) | One or more female bylines (1) | One or more male bylines (2) | Female columnist (3) | Male columnist (4) | Female contributor (5) | Male contributor (6) | Male and female byline together (7) | Male and female contributor together (8) | Contribution without byline (9) | Total |
| Hurriyet | 397 | 75 | 256 | 30 | 120 | 5 | 29 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 924 |
| VG | 238 | 106 | 264 | 1 | 41 | 16 | 57 | 21 | 2 | 30 | 776 |
| Aksam | 509 | 57 | 160 | 33 | 104 | 1 | 16 | 19 | 1 | 0 | 900 |
| Dagsavisen | 560 | 84 | 121 | 24 | 48 | 24 | 48 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 919 |

Table 13: Gender of byline

There is an important finding that the newspapers which have female as chief editors have more female byline in both countries. Five percent more female bylines in Turkish paper (Aksam) and 8 percent more female byline in Norwegian daily (Dagsavisen) were noted. We believe that there is a correlation between female chief editor and the increased representation of female byline in the dailies of the analysis.

Byline of the columns and contributions also vary. There were 632 columns and contributions under this analysis. Male columnist wrote 328 opinion columns which was slightly less than the half of the total amount under the investigation. On the other hand, female columnists wrote just 13 percent of them. In another words, female columnists consisted of 2 percent of bylines in the total coverage. However male columnists were 9 percent. The differentiation was more than four times which was shown in Table 14 below.

| 13- Gender of columnist and contributor | | | | | | | |
|---|--|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|-------|
| | Column written by female columnist (1) | Column written by male columnist (2) | Written by female contributor (3) | Written by male contributor (4) | Written by male and female contributor (5) | Contribution without byline (6) | Total |
| Hurriyet | 31 | 120 | 5 | 30 | 1 | 2 | 189 |
| VG | 1 | 45 | 16 | 53 | 2 | 29 | 146 |
| Aksam | 32 | 102 | 1 | 17 | 1 | 0 | 153 |
| Dagsavisen | 23 | 47 | 22 | 48 | 1 | 3 | 144 |

Table 14: Gender of Columnist and Contributor

In the Norwegian dailies, especially in VG, surprisingly there was just one column, which was written by a female and furthermore almost all the columnists wrote on the topic of art and entertainment. On the contrary, Turkish female columnists wrote mostly on politics which was a certain male area in many years.

We need to also mention that especially VG gave space to the least percent of female columnists in this sample and there wasn't any female columnist who wrote the comments of the day, which was placed on the second page of every issue.

Female columnists were 3 percent in Turkish and 1 percent in Norwegian dailies. That means that female columnists represented poorer in the Norwegian dailies than in the Turkish papers, at least in this research sample. On the other hand, male columnists wrote 12 percent in Turkish and 5 percent in Norwegian dailies. It is interesting to note that more inequality among female and male columnists exists in Norway than in Turkey.

In the Turkish newspapers 64 percent of the columns were written by male and only 18 percent were written by female columnists. Less than half male columnists, who were 31 percent, were found in Norwegian dailies and only 8 percent columnists were female (mostly in Dagsavisen).

Contribution mostly from readers and a few from experts is generally a usual coverage in Norwegian papers, especially in Dagsavisen, but it is not a tradition in Turkish papers. There was not a whole page which was devoted to the letters from the readers like in Norwegian papers. Therefore, contribution percent was really low. One percent of total coverage was devoted to the news items from female contributors and 4 percent to the males under the analysis. With 0.5 percent, female contributors was really poor in the Turkish newspapers, but the 2 percent of female contributors in the Norwegian dailies was not very high either. However, there was four times more male contributors (2 percent) in Turkish and three times more (6 percent) in Norwegian dailies.

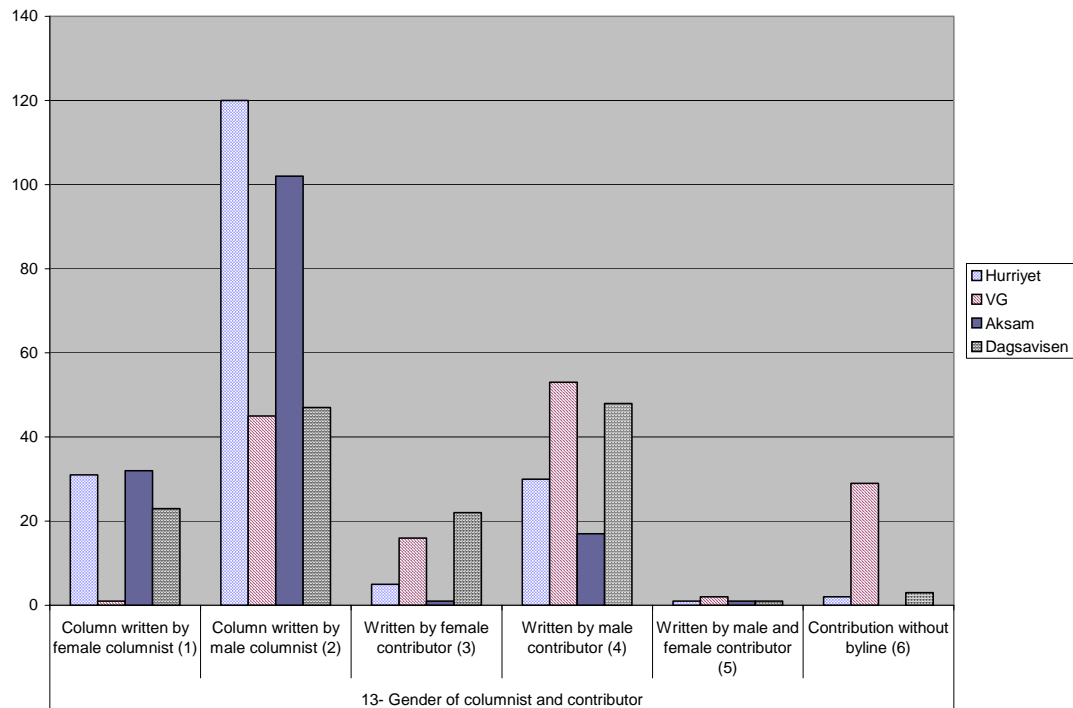


Figure 9: Gender of the columnist and contributor-Chart 13

Again male was mostly dominating the genre of comments and contribution in both countries and it is even more visible in Chart 13 above. The most interesting result is that there was almost no female columnist in VG. Male columnists have similar distribution between the two Norwegian dailies, but there were more male columnist in Hurriyet than Aksam.

The gender of the people, which appeared in the pictures of the news, was also examined. The statistical results can help us to understand the gender balance among the pictures of the news. The news articles, which had identified pictures, consisted 42 percent of the total coverage. Out of the total coverage of the analysis, 8 percent of them had male and female together, 10 percent only female and 23 percent of them had only male pictures. The item figures was shown in Table 15 below.

| 7- Gender of people in the photos of news | | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|---|--------------|
| | article contain no photo or no human photo (0) | Photos contain male and female together (1) | Photos contain one or more female alone (2) | Photos contain one or more male alone (3) | <u>Total</u> |
| Hurriyet | 483 | 98 | 120 | 223 | 924 |
| VG | 450 | 69 | 77 | 180 | 776 |
| Aksam | 515 | 80 | 88 | 217 | 900 |
| Dagsavisen | 595 | 58 | 70 | 196 | 919 |

Table 15: Gender of the people in the photos of the news

In Norwegian dailies, in 7 percent of news photographs male and female were pictured together, 8 percent was only female and 22 percent of them had only male pictures in their news stories.

In Turkish dailies; 9 percent of pictures showed male and female together, 11 percent female pictures, and 24 percent male pictures. As shown, there were similar statistical results in pictures which showed male and female together, which have approximately the same percents like the amount of the female pictures in both dailies. However, similarly in both countries` newspapers, the male pictures were dominantly two times more than female pictures. The result is more clear in Chart 7 which is placed in appendix.

The intention of the next variable is categorizing the news by sex of byline: 29 percent of hard and 19 percent of soft news did not contain any byline. As Table 16 below indicates, 4 percent of hard and 5 percent of soft news had female byline, but on the other hand, 14 percent of hard news and 8 percent of soft news had male byline.

| 10- News categories by sex of byline | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|--|--|--------------|
| | Not news article (0) | Hard news with female byline (1) | Hard news with male byline (2) | Soft news with female byline (3) | Soft news with male byline (4) | Hard news without byline (5) | Soft news without byline (6) | Hard news with female and male byline together (7) | Soft news with female and male byline together (8) | <u>Total</u> |
| Hurriyet | 189 | 45 | 169 | 29 | 85 | 263 | 135 | 8 | 1 | 924 |
| VG | 146 | 34 | 161 | 73 | 105 | 123 | 115 | 9 | 10 | 776 |
| Aksam | 153 | 38 | 91 | 22 | 70 | 316 | 192 | 16 | 2 | 900 |
| Dagsavisen | 148 | 29 | 79 | 55 | 44 | 333 | 226 | 4 | 1 | 919 |

Table 16: News categories by sex of byline

The statistical results of gender distribution by the news categories showed that 4 percent of the hard news in Turkish and 3 percent of Norwegian articles contained female bylines. Similarly, 14 percent of hard news in each daily was covered by male journalists. This is shown in Chart 10 below.

As it would be expected women report on soft issues such as environment, health education, and entertainment more than the hard news such as politics, economy, business. Even though more men than women report in each of hard and soft news categories, women was found more frequently in soft news reporting.

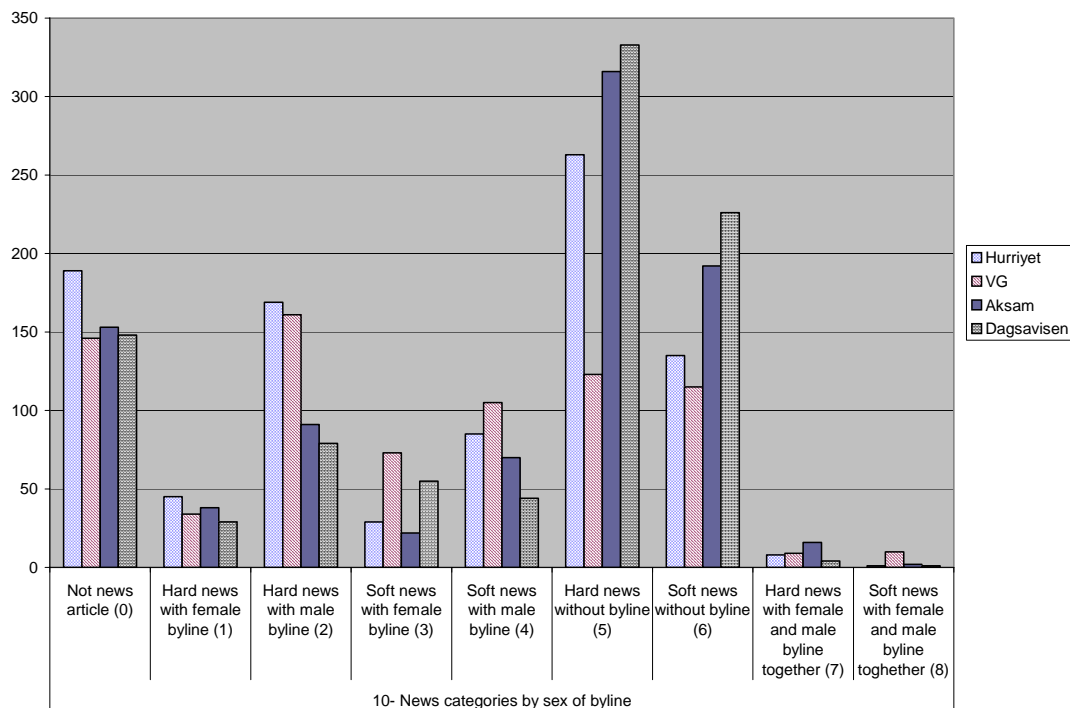


Figure 10: News categories by sex of byline-Chart 10

If we look at the general picture, hard news articles covered by male byline are dominant; three times more than those covered by female bylines. Soft news, which traditionally contains more female byline, was not the issue under this analysis. Statistically, male dominance was also visible on the coverage of soft news.

An interesting result is that just 2 percent of the soft news was covered by female journalists in Turkish papers, but more than three times (7 percent) more female

journalists covered soft news in Norwegian papers. The percentage of coverage for the soft news by male bylines, with 8 percent, is the same in both countries' papers.

Generally, as a usual result of many national and international studies, coverage of soft news by female reporters is higher by percentage than of hard news, and it is the issue of Norwegian papers. On the other hand, it needs to be emphasized that in the analysis of Turkish papers female reporters covered statistically two times more hard news than soft news.

There was another significant result under this investigation which should be explored. It is that although the percentage of hard news with male bylines was higher than that with female bylines, if we compare the papers, there are two times more male bylines in the papers which have male chief editor than in the papers that have female chief editors (Aksam, Dagsavisen).

Although, it was a very small percentage that can affect the final result, there was a tendency that Aksam covered two times more hard news articles which were signed by male and female journalists together. Similar coverage of soft news articles was detected in VG with extremely higher representation of male and female bylines, that signed the news articles together, compared to the other three papers. It was, respectively, five times more in Aksam and ten times more coverage than in Hurriyet and Dagsavisen. It might be a new trend that hard and soft news might be signed by both sexes together in the future.

Scope of news article by sex of byline showed that female journalists signed 6 percent of news items which have national/metropolitan scope. It was the only category in which we found more articles which were signed by female journalists. Therefore, national news category had better balanced gender representation than any other scope of coverage under the analysis.

Male journalists covered two times more; 12 percent, news stories which have national scope. This imbalance was widening with 1 percent female and 4 percent male representation in coverage of foreign news stories, and 1 percent female, but 6 percent male in coverage of total local news. A quarter part of the coverage was devoted to national news without bylines, and 19 percent of the coverage consisted foreign news that

did not contain any bylines. The comparison of the dailies is more visible in Chart 12 in appendix.

| 12- Scope of news article by sex of byline | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total |
|--|---|---|--|-------------------------------|--|--|---|----------------------------------|---|--|--|--|-----|-------|
| Not news article (0) | Local news written by female reporter (1) | Local news written by male reporter (2) | Local news written by female and male reporters together (4) | Local news without byline (4) | National news written by female reporter (5) | National news written by male reporter (6) | National news written by female and male reporters together (8) | National news without byline (8) | Foreign/international news written by female reporter (9) | Foreign/international news written by male reporter (10) | Foreign/international news written by female and male reporters (12) | Foreign/international news without byline (12) | | |
| Hurriyet | 189 | 14 | 84 | 0 | 52 | 55 | 119 | 8 | 223 | 6 | 49 | 1 | 124 | 924 |
| VG | 146 | 18 | 61 | 2 | 41 | 68 | 133 | 18 | 101 | 24 | 71 | 1 | 92 | 776 |
| Aksam | 153 | 10 | 59 | 3 | 38 | 45 | 90 | 18 | 272 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 205 | 900 |
| Dagsavisen | 148 | 4 | 7 | 0 | 58 | 71 | 88 | 5 | 278 | 7 | 26 | 0 | 227 | 919 |

Table 17: Scope of the news articles by sex of byline

According to the Table17, the news stories which had national scope were the only news category which had more female reporters than the other local or foreign news categories, and the proportion of female bylines was not significantly different between the two countries` dailies. The comparison of gender of the bylines between Norwegian and Turkish dailies` showed that there were only 3 percent more female coverage in Norwegian dailies under the category of national news. There were 5 percent female bylines in national news coverage of Turkish dailies, while in Norwegian newspapers national news with female bylines accounted for 8 percent. On the other hand, national news with male byline in Norwegian press was 13 percent, more than the Turkish coverage which was 11 percent.

Local news was covered with more news in Turkish dailies than Norwegian press. Eight percent of Turkish local news articles and 4 percent of Norwegian articles were signed by male reporters. There were two times more local news with male bylines in Turkish dailies. On the other hand, just 1 percent of local news was covered by female reporters both in Turkey and Norway. Generally, women journalists were less present in rural areas of coverage but this unequal coverage gap is much bigger in Turkey. In the analysis Dagsavisen has generally less local coverage than VG.

Interestingly, there was 10 percent more female coverage of national news in Hurriyet than Aksam, but this difference is smaller between Dagsavisen and VG. In the coverage of national news the male journalists were more visible. There were two percent more male reporters in the newspapers, which have male editors in both countries. On the contrary, less in the papers which have female editors.

Secondary character in the articles is an important reflector in the analysis in order to get more information on the gender balance. The term secondary character refers to all the names which are referred to or quoted besides the main character in the news story. In total, 1477 articles, which means less than half of the total articles under the analysis has a secondary character. The dispersion of the news items is shown in Table 18 below.

| 14- Gender of secondary character and/or source in the story | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|--------------|
| | Female as secondary character and/or source (1) | Male as secondary character and/or source (2) | Both male and female as secondary character and/or source (3) | <u>Total</u> |
| Hurriyet | 41 | 311 | 70 | 422 |
| VG | 52 | 189 | 81 | 322 |
| Aksam | 38 | 301 | 77 | 416 |
| Dagsavisen | 34 | 203 | 80 | 317 |

Table 18: Gender of the secondary character and/or source in the story

According to Table 14 above, 11 percent of secondary character referred to female, 68 percent to male, and 20 percent referred to both male and female in the research sample. This total male dominance is not changing, only slightly increasing or decreasing in by a small percentage.

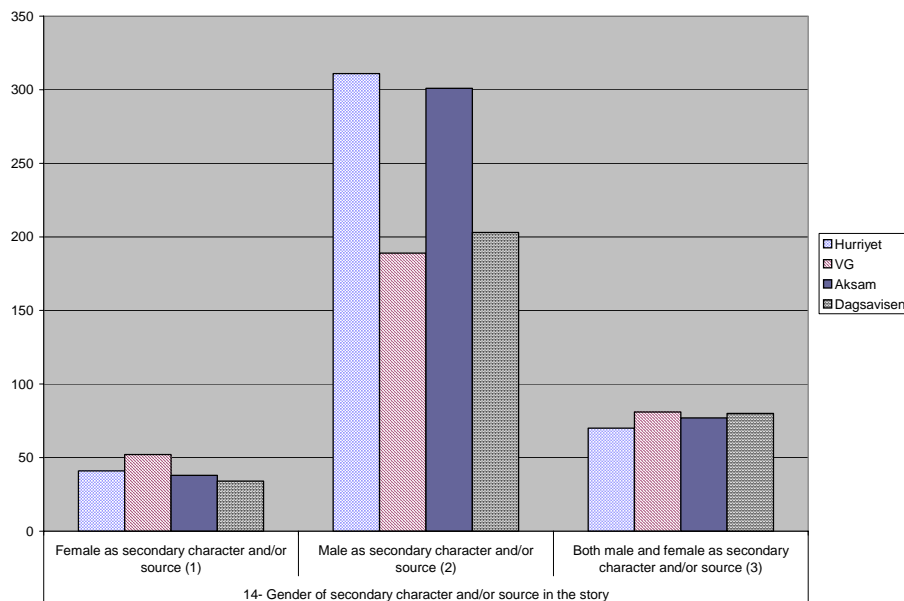


Figure 11: Gender of the secondary character and/or source in the story-Chart 14

As it is indicated in Chart 14 above, 10 percent of the Turkish articles referred to females as a secondary character, on the other hand, 73 percent of them to the male. Similarly, 13 percent of the Norwegian articles referred to female as secondary character, but 61 percent to the male. 17 percent of the articles referred to both sexes as secondary character in Turkish dailies, but it reached to 25 percent in Norwegian dailies. The results of this variable indicated again the male dominance in the newspapers.

The gender of byline on the front page news of the dailies consisted 291 news items. As a traditional practice, in Turkish dailies some of the front page news were not signed by any reporter, therefore, 27 percent of the coverage under the analysis did not contain any byline. The detailed figures are shown in Table 19 below.

| | 18- Gender of byline on the first page of the newspapers | | | | | | Total |
|------------|--|--------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|-------|
| | Not contain any byline (0) | One or more female bylines (1) | One or more male bylines (2) | Female columnist (3) | Male columnist (4) | Female and male byline together (5) | |
| Hurriyet | 33 | 10 | 42 | 1 | 20 | 5 | 111 |
| VG | 0 | 2 | 27 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 35 |
| Aksam | 45 | 7 | 27 | 3 | 7 | 7 | 96 |
| Dagsavisen | 0 | 21 | 23 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 49 |

Table 19: Gender of the byline on the first page of newspapers

Male journalists signed 41 percent of the front page news which was nearly half of the total front page news items. On the other hand, just 13 percent of the coverage contained female byline. 7 percent of the articles were signed by both male and female bylines together on the front pages.

Columns, which mostly appeared on the front pages of Turkish dailies, were written by 10 percent by male, but only 1 percent by female columnists in the research sample. The analysis of each daily indicates that in Dagsavisen there was the biggest amount of female bylines. It was ten times more than VG, two times more than Hurriyet and three times more than Aksam. 42 percent of the front page news item which were signed by female journalists were found in Dagsavisen. VG has the smallest coverage of female byline among the front-page news under the analysis.

Front-page articles, which have male bylines, are far more in Hurriyet and consisted of 35 percent of the male bylines among the four dailies. If we compare with the other three dailies, less male byline was detected in Dagsavisen with 19 percent which we can observe in Chart 18 below.

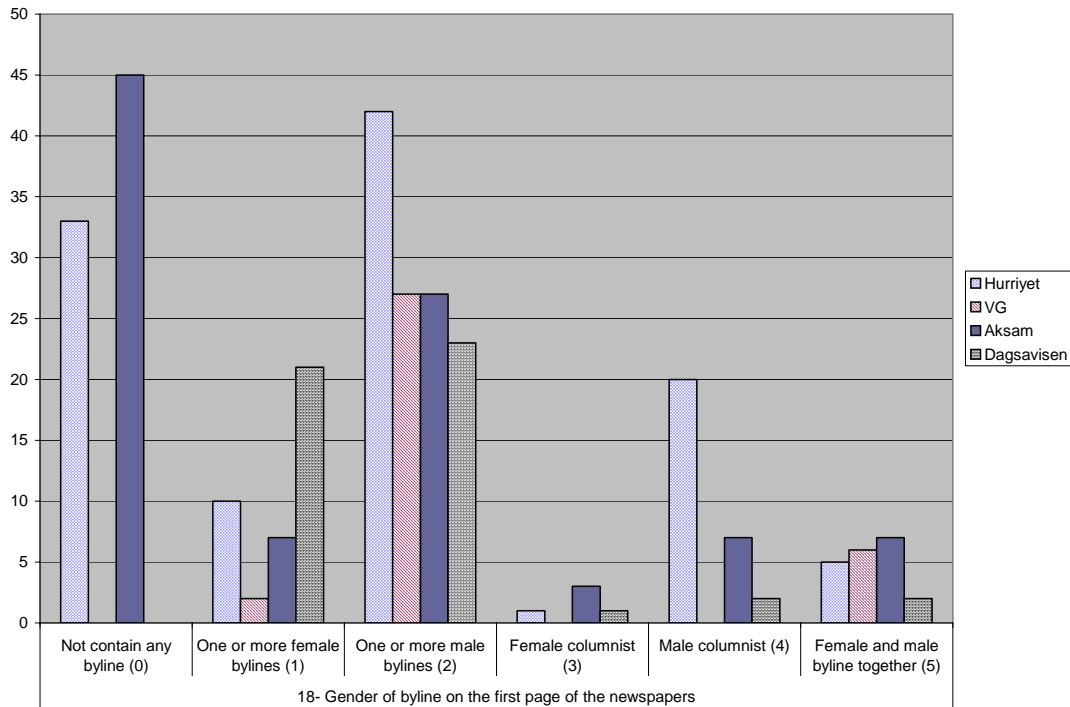


Figure 12: Gender of byline on the first page of the newspapers-Chart 18

The comparison between dailies which have female and male chief editors also indicate some interesting results: there were twice as many female bylines (were two times more) in the dailies which have female chief editors than in those with male editors. On the other hand, there were 16 percent less male bylines in these dailies.

Columns, which appeared in the front page, were 3 times more in Aksam than Hurriyet and Dagsavisen, but there wasn't any female columnist in the front coverage of VG. It means that female columnist had better coverage in Aksam.

Apparently the coverage of female columnists, which appeared on the first page, was four times more in Turkish dailies than Norwegian papers. But this result of course will not

change the huge difference in representation of 10 percent male columnists against only 1 percent female columnists in the total coverage of front-page analysis.

News coverage with both sexes accounted for nearly the same amount of articles for the three dailies, but was less favorable in Dagsavisen and more favorable in Aksam.

In a nutshell, under the gender aspect of the analysis, males were represented statistically far more than female and female could not outnumber men in any category both in the Turkish and Norwegian research sample.

4.3.3 Women Related News Subjects

This sub-variable of the analysis examines a specific group of news items. The attention was to *the stories which had female as central focus* of the story either as an individual issues or as a general women issues. Across the whole study 418 news items had female as a main character (less than 12 percent of the total coverage) and the most of news items were individual or sensational issues. So while these stories - just 12 of the total - did give some space to women in the news, that space was not necessarily one that enhanced either the individual woman concerned or the interests of the women overall.

As Table 20 indicates that the first major topic under this category was sensational news with 24 percent of new items which means the largest number of items (nearly a quarter of the news stories) featured women as central focus of the story in the news which has sensational story. Women and power news received 22 percent of coverage and violence related topics got 12 percent of the total coverage.

| | 15- Theme of the stories which have women as their central focus | | | | | | | | | | Total |
|------------|--|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|---|-----------------------------|----------------|---|------------------------|-------------------|-------|
| | Violence (1) | Women's health (2) | Women's legal rights (3) | Women and work (4) | Women and power (politics, business, education) (5) | Changing roles of women (6) | Child care (7) | Portrayal of women (in TV, film, newspapers, magazines) (8) | Sensational issues (9) | Other issues (10) | |
| Hurriyet | 15 | 14 | 5 | 3 | 21 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 38 | 20 | 125 |
| VG | 14 | 4 | 1 | 7 | 21 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 23 | 14 | 93 |
| Aksam | 12 | 4 | 13 | 2 | 19 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 35 | 12 | 103 |
| Dagsavisen | 12 | 11 | 7 | 4 | 31 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 8 | 13 | 97 |

Table 20: Theme of the stories which have women as their central focus

The legal rights of women which made up 6 percent of topics, appeared three times more in dailies which have female chief editors. Violence had nearly the same percent of coverage because of their tendency to sensationalize. Traditional coverage of female issues, which is childcare, had only 1 percent coverage - the least percentage among the other categories.

As it was illustrated in Chart 15 that a few news articles highlighted the more serious achievements of women, and a sprinkling actually addressed questions of women’s rights or status in the political or social world.

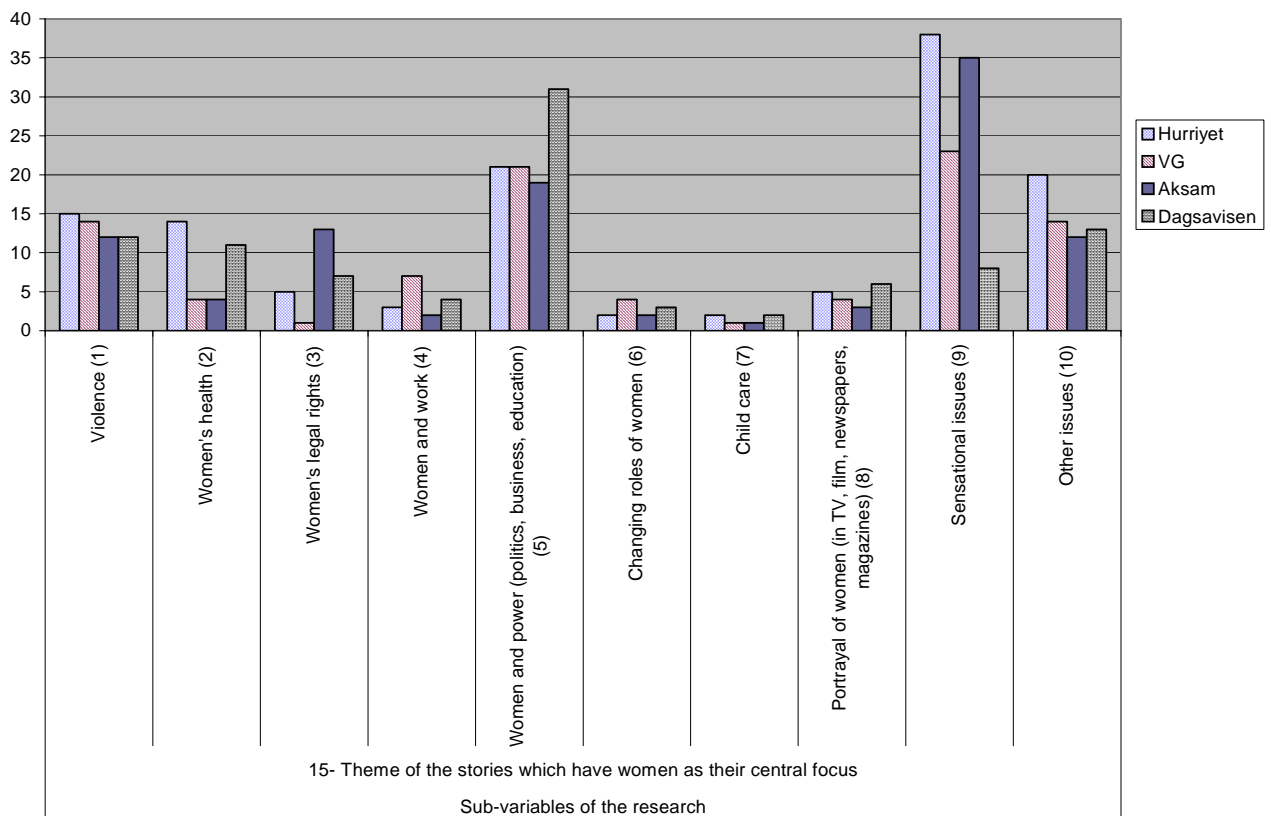


Figure 13: Theme of the stories which have women as their central focus-Chart 15

The general picture that emerges from the news analyses of dailies confirms that – even when women were the central focus of news – their allotted space may be circumscribed in a variety of ways.

The portrayal of women, which have central focus of the stories, amounted again to 418 news items. A big percentage of them, which was 39 percent, portrayed women in a neutral way. On the other hand, nearly the same percentage of articles, 37 percent, portrayed women negatively, and only 22 percent of the articles, had positive attributions about women. The statistical results under the analysis show that women were mostly focused negatively or neutral in the articles.

Investigation of the dispersion of female portrayal in both countries explores that 38 percent of the articles under this category had negative portrayal of women in Turkish dailies. The results are more or less the same in Norwegian dailies, with 37 percent. Regarding positive portrayal, it was 1 percent higher in Turkish dailies with 23 percent. Neutral portrayal of women was high in both countries, 65 percent in Turkey and 40 percent in Norwegian dailies. The item figures was shown in Table 21.

| 16- Portrayal of woman in the news item | | | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| | Woman portrayed negative (1) | Woman portrayed positive (2) | Woman portrayed neutral (3) | <u>Total</u> |
| Hurriyet | 50 | 30 | 45 | 125 |
| VG | 32 | 19 | 42 | 93 |
| Aksam | 37 | 22 | 44 | 103 |
| Dagsavisen | 39 | 24 | 34 | 97 |

Table 21: Portrayal of woman in the news item

In total, 9 percent more articles were focused on women in Turkish press than in the Norwegian dailies and furthermore 5 percent more positive or neutral portrayal was found in Turkish dailies, than the Norwegian press. The results regarding the portrayal of women was not varied among the newspapers with male and female as chief editor, but Hurriyet had more negative and positive portrayal than the other three papers in the analysis. These results can also be observed in Chart 16 in appendix.

4.4 Comparison of Research Findings with the Cultural Context of Countries

It is not possible in this report to make any comparison between content and reader attitudes. While the sample of four titles cannot be regarded as a random representative sample of all such newspapers, the group does contain newspapers varying quite widely in size, circulation, format, pattern of ownership and control and geographical location. These four are all fair-sized papers with large amounts of news and feature space and a good deal of diversity within them.

The newspapers, which were examined, are not noticeably uniform in size, format and basic composition. The Norwegian dailies of the investigation have tabloid format. Traditionally, Turkish papers, nearly without exception, prefer broadsheet appearance. Although they are not similar in appearance and format, findings of the analysis allow us to identify some differences and similarities between Norwegian and Turkish print media.

Overall, in general and editorial structure, the papers of the analysis are rather similar. News space is higher in research sample. The relative homogeneity extends to most aspects of topic dispersion, news and feature content profiles. It is not easy to extract generalizations, but some tendencies are apparent. This is particularly true of the balance and space allocation to the news genre and diversified topic areas. For example when we calculated news interviews and news articles in all four newspapers, we reached half of the total research items. This means that news articles were the single most frequent genre in similar all four dailies.

Newspapers were also remarkably similar in the proportion of items devoted to art and entertainment topics. Political matters by it self comprised the second most frequent topic of content and economic news was the third favorable topic in the sample studied.

In particular, items dealing with actions by the Turkish Government were the most likely to be given extensive front page placing and also received the most of the space allocation and the war in Iraq increased the political coverage more than usual at that period. Surprisingly, such items were not ranked very low proportion in the Norwegian

dailies. Government and political news were quite many in the research sample because there was a local election and budget discussions in Norway within research period.

The main difference between Norwegian and Turkish dailies lies in the tendency for the Norwegian papers to have a high proportion of big news items, despite the smaller numbers involved, which is a general characteristic of popular papers.

In the broad category of political, social and economic news, it is the economic news category which attracts far more attention in Turkish dailies and respectively a quarter of the research item were placed in economic section of the dailies. This is consistent with the attention to financial news. It seems that Turkish daily press is likely to give relatively more space to political and economic news than the Norwegian print media. For Norwegian papers, the single most important component is art and entertainment topic, which includes book reviews and theatre and film criticism. This is significantly different from the Turkish dailies' sensational level of art and entertainment coverage.

In sum the category of 'political, social, economic' features do differentiate rather little between them.

Another similarity, which needs to be mentioned, is that there was a noticeably higher allocation of space to national/metropolitan news rather than to local news in the research sample as a traditional characteristic of general interest papers.

Furthermore, a detailed comparison between papers confirmed the finding that newspapers were in agreement on basic values. For example, they devoted most of their spaces to the news articles, frequently covering art and entertainment news, etc.

No obvious explanations for these general similarities between Norwegian and Turkish papers suggests itself, although the overall difference in amount of coverage between the newspapers is bound to have consequences, given the agreement on basic news values.

The gap between 'Popular' and 'Quality' is generally more marked than is the case with National daily newspapers, particularly in respect to attention to political, social and economic news. It is an interesting finding that despite the huge differences between the two countries, we did not find a big gap between Turkish and Norwegian dailies with comparison of their general editorial qualities.

The second part of our analysis, which was gender balance of the coverage, allowed us to identify several aspects of the investigation. “News is not simply mostly...about and by men”, says John Hartly and he adds, “it is overwhelmingly seen through men”²⁰⁵ This quantitative content analysis also concluded that printed news media of Norwegian and Turkish newspapers reported about men, because male as main character was three times more frequent than the female in the stories. The news was signed two times more by male reporters than by females. Therefore, news were mostly represented by men. The news were even through men: the sample of the analysis contained male news sources more than ten times more frequently than the female sources in Turkish dailies, but the gap was not that much extreme in Norwegian newspapers; males were represented more than three times as news source than females. So the result was imbalanced: women are found so infrequently in newspaper stories.

Furthermore, there was no gender balance in the photographs of the news; male pictures appeared three times more in Norwegian, and two times more in Turkish dailies. Male and female were not represented equally even as secondary characters in the news stories. Females were referred to more than four times less than male in Norwegian newspapers and six times less in Turkish dailies.

When women were included as news sources, they tended to be referred to more than quoted in the coverage of the news. So, that means they speak less frequently, but they are also passive in news reporting; being referred, rather than quoted.

The findings of the content analysis support the conclusion that women continue to have minimal role in shaping our news media as main characters in the news stories, as reporters, and as experts within news coverage in both Norwegian and Turkish print media.

Why? Why we are telling a similar story about two incredibly different societies?

Why is there still a huge gap and imbalance in the gender representation of the news media? Why didn't we find a 50:50 balance in Norway where the male and female reached a pretty long way in gender equality at work, education, in society? Why is the

²⁰⁵ Hartley, John (1982) *Understanding News*, London, Methuen, p.146.

media still a male bastion in Norway, regardless of difference in years of experience, high education level and other socio-economic factors?

With these questions in the mind we try to explain and generalize the findings of the analysis in the next chapter.

5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

The theories generally agree that although media are merely a mirror to the world, they are part of the society they serve. They are potential agents of change and also captives of their own assumptions. As agents of social change, media are supposed to pass on our cultural heritage; its values, mindsets, norms and attitudes, to the next generation.

Newspapers interact with their environment, and they are themselves affected by the very changes in the social world that they claim to record. Although newspaper presentations are not, and can never be, synonymous with everyday reality, they report a tiny part from the daily reality of events and institutions.

The quantitative content analysis of this study showed that there is a kind of intended or unintended bias at least an imbalance of gender representation in Norwegian and Turkish print media. Now we shall try to evaluate findings of the analysis and interpret the possible causes and solutions.

5.2 Summary of Major Research Issues

In the previous chapter, we offered a brief report of several key findings taken from a quantitative content analysis of 3519 news accounts drawn from two Norwegian and two Turkish national dailies as they appeared between 7 July and 21 November 2003. Each of the account was coded to record 18 different variables of the research.

News values intertwine with political and economic priorities to portray a particular view of what is important and whose opinion matters. For example in Turkey one of the monitored day coincided with bomb attack in Istanbul, so the news focused on terrorism. In a sense, this was unusual because the main stories in most of the days tend to be more political. In Norwegian media, budget discussions and local elections of the political

arena had a great deal of attention therefore we found more economic and politics related news articles than usual. Despite this specific day-to day coverage we have been able to compare some general findings of the analysis.

One of the major findings of this monitoring project is that general/editorial qualities of the dailies under the investigation have certain differences, but with a wider perspective, they did not vary significantly. Furthermore, the gender related findings showed that news has a masculine character in both countries. Women are the invisible 'other half' of the news coverage.

These are the general similarities between the dailies:

- The distribution of the topic categories was remarkably similar in four dailies; the most extensive coverage was the proportion of items devoted to art and entertainment topics, politics was the second and economics news was the third category, which received the frequent coverage.
- Although there were small percentage differences, generally, the journalistic genre of news had the widest space in four dailies.
- There was noticeably higher allocation of space to national/metropolitan news rather than to local news in dailies under the analysis as traditional characteristic of general interest papers.
- News has masculine character in both countries. In the choice of news sources, in the main character of the news and in the gender of the reporter, female proportion was very low. Although the coverage was more balanced in the Norwegian dailies than in the Turkish newspapers, the gender face of the news do not reflect the diversity and balance which these countries achieved in their socio-economic life.

Regarding the topics of news, the coverage of politics and government category is wider in Turkey than in the Norwegian coverage. Even the proportion of news genre, which we called government statements, had two times more frequent coverage in the Turkish dailies. This political and governmental coverage may partly explain the relatively small

percentage of female news subjects in Turkey (3 percentage female versus 31 percentage male).

The masculine character of the news is also recognized in the choice of sources who are overwhelmingly male, despite the growing number of female politicians, public officials, and other professions. The choice of sources and spokespersons is seen as reflecting the personal networks of male journalists rather than being a representation of actual gender divisions among sources.²⁰⁶

Female news sources made up just 5 percent of the total articles under the study, which is six times less than male news source. In Norwegian dailies male news sources were detected three times more than female. This gap was widening in Turkish dailies and females were more than ten times less news sources than males. Our findings obviously support Van Zoonen's claim that news sources is not reflected with its natural diversity. Instead, male sources were mostly preferred in the news of both country dailies.

As main characters of the news, again females were the minority. 35 percent of the news stories had male as main character. However, women consisted only 10 percent of the main character in the news stories of the four dailies.

Similarly, female bylines accounted for half of male bylines and even less than half in Turkish dailies which means that females are not represented equally, but, more than two times less frequently than male bylines in the results of this analysis. Even under the category of secondary characters, female were referred or quoted six times less than male.

In summary, this total male dominance was not changing in all gender related categories of the research. According to the variable, just a small percent increase or decrease in both country results was shown. Even in the accompanying photographs of the news, women were invisible. We found three male pictures versus one female picture in Norwegian dailies and two male versus one female picture in the news of Turkish dailies.

In the Turkish news coverage Men made the news overwhelmingly as politicians and bureaucrats. Women's presence was, however, strongly felt in another news category. Arts, entertainment and celebrity news, which was the second most frequent topic

²⁰⁶ Zoonen, Liesbet van (1998) 'One of the Girls: The Changing Gender of Journalism' in Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston and Stuart Allan (eds.) *News, Gender and Power*, London, Routledge, p.35.

category after the politics, was a notable feature of news agenda in both Turkey and Norway; accounting for 10 percent in Turkey and 17 percent in Norway.

The two of the newspapers, namely Aksam and Dagavisen, which have women chief editors at the time of analysis, had more female bylines in both countries. It was found that there were 5 percent more female bylines in Aksam and 8 percent more female bylines in Dagsavisen. There was two times more male bylines in the papers which have male chief editors than in the papers which have female chief editors. It might be a coincidence of the selected research sample but according to these findings of the analysis, more gender sensitive reporting was detected as a general tendency of these papers, which have female chief editors.

Female columnists wrote 3 percent of the opinion pieces in Turkish and only 1 percent in Norwegian dailies. This means that female columnists are represented poorer in the Norwegian dailies than in the Turkish papers, at least in this research sample. On the other hand, male columnists wrote 12 percent of the opinion pieces in the Turkish and 5 percent in the Norwegian dailies. It was especially VG that gave the smallest percentage of space to female columnists in this analysis: just one column was written by a female columnist. It is interesting to note that female columnists wrote fewer opinion pieces in Norwegian dailies than the Turkish papers. So, there was more inequality among female and male columnists in Norway than in Turkey.

Another difference was that female columnists mostly wrote about politics in the Turkish dailies, while culture/art/entertainment topic was the common theme in all of the Norwegian female opinion pieces. Instead of columns, contributions from experts and politicians had an extensive coverage in Dagsavisen. The percentage of female contributors was really low in Turkish papers, with 1 percent, but better in Norwegian dailies with 13 percent. Again males were mostly dominating the genre of comments and contribution in both countries. The most significant result was of almost no female columnists in VG.

Looking back, it seems as if the early and mid-1980s produces a wave of research about female newspaper and television journalists throughout the world. And whether the research come from Norway, the Netherlands and Germany, or from the USA, India or Senegal, basically a: daily journalism, whether it is print or broadcasting, is dominated by men; the higher up the hierarchy or

the more prestigious a particular medium or section is, less likely it is to find women; women tend to work in areas of journalism that can be considered an extension of their domestic responsibilities and their socially assigned qualities of care nurturing and humanity; regardless of difference in years of experience, education level and other socio-economic factors, women are paid less for the same work.²⁰⁷

The findings of the analysis supported van Zoonen's argument that Norwegian and Turkish dailies are other male bastions of the social organizations. The hard news articles covered by male bylines were found dominant three times more frequently than female bylines. And soft news, which traditionally contains more female bylines, was not the issue under this analysis. Statistically, male dominance was also visible on the coverage of soft news.

Many international researches emphasize that in percentage, the coverage of soft news by female reporters is higher than hard news. The findings of the analysis in Norwegian dailies supported this general claim because 2 percent of soft news were covered by female journalists in the Turkish, but more than three times (7 percent) more female journalists covered soft news in the Norwegian papers. The result of the analysis explored that traditional female coverage of soft news was still a strong attitude in Norwegian newspapers.

Furthermore, it needs to be emphasized that in the Turkish papers under the analysis, female reporters covered statistically two times more hard news than soft news. So, it is a noteworthy development that there has been a remarkable increase in the number of media women who have been able to make a mark in the 'hard' news areas of politics and economics which until recently were all-male bastions in Turkish news media.

The gender of front-page reporters showed that female bylines were two times more in the front page of dailies, which have female chief editors; on the other hand, male bylines were 16 percent less in these dailies. Columnists, which appeared in the front page, were 3 times more in Aksam than Hurriyet and Dagsavisen, but there wasn't any female columnist in the front coverage of VG. It means that more female columnists wrote in Aksam than other three newspapers.

²⁰⁷ Zoonen, Liesbet van (1998), p.33-4.

Furthermore, 418 news items were focused on women under this research sample and most of them were individual or sensational issues with the female as a main character. The first major theme of the women specific news was celebrity topic with 24 percent of coverage, women and power news with 22 percent of news item and violence related topics with 12 percent of the total coverage.

We need to mention that there were 9 percent more women specific news articles in Turkish press in the analysis and 5 percent more positive or neutral portrayal found in Turkish dailies, than the Norwegian press.

In a nutshell, under the gender aspect of the analysis one consistent finding is clear: male are represented statistically far more than female and females could not outnumber men in any category both in the Turkish and Norwegian dailies.

5.3 Generalization of the Research Findings

As we explained in Chapter One, the first hypothesis of this study is that there are enormous differences of the general/editorial features of Norwegian and Turkish dailies, but the findings of this analysis falsified this hypothesis and explored that all four dailies which were investigated are general interest papers and none of them departs very sharply from each other. Although we attempted to find patterns of the ‘Quality-Popular’ distinction within dailies, the evidence of the variables did not support this view. It is striking for instance, that almost all titles gave rather similar space and attention to the art/entertainment, political, social and economic news and the amount of hard and soft news were similar generally.

The second hypothesis is partly proved false with the results of imbalanced gender representation in Norwegian written press. Although there was relatively more fair and balanced gender representation in Norwegian media than the Turkish dailies, it is still far from a real diversity and equality, which this country achieved in many years.

We expected to find huge disparity about the gender representation in the news coverage of two countries as divergent as Norway and Turkey. Furthermore, we expected a balanced gender representation in the news of Norwegian dailies. Regarding Norway, a

western industrialized country, which considers itself to be among the most gender equal countries in the world, findings of this analysis concluded that the images in the Norwegian news media reflect tendencies far from equal representation of the gender.

As expected, in the research sample found lower gender equality in the news coverage of the Turkish print media than in the Norwegian counterparts. In Turkey, as a developing Muslim country, women are still between liberalization movements, traditional institutions and patriarchal norms of society. The masculine face of the news is still the general characteristic of the Turkish print media. The imbalance of the gender representation is more serious problem in Turkey as we expected.

The general impression, given by the gender patterns in the Norwegian and Turkish news on the monitoring issues, is that women hold little authority and publicly acknowledged expertise. Naturally, social reality helps to determine women's overall representation. For example, in Turkey women's share of parliamentary seats is really low at 4 percent of 550 parliaments. So females, who were 3 percent of news sources, were represented less than expected but this might be explained by women's weak representation in all levels of social life. Nevertheless this explanation is not helping to evaluate the low percentage of women representation in the Norwegian dailies, either as main characters (11 percent female versus 31 percent male main character) or experts of the stories which we called 'news source' (8 percent female versus 26 percent male news source).

As pointed out in Chapter Three, Norway is the pioneer country on equal rights and opportunities for women and men in all areas of society, which has been implemented both in law and in practice. The society succeeded in the empowerment of women, which is the key to achieving equality. For example, with the basic figures, women constitute nearly 47 percent of labour force²⁰⁸ and 36 percent²⁰⁹ of seats of Norwegian parliament. Also the total number of female students enrolled at Norwegian colleges and universities is slightly below 60 percent (2001).²¹⁰ It is nearly impossible to evaluate the imbalance of

²⁰⁸ *Statistics Norway 2003*, Labour force surveys, Table 235, Persons in the labour force, by sex, marital status and age, annual average, 2002, Statistical Yearbook of Norway, 122nd issue, p.211.

²⁰⁹ United Nations (2000), chart 6-8, p.165.

²¹⁰ *The Gender Equality Center*, Equality Barometer for 2001.

the female representation in the Norwegian media when we look at this socio-economic and cultural context of the country.

The findings of the existence of strong gender segmentation in newspaper content is at odds with the increasingly significant representation of women as reporters* and the substantial number of women who consisted a large proportion of graduates in media field; respectively 58 percent in Norway, 46 percent in Turkey²¹¹. The problem might be that there are too few females in the decision-making bodies of these countries` media institutions. So in spite of their significant representation as female journalists, the statistical imbalance of the analysis shows that women are neither affluent and influential nor placed in positions of authority and dominance in the media organizations.

Furthermore another reasonable explanation to the problem might be that gender equality ideology has become a kind of myth that the Norwegian society perceived that they have actually achieved gender equality. Nevertheless, according to the findings of the analysis, in the media the gender perspective has not yet been properly integrated into the process of newsgathering.

Another general result, in stories where women are a central focus, has two different types; one that focuses on women and where women already are well represented such as celebrity stories or sensational events, and the other is a general topics, such as politics or economy, where women made only occasional appearances in both countries` news. This finding was strongly detected in the news of Turkish dailies.

As American media analyst Harvey N. Molotch explains, “Women are not in the control of society`s institutions. Traditional dependence by the media for spokesmen (literally) from the top of such institutions means that the sexism which blocks women`s mobility in other realms accumulates to block women from even knowing that they exist as a public phenomenon.”²¹² Our analysis also supports the statement that in most cases,

* According to the Statistics Norway female constitute 41 percent of media practitioners in Norway and again according to the Statistics of Ministry of Labour and Social Security almost 20 percent of females are working in Turkish media field. But we have to also aware of the reality that most of the Turkish media organizations are recruiting journalists under different type of contracts, probably more women are working in the media sector.

²¹¹ United Nations (2000), chart 4-13, p.97.

²¹² Molotch, Harvey L.(1978)‘The News of Women and the Work of Men’ in Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels and James Benet (eds.) *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media*, New York, Oxford University Press, p.183.

media prefer persons who hold positions of power, prominent figures or influential persons. This explanation is especially useful for the Turkish news coverage, which was overwhelmingly dependent on authoritative male sources such as politicians, bureaucrats or spokesperson. In a broad perspective the invisibility and inaudibility of women in society is thus further perpetuated and enhanced by the media in Turkey. However in Norway, women are visible nearly in all aspects of the life. It is strange that the media is insisting to keep women invisible in this most gender sensitive country.

Furthermore this research also confirms our sub-hypothesis that there is more gender balance in the newspapers, which have female chief editors (5 percent more female bylines in Aksam and 8 percent more female bylines in Dagsavisen) than the newspapers which have male chief editors (Hurriyet- VG).

In summary, our general finding is that the sex factor in the representation of news is not balanced in both countries` dailies. This study is a kind of proof that many of the gendered inequalities are still with us in the 2000s. The fair and balanced representation of every major group in the society is newspapers obligation to operate in the public interest. The gender imbalance of the content is taken to indicate newspaper`s `deficiency` as an effective socializing agency in both countries of this study.

5.4 Solutions of the Problem

The news content of the dailies has been regarded as reliable evidence of the culture and society in which it is produced. Therefore, the point of departure in this study was news of the selected media.

In Hall`s view, news itself are responsible for creating over time the `consensus` knowledge by which newsworthiness is recognized by news people and accepted by the public. He writes “The ideological concepts embodied in photos and texts in a newspaper do not produce new knowledge about the world. They produce recognition of the world as we have already learnt to appropriate it.”²¹³

²¹³ Hall, Stuart (1973), p. 176-90.

The result of this content analysis illustrates a systematic bias in the coverage, which favor men against women as source of the news in Norwegian and Turkish media. Newspapers create these biases not just with choices of proportionality of more male sources, but also with imbalanced gender representation of the main characters in their news stories, accompanying photographs of the news and gender of the reporters.

Furthermore findings of the analysis showed that female journalists replicate the pattern of sex-bound division of labor in the hierarchy of newspaper organization. Women were found working with ‘soft’ news in Norwegian and Turkish dailies, while men were dealing with economic and political news and ‘tough’ aspects of life. However there is a tendency to change the existing situation with three times more hard news, which were written by female journalists in Turkish dailies than in the Norwegian newspapers. Nevertheless, it is still impossible to talk about gender equal representation in the coverage of news, where in all categories male representation significantly outnumbers female.

When the news pages of national newspapers contain at least three times less female bylines, references and photos, how can we interpret these intended or unintended messages of unequal gender representation? According to Bridge when the major stories was carried significantly less female references and images, “the message is a misleading and erroneous one: females are saying and doing nothing of importance, nothing worth reporting. Their intellect, perspective, and accomplishments are devalued by under representation and invisibility in the news”. She concludes that the way the American media report the news denigrates a major segment of the population.²¹⁴ Our analysis of Norwegian and Turkish news coverage also confirms the masculine face of the news.

According to the Norwegian feminist theorist Hernes, the patriarchy as a structural dominance consists of a variety of instituted arrangements.²¹⁵ Similarly, Holter draws attention to the male domination, which is changing power of the forms in society. She gives media as an example of strong male domination area within content, production, and administration.²¹⁶

²¹⁴ Bridge, M. Junior (1995), p.24.

²¹⁵ Hernes, Helga Maria (1987), p.20.

Is the invisibility of females in the media an intended oppression of male, a structural dominance, as many feminist theories argue, or a system with unintended consequences? We think both of them. As we discussed in Chapter Two, news also depends of the news organization, journalistic values and constraints. Therefore gender imbalance of the news might be not solely intended as a purpose, but also consequences of organizational values and journalistic practices of media. Nevertheless invisibility of women in media results unintended or half-intended male dominance and again result in powerlessness in everyday life. In another words, the existing gender imbalance in the media help women to accept their culture's general hierarchy of values. They accept that their position ranks is below that of men. This has an important negative effect on their self-perception and self-confidence.

It is important to challenge the underlying sexist ideology of media content, to have balanced media representation. To reach more diversified gender representation in the media, such as having more females might help increase the visibility of women as a role model in society. We believe that a gender-based approach in media will be a first step to provide some level of change in the elements of resistance, for women in a social situation still generally structured by inequality. Nevertheless it is impossible to change sexist ideology without being aware of the problem.

Scandinavian policy of equality, in general, is based on the assumption that education and economic independence are the two sources from which all forms of social power derive. In addition to the women's policy has traditionally been social policy, which through a system of transfers and services aims at improving the quality of life of women and children...These changes in Norway were a result partly of economic development, partly of the activities of the women's movement, and partly a result of governmental policies.²¹⁷

In Norway, it seems that gender equality ideology has become a kind of myth that society perceived they have actually achieved. The formal requirements of equality between sexes is perceived as real. However, the findings of this study explored that policies of gender-neutral equality have not been well received in all quarters, and there remains an inescapably male bias in regard to content of Nordic equality, which has consequences

²¹⁶ Holter, Harriet (1993) *Fortellinger om Kvinner, Menn og Samfunn: Kvinneforskning i Tretti År*, University of Oslo Psychology Institute, small pamphlet, p.7-9. [Narration About Women, Men and Society: Women's Studies for Thirty Years].

²¹⁷ Hernes, Helga Maria (1987), p.20-5.

for a wide variety of issues. The imbalanced gender representation in media is just one of them. As it is illustrated in the findings of the analysis, the gender perspective has not yet been properly integrated into the process of newsgathering. “In that sense, women continue to be ‘the other’ as far as the press is concerned.”²¹⁸ This means that equal-opportunities legislation or positive-discrimination programs, however important such initiatives may be, cannot easily rectify the imbalance. The society needs to question the construction of gender and according to functionalist theory, if the media does not help them to argue the problem, gender inequalities will come just another visible and invisible forms in the future, such as increasing violence in Norway, or honor killings in Turkey.

McQuail draws attention to the importance of the diversified sources and a true or sufficient reflection in media of the varied reality of experience. The expectations of diversity are a requirement especially for the news and information media. Lack of diversity can be established only by identifying sources, references, events, types of content, etc, which are missing or underrepresented.²¹⁹

The issue under this analysis is that news was singled out as of particular significance for the wider question of gender inequality and construction in society. The correlation between the male domination is that virtually all media organizations have male-oriented themes, or patriarchal values offers strong support for the view that greater media occupational equality would make a difference to the content. However, as Van Zoonen argues, the solution lies on more fundamental approach to the construction of gender. She draws attention that women in the industry is not enough. That there needs to be more women with a politicized understanding of the ways in which women’s subordination is currently reproduced, and with the will to change it. She points to basic inconsistencies in the assumption that having more women in the newsroom would change the news for the better. This analysis lends some support to this view that although there have been significance increases in female participation in the work force without any noticeable changes in the ‘masculine nature of the news’ both in Norway and in Turkey.

²¹⁸ Joseph, Ammu and Kalpana Sharma (1994) (ed.) *Whose news? The Media and Women’s Issues*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, p. 21.

²¹⁹ McQuail, Denis (1994), p.253.

It would follow that a necessary condition for more equitable treatment of women in news will be a gradual rise of women to positions of power within media organizations.²²⁰ As McQuail notes, the solution is changing the masculine face of the decision-making power in media organizations both in Turkey and in the most gender sensitive country, Norway.

Whilst there has been a dramatic increase in the number of women securing jobs in journalism, men continue to occupy the vast majority of positions of power throughout the sector. Women are still not being promoted to senior decision-making posts in proportion to the overall role they play in the profession. This statement especially reflects the situation in Turkey. Many more women are entering the daily press as reporters instead of being confined either to the news desk, or the features and magazine sections of newspapers. The continuing predominance of men-across the board and especially in decision-making positions-cannot be disputed. The advent of the women reporters and the presence of some senior women journalists in positions of responsibility have made a significant but limited difference. It would follow that a necessary condition for more equitable treatment of women in news will be a gradual rise of women to positions of power within media organizations.

Silence has an enormous social power. If the media are silencing women by making them invisible in the news, the problem will never be solved. In a modern society, social visibility is a duty of the media. When the media, intentionally or unintentionally, is making invisible the other half of the population, it will lower self-esteem in females, and in consequence of that affects their performance in the long run. Therefore it is our mission as researchers to raise conscious about this issue.

According to Holter equality in 50s and 60s defined as chance equality. For example, women and men have the same chance to education, work and political representation. She says that in this new era “cultural is politic” and in order to reach real gender equality we have to discuss and change the definition of womanhood and manhood.²²¹ Gender equality would have been achieved when the determining factor is no longer gender, but

²²⁰ McQuail, Denis (2000), p.271.

²²¹ Holter, Harriet (1993), p.51.

that which suits the individual person; when it is no longer gender that decides how much you get in pay or what attention you get from the media. The 21st Century demands new strategies in struggle for greater equality between women and men. Media politics of gender deserve much more critical attention than they have typically received to date. We have to deal with the issue to draw upon the rich sources of feminist, or gender-sensitive critique with the aim of providing fresh insights into a various set of debates.

Women still occupy a different place in society from men: they have separate areas of responsibility, and as a social group they have little power. On this basis, it must be possible to refer to the existence of women's interests in the media. To reach a healthy society, media should not push the majority of the population into the silence and invisibility. These changes are *de facto* because of women's advancement in society. A gender-balanced content will be an important step in order to achieve a popular media that would be equally potent and meaningful for both sexes.

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Appendix 1

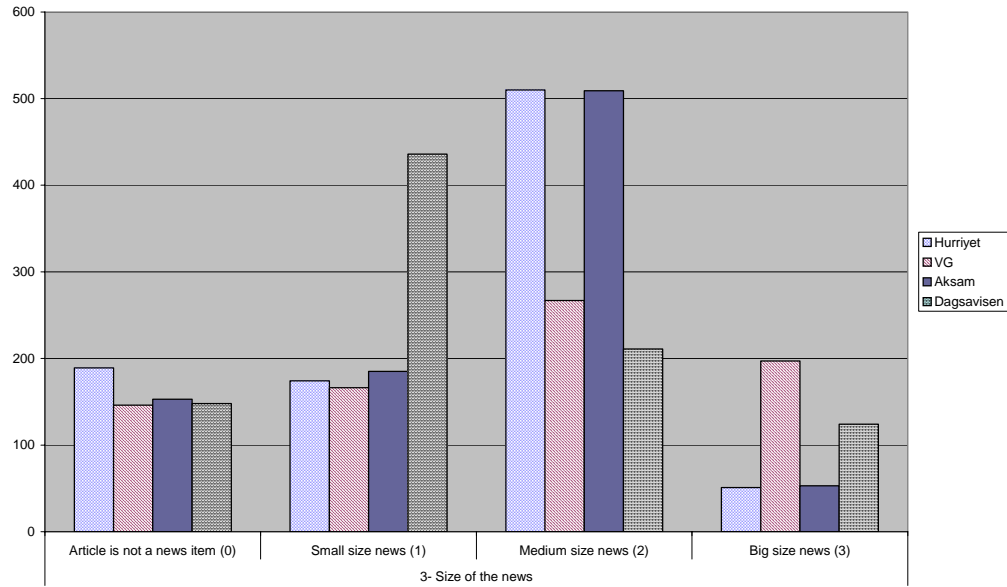


Figure 14: Size of the news-Chart 3

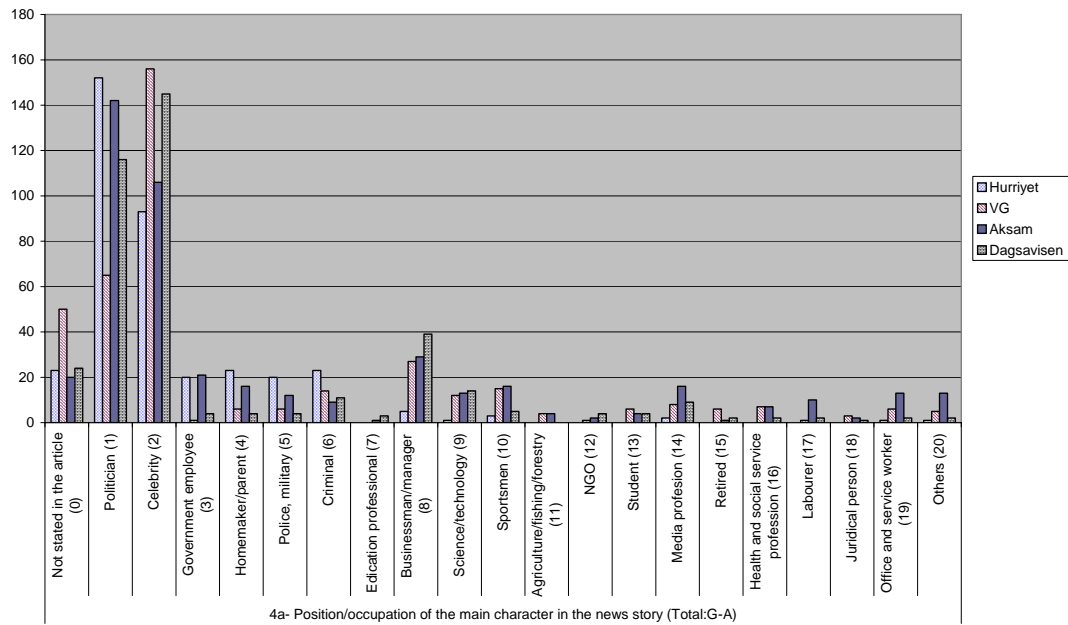


Figure 15: Position/occupation of the main character in the news story-Chart 4a

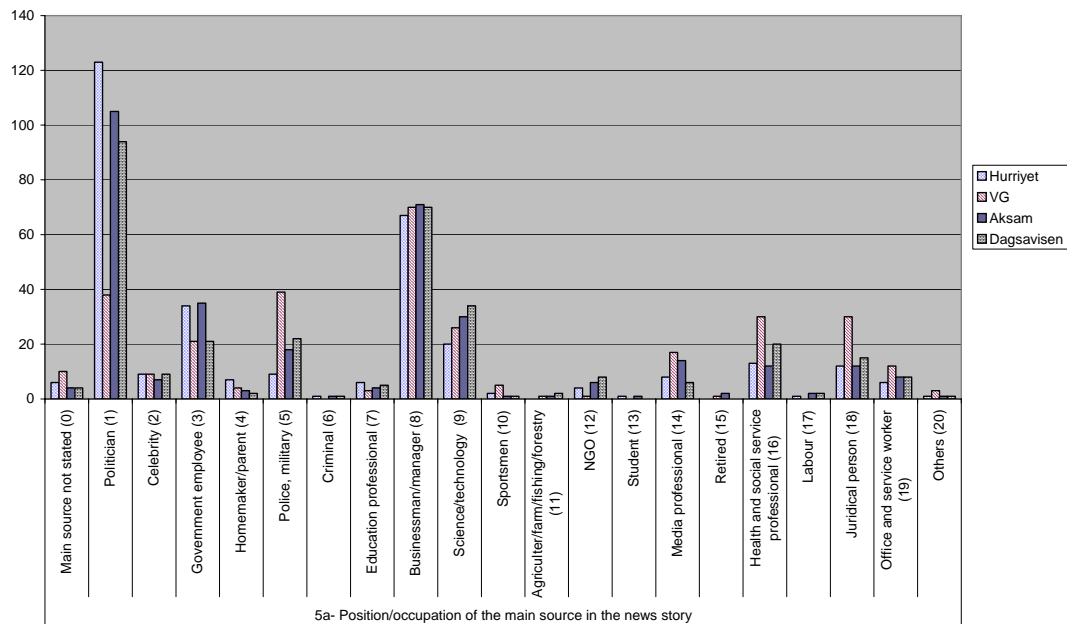


Figure 16: Position/occupation of the main source in the news story-Chart 5a

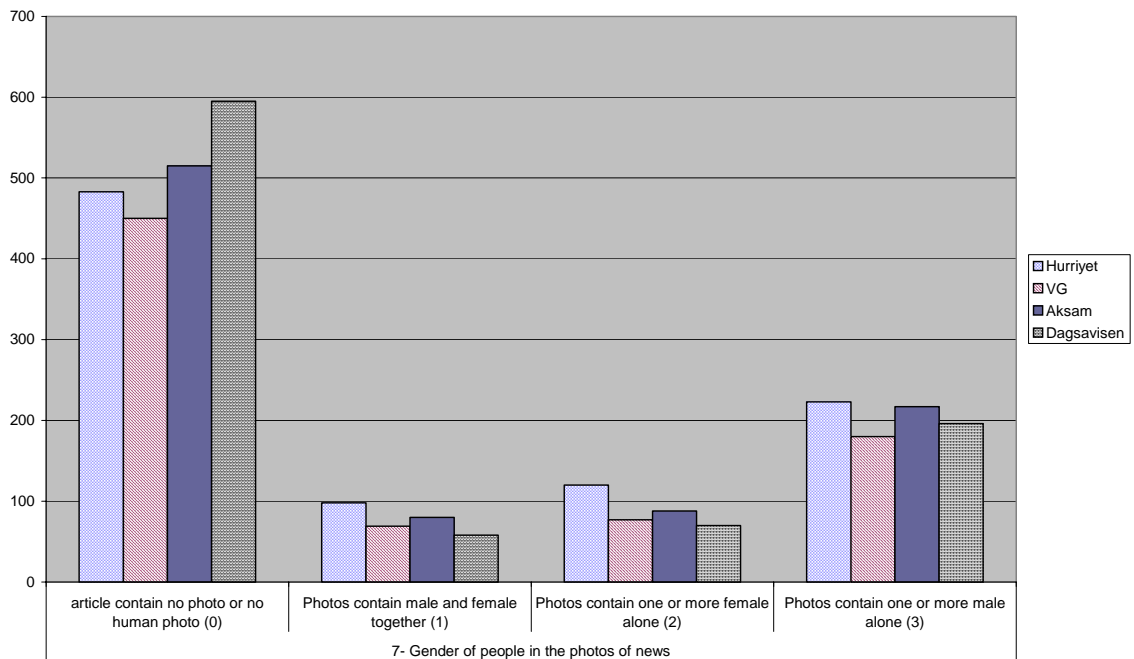


Figure 17: Gender of people in the photos of news-Chart 7

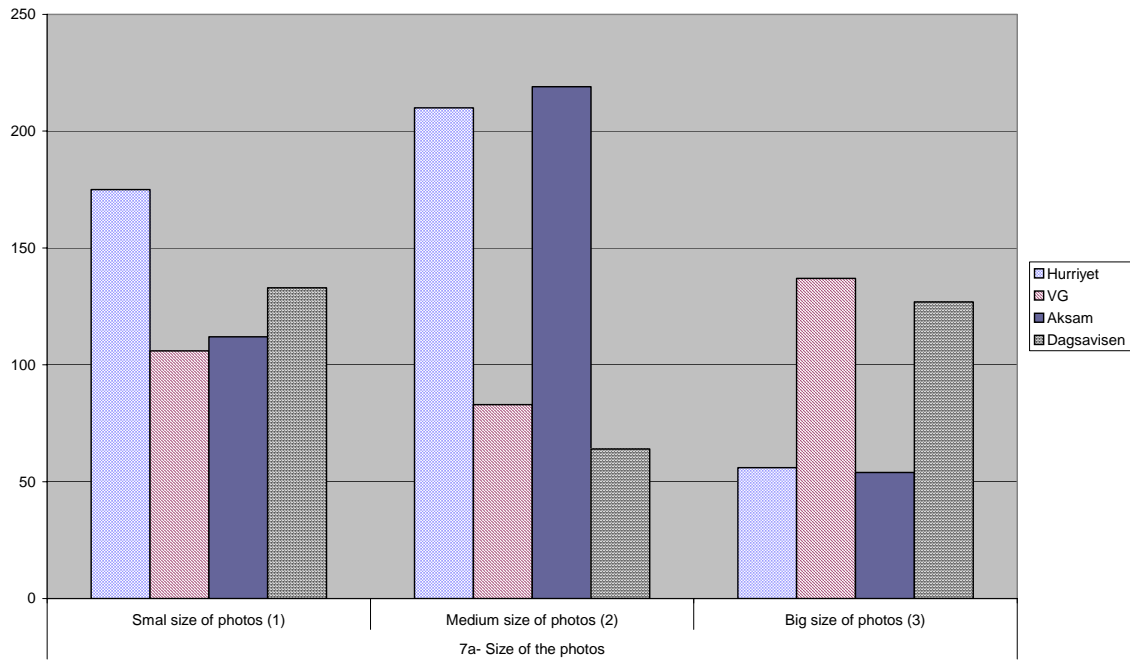


Figure 18: Size of the photos-Chart 7a

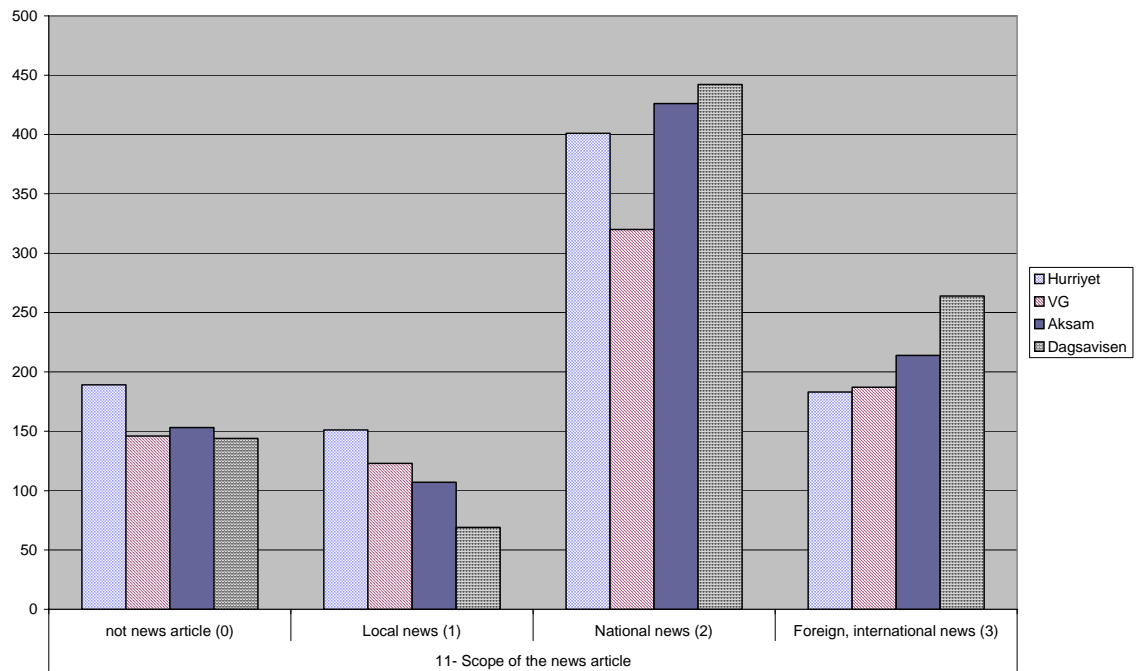


Figure 19: Scope of the news articles-Chart 11

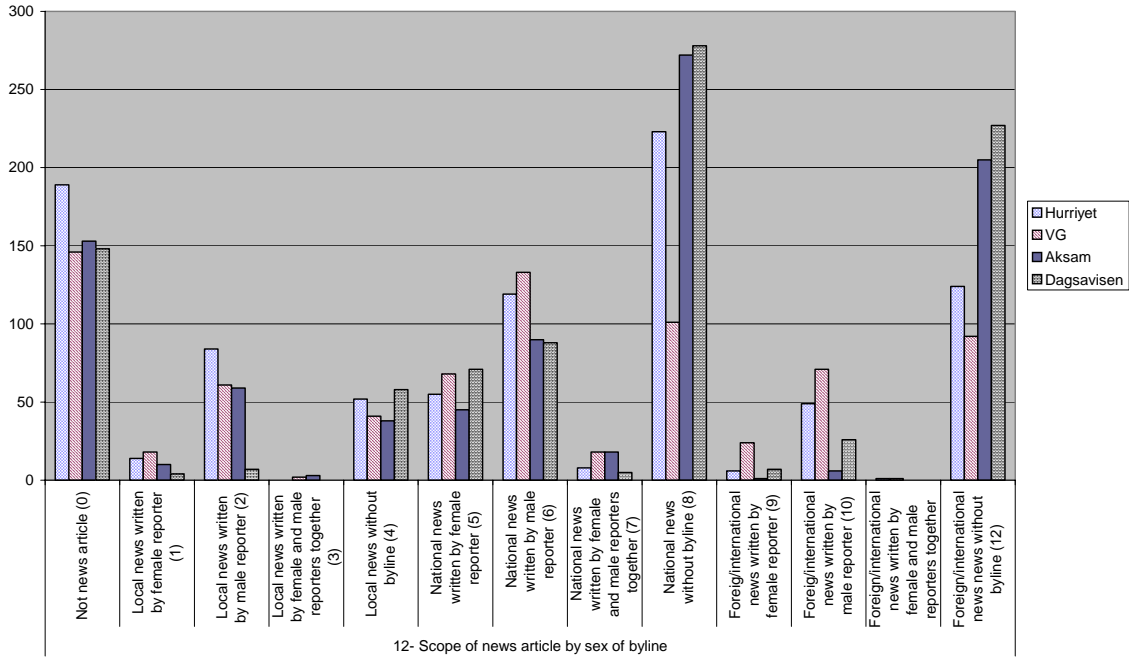


Figure 20: Scope of the articles by sex of byline-Chart 12

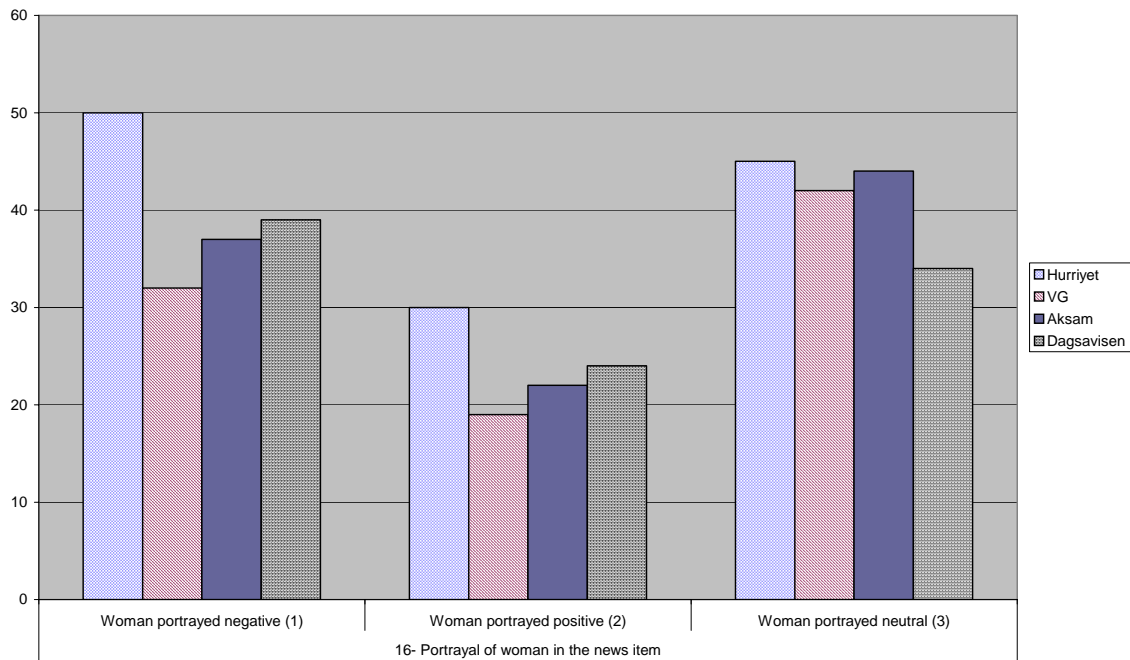


Figure 21: Portrayal of the woman in the news item-Chart 16

Appendix 2

Coding Schema of the Research Sample

1- Genre of the newspaper texts

- 1-News article
- 2-Short news article
- 3-Interview
- 4-Report
- 5-Feature article
- 6-News interview
- 7-Government Statements
- 8-Comment
- 9-Contribution
- 10-Article serial
- 11-Others

2- Topic/theme of the newspaper texts

- 1-Politics, government
- 2-Celebrity
- 3-Crime/trial
- 4-Accident, disaster
- 5-Education, childcare
- 6-Economy, business
- 7-Arts, entertainment, culture
- 8-International crises
- 9-Environment
- 10-Health
- 11-Human rights, women rights, equality issues
- 12-National defense
- 13-Science, research
- 14-Sports
- 15-War, terror
- 16-Demonstration
- 17-Ceremony, religion
- 18-Legal issues
- 19-Others

3- Size of the news

- 0-Article is not news
- 1-Small size news
- 2-Medium size news
- 3-Big size news

4- Gender of the main character in the story

- 0-Not contain main and/or identified character
- 1-Female as the main character with quote
- 2-Female as the main character without quote
- 3-Male as the main character with quote
- 4-Male as the main character without quote
- 5-Both male and female as the main character

4a- Position/ occupation of the main character in the story

- 0-Not stated in the article
- 1-Politician
- 2-Celebrity
- 3-Government employee
- 4-Homemaker/parent
- 5-Police, military
- 6-Criminal
- 7-Education professionals
- 8-Businessman/manager
- 9-Science/technology
- 10-Sportsmen
- 11-Agriculture/fishing/forestry
- 12-NGO
- 13-Student
- 14-Media professions
- 15-Retired
- 16-Health and social service professionals
- 17-Religion leader
- 18-Juridical person
- 19-Office and service workers
- 20-Others

5- Gender of the of the main sources

- 0-No identified source of story
- 1-Female as the main source of the story

- 2-Male as the main source of the story
- 3-Both male and female as source of the story

5a- Position/occupation of the main source

- 0-Not stated in the article
- 1-Politician
- 2-Celebrity
- 3-Government employee
- 4-Homemaker/parent
- 5-Police, military
- 6-Criminal
- 7-Education professionals
- 8-Businessman/manager
- 9-Science/technology
- 10-Sportsmen
- 11-Agriculture/fishing/forestry
- 12-NGO
- 13-Student
- 14-Media professions
- 15-Retired
- 16-Health and social service professionals
- 17-Religion leaders
- 18-Juridical person
- 19-Office and service workers
- 20-Others

6- Gender of byline

- 0-Not contain any byline
- 1-One or more female bylines
- 2-One or more male bylines
- 3-Female columnist
- 4-Male columnist
- 5-Female contributor
- 6-Male contributor
- 7-Male and female byline together
- 8-Male and female contributor together
- 9-Contribution without byline

7- Gender of people in the photos of news

- 0-Article contain no photo or no identified human photo
- 1-Photos contain male and female together
- 2-Photos contain one or more female alone

3-Photos contain one or more male alone

7a-Size of the photos of the news articles

- 1-Small size of photos
- 2-Medium size of photos
- 3-Big size of photos

8- Placement of the news in the paper; newspaper page

- 1-General news pages
- 2-Economy pages
- 3-Foreign/international news pages
- 4-Consumer pages
- 5-Culture pages

9- Categories of the news

- 0-Not news article
- 1-Hard news
- 2-Soft news

10- News categories upon sex of bylines

- 0-not news article
- 1-Hard news with female byline
- 2-Hard news with male byline
- 3-Soft news with female byline
- 4-Soft news with male byline
- 5-Hard news without byline
- 6-Soft news without byline
- 7-Hard news with female and male byline together
- 8-Soft news with female and male byline together

11- Scope of the news article

- 0-not news article
- 1-Local news
- 2-National and metropolitan news
- 3-Foreign/international news

12- Scope of news article upon sex of bylines

- 0-Not news article
- 1-Local news written by female reporter
- 2-Local news written by male reporter
- 3-Local news written by female and male reporters together
- 4-Local news without byline
- 5-National and metropolitan news written by female reporter
- 6-National and metropolitan news written by male reporter
- 7-National and metropolitan news written by female and male reporters together
- 8-National and metropolitan news without byline
- 9-Foreign/international news written by female reporter
- 10-Foreign/international news written by male reporter
- 11-Foreign/international news written by female and male reporters together
- 12-Foreign/international news without byline

13- Gender of columnist and contributor

- 1-Column written by female columnist
- 2-Column written by male columnist
- 3-Written by female contributor
- 4-Written by male contributor
- 5-Written by male and female contributor
- 6-Contribution without byline

14- Gender of secondary character and/or source in the story

- 1-Female as secondary character and/or source
- 2-Male as secondary character and/or source
- 3-Both male and female as secondary character and/or sources

Sub-variables of the research

15- Theme of the stories which have women as their central focus

- 1-Violence
- 2-Women`s health
- 3-Women`s legal rights
- 4-Women and work
- 5-Women and power (politics, business, education)
- 6-Changing roles of women
- 7-Child care
- 8-Portrayal of women (in television, film, newspapers, magazines)
- 9- Sensational issues

10- Other issues

16- Portrayal of woman in the news item

- 1-Woman portrayed negative
- 2-Woman portrayed positive
- 3-Woman portrayed neutral

17- Theme/topic of the stories on the first page

- 1- Politics, government
- 2- Celebrity
- 3- Crime/trial
- 4- Accident, disaster
- 5-Education, childcare
- 6-Economy, business
- 7-Arts, entertainment, culture
- 8-International crises
- 9-Environment
- 10-Health
- 11-Human rights, women rights, equality issues
- 12-National defense
- 13-Science, research
- 14-Sports
- 15-War, terror
- 16-Demonstration
- 17-Ceremony, religion
- 18-Legal issues

18- Gender of the byline on the first page of the newspapers

- 0-Not contain any byline
- 1-One or more female bylines
- 2-One or more male bylines
- 3-Female columnist
- 4-Male columnist
- 5-Female and Male byline together