

REPRESENTING TURKEY: AN ANALYSIS OF THE POWER AND POLITICS OF TURKEY'S REPRESENTATION IN BRITISH LIFESTYLE NEWS

Nilyufer Hamid

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REPRESENTATIE VAN TURKIJE:
EEN ANALYSE VAN KRACHT EN POLITIEK IN DE
BRITSE LIFESTYLE NIEUWSBERICHTEN OVER DE
VERTEGENWOORDIGING VAN TURKIJE

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by
Nilyufer Hamid
born in Isparih, Razgrad Province, Bulgaria

Doctoral Committee

Promoter: Prof.dr. E.A. van Zoonen

Co-promoter: Prof.dr. G.B.M. Kuipers

Other Members: Prof.dr. R.J. van der Veen
Prof.dr. G.B.M. Engbersen
Prof.dr. K. Schoenbach

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank “YOU” for spending time to read my dissertation that is carefully created with passions, patience and determination in many sleepless nights. In the end, it has been an engaging years of pilgrimage to explore how the press industry in Britain represents the Turkish nation and its people. As happens with most academic works, this research is a result of solitary work of reading and writing besides conversations with tons of people with whom I have exchanged ideas, developed discussions, and received comments. Along the way, I was fortunate to interact with media academics that enriched my understanding on many issues discussed in this dissertation. They introduced to me the sociological understanding of journalism and the news media. They open up my horizon to become aware that media language is neither neutral nor impartial, and is fabricated by the mediator, which to large extent shape rather than mirror our world.

In my research, I tend to dwell around the pages of the newspapers. A study like this, might certainly not be a masterpiece, but is intended to engage and enlighten several audiences. If you are curious about how nations are represented in travel news and how travel journalists portray an authentic and exotic country that the readers can dream about, then you may be interested in Chapter 2. If you have interest in the reflection of romance tourism in newspapers, then Chapter 3 provides you with an interesting case study of the ways in which mature British woman challenges traditional masculine hegemony by dating younger Turkish young lovers yet at the same time confirming the dominance of the developed world. If you want to learn more about the interaction between sports, media and national identity then Chapter 4 may interest you. There are ideas presented here that have not appeared elsewhere. I believe my dissertation will bring a fresh perspective to the field of journalism studies. The result is what you are holding in your hands right now: the book on Turkey’s representation in British broadsheet and tabloid lifestyle news. Writing this book out of thousands of potential news was a daunting, yet rewarding experience for me. I hope you enjoy reading my perspective of the journalism studies.

I like to acknowledge, first and foremost, my funding body the *Centre for Rotterdam Cultural Sociology (CROCUS)* of the Erasmus University Rotterdam (EUR), for their genuine support to carry out this research. The funding also included my scholarly participation at Loughborough University as visiting fellow and presentations at various conferences in Europe and the United States. I am grateful to the Department of Sociology of the EUR for the many facilities that were made available. Thank you Professor Dick Houtman, for offering a research assistantship and providing me the opportunity to write this dissertation in a highly intellectual environment.

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withstand the test of time.

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On a personal note, my deepest thanks to my dearest Dr. Mansee Bal. “Bal” (literally meaning honey in Turkish) is the sweetest person I’ve met. I have benefited greatly from her positive behaviour, pragmatic advices and all those deep conversations we engaged in about the competitive world, life, love, and happiness. Thanks for the humour and support over the years; for giving me a flavour of Indian culture and cuisine; and for reminding me to keep an open mind in the world. I would also like to express my appreciation to my friend Gürkan Gökaşan for his reliable assistance with layout and design of

the book. Thanks to my cartoonist Cemal Tunceri for investing time and energy to prepare the visuals of the dissertation.

Few words to the Netherlands that was my 'home' during the research. As Rūmī said: "You were born with potential, with goodness and trust, with ideals, dreams and with greatness. You were born with wings. Learn to use them, and fly". This expression simply summarises my experience in the Netherlands. Here I learn to fly, to challenge my capacity, to question, to observe, to see the political and cultural dynamics of the contemporary modern societies, and to understand the world from alternative perspectives.

Finally, deepest gratitude goes to my family in Cyprus and in Bulgaria, who put up with me. Words alone cannot express what I owe for their unconditional support and encouragement. They patiently waited for my return after a long stay in the Netherlands.

Nilyufer Hamid

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

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*TURKEY REMAINS A MYSTERIOUS TO MOST
OUTSIDERS. IT'S A COMPLEX COUNTRY, HARD TO
UNDERSTAND: SECULAR AND MUSLIM, WESTERN
AND EASTERN, ALL AT THE SAME TIME. IT'S
MODERN AND TRADITIONAL, DEMOCRATIC
AND STILL AUTHORITERIAN...
TURKEY: A BRIDGE BETWEEN TWO WORLDS?*

Morris, 2006, p. 3

1.1 INTRODUCTION

News is not a neutral phenomenon emerging straight from 'reality', but a product. It is produced by an industry, shaped by the bureaucratic and economic structure of that industry, by the relations between the media and other industries and, most importantly, by relations with government and with other political organisations. (Fowler 1991, p. 222)

The representation of Turkey in media has been the object of research for almost two decades. This extensive scholarly literature has concentrated mainly on intensive debates regarding the prospects for Turkey's accession to the European Union (EU) and has scrutinized the dominant media discourse on Turkey's candidacy (see for example De Vreese, Boomgaarden and Semetco 2011; Wimmel 2009; Aksoy 2009; Negrine 2008; also see Negrine, Kejanlioglu, Aissaoui, and Papathanassopoulos 2008; Aissaoui 2007; Koenig, Mihelj, Downey and Gencel-Bek 2006; Tekin 2012). Many of these studies tend towards a Eurocentric focus, both in regard to media representations and in terms of the larger European territory on which they are seen to impact. The primary intention and thrust of these studies is limited to analyse merely the hard news stories regarding Turkey's possible inclusion in the EU.

Despite the rapid expansion of lifestyle news in the recent past, lifestyle outlets have received little or no attention from academics working either within the broad field of communication and media studies or in sociology or cultural studies. Only a limited body of scholarly work has been committed to investigate the lifestyle perspectives on Turkey (e.g., Öztürkmen 2005; Bryce 2007; Baloglu and Mangaloglu 2001; Boria 2006). Moreover, these analyses have little to tell us about the sort of representations that are presented in the print

media. An exploration of the print media's coverage of a whole range of topics relating to Turkey, including travel, tourism, fashion, sports, or concerns like literature or gender issues remains largely neglected. This is unfortunate, because the content of lifestyle news allows us, in equal measure, to not only understand how the print media determines news about Turkey but also how these implied meanings about the country are disseminated. There is, therefore, an urgency to formulate a more concrete and practical understanding of the representation of the Turkish national identity particularly in the lifestyle outlets, and how that organ of the media represents Turkey, especially when its attention is directly areas that are generally considered to be of less serious concern.

Representing Turkey seeks to contribute to a more informed debate by shifting the scope of enquiry from a hard news aspect to one that concentrates on lifestyle news. The approach throughout the investigation looks at the way the British press mediate Turkey in lifestyle news texts. Throughout the study the question of how sections of the British press portray Turkey on their pages is raised repeatedly. The study adds to the growing literature on the print media's representation of national identities. In other words, the focal point of this study addresses the issue of how lifestyle information about the country is produced.

The British media discourse matters, because the British government's and in large measure the British media's imagination of and attitude to the Turkish nation and its people is generally affirmative when compared to the prevailing opinions found amongst the countries and media outlets in continental Europe. In this regard, the British government have always been committed to support Turkey's inclusion in the EU while at the same time British media organizations have generally framed their image of Turkey in terms of "a positive *Other*" (Paksoy 2012). The route I've chosen for my own investigation is not to compare and distinguish British press attitudes to Turkey from those that might be found in the press of other countries, especially those on the European

mainland, but by measuring the way in which it characterises and depicts Turkey in different formats, e.g., broadsheets versus tabloids, and different journalistic genres and sub-fields, e.g., sport versus travel. Such comparisons within the British press industry enable us to come to understand more thoroughly how and to what extent different media formats portray Turkey and what kind of distinctive and/or similar representations they produce. In other words, a comparative journalism research undertaking of this kind, one that enables the investigation of viewpoints across broadsheet and tabloid cultures, facilitates a more nuanced understanding of the portrayal of Turkey. It allows us to better understand the orientations, structures, as well as the differences and similarities across media systems while also making it possible to come to a more holistic and complete understanding of the representation of the country. This is crucial in order to move away from the much more widely studied political representation of Turkey in areas like its relationship with Europe and more specifically the contentious issue of its accession to the European Union. In short, my intention is to decentre the conventional focus, thus facilitating a more dynamic approach to Turkey's media representation.

The choice of three lifestyle areas – "Travel", "Gender", and "Sports" – make up the core structure of the study, laying out the intellectual and empirical ground, so to speak. The collection of the empirical case studies also provides some unique insights into the role that different journalistic behaviours play. Moreover, they offer a useful starting point for reframing arguments about a nation exclusively evaluated by political and media scholars in terms of its potential EU membership. Hence, my attempt is to unpack the highly ignored, yet ultimately helpful lifestyle categories. The case studies discussed in this study establish that print media representations in lifestyle journalism are highly differentiated from those found in hard news journalism. In

these cases, rather than being static, images of Turkey change in response to popular events and popular debates. Still some overlapping and/or competing representations do exist between hard news and lifestyle news journalism practice.

In this study, therefore, it is against this background of often contending but sometimes bridging viewpoints in the British print media that I seek to explore, how Turkey is represented in the lighter fields of journalism practice. By gaining a better knowledge of how British broadsheet and tabloid lifestyle texts are produced and what they might mean, I will try to explain how lifestyle texts are produced in different journalistic genres; and I will try to show that it is possible to learn more about other societies via these same texts.

The fundamental premise of the study is that, unlike hard news coverage of Turkey, news that addresses lifestyle aspects can also open up avenues to an understanding of its national identity in all its forms. In other words, we can perceive lifestyle news reporting in Britain as an alternative study arena for the representation of the Turkish national identity and culture. This point is symptomatic of the analyses found in the study.

The study grew from many years of thinking about what other overlapping, reinforcing or contradictory representations, narratives and alternative images are constructed when the British press reports on Turkey in relation to travel, to gender, and to sports. I consider my study a contribution to the sociology of media and journalism studies; a movement away from the traditional, solely political hegemonic representation of Turkey toward an empowered model of an alternative, diverse, yet ideologically and politically significant cultural representations of Turkey in lifestyle context. What the British print media provides us with in its coverage of Turkey is the ability to generate convincing illustrations of this perspective. Throughout this study I use

the term *press* and *media* synonymously to refer to print media organizations. Occasionally, I also use the term *popular news* and *soft news* interchangeably to mean lifestyle news reporting.

First and foremost, the empirical chapters that I introduce here provide fresh insights, combined with first-hand evidence, into the dynamics of lifestyle representations. The central hypothesis, which I address in the empirical chapters from different perspectives, assumes that different journalistic genres and different media organizations have the capacity to represent Turkey from various angles. Notwithstanding these differences, there are remarkable elements of commonality. Given the extent to which these representations took place in the British daily press, at both the national and regional level; they necessarily reflect the view, behaviour and treatment of Turkish culture through the eyes of British culture.

The study will be essential reading for scholars, academics, and researchers in the field of Journalism, Media Studies, Communication, Cultural Studies, Sociology, and Middle and Near Eastern Studies, who wish to gain a deeper knowledge of Turkey's multi-faceted and hybrid representation in lifestyle texts. Given that each chapter will address and offer insights into different representation of Turkey in the imagination of the British press, three types of audience can benefit from the study. To learn about Turkey's portrayal by travel journalists have a look at the *Second Chapter*. For a comprehensive introduction to gender, femininity, masculinity and the representation of Turkish toyboys in human-interest news (i.e., gossip, tales of romance, melodrama) see the *Third Chapter*. The *Fourth Chapter* on the representation of Turkey in sports news provides a useful overview of the way in which Turkish national identity is projected in tabloid and broadsheet football texts.

1.2 THEORETICAL RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

Before explaining the methodology and presenting my analyses of the data researched, I will devote some time to the theoretical relevance of the study. The explanandum of this study, the notion of Turkey's representation, can be situated in various theoretical contexts. This could be, for example, the theory of representations and *Othering* in discourse or arguments surrounding the construction of Turkey in the EU context. Alternatively, the political and historical debate on Turkey's lingering candidacy or theories assuming the differences that separate Turkey from the EU member states might offer a valuable theoretical grounding. However, treating all of these theoretical approaches, which largely focus on political sciences, would be far beyond the reach of this study. For my research endeavour, I focus on media representation and will use the social construction of news – or, more precisely, news production – theory for gaining an understanding of Turkey's contemporary representation in the British broadsheet and tabloid newsrooms. The first part of this section features an exploration and elaboration of this theoretical framework and introduces the relevant literature. In the second part, brief theoretical reflections regarding the construction of lifestyle news will be considered in order to fully appreciate the ideological significance of such news.

1.2.1 The Social Construction of News

The print media provides much of our information about the world we live in. It tells us where we are in the world; teaches us how to understand “us” and “them”, directs us to consider notions of “good” or “bad”, or “moral” and “evil” (Kellner 1995). The media also provides material/content on which we decide what authorities to defend, what events to treat respectfully or perceive badly, and what topics to regard as important or insignificant (Manoff and Schudson 1986). And as

Hall et al. (1978, p. 57) suggested: “The media define for the majority of the population *what* significant events are taking place, but, also, they offer powerful interpretations of *how* to understand these events”. Of the thousands of events that occur every day, only a tiny proportion is treated as newsworthy and produced as the day’s news in the media. The print media and the journalists who work within the industry do not then simply create the news; they socially construct news (Tuchman 2002, 1978).

News reporting today is a much more complex process linked to different public and private interest groups in society. It is a cultural process (Gans 1979a), which performs a unique and essential social function (McNair 2009). As O’Donnell (1994) has simply remarked: “The news industry is, from an economic point of view, just one other industry within advanced industrial societies, and is as an institution – whatever the views of individual journalists – saturated with the values of those who have effective control over the economic and political system within which it operates” (p. 353). This is what Fowler (1991, p. 2) means when he writes, “news is an industry with its own commercial self-interest”. The journalism literature has shown that journalists, as one of the key links in this complex communications chain, have the capacity to influence what we think (cf., Parenti 1993).

Over 30 years, media and communication scholars have accumulated a large body of research on what is known as the social construction of news. For instance, we know from journalism literature that the profession of journalism has a certain (real or perceived) position of power in contemporary society (Deuze 2005). Journalists are acknowledged as social actors “with a key role to play in shaping our perception of what news is, and how to react to it” (McNair 2009, p. 27). Journalists select facts or events and shape them into stories (i.e., narrative form) that society makes sense of and recognises as news (Manoff and Schudson 1986; Gans 1979b). The selection criteria is directly and intimately tied to ideological, political, and class

groupings; thus, it is very much tailored to fit which political or social master it serves. Only stories that are deemed *newsworthy* to British society or perceived as *suitable* for the general public appear in the various newspapers (cf., Gans 1979a). What we choose to consider as a suitable event is culturally determined. Galtung and Ruge make this argument clear: “The event-scanner will pay particular attention to the familiar, to the culturally similar, and the culturally distant will be passed by more easily and not to be notices” (1965, p. 67).

“News is never a mere recording or reporting of the world ‘out there’, but synthetic, value-laden account which carries within it the dominant assumptions and ideas of the society within which it is produced” (McNair 2009, p. 41). Given that news is a representation of the world in language, the type of language (e.g., jargon, terminology, rhetoric, tone, and form) journalists use “is not neutral, but a highly constructive mediator” (Fowler 1991, p. 1). Broadly speaking, “language is a semiotic code, it imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin, on whatever is represented (...) News is a representation in this sense of construction; it is not a value-free reflection of ‘facts’ (Fowler 1991, p. 4). There are always different ways of saying the same thing, and how one decides to say it is not based merely on a whim or the result of accident, but a considered and deliberate choice.

Each newspaper outlet makes its own version of the news, has its own definition of what constitutes an important story, and presents the facts according to its editorial policies (cf., McNair 2009). In other words, journalists largely report on what matters to Brits from all walks of life. They report stories that will satisfy their readers and please their editors. It becomes clear that, the possible meanings relating to football, romance or travel are largely enacted through print media. Journalists do not passively report these topics. They systematically select certain issues and themes for coverage that fulfil the expectations of the reader, while ignoring others that do not match their organizational conventions (Schudson 2007).

This literature has been brightened by theorists such as Schudson (2007, 2003, 1997, 1995), Fowler (1991), Van Dijk (1998, 1991, 1983) and Gans (1979a), and following Tuchman (2002, 1978), and McNair (2009, 2003), who agree that media and the journalists within it have a power to *make* news and represent issues in a particular way (cf., Kellner 1995). This is a point made by Hall and his colleagues:

The media do not simply and transparently report events which are ‘naturally’ newsworthy in themselves. ‘News’ is the end-product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selection of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories (1978, p. 53).

Producing news, thus, is an industrial activity; something selected, emphasized, shaped, and manufactured by journalists working at great speed and pressure in an institution that is supposed to produce creative, original or unexpected and partly surprising news (be it political or popular) in often limited space and time schedules (Gans 2004; Schudson 2003, 1997; Tuchman 1976). There is already sufficient evidence that “news is a *practice*” (Fowler 1991, p. 2); it is an artifact that is reported from a particular ideological position; it is a partial account of a reality. As McNair (2009, p. 41) aptly describes, news is “a synthetic, value-laden account which carries within it the dominant assumptions and ideas of the society within which it is produced”. Newspapers’ range, form, price, mode of address or language is shaped by the institutional discourse and express a socially constructed representation of the world. News writing tends to reflect the culture within which the journalist is working (cf., Fishman 1980). In other words, the daily production routine of the news is shaped by the ideological tendencies of the newspaper, by the individual journalistic preferences, which are in turn dependent on cultural background,

political affiliations and by the interpretation of normative standards (McNair 2009).

I am convinced that news and the profession of lifestyle journalism are socially, economically and politically situated. Among the many actors that contribute to and negotiate meanings are journalists who produce representations and construct meanings about the world they mediate. Very often they tell us merely how and what to think about (cf., McCombs and Shaw 1972; Parenti 1993).

Conceptualizing news as a social construct, and acknowledging the importance of language in this process of construction allows us to see news as a phenomenon, which is not unilateral and absolute, but is made up of different perspectives. Far from being static and homogeneous, the meanings print media produce are continuously negotiated and reshaped. By using well-established stereotypes, the media re-present the world to the audience it is speaking to. It is fundamentally important to realise that stereotypes are “categories which we project on to the world in order to make sense of it” (Fowler 1991, p. 17). “Mother”, “foreigner”, “amazing lover”, “violent”, “dynamic young player”, “excellent player”, or “dirty cheap”, “poor”, “top-end”, “exotic”, and “mystic”, or “oriental”, are some specific instances of stereotypical categories used by media organizations. In so doing, the media works to simplify the representation and help us to construct the world in this way.

I am proposing, then, that the print media is indeed a powerful institution that it tells a story, that this story is told differently by different media organizations (e.g., broadsheet, tabloids) which use different types of cultural, social and political stereotypes, symbols or interpretations that are familiar to their readers (Tuchman 1978). Covering and representing Turkey, therefore, is not a given, pure act but a construction, a created cultural conversation and a mediated interpretation. It is embedded in a complex set of power relations that deserves some attention. All of this is fairly obvious. But, given

that journalists make it possible to think about society at all, I am also proposing that the abundantly detailed record of Turkey in British lifestyle newspapers offers us a cultural critique of the British print media landscape.

1.2.2 The Production of Lifestyle News

For a long time, lifestyle journalism was traditionally treated as not serious enough for scholarly inquiry. As Hanusch (2012, 2013) has famously argued, this field of journalism was seen as “not real journalism”. Media sociologists and journalism researchers had seen this type of journalism as trivial. Lifestyle journalism’s public relevance and political potential was relegated, and its social and cultural aspects were largely ignored by scholars (see Fürsich 2012, and Kristensen and Unni 2012 for an up-to-date discussion about lifestyle journalism). In the academic community, lifestyle news is largely seen as “popular news” (Fiske 1989, 1992). In her study entitled “Lifestyle journalism as popular journalism” Fürsich (2012) argue that lifestyle journalism “tends to fall into the category of the popular” (2012, p. 13). Scholars in the field acknowledge that “it is more difficult to pinpoint what exactly distinguishes lifestyle journalism” (Fürsich 2012, p. 13) from popular journalism. Fürsich (2012) and Hanusch (2012), in particular, concur that this type of journalism largely focuses on infotainment formats, and is produced under various labels; for example, travel, entertainment, lifestyle and art journalism.

Lifestyle journalists suffer from being treated by media scholars with a lower occupational regard. One reason for this, perhaps, lies in the fact that this type of journalism is perceived as light, soft, with less standing within the profession and without the prestige of more serious journalism. It has long been viewed as an *unserious* type of journalism that is not deserving of *serious* attention (Hanusch 2012). Nevertheless, in line with Hanusch (2012, 2010) and

Fürsich (2012) I strongly agree that all lifestyle news texts, as outcomes of human activity, have within them a power that cannot be dismissed contemptuously by an old and narrow journalistic view that they are merely trivial, soft and entertaining. Undoubtedly, the production of traditional hard news discourse has a considerable hegemonic power and role in representing Turkey and in drawing a particular stereotypical image of Turkey. However, correspondingly, the production of lifestyle news discourse has serious implications for representational aspects: they provide additional and often different informational and cultural frames about Turkey, can confirm political mainstream stereotypes, can introduce new stereotypes, or can debunk prevailing stereotypes and prejudices about Turkey.

The lifestyle agenda (e.g., softening the news) has a distinctive way of framing an event compared to its hard-news counterparts. Lifestyle news is typically described as news that is “more personality-centered, less time-bound, more practical, and more incident-based than other news” (Patterson 2000, p. 3). This soft type of framing is an important site for the study of media representations (cf., Hartley 1999; Dahlgren and Sparks 1992). That doesn't mean that the debates on Turkey's political representation (especially in terms of Turkey's cultural and religious difference from the majority of the countries within the EU) are irrelevant to this study; on the contrary, they enhance broadly political issues and help to identify the dimension and complexity of lifestyle news. As the empirical case studies will demonstrate, lifestyle news are not necessarily uncritical by definition; they can shed new light on how national identity is projected in such news texts. As Janssen, Kuipers and Verboord (2008) have acknowledged: “arts and culture are generally considered central to national identity” (p. 720).

We can learn, then, more about Turkey from the coverage of its cultural goods, historic resources, travel and touristic places. This means that the distribution of these cultural goods through the filter of journalists also says something about Turkey to the reader;

therefore we cannot ignore their role in national identity formation. Similarly sport coverage is an important sociological and cultural dynamic that contributes to the imagination of the nation. As Horne, Tomlinson and Whannel (1999, p. xv) have stated: “Sociologists and social historians have been demonstrating for some time now that sport’s role in society has been an important one, and is becoming still more important within social and cultural formations; that in some important respects the phenomenon of sports can be seen to lead or shape society”. Furthermore, authors state quite clearly that “sport has constantly provided a form for the expression of national identity” (Horne, Tomlinson and Whannel 1999, p. xv). In every regular newspaper sport gets a separate section or is published as a supplement (Washington and Karen 2001; Tomlinson, Horne and Whannel 2001). That is why we need a deeper understanding of the coverage of sport news about Turkey.

By taking the sociological and cultural aspects of sports, travel and tourism my research wants to link them to larger structural patterns in British society. As mentioned before, it is obvious that national identity covers more than politics. It also covers sports, the behaviour of fans, travel, romance tourism, people, culture, historical heritage, natural assets and opportunities. That is why, inevitably, still there is substantial space for exploring and comparing how Turkey is represented in these fields. Before I develop a framework to understand the representations of Turkey in lifestyle news, I intend to examine what type of hard news representations are said to be available, for which an extensive literature exists so far.

1.3 INSPIRATIONS AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH OVERVIEW

In 2006, I attended a graduate course at the European Research Institute (ERI) at the University of Birmingham. In his very first lecture about European integration, the founding director of ERI Anand Menon

was speaking to us about the position of Turkey as one of the most contentious issues on the EU agenda. That Turkey has been trying to become part of the European Union for more than 50 years; that its rejection over a long time has been deeply entrenched in certain EU countries; that there is a lack of a broad consensus about Turkey's accession process, whether that path to eventual membership should be terminated or a privileged partnership be imposed were some topics he covered. Menon concluded his lecture by suggesting, rather provocatively, that Turkey will remain "a candidate forever". This statement leads me to think more about the contested image of Turkey in European press.

I, first, discover that research on Turkey's representation is often situated within the field of political sciences, international relations, foreign affairs, and more recently within political communication studies. Scholars have reached some striking conclusions that are not only relevant to this study but also inspired me to focus my analysis exclusively on the British press. What strikes me as significant and distinguishes it from European countries is that British media generally is to be the most differentiated: the editorial tone of the British press is altogether more positive. Unlike in continental European countries, Britain is one of the EU member countries in which support of Turkey's EU membership has been the most enduring. The British quality press, especially, has constantly advocated Turkish entry (see Hamid-Turksoy 2012; Wimmel 2009; Aksoy 2009; Negrine 2008; Negrine et al. 2008; Aissaoui 2007; also see Koenig et al. 2006). Yet, it is important to mention that lacunae remain in investigating the position of the British tabloid press.

Second, I observe that the accumulated literature on Turkey's political representation in print media is both rich and, at the same time, limited in scope: rich because of the wide range of concepts it offers about Turkey's media representation in different EU countries; limited because the majority of the research topics look exclusively at

the coverage of Turkey's bid for accession to the EU (see also Bogain and Potot 2008; De Vreese, Boomgaarden and Semetko 2008; Timmerman, Rochtus and Mels 2008; Chislett 2008; Strasser 2008; Karlsson 2008; Kirişçi 2008; Hülse 2006; Kinzer 2001; Müftüler-Bac 2000, 1998). More specifically, they limit themselves to political analyses that put forward arguments either for or against Turkey's EU membership. They question what are the dominant hegemonic discourses the European media reproduces to maintain the ambiguous images held about Turkey. They give considerably more attention to three of the EU member states' media coverage of Turkey's candidacy for EU membership: France, Germany and Britain. All in all these studies demonstrate that the degree of opposition varies in different member states. As such, they lead us to believe that in continental European media discourse, especially in the French and German press, the Turk is recurrently perceived as a threat to the EU project, a poor (by western standards), uneducated immigrant, a Muslim extremist, or a cheap labourer. In very great contrast and on the positive side, particularly in the British press, Turkey is generally regarded as an ally, an economic opportunity for investment, and a country that bridges the previous divide that was East and West (cf., Boria 2006). These perceptions and national myths are social constructs which need social institutions for their (re)production and dissemination. The mass media is one of those institutions, which plays an important role in shaping the unknown. Obviously, Turkey's intriguing relationship with the European Union and its ambiguous position in the EU agenda offers countless stories for a journalistic experience; it provides commentators and columnists in the print media with many possible frames that are not easy to find in any candidate country.

1.3.1 Media Representation of Turkey: Political Framing*

I will now turn in more detail to some of these studies and see to what extent these debates are framed in print media in terms of Turkey's political representation. Wimmel (2009), for instance, applies a comparative discourse analysis looking at the German, French and British quality press. Wimmel's (2009) study captures the last quarter of 2002 for analysis, when the Copenhagen summit took place. It was during this period that the public debate on Turkey and the EU was at its most vociferous. Wimmel (2009) illustrates that *Le Figaro* in France and *Bild* in Germany supported the idea that possible Turkish accession would destroy what they saw as the required cultural-religious identity fundamentals of a politically integrated EU; whilst *Le Monde* in France and the German *Frankfurter Rundschau*, adopted a more liberal social and economic editorial stance, arguing that religious differences between a largely Christian Europe and an overwhelmingly Muslim Turkey should not bear directly on considerations regarding Turkey's membership because the EU essentially represents a secular project. Although there were some voices of disagreement in some sections of the more liberal press that ran counter to a prevailing media mood of rejection of Turkey's accession, in a general sense the tone of the French and German press reflected a strong opposition to Turkey's application to join the EU (Wimmel 2009). It seems that to be anti-Turkish on principle wins votes and sells newspapers in France and Germany. At the rhetorical level, Turkey is not welcome in the EU. In sum, two of the key advocates of opposition against what they believe to be a non-European Turkey are Germany and France. The print media in both countries facilitates to a promotion of the perpetuation of the stereotypes and

*A slightly different version of this part has been published as: Hamid-Turksoy, Nilyufer. (2012). "Turkey's representation in the European media: A glimpse to France, Germany and Britain". In C. Bilgili and N. T. Akbulut (Eds.), *Broken grounds: mass communication and cultural transformation*. Sofia: Academic Publishing House, 135-152.

prejudices about Turkey: on one hand by emphasizing the similarities among the EU member states, and on the other by highlighting the binding elements among the countries of the EU and how foreign they are to a country like Turkey – like the *Other*. Media discourse of these two member states is constantly hostile towards Turkey's EU membership (see also the work of Tekin 2010). Such representation is crucial to the maintenance of negative public opinion and hostile attitudes regarding Turkey. In this respect, the print media promotes and/or reinforces the ideology and perceptions ingrained in the psyche of the French and German people. In sharp contrast, “independent of their political orientations, all journalists of the British newspapers declared themselves as Turkey supporters, vehemently rejecting the culture and identity arguments” concludes Wimmel (2009, p. 238).

Similar findings are found in the study of Koenig and his colleagues (2006). Their framing analysis investigate the issue of Turkish accession to the EU as it was covered by the press in 2004 in France, Germany, Britain, as well as in Slovenian, Turkey and the United States. The authors draw the conclusion that the French and German press in particular focus very specifically on the cultural differences they see existing between the EU and Turkey and simply ignore discussing any possible membership benefits. By contrast, the British quality press focuses on the idea that cultural and religious differences might be either tolerated or even celebrated. Left-wing newspapers such as the *Guardian* and the *Independent* especially emphasize the right to be different (Koenig et al. 2006). British papers, also criticize the well-documented thesis about the inevitable clash of civilizations between the various Christian traditions and Islam (Koenig et al. 2006).

Wimmel (2009) and Koenig et al.'s (2006) findings are repeated in numerous studies. Aissaoui's (2007) critical discourse analysis, for example, analysed the issue of Turkey's accession to the European Union in the French national press. Aissaoui's (2007) claim is that “Turkey has a poor image in the unconscious of Europeans, including in countries

that did not suffer under the Ottoman past of the Turks” (2007, p. 7). The author focuses on the problematic construction of “us” and the “other” and illustrates that the transformative power of history is highly visible in the French press. Aissaoui (2007) finds out that right-wing conservative daily newspaper *Le Figaro* has published significantly more articles against Turkey’s accession. The left daily *Liberation* newspaper, by contrast, occasionally has published in favour of it becoming a full member. In his conclusion Aissaoui (2007) highlights the idea that newspapers consider the Turkish nation, as not geographically, (with the greater part of its land mass lying in Asia) culturally or historically part of Europe and still needs to face up to its past in order to reach modernity.

The study of Hülse (2006), though not directly related to the media’s coverage of Turkey, further reveals that Turkey, in general, has a bad image, which it is anxious to change from one being backward and hot-blooded to modern and cool. By referring to Eurobarometer findings, Hülse (2006) argues that the majority of EU citizens find the cultural differences between Turkey and those of mainland Europe too great to reconcile with EU membership. Hülse (2006) goes on to mention the oppositional stance of France, Austria, Denmark and the Netherlands to Turkey’s EU membership and plays special attention to the German discourse by saying that this collective belief on the cultural gap about what Europe is *not* in relation to Turkey is the defining feature of separation and is essential in what is regarded as a European identity. He is quite clear about this when he says, “The literature on European identity gives evidence of the fact that Turkey has been European’s principal other in the past” (Hülse 2006, p. 311-312). Turkey historically is positioned as the ‘other’ in the formation of Europe. Like Hülse (2006), Gangloff (2008) says “Turkey is often presented, and universally perceived as an oriental country, beyond the borders of Europe, and foreign in many aspects to the European way of life or the European spirit” (p. 35). In his discourse analysis Gangloff (2008)

argues that Turkey's historical roots trigger the impression of a country perceived as Oriental and backward, and that had never lived through the mind-changing experience of Renaissance or Enlightenment. This view is supported by Stone (2002), who believes that many Western visitors mental image of Turkey is shaped by "oriental" or "Middle East" discourses and stereotypes drawn from history of "the terrible and barbarian Turk", who ruled over the Mediterranean, south-eastern Europe and the Balkans for centuries.

Correspondingly, the study of Negrine and his colleagues (2008) question how the press in Britain, France, Germany and Turkey covered Turkey's bid for accession to the EU in 2004. The content analysis carried by Negrine et al. (2008) in France define *Le Figaro's* position as broadly hostile and *Liberation* as less hostile to Turkish entry into the EU. The authors additionally find that the German press gave wide coverage to the results of the opinion polls indicating opposition to Turkey's accession (Negrine et al. 2008). By way of contrast, they find that the English press did not cover so many issues relating to Turkey's membership bid. Similarly, any public opinion polls testing British attitudes on the matter were not reported (Negrine et al. 2008). Among their conclusions, the authors argue that the English press was largely in support of Turkey's membership and the economic benefits of Turkish accession occupied more space in the British press (Negrine et al. 2008).

Aksoy (2009) and Negrine's (2008) research merely looked at the British press coverage of the prospect of Turkey's EU membership, both acknowledging that the British press has a different position. In his framing analysis, Negrine (2008) investigates the British broadsheet press and argues that the print media intentionally position Britain as a separate entity in relation to its EU partners by overemphasizing "'They' have a problem with Turkey, 'we' do not" (2008, p. 642). Negrine (2008) mentions that in the case of Turkey, the British press holds the position of "a silent watchdog" (p. 634), and any representation of British public opinions is as unusual and rare feature in the media discourse. A

common finding of these studies reveals that there is a serious absence of alternative political dissent toward Turkey's candidacy in the British press. The general point is clear: even though the media in liberal, democratic and capitalist societies, including Britain, are relatively open to oppositional or dissenting viewpoints (cf., McNair 2009), when it comes to the issue of Turkey and the on-going debate about its inclusion in the EU family, dissident voices almost disappear. This argument already suggests that the supportive view of the British press tells more about Britain and its own position in regard to continental Europe. These findings were an additional spur and motivation for me to focus my attention of investigation exclusively on British newspapers and their connections to British society while covering Turkish affairs.

What does all these analyses mean, then, for the representation of Turkey in print media? It is safe to say, with little danger of contradiction, that the Turkish nation has a contested image. The British press is largely constructive in its argumentation by positioning Turkey as a secular, young country and a bridge to a world beyond in the Middle East. In sharp contrast to this favourable opinion of the country, the negative image of Turkey is positioned by opposing political discourses – as a big, poor, backward and Muslim country and these very contrary views to the British one continue to occupy the French and German press. But, whether these kind of hostile representations contribute to position Turkey as an insecure, undesired, undeveloped place in the European mind or that this kind of news coverage is deliberately alarmist, simplistic or partial is still open for discussion. Furthermore, it has been suggested that opinions on EU issues are not stable but flexible; they are easily influenced by new information (De Vreese and Boomgaarden 2006). These findings, then, pose some interesting questions about whether it is enough to draw a representational picture of Turkey only by looking at hard news coverage on potential EU membership for Turkey, and exclude its depiction in other news sections, such as travel, tourism, society and sport. Naturally, in addition to the analysis to be found in

what many would consider the more serious sections of a newspaper, lifestyle news reportage also tells us something about Turkey, about its national identity, history, beliefs and even aesthetics (e.g., beauty, art, taste). Given that the question of taste resonates with issues such as class structures, cultural trends and national identity, this urges the necessity for a further empirical analysis that considers lifestyle news sections too.

In this study, I build on this work, and aim to expand the perspective by debating the representation of Turkey in lifestyle news. Little, if any, effort has been made to move beyond politics and engage the socio-cultural field in order to dig deeper for an understanding of Turkey. Consequently, not only material and intellectual capacities are wasted, but also the potential to show another picture of Turkey is being lost. My attempt to investigate Turkey in the British press, aims to disrupt, even subvert the conventional ways of thinking about Turkey's media representation by academics. That is to say, I aim to move beyond this merely political debate on Turkey-EU relations, and question what other competing media discourses, fantasy images, clichés and stereotypes, if any, are available in the British press. This is important as these images not only connect with deeply rooted British cultural codes (cf., Elias 1991), but also are reflected in and fuelled by media representations of political or cultural events. As you shall see in what follows, the press in Britain offers a particularly rich source of material for the examination of the role of the daily press in producing meanings about Turkey. By providing us with a comprehensive selection of political and popular packages, the British press provide a supermarket of ideas.

1.4 THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, I introduce the methodology I applied in the empirical chapters. Print media analysis has been a highly effective method in this study's investigation. The media, perhaps, provide the most

powerful means of representations. It has the power to inscribe self/Other stereotypes in the public domain. The methodology I chose to investigate popular representation of Turkey in the British print media is based on a qualitative research technique (cf., Wolcott 2001; 1994). As Creswell (2003) succinctly put it: “Qualitative research is fundamentally interpretive. This means that the researcher gathered the data, then judges the results and makes an interpretation of the data. This includes developing a description of an individual or setting, analysing data for themes or categories, and finally making an interpretation or drawing conclusions about its meaning personally and theoretically, stating the lessons learned, and offering further questions to be asked” (p. 182). In the present study, themes, narrative, language, and to a certain degree visuals in newspapers are given fundamental importance, not only as an analytic tool, also as the way of communicating a general theory of media representation. This study, then, has made use of a qualitative content analysis (cf., Richardson 2007; Berg 1989). I follow, especially, the work of Schreier (2012) and Hijmans (1996), and apply a four dimensional analysis: the thematic, the narrative, the linguistic, and to a certain degree the visual dimension.

I have only accommodated the British print media discourse where it explicitly reveals a wide range of perceptions on Turkey. Print media, creates more space for the journalistic analysis of Turkey’s representation than television or radio: “In Britain, 67 per cent of adults read at least one national newspaper, while 84 per cent read a regional title” (McNair 2009, p. 19). I have drawn materials from the British broadsheet and tabloid dailies (for further detail see section 1.5). I have used and analysed news articles from the online *LexisNexis* database in Erasmus University in Rotterdam; the *British Library Newspaper Archive* in London; and the British broadsheet newspapers archive in *Leicester Central Library* in Leicester. I have also made use of the microfilms in the *Pilkington Library*, and the *British Tabloid Newspapers Archive* both kept at Loughborough University. And finally, I have made use of available

secondary sources. I have made all efforts within my capacity to review relevant published academic material in two languages: English and Turkish.

I select three case studies (cf., Flyvbjerg 2006; Yin 1989) and analysed 321 news articles about these cases. Without insisting on the accuracy of these news articles, the level of realism conveyed, or the extent of truth or prejudices in the representation, at the simplest level, I try to understand the ways in which these news articles portray Turkey at particular times covering topics of contemporary popular appeal. Practically, I try to uncover how travel and tourism, gender and romance, and sports and nationalism have been treated in the British press, particularly in relation to Turkey.

In order to give a full treatment of the four dimensions, I pay little attention to other levels of analysis. For instance, I ignore the graphic format of the page. I am well aware that page layout and typographical choices (such as style, colour and size of print), composition of pictures, cartoons, drawings, tables, captions, maps, etc., are of great importance in newspaper representation, and that these factors interact dynamically with the theme, narration, language and visuals. But all newspapers are so complex that focusing on one aspect inevitably leads to the neglect of others. I am also aware that different methodologies will produce different kinds of findings and answers – even if they are used for evaluating similar questions (McKee 2003). There isn't one true answer to the question of how Turkey is represented in lifestyle news outlets. Depending on how we collect data, we will find different information – one strategy for data collection may provide results that will prove incompatible with the findings found in the employment of another method. This is equally valid for the media system operating in the countries we study. What I find in the British press can produce a completely different picture from that found in the Dutch, French or Italian press. As journalists in the latter countries not only have a different historical, political or economic relation with Turkey, they

also work in different atmospheres of what constitutes value and how judgements are made, have different symbolic images, and live within distinctive national characteristics and habitus codes (cf., Elias 1991).

That said, as the research framework demonstrates in Figure 1, I have chosen to analyse in this study British press treatments of lifestyle matters which have long been ignored by scholars, yet are of intense concern in representing contemporary Turkey: travel, romance tourism, and sports.

FIGURE 1.1
Research framework



1.5 NATURE OF THE SOURCE MATERIAL

In this section, I extend and develop the rationale governing the broadsheet/tabloid comparison used in this study. This study concentrates on: the *Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Financial Times*, the *Times* and the *Independent* from higher quality broadsheets, and the *Daily Mail*, from mid-market tabloids, along with the *Sun*, the *Mirror*, the *News of the World* (currently closed down), the *Sunday People*, and the *Evening Standard* from popular tabloids. Even though “the press outside London has traditionally been regarded as low-status and second class by those who work on the major nationals” (McNair 2009, p. 168), occasional attention is given herein to a few regional newspapers, e.g., the *Daily Record* and the *Evening Gazette*. As the *Third Chapter* demonstrates, the regional press occupies an important role in British journalism, especially in reporting local stories. The social composition of the audience determines the general tone of these papers (Richardson 2007).

The broadsheet and tabloid journalism industry “is arguably one of the key social and cultural forces” in British society (McNair 2009, p. 19). It represents the established press in Britain. All the newspapers analysed in this study are privately owned media organizations, having their own commercial or political interests. But, instead of considering who owns these media organizations, it is more important to focus on how their reporting is shaped and influenced by cultural, traditional and dominant ideologies and traditional values.

The widely accepted dichotomy between the professional standards of broadsheet and tabloid journalism is a vigorously problematic concept. It is also true that in the nature of things, different countries have distinctive media systems, press characteristics that are particular to their country and press histories that differ dramatically. Put more concretely, by way of example, the standards, the prevailing ethical base, the constituencies of readership of conventional and

mainstream journalism can be radically different in various media landscapes whether these be in the United States, Europe or Japan. For example, in the American print context, the newspaper readership is not divided by social classes as it is, by and large, in Britain (Bird 2000). Although some scholars suggest that news discourse in broadsheet and tabloid media is generally similar (Connell 1998), a considerable body of literature agrees that there is a severe and wide divide between broadsheet and tabloid reporting (Conboy 2002; Dahlgren and Sparks 1992; Baker 2010; Rhoufari 2000; Uribe and Gunter 2004). As Fowler (1991) points out: “The style of the Sun newspaper is very different from that of the *Independent*, and the readerships of the two papers are very distinct socio-economically” (p. 4). They have a distinctive layout, printing policies and institutional structures and feed information to different strata of British society (McNair 2009). Each format has its own approach and style in its coverage of lifestyle news, depending on editorial policies (see also Reinemann, Stanyer, Scherr and Legnante 2011; Curran, Iyengar, Lund, Brink and Salovaara-Moring 2009; Van Zoonen 2000; Brants, Hermes and Van Zoonen 1998). To map the general scholarly discussions and the dimension of the two forms, I try to approach the treatment of the comparison with caution.

1.5.1 Tabloid Newspapers

In contemporary Britain, it is a simple fact that tabloid newspapers like the *Sun*, *Daily Mail* and *Mirror* have much larger circulations than the broadsheet titles and work hard to establish themselves as the leaders in currently prevailing opinion for those that read them regularly (cf., Engel 1996). These papers, especially the *Sun*, sell over three million copies a day and are read by three times that number (Conboy 2002). Authors like Sparks (2000, 1992), Conboy (2002) and Zelizer (2004) celebrate the tabloid style of journalism and famously argued that they have social implications for society. Moreover, the study of Deuze (2005)

and Van Zoonen (1998) show a consensus about tabloids and define this type of journalism as a combination of information and entertainment – known as infotainment in the literature. With often-contradictory discourses, tabloids are traditionally perceived as the representatives of the traditionally less educated and the lower-middle classes, which are largely excluded from the dominant hegemonic culture. As Conboy (2002) illustrates in his book, *The Press and Popular Culture*: “A popular press does not only address the people themselves, but places that address within the dominant economic structures of society” (p. 10).

In line with this thinking a whole array of research on tabloid reporting has developed endeavouring to make the connection between what issues tabloids address on and write about and the general taste of the people who read them (e.g., Deuze 2005; Örnebring 2004). The dominant motive of the tabloids is to attract a high readership and to sell copies of newspapers to the largest number of people possible (Rooney 2000; Rhoufari 2000). One way of doing this is to incorporate extensive use of photographs, graphics, and colour, as well as an emotional, radical, provocative, or shocking style of journalistic language into the routine production of news. Using sensational, lurid, and colloquial language with bold and bombastic headlines as a magnet to attract the reader, the tabloid papers knowingly exploits the consumer’s own tastes and prejudices. Their news story works as a magnet that attracts reader’s attention. By so doing, the readers are lured by the appealing appearance of tabloid newspapers. In many cases the whole story often surprises the reader by its content, which may bear little relation to what might be supposed in the accompanying headline.

Another character of the tabloid press is their obsessive interest on moral issues that may be under scrutiny within British culture. As Fiske (1992) states, tabloid news, with its excessive, mocking, and melodramatic style, is actually subversive (cf., Connell 1998). This is particularly true when looking at notions of ethical sensibility and morality – moral icons of good versus bad – are the key themes in

tabloids. For a definition of what might constitute elements that touch on morality in tabloids, I have used studies by Sparks (1992) and Deuze (2005), suggesting a certain agreement that tabloids devote more attention to sex scandals, and that sexuality in its various manifestations is obviously one of the central features of the tabloid press. As such: “The range of topics that are mentioned with moral indignation generally fall into the category of ‘love life’, ranging from marital affairs (divorce, cheating, death in the family, a baby when it is unclear who the father is), and relationships (emphasizing breaking up and getting together again, breaches of monogamy) to sexuality (deviant sex, extreme sexual preferences, physical beauty, promiscuity)” (Deuze 2005, p. 875). It is important to highlight that within this range of morality topics little or no mention is made of topics outside the dominant and family oriented view of civil life. We can, then, assume that the British tabloid press tend to socially construct and frame events that retain the traditional value systems of their readers, and exclude or marginalise others that do not accommodate or are in direct conflict with this category (McNair 2009).

The themes of tabloid press tend toward the trivial and the undemanding and the non-serious. A tabloid paper typically will “devote relatively little attention to politics, economics and society and relatively much to diversions like sports, scandals, and entertainment; it devotes relatively much attention to the personal and private lives of people, both celebrities and ordinary people, and relatively little to political processes, economic developments, and social changes” (Sparks 2000, p. 10). To sum, there is an agreement that tabloids put a lot of emphasis on sensory details with often-salacious content, while vivid and idiomatic everyday language is used to achieve this goal (Sparks and Tulloch 2000); they focus largely on human-interest stories, and personal narratives about individuals (e.g., Curran, Douglas and Whannel 1980; Van Zoonen 1998); lastly, tabloid texts are usually written in an easy-to-consume format, often carrying low density in terms of information

(Rooney 2000).

1.5.2 Broadsheet Newspapers

The broadsheet press, also known as the quality press, have been acknowledged to employ a rather conventional and established investigative journalistic format that inspires more critical reporting and more demanding content (e.g., McLachlan and Golding 2000; McNair 1999; Allan 1999, 2005). The newsrooms of broadsheet papers target the upper and middle classes and lay heavy emphasis on the discourse of the political (i.e., political, economics, or structural and societal changes in the world). Thus, the journalists working for these papers tend to reflect the educational background of their readers and regard them as informed citizens who demand socially and politically relevant information (Macdonald 2000). At their best, they are acknowledged as newspapers that follow the traditionally accepted journalistic standards of objectivity, neutrality, impartiality, truthfulness and accuracy and use the traditional inverted pyramid strategy to write serious news stories (Schudson 2001; Hanitzsch 2007; McLachlan and Golding 2000; Sparks 1988; Gans 1979a). They usually aim to facilitate political involvement and democratic participation (Sparks 2000). They tend to report stories that are in the public interest using a language requiring more intellectual knowledge (Rooney 2000; Brookes 2000). Fowler (1991) also adds that many broadsheet newspapers are largely associated with prestige, formality, responsibility and conservatism. For example, the *Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* are conservative. But the *Guardian* and the *Independent* are both left of centre and employ some journalists who are unashamedly socialist.

The polarization between *broadsheet* versus *tabloid* content is critical for understanding the findings in the following analysis. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the two genres would therefore adopt completely different approaches in their imagining and depiction

of Turkey, as might be supposed.

1.6 THE ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

This study provides a coherent review of the British print media's representation of Turkey in some lifestyle sections. It is divided into five chapters including (this) *Introduction*. In addition, at the beginning, there are chapter outlines and acknowledgements. Currently, there is a limited scholarship dedicated to the representations of Turkey in lifestyle sections. The ways in which Turkey is imagined and presented to the British reader will now be analysed in detail in Chapter Two, Three and Four, looking at different lifestyle topics, from travel, to romance, to sports. These studies are based on separate empirical articles.

The *Second Chapter*, bearing the title “*Try a taste of Turkey’: An analysis of Turkey’s representation in British newspapers’ travel sections*” discusses the role of travel journalism in presenting Turkey as a travel destination for the intended British reader. It begins by outlining the current scholarship in travel journalism studies. The chapter argues that this form of journalism is interpretive, thus, is not neutral or impartial, as news reporting can be and that tabloid and broadsheet travel journalists produce an image that fits the expectations of the reader. It also introduces the upbeat nature of travel texts by exemplifying how they ignore negativity. Here the issue of the tabloid versus the broadsheet newspaper is a good example by way of illustrating the ways in which travel and tourism can be minded, manipulated, and marketed for the joint purposes of economic interest. In this context, the chapter contributes to the journalism literature by adding that British travel journalists commodify Turkey and portray the country as an exotic, oriental, authentic, and stunning travel destination that the British tourist can dream about. This chapter is based on a version, which has been published (see Hamid-Turksoy, Kuipers and Van Zoonen 2014a).

The *Third Chapter*, bearing the title “*I dumped my husband*

for a Turkish toyboy': Romance tourism and intersectionality in British tabloid newspapers" is concerned with the tabloid media's representation of romance tourism and the traditional gender roles of femininity, especially motherhood. In this context, the chapter provides a thorough and stimulating overview of the ways in which the mature British woman challenges traditional masculine hegemony by dating younger Turkish toyboy lovers yet at the same time confirming the dominance of the developed world. The social construction of the exotic *Other* in the media is another aspect looked at in this chapter. It argues that the British tabloid press facilitate inequalities and social divisions by replacing and confirming their readers' stereotypical concepts regarding gender, age, nation and class. By focusing on the idea that exotic and easily consumable young Turkish toyboys are commodified, the chapter elucidates the ways in which they are passively presented, if not exploited, as men available on the market for mature British women. This is manifested in the newspaper stories evaluated here. This chapter also is based on a version, which has been published (see Hamid-Turksoy, Van Zoonen and Kuipers 2014b).

The *Fourth Chapter*, reports the findings of another case study, looking at the representation of Turkey in British sports news. Bearing the title "*Go Turkey Go!?: Football, nationalism and the representation of Turkey in British newspapers sport sections*" this chapter introduces the representation of the Turkish nation in British press coverage of football games between English and Turkish teams during the 2004 UEFA European Championship qualifying rounds. Because in recent times many researchers have come to link writing about football with notions of national identity, the chapter starts by focusing on the role of football match reports. Its main aim is to explain that covering football is far more than the mere summary of events on a pitch, but a powerful vector in reflecting national identities. The chapter then analyses how British journalists communicate notions of the Turkish nation, national identity and culture. Further, it considers closely on how football

journalists add ideological, political and historical information about who we/they are, and what our/their national identity is perceived to be.

The *Fifth Chapter*, the conclusion, is the reflection on the new knowledge acquired in the representation of Turkey in the British press. It draws together a synthesis of the findings that have emerged from the previous three chapters and discusses their implications. The chapter begins by addressing what kind of new representations are being found in the British press about the Turkish nation. It highlights some of the questions emerging from the empirical chapters discussion, including the influence of lifestyle outlets in defining a nation, and the question of difference and similarities between broadsheet and tabloid press in covering contemporary Turkey in lifestyle news. The chapter calls attention to points pertinent to the great field of media representation and concludes with an empowered understanding of the importance of lifestyle journalism in drawing national images and identities. It also includes suggestions for the conceptual and methodological framework in general.

Finally, in the Appendix, the reader will find a list of 321 news articles that have been used in the study in the course of the empirical investigation, alongside lists of references, an executive summary, and a short biography of the researcher. There are also translations of the executive summary in English and Dutch. All news quotations in each empirical text are drawn from the data listed in the Appendix. For the reader's convenience in the next section I have included an overview of the cases covered in this study.

1.7 OVERVIEW OF THE CASE STUDIES

Reporting Turkey in Travel Context

This article explores the cultural representation of Turkey as a travel destination for British tourists. Drawing on findings from a qualitative

content analysis of 99 travel features published in three British broadsheet and three tabloid papers over a five-year period, we investigate the content and form of travel journalism as a journalistic genre dedicated to the representation of far-away places and the “Others” who live there. Looking at generic conventions and representations of Turkey at three levels – geography, landscape and culture, and the Turkish people – we found remarkable commonalities between broadsheet and tabloid travel journalism, although they have different institutional structures and cater to different audiences. Travel journalism, as a practice is upbeat, positive, service-oriented and driven by market forces. The language is hyperbolic and flowery. In direct contrast with Turkey’s negative framing in European hard news journalism, travel journalism frames the country positively: as a stunning, risk-free travel destination readers can dream about. Through the gatekeeping of travel journalists, Turkey is filtered, packaged and made consumable, allowing British readers to fantasize about an exotic and mysterious place with gorgeous beaches. Turkey also is presented as a country with an oriental and authentic flavour geographically “in” Europe, but different from Europe. The Turks are orientalist and introduced to the Western reader as *Others*. We argue that both the linguistic conventions and the representational politics of travel journalism are inclined to commodify countries with new practices of consumerism.

Reporting Turkey in Romance Tourism Context

In this article, we analyse how British tabloid newspapers represent relationships between mature British women and the younger Turkish toyboy lovers they meet (and sometimes look for) on their holiday; a practice that is often considered as the female counterpart to male sex tourism, albeit labelled differently as “romance tourism.” Employing a combination of thematic, lexical, narrative, and visual analysis, we examine how the British tabloids make sense of the contradicting social

categories and power relations at play in these encounters, in particular with respect to age, gender, nation, and economic position. We consider these contradictions as typical for the intersectionality of gender identities, and use the tabloid stories about romance tourism as a means to study how such intersectionality becomes manifest in everyday practices. We find that the tabloids construct only one dimension of identity as key to women's lives that is the one of motherhood and more abstractly of caring for others. In addition, they present women as highly vulnerable to exploitation by foreign, exotic others, who are portrayed either as evil con men or – in the sporadic upbeat, happy-ending story we found – as dependent and passive objects of women's desires.

Reporting Turkey in Sport Context

This article is concerned with the role that sections of the British sports press plays in their construction and representation of the Turkish national identity. More specifically, I evaluate the media reporting within the British press during the 2004 UEFA European Championship, Euro 2004, qualifying matches between Turkey and England. By applying a combination of thematic, lexical, and narrative analysis, I question how the image of the Turkish nation is communicated to the intended British broadsheet and tabloid sport reader. The results suggest that the British tabloid and some broadsheet papers disseminate for a wider readership the Turkish national team as weak and uncompetitive; the venue, Istanbul, is portrayed as an “intimidating” place; the Turkish fans are generally linked with violence and depicted as “fanatic” or “aggressive”. Quite the contrary, the Turkish players are praised and are almost always portrayed as “strong” and “excellent footballers”, playing “all over Europe”.

CHAPTER 2

“TRY A TASTE OF TURKEY”: An analysis of Turkey’s representation in British newspapers travel sections



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CHAPTER 2

“TRY A TASTE OF TURKEY”: An analysis of Turkey’s representation in British newspapers travel sections

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*WHENEVER I SIT IN A CAFÉ BESIDE THE BOSPHORUS
I SENSE THE POWER OF TURKEY'S GEOGRAPHY.
BEHIND ME LIE PARIS, BERLIN AND LONDON. ACROSS
THE NARROW WATERWAY IS ASIA, AN UNBROKEN
LAND MASS STRECHING FROM THE STREETS OF
ISTANBUL TO BAGHDAT, DELHI AND BEIJING.*

Kinzer 2001, p. 25

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The majority of journalism research focuses on “hard news” covering political and economic developments. “Soft news” has largely been neglected by scholars, as it addresses readers as consumers rather than citizens, and has little political authority (Fürsich 2012; Hanitzsch 2007; Keeble 2001). Consequently, the institutional, structural, regulatory and ethical dimensions of hard news journalism are well documented, while there is little research on the journalistic treatment of lifestyle, food, arts, health, sports and the main theme of this article: travel and tourism.

After World War II, the rise of consumerism and the boom in leisure activities motivated the media industry to expand their coverage of those cultural, experiential and lifestyle issues that shape our everyday life as much as politics and economics do (Hanusch 2012). Travel reporting has become an important element in today’s competitive newspaper landscape. Like many Western newspapers, the British national press expanded their travel sections, partly with an eye to raising advertising revenues and newspaper circulation.

In this article we explore the relatively under-studied genre of travel journalism. We aim to uncover the main characteristics and representational dynamics of this genre, in which journalists introduce distant places to audiences at home. As Janssen, Verboord and Kuipers (2011) argue in their study of art journalism, “soft news” journalists function as gatekeepers: they publicly confirm or reject which forms of leisure are legitimate for specific readerships. Travel journalists’ similarly filter and frame nations and locations that are worth visiting, and provide judgements of taste.

This study focuses on the representation of Turkey in the British press. Turkey serves as an interesting case because of its multi-faceted and conflicting image in Europe. In European media discourse, Turkey often appears to be politically and culturally contested: the Muslim *Other*, simultaneously inside and outside Europe, a populated,

underdeveloped (Wimmel 2009) yet exotic and colourful nation on Europe's doorstep. Different sources delineate Turkey according to their own geopolitical definitions: some situate it in Europe, others in "the East". This ambiguity is widespread: the World Trade Organization and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development classify Turkey as European, while the United Nations locates Turkey in the Middle East. But where does it belong in British travel journalists' minds? Is it European or Middle Eastern? Turkey's multi-faceted character provides travel journalists with many possible "angles" or "frames" (cf., Öztürkmen 2005).

To understand travel journalism this article first investigates the form, generic conventions and language of travel journalism. Then, it examines the representation of Turkey, Turkish culture and the Turkish people in British travel journalism. We present findings from a qualitative content analysis of 99 travel reports published in three broadsheets (the *Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and *Financial Times*) and three tabloids (the *Sun*, the *Mirror* and the *Daily Mail*) from 2005 to 2010.

We define travel journalism as a journalistic genre presenting a destination in order to inspire and encourage home audiences to travel (abroad). Several scholars have pointed out the cultural and political relevance of this seemingly "soft" genre (Cocking 2009). Travel journalism makes sense of the world, mediates experience of foreign countries (Daye 2005), generates images of travel destinations and the "Others" living there, and often evaluates the cultures and peoples it covers (Hanusch 2010). Moreover, it shows how cultural and political relationships among nations are embedded in media texts; and provides insight into processes of "Othering" and power relations between nations and cultures (Fürsich and Kavoori 2001). Finally, travel journalism has implications for citizenship: it provides information and cultural frames about "Others", and can confirm stereotypes or contribute to transcultural encounters (Fürsich 2002; Santos 2004). Thus this genre not

only informs but potentially transforms landscapes, societies, cultures, and people. As such, scholars argue that travel journalism incorporates and reproduces both new and previously established discourses and structures of meaning, ideology and power (Cocking 2009; Spurr 1993).

Travel journalists create a picture of what travel might be like. They are not merely reporters on travel but also mediators of travel discourse. They construct and distribute information about a destination by using available cultural resources, narratives, resonant mythic forms and frames. They *select* and *emphasize* the features they believe worthy of publication and reject information that does not fit their format and audience. Newspaper discourse, like all language, is a social phenomenon: it enacts identity and is infused with power relations (Richardson 2007). Arguably, travel journalism is the example *par excellence* of media construction through language, as well as photographs: travel features produce images, representations, dreams and fantasies of distant locations most readers have not (yet) visited or know little about. By focusing on this journalistic form we can understand the wider power relations involved in making travel articles.

Examining the representational dynamics for imagining Turkey, the present study contributes to an understanding of journalism in two ways. First, our analysis sheds light on how the genre of travel journalism contributes, through its form and content, to media inspired imaginations of the world “out there”. Second, while most news media representation studies look at the political coverage of Turkey (Negrine 2008; Negrine et al. 2008), our study considers the cultural coverage of this nation. Thus, we offer a comprehensive empirical analysis both of a genre, and of a specific case not systematically analysed in journalism studies so far.

2.2 TRAVEL JOURNALISM AND THE REPRESENTATION OF TURKEY: THE MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF TURKEY

Academic studies of travel mainly focus on tourism practices, either from the perspective of marketing and consumer studies (Pan and Ryan 2009; Iwashita 2006) or of cultural studies (Steward 2005; Crouch, Jackson and Thompson 2005). Some highlight the interrelation between tourism and identity; others show how tourism draws on idealized representations of travel destinations. However, few studies have looked at the mediation of travel “at home” through newspapers (Hanusch 2010; Cocking 2009; Daye 2005).

Scholars looking at newspaper travel texts have conceptualised it as a specialized form of “international news reporting” or “foreign correspondence” (Cocking 2009; Fürsich and Kavoori 2001). Others (e.g., Fürsich and Kavoori 2001) criticise the academic neglect of travel journalism, because the genre is regarded as “frivolous” and the “not-so-serious little brother” of journalism (Hanusch 2011). Santos (2004), as well as Hanusch (2011), described it as a fuzzy genre, a “hybrid format” in which information, entertainment, culture, tourism, journalism and advertising/public relations intersect. Our study builds on this work on travel journalism by analysing its genre characteristics and its politics of representation – thus analysing in conjunction form and content.

Fürsich and Kavoori (2001, p. 163) observe that travel journalists’ “professional purpose is to come up with a narration, a well-told story about other cultures, the past or distant places – in short, to package culture.” Thus, travel journalism has the potential to reveal “the ideological dimensions of tourism and transcultural encounters, as well as the ongoing dynamics of media globalization” (ibid, p. 150). Exploring travel journalism’s dimensions from a journalism perspective, Hanusch (2010, p. 72-77) identified four central elements of travel journalism.

1. Market orientation: Unlike hard news journalism, travel journalism addresses readers as consumers rather than citizens, providing advice

and practical information;

2. *Motivation*: Travel journalism attempts to inspire people to travel (in specific ways), often portraying travel uncritically and celebratory or (more rarely) portraying specific elements or destinations critically;

3. *Ethics*: Travel journalism strongly depends on the tourism industry, and may contain in-text advertising;

4. *Cultural mediation*: Travel journalism represents foreign cultures and “the Other”.

The role of travel journalism as an important site for studying distant cultures is acknowledged in the work of Daye (2005) and Cocking (2009). By critically evaluating the representation of Caribbean holiday experiences in two UK national newspapers, Daye (2005) finds that texts often lack distinctiveness and promote a stylised “way of seeing”. Travel articles represent “hedonistic pleasure to tourists” (Daye 2005, p. 23), they largely depict scenic beauty and landscape images that commodify the Caribbean as a sun, sand and sea destination. Cocking’s (2009) study evaluates British broadsheet journalism along with the *Travel Channel*’s representation of the Middle East and the Arab world. He concludes that travel texts place considerable emphasis on the pre-modern past and the colonial context. Orientalist discourse evoking antiquity, authentic, ancient, exotic, unknown and unchanged traditions are central, while little reference is made to the modern world.

Whilst not focusing solely on travel journalism, tourism studies evaluating Turkey’s representation in travel materials show how Turkey is represented in an orientalist fashion. Bryce (2007), looking at British promotional travel materials, suggests that tour operators “repack orientalism”, reproducing cliché images of Turkey: mosques, minarets and covered bazaars. Baloglu and Mangaloglu (2001) conclude that in American-based travel agents’ materials “Turkey’s unique characteristics appeared to be ‘mysterious, mystic, and intriguing’” (2001, p. 6). Italian promotional travel brochures also focus on Turkey’s oriental image: “To the Orient, towards unexplored lands” or “Turkey, discover the treasures

of the Orient” (Boria 2006, p. 499). Öztürkmen (2005), drawing on interviews with tourism professionals, found that Turkey was largely perceived in European tourist imaginations as backward, among the classic “Islamic Arab countries”.

Looking at media construction of Portugal and the Portuguese in five American newspapers’ travel sections, Santos (2004) identifies two dominant frames: first, a traditional frame portraying an unchanged Portugal reluctant to modernize; second, a contemporary frame depicting a civilized, modern-day Portugal. Santos concludes that travel articles are shaped by marketing efforts, with texts dominated by subjective and personal narratives. While most empirical studies look at country representations in travel journalism, Galasinski and Jaworski (2003) made an important contribution by focusing on representations of the hosts in tourist-host interaction in travel texts. Their analysis of the *Guardian* travel section concludes that travel articles contain little information about actual, reported interactions with locals. Yet, the hosts are depicted as friendly and hospitable.

Most authors writing on this field (Hanusch 2010, Cocking 2009, Daye 2005, Santos 2004, Fürsich and Kavoori 2001) address the financial logic of travel journalism. Travel journalism is financially dependent on travel and advertising agencies and other commercial sponsors, who often pay for authors’ trips, which blurs the line between independent reporting and advertising. “Receiving a free trip and luxury accommodation may arguably lead a journalist to be purely positive, if only so that they may be asked back on another trip or the sponsor does not withdraw their advertising” says Hanusch (2010, p. 74). Fürsich (2012) notes how the rise of consumer culture increased journalistic coverage of entertainment, relaxation and consumption-driven lifestyle reporting, like travel. This journalism addresses audiences primarily as consumers, which lead to increasing interdependence of journalism and advertisers (cf., Kristensen and From 2012).

This article then analyses the travel journalism genre, taking

into account the specific financial logic of this branch of journalism. What we add to existing studies is, first, a comparative perspective. We analyse both broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. These papers have different business models: while broadsheets are maintained primarily by advertising, tabloids rely mainly on sales. They also serve different readerships, i.e., social classes (cf., McNair 2009). Consequently, broadsheets and tabloids are expected to have a rather distinctive approach to travel features in terms of style, jargon, and content. Second, we investigate this genre by an extensive empirical analysis of reporting on Turkey: a country aiming for European Union membership with a multi-faceted and rather ambiguous image, and visited annually by large number of British tourists from a range of social backgrounds. Thus, many different travel images and fantasies can be projected on it. No scientific inquiry to date has analysed how Turkish culture, the Turks and Turkey is depicted and evaluated as a travel destination in mass media. We hope to fill this gap, investigating to what extent the orientalisising discourse typical of aforementioned tourism studies extends to travel journalism.

2.3 METHOD AND DATA

For this comprehensive empirical research travel reports on Turkey were selected from six daily newspapers with different editorial profiles in the British media landscape: an upmarket broadsheet, *Financial Times*; two general broadsheet newspapers, the *Guardian* and the *Telegraph*; a mid-market tabloid, the *Daily Mail*; and two red-top tabloids, the *Sun* and the *Mirror* (cf., McNair 2009). These newspapers provide an appropriate sample of the regular British media construction of foreign destinations. We purposively focus on papers on with different positions in the strongly divided British newspaper landscape. Broadsheets target the educated, upper middle classes, and present themselves as serious, critical papers. Tabloids, on the other hand, primarily cater to members

of the less educated, lower-middle classes with a mixture of news, entertainment, and popularized, partisan politics (Richardson 2007; Sparks 2000; Hanitzsch 2007).

As Turkey began accession negotiations with the European Union in 2005, our analysis covers the period from 2005 till 2010. This five-year time frame gave us a broad sample of Turkey-related travel stories. Using Lexis-Nexis, we selected all items containing the terms “Turkey” and “Travel”, yielding 563 items. We then narrowed our search to “Travel Features”, “Travel Pages”, “Weekend-Travel” or “Travel Report” where Turkey was the *core* story. We excluded items with only passing references to Turkey: letters to the editor, travel tips, Turkish weather forecasts, and travel advertisements. As Table 2.1 demonstrates, our final corpus produced 99 articles directly referring to travel and tourism in Turkey (also see Appendix I). This sample size was deemed sufficient for our interpretive analysis. Broadsheets the *Guardian* (39), the *Daily Telegraph* (23) and *Financial Times* (10) accounted for 72 items (72.8 %); while tabloids the *Sun* (12), the *Mirror* (4) and the *Daily Mail* (11) had 27 items (27.2 %). The reasons for this are twofold. First, broadsheets are typically larger than tabloids, containing more stories. Moreover, tabloids rely more heavily on sales revenues, whilst broadsheets’ survival is dependent on advertising revenues. This includes advertisements by travel agencies, which may lead broadsheets to devote more space to travel.

TABLE 2.1

Corpus: travel articles about Turkey in the British national press

	NEWSPAPERS	FIRST-HAND REVIEWS	REPORTS	TOTAL
BROADSHEETS	Guardian	38	1	39
	Telegraph	17	6	23
	Financial Times	5	5	10
	Sub-Total (n=72)	60	12	72
TABLOIDS	Sun	10	2	12
	Daily Mail	11	0	11
	Daily Mirror	4	0	4
	Sub-Total (n=27)	25	2	27
	TOTAL (n=99)	85	14	99

We employed a qualitative content analysis (Schreier 2012). Each of the 99 articles sampled were coded on 4 levels: 1. form, genre characteristics and linguistic preferences of travel journalism, 2. geographic representations, 3. landscape and cultural representations 4. representations of the Turkish people. We first looked at format, genre and articles' structure in terms of images and information they carry; then we analysed the content of each body of text with respect to popular adjectives used by travel journalists to ascribe meaning to the landscape characteristics; e.g., coastline, historic resources. In that same section, we looked at language differences and similarities used by broadsheet and tabloid travel journalists to represent the destination. Second, we considered how Turkey is geographically positioned: is Turkey presented as part of the Orient, of Europe, or is it not described in these terms at all? Third, we looked at how landscape and culture are presented; how are the texts phrased and constructed; what motives and narratives are embedded within the articles; and how do travel journalists ascribe meaning to what they see in Turkey? Lastly, we looked at the representation of Turkish people: are the locals present, if so how? To what extent are they presented as (exotic or oriental) Others? To fully understanding the placement, spread and layout

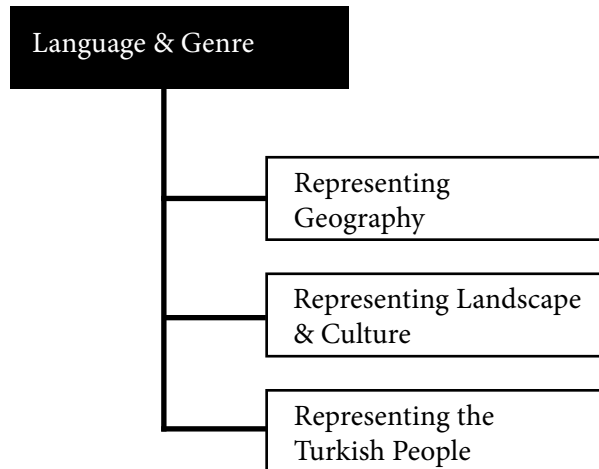
of these articles, we additionally looked for the hardcopies of tabloid articles and for the microfilms of broadsheet articles at the newspaper archive of Loughborough University.

2.4 RESULTS

Our findings demonstrate that travel journalism's genre produces and distributes meanings and representations of Turkey at three levels: *geography*; *landscape and culture*; and the *people*. However, we first looked at the genre itself, analysing its *form and language* (see Figure 2.1).

FIGURE 2.1

Travel journalism: our analytical schema



2.4.1 Form, Language and Genre

The majority (57 items) of travel articles are first-hand accounts/reviews, featuring the author's personal impressions, providing information and advice, e.g., "must see", "don't miss", and often directly addressing the reader, e.g., "you will", "you can", and creating a friendliness and informality that reflect the fun of travel. 64 broadsheet and tabloid travel accounts provided some degree of information about holiday package prices or relevant travel agencies' contact details, booking, or transport and accommodation facilities. This partly confirms the arguments made by Hanusch (2010) and Daye (2005) that travel journalism is closely intertwined with the travel industry and advertising agencies. The tone of the coverage is intimate and full of detail: "At the edge of the Black Sea, about an hour's boat ride from Istanbul up the Bosphorus, sits the little-known hillside town of Kilyos" (*Guardian*, April 10, 2010). Short, simple and easily consumed messages are preferred to long and complex ones.

The articles evaluate a location or specific place, presenting subjective accounts of actual places, and instructing the audience, e.g., "you must see". Thus, travel writers present themselves as cultural mediators or "culture brokers" (Santos 2004), who provide information to potential customers travelling to a distant place. They classify travel experiences; interpret them for the intended audience, often giving suggestions and recommendations. Both tabloid and broadsheet travel journalists' primary goal seems to be facilitation of vacation planning (cf., Santos 2004). Only a small proportion of broadsheet (12 items) and tabloid (2 items) coverage in this sample is written in report format, containing general discussions of tourism in Turkey, e.g., property opportunities, investment and economic developments. Tabloid travel coverage is supported by considerable amounts of visual imagery. While 57.0 % of broadsheet articles are accompanied by at least one photograph, creating additional visual effects for the text, almost twice as many tabloid stories (85.2 %) are accompanied by more photographs. Tabloid

culture relies more extensively on images as the main communication form. By giving the audience photographs the rest is left to readers' imagination.

A central feature of travel journalism as a genre is its upbeat nature. Both broadsheet and tabloid travel journalists produce happy stories that encourage the reader to travel. Table 2.2, which lists the words used to describe the landscape, shows how journalists tend to ignore any type of disenchantment, using a formulaic, mainly positive vocabulary. A typical hyperbolic terminology underlines the destination's beauty and excellence, e.g., "tranquil heavens". Admiring language that speaks of a "Mediterranean paradise" allows the reader to fantasise about the beauty: "it is hard to imagine a better beach" (*Sun*, October 1, 2005). Scenery, historic and archaeological resources, cuisine and accommodation are similarly portrayed as "glorious", "delightful", and "extraordinary". UK travel journalists use a specific jargon, markedly different from hard news journalists, who are bound by journalistic conventions like impartiality, neutrality and truthfulness. The first-hand personal impressions facilitate commodifying Turkey by transforming it into a beautiful, fashionable playground well worth visiting.

TABLE 2.2

Terminology used to describe the landscape

FEATURES	FAVOURABLE	UNFAVOURABLE
COASTLINE (beach, sea)	brilliant, fantastic, tranquilly heaven, bewitching, endless, divinely beautiful, incredibly beautiful, lovely, magical, secluded beaches, best beaches in the world, crystal clear water, sun-kissed water, clear blue waters, oxygen-rich air, emerald blue seas, sparkling blue sea, glorious sea, truly spectacular astonishing sea view, amazing view, spectacular view, stunning view, absolute tranquillity	scruffy, nasty, massive, ugly, over development

NATURE (flora, mountains, rivers)	spectacular canyons/gorge, magnificent, panoramic, rich, breath taking, world's best white-water rivers, endless wooded hills	
CLIMATE	marvellous, delicious temperature, summertime heaven, beautiful sunshine, wild, beautiful land	
HISTORIC RESOURCES	fascinating, splendid, astonishing, mediaeval paradise, alluring, vibrant, best preserved, best Seljuk architecture, ancient, handsome modern archaeological museum, impressive, long and colourful history, magical, stunning Byzantine church, well-preserved, hauntingly beautiful, gorgeous churches, masterpieces, magnificent mosque, divinely beautiful mosque, grandiose mosques, wonderful Ottoman houses, dazzling Ottoman architecture, fantastic old silk market, bewitching, wonderful, the greatest surviving building of antiquity, full of historic wonders, full of archaeological treasures, rich cultural heritage	famously unloved Turkish architecture
TURKISH CUISINE	fabulous, fresh, authentic, excellent, to die for, heaven-made, best meal, good/fantastic/delighted restaurant, delicious healthy food, best lamb, best seafood, best chefs, superb, very tasty, impressed, exceptionally good	
ACCOMMO- DATION (villas, hotels, resorts)	generous, congenial country, fabulous atmosphere, magical, spacious, comfortable, easily accessible, easy reach, unspoilt fishing village, beautiful resort, spacious rooms, glorious room, attractive, charming, elegant establishment, mouth-watering trip, romantic and alluring, international-style	ill-equipped, undesirable

These genre characteristics of travel journalism are similar for broadsheets and tabloids. For example:

Driving into the Turkish hills, you get the feeling of a huge, wild, beautiful land, full of archaeological treasures from 55 cities to explore (*Daily Mail*, May 20, 2006).

It was a truly magical trip – beautiful sea for sailing and swimming, marvellous food, and amazing ancient civilisations (*Guardian*, February 24, 2007).

The *Mail* and *Guardian* employ the same style: hyperbolic, full of adjectives, notably devoid of critique or cynicism. Danger, dirt or things to avoid do not enter the stories. We find only five articles, all in the *Telegraph*, about risk, particularly the 2006 bird flu outbreak and 2007 terrorist attacks in tourist areas. These reports are made innocent by a “despite” phrase (“Despite bombs, no ban for Turkey”), continuing with descriptions about travel sales growth.

The *Financial Times* is the only paper addressing travel issues somewhat critically. It reports and reviews Turkey’s contemporary characteristics, including occasional reports on “bad” subjects ignored by other papers in this sample: “Much of this coastline is dramatic and beautiful; some of the towns are delightful, some scruffy, and some, such as Altinkum, are victims of massive over-development that is cheap and nasty” (*Financial Times*, July 26, 2008).

The main difference in style between tabloid and broadsheet newspapers appears in the presentation of destinations. Tabloid journalists typically promote and praise the cheapness of Turkish holidays: “all-inclusive resort hotels”, “cheap flights”, “cheap restaurants”, “package deals”, or “dirty cheap mud baths”. The *Mirror* invites readers on a holiday in a “non-Eurozone” country. The *Sun* emphasizes “Hot Value” or “Best Deal”, implying a family holiday opportunity in a

“cheap(ish)” country. Some broadsheet reviews also mention the Turkish currency being outside the Eurozone, but they largely refer to “upmarket” travel, e.g., “boutique-style”, “high-quality”, and “higher standards of accommodation”, “chic”, “unique”, “elegant”, “newish” and “top-end hotels”, or “luxurious”, “upmarket villas” with “antique furniture”, mostly “little-known”. This class-defining terminology evidently testifies to broadsheet journalists using a language that evokes upper middle class codes/values. Turkey is thus presented to the tabloid market as a “cheap” country offering “low-cost” package tours, but to the broadsheet reader as an authentic country offering a “tailor made” experience. These linguistic characteristics demonstrate how a country’s landscape, culture, natural resources or other characteristics are filtered, framed and commodified by travel journalists that function as gatekeepers for their newspaper’s target audiences.

2.4.2 Geographic Representation

UK broadsheet and tabloid travel journalists tend to situate Turkey *in* Europe, particularly as a Mediterranean country. With the exception of a *Telegraph* extract likening Turkey to Egypt, a *Mail* article titled “When East meets West” (October 24, 2008), and a *Sun* article referring to Turkey as “the European gateway to Asia”, we hardly find any evidence of Turkey being positioned as a Middle Eastern or Asian country. Instead, we encounter 25 articles comparing Turkey with neighbouring places like Greece, Italy, Spain or southern France.

“Turkey is a genuine alternative to Spain and Cyprus”, suggests the *Mail* (May 9, 2008). Istanbul is portrayed as “one of Europe’s most cultured cities” with a “European flavour”: “Unlike New York, Istanbul has 3,000 years of civilization to inspire herself with” says the *Guardian* (April 10, 2010). In this article, the historic Saklikent is described as the “second-largest gorge in Europe”, and Edirne as “Turkey’s true gateway to Europe and the Balkans” (*ibid*). When describing the Lycian coasts,

the *Guardian* travel editor describes it as a “hill village in a remote part of Italy” (May 8, 2010). A *Sun* extract describes the Blue Lagoon bay as “one of the most photographed beaches in Europe” (November 5, 2005). Features in *Financial Times* describe Turkey as “a European-style social democracy” (June 10, 2008), or compare Istanbul with Venice (July 22, 2006), Bodrum with Saint Tropez (July 26, 2008), or the country as a whole to other European countries: “Turkey has more Greek monuments than Greece and more Roman sites than Italy”, (ibid). Another *Financial Times* article reviewing Istanbul’s Modern Art Museum reads: “The comparison with Venice is not accidental – the stories of both cities are fatally entwined” (July 22, 2006). Having compared the travel costs, the *Telegraph* concludes: “prices in Turkey are generally significantly lower than in other EU countries” (February 7, 2009).

In soft news, Turkey thus is constructed as similar to Europe. This discourse stands in stark contrast to hard news journalism, which tends to represent Turkey as Other and non-European. It may imply an ideological statement, stressing that Turkey belongs to the West, to a place “just like ours”. Its geographic closeness is used to Europeanize the country and enhance its status by associating Turkey with modern, developed, well known, fashionable travel locations, making it easier to package, price and sell to a British audience. This strategy seems successful, as according to the Association of Turkish Travel Agencies statistics Britain sent the third highest number of visitors to Turkey (Tursab 2013). It seems that a country often negatively framed in a European political context, is reframed positively as a “fascinating” travel destination Western readers can dream about. Its “rich cultural heritage” and “emerald blue” seas are used for the sake of the media and travel industry’s economic interests. Ultimately, Turkey is a country geographically close to “us”, but culturally different from “ours”, seems to be its strongest selling point.

Accordingly, Turkey’s representation in continental European

media discourse as the *Muslim Other* (cf., Wimmel 2009), almost entirely disappears in UK travel journalism. Islam is hardly mentioned in our sample; and the Turks featuring in travel articles are generally not labelled as Muslims. This notable absence of anything that makes the country look Islamic seems a discursive strategy to market Turkey as just another European beach destination. Again, this stands in marked contrast with representations in hard news journalism, which often portrays Islam as backward or dangerous, and Muslims as terrorists or fundamentalists (Saeed 2007). Since these frames are hardly appropriate for travel journalism. This leaves travel journalists with two options: avoiding any mention of religion; or reframing and orientalizing Islam as a largely unthreatening, oriental, and mostly objectified presence: beautiful mosques and minarets, often remnants of times long gone.

2.4.3 Representation of Landscape and Culture

Even though Turkey is geographically Europeanized, in the representation of Turkish culture we found a notable duality. Stories about particular attractions are enriched with classic oriental motifs: mosques facing Mecca, madrasahs (Q'ranic schools), the muezzin's or imam's voice, whirling dervishes, folkloric dancing, exotic cities, Arab-style buildings, Arab or Middle Eastern influences in Turkish cuisine, Ottoman desserts, Ottoman hamams, mediaeval bazaars, old silk markets or traditional Turkish sufi (spiritual) music. All these may call Muslim culture to mind. They provide references to an exotic past and allow the reader to imagine a mysterious, oriental and authentic place, different enough to satisfy touristic impulses: "The walls are embroidered with calligraphy, and the ceilings are a kaleidoscope of beautifully executed arabesques" (*Guardian*, April 10, 2010). Or this narration: "Yet it's Turkey's culture and history that makes her so attractive today (...) The face she shows most of us is thoroughly modern – sort of like Italy, but with moustaches and headscarves" (ibid). By adding symbolic images, e.g.,

moustache and headscarf, journalists promote the traditional, authentic and oriental atmosphere a holiday in Turkey offers. By exoticising locals they celebrate differences. It is clear that the orientalist representation is readily taken on by travel journalists to commodify the Turkish culture. The comparison with Italy, however, also successfully positions Turkey as a modern country:

I had great plans to travel the world until I fell for this halfway house between Italian culture and Arabian exoticism, with its fabulous cuisine, truly generous people and heart stopping landscapes. Historical sites are casually scattered about in the form of ruined classical cities, Armenian and Greek churches, Ottoman mosques, caravanserais and palaces. At Patara, you can walk among the ruins of St Nicholas's birthplace before cooling off on one of the Mediterranean's great unspoiled beaches (*Guardian*, February 24, 2007).

This juxtaposition of tradition and modernity enhances the attractions offered in Turkey. It promotes a destination readers can dream about. By adding local and idiosyncratic references, journalists promote a mixture of old/authentic and new/modern. They actively seek signifiers that construct stereotypical images of Turkey as a modern, European country retaining its Ottoman and oriental elements, where both modernity and tradition coexist. By so doing, journalists present tourist facilities based on a combination of Western standards and local flavour. In this way, Western readers simultaneously receive comfort and a sense of local peculiarity.

Landscape, coastline and scenery received much the same treatment. The *Sun* and *Mirror*, leaders of the down-market, national dailies, often cover the climate and beautiful coastlines. Their stories focus on classic, all-inclusive beach holidays: "For me, holidays involve a beach, book and blistering hot sun" reads the *Sun* (January 19, 2008).

The *Mirror* confirms: “With its marvellous climate, beautiful coastline, lively nightlife and low prices, it’s little wonder that more and more Brits are choosing Turkey as their place in the sun” (October 17, 2007). This type of story talks about reliably warm and sunny weather, and endless Mediterranean coastlines with the best beaches and clear blue waters ideal for diving/swimming/mud bathing. Thus, tabloids promote human pleasure for the budget traveller, commodifying Turkey as just another sun, sea and sand destination for the fun loving tourist – but with some oriental extras.

2.4.4 Representation of the Turkish People

Finally, we study the representation of people. Although it is difficult to find examples of direct experience with Turkish people, some articles mentioned communication between the journalists and locals working in tourism: “friendly local staff” (*Telegraph*, December 6, 2008), “marvellous tour operator” (*Mail*, February 16, 2008), “perfect guide” (*Mail*, August 18, 2007). A *Daily Mail* article writes: “Murat Tolbas, his wife Sebnem and sister Ipek, who own and run the Villa Mahal, welcome their guests with genuine warmth” (June 21, 2008). A *Telegraph* extract describe the Turks as the cousins of Spanish and Greek people (August 30, 2006). Some broadsheet features also make reference to “wealthy cosmopolitan Turks” (*Guardian*, May 30, 2009) or “wealthy families from Istanbul” (*Financial Times*, July 26, 2008), thus positioning specific regions as places for privileged people, who will feel comfortable and at home in that location.

The dominant discourse depicts Turks as “warm”, “helpful” people with “fabulous hospitality” or “genuine friendliness”: “Turkish hospitality is unique and you will meet some of the friendliest and most helpful people anywhere” (*Mirror*, June 20, 2006). Travel journalists frame the hosts as bystanders in a tourist experience. They romanticise the locals as helpful, non-threatening hosts, creating fantasies of

“unspoiled” landscapes inhabited by “generous, congenial, hospitable” (*Mail*, February 16, 2008) and “nice” (*Guardian*, May 30, 2009) people. “If you visit the Turquoise Coast in southwest Turkey, I guarantee you’ll meet warm, friendly, loquacious people and eat spectacularly well” reads the *Mail* (June 21, 2008). However, the voice and existence of these “invariably friendly and helpful” (*Financial Times*, July 22, 2006) people hardly shows in articles. Locals are there, but are not spoken to or seen by the travel journalist. In their disinclination to engage with locals, British journalists perpetuate the idea of Turkish people as “Others” – as people sufficiently different from “us” that “we” cannot meaningfully engage with “them”. Turks are considered a natural resource, a part of the landscape: “You’ll have eaten some of the most delicious food in the world, and the Turks you’ve met will have treated you with kindness and joy” (*Guardian*, April 10, 2010). An article in the *Sun* puts this repeated trope of the friendly helpful locals in perspective:

The number of attraction in Turkey is not the beautiful sunshine, breath taking scenery and cheap way of life (...); it is the incredible generosity of spirit and kindness of the Turkish people. Like Ireland 50 years ago, the Turks are guest-friendly, the kind of people who will bend over backwards to be the perfect host and make your stay in their vast and fabulous country a memorable one (September 1, 2007).

Incorporating Ireland imposes an ideological assumption, conjuring an image of a pre-modern, traditional *Gemeinschaft* (community), as opposed to the UK’s more impersonal modern *Gesellschaft* (society). With this one move, Turkey is successfully romanticized and locals are downgraded as backward but friendly *Others*.

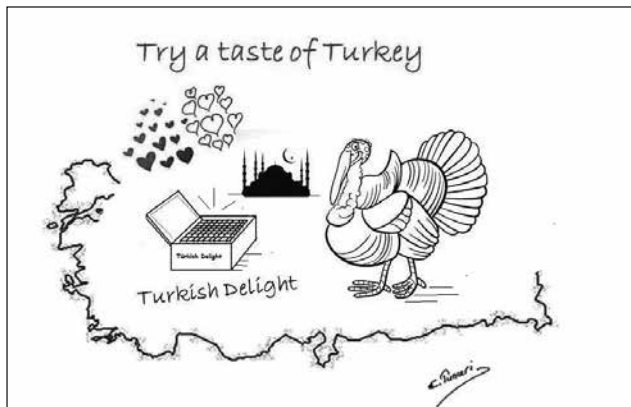
Viewed this way, the foreign traveller is portrayed as an important, active, privileged person at leisure. The friendly, local people, in contrast, are only of service when they aid in what is considered

a successful tourism encounter. Turks remain anonymous and are represented in a non-individualised manner as a part of a colourful mosaic, as passive outsiders, therefore, “*Others*”. At its extreme, such representation suggests that Turks are unworthy of real consideration. It may also suggest a dominant form of Eurocentric, touristic imperialism: Turkey is seen as just an object, a country to invade, or to be priced, sold and treated as a commodity.

Photographs accompanying the articles produce additional evidence (see Figure 2.2). Any visual sign of the hosts is missing. Instead, the images show the Mediterranean or the Turquoise coastlines, Antalya and the Çeşme peninsula, Cappadocia chimneys or the ancient city of Ephesus, all portraying empty scenery promoting visual consumption. Inevitably, Istanbul is represented by a famous cultural symbol: the Blue Mosque. By showing abandoned landscapes, sea sides, or mountains, mosques or historic buildings without people, travel journalists further ignore and silence locals. They visualise an empty Turkey without local people but with attractive commodified places.

FIGURE 2.2

Illustration of travel news, copyright Cemal Tunceli



Especially in tabloid photographs, the privilege of visibility is given to the tourists. Long shots of harbours, fancy resorts, sandy beaches or bays show tourists involved in recreational activities like swimming, mud bathing, parasailing, water-skiing; all conveying a cheerful message to the reader. These types of images confirm the priority, if not superiority, of readers, or alternatively tourists, over locals. Moreover, tabloids are occupied with close-up photographs of furnished and decorated hotel rooms or restaurants and fun-loving children's playgrounds, largely promoting classic mass tourism. Turkey as the actual destination becomes an arbitrary location and contributes to the social distance between tourists and locals, portraying and *producing* a traveller who is eager for an entertaining, relaxing experience lacking any form of cultural interaction, or face-to-face contact between visitors and residents. Furthermore, tabloid photographs are accompanied by bold, capitalized headlines and eye-catching phrases, supporting visual consumption and suggesting another form of commodification of the country: "A Turkish delight", "The delights of Turkey", "Delicious Turkey", "Have a nice slice of Turkey", "Can we have more Turkey", or "Fethiye is a Turkish delight", and "Try a taste of Turkey". Some broadsheets features make equal reference to "Turkish delights". The multiple connotations of the word "Turkey" and "Turkish delight" is used in puns intended to entertain and seduce the reader. This overriding tone represents ideological frameworks clearly pointing to Turkey as something to "consume", to eat and enjoy.

2.5 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This article has explored the generic conventions and the politics of representation of travel journalism, as an important journalistic genre and a fairly new field of scientific inquiry (Hanusch 2010). Through qualitative content analysis we first examined the language and form of UK travel journalism, then investigated the representation of

contemporary Turkey by focusing on three levels of representation: *geography, landscape and culture*, and *Turkish people*.

We have shown that an uncritical, descriptive perspective and consumer-oriented style of reporting dominates contemporary travel journalism. We also found that travel journalists working for broadsheet and tabloid papers adapt a similar language. They beautify a destination and draw a highly ornamental picture of Turkey through emotive, happy, flowery language. Thus, the genre treats Turkey like a commodity, as a pre-packaged holiday experience to be chosen and tried according to the readers' tastes and desires. This confirms the four dimensions of Hanusch's (2010) framework for studying travel journalism. The *market orientation* leads travel journalists to act as an authority for advice and approaches readers as consumers, rather than informed citizens. Travel journalists blend information with concrete suggestions, exciting the audience through travel tales and give them what they want (also see Hanitzsch 2007). Travel journalism is primarily a vehicle for the commodification of a destination, confirming the *motivational aspect* of the genre. Travel journalists' adopt an uncritical and celebratory jargon, overstating the good things about a destination, while social, economic and political problems are neglected. Except in some *Financial Times* reports, journalists ignore negativity and produce a positive, agreeable, and risk-free representation of a country. While other forms of "soft" and lifestyle journalism like art, music or film criticism can be critical and negative; travel journalism is always upbeat and positive. Thus, our findings also confirm Hanusch's third observation that travel journalism generates *ethical problems*. British print media and the travel industry accommodate each other (Santos 2004; Cocking 2009). The travel industry uses different newspapers to promote their services to different social classes. Thus, broadsheet and tabloid travel journalism does not have an independent existence and is inclined to commodify, not only Turkey, but *any* country portrayed on its pages.

Our findings are also in line with the fourth dimension of

Hanusch (2010, cf., Fürsich and Kavoori 2001; Cocking 2009): travel journalism as centrally concerned with representation of the *Other*. The descriptions of the encounter with Turkish people closely match the classic oriental and colonial modes of portrayal. Travel journalism tends to ignore the hosts, symbolically annihilating the Turkish *Other*. Turks are only of service when they aid (e.g., friendly, helpful) in the experience of an authentic tourism encounter. Galasinski and Jaworski's (2003) suggestion is also quite well supported: locals are nothing other than a part of the country's general characterisation and landscape. Additionally, this suggests that the average British travel journalist – and their imagined reader – may not desire to experience the unknown, the unusual experience, of engaging with the exotic *Other*. This might demonstrate that travel journalists do not place much emphasis on cultural mediation and meeting the other as one of their jobs. Undoubtedly, the tendency to treat hosts as objects suggests an unequal power relation as the human element disappears even in photographs. The photographs are filled either with empty landscapes or with tourists enjoying themselves.

Moreover, our findings confirm previous findings about the touristic representation of Turkey, which stressed the orientalist nature of its practice. Turkish culture is commodified by repacking orientalism, including harmless, aestheticized references to Islam: “beautiful mosques”, “minarets” and “calling to prayer” enter the texts and allow readers to imagine an oriental place with an Ottoman and Arabic flavour. Islam is either avoided, or reframed as an unthreatening religion that the traveller can experience without fear. Thus, the political literature geographically positioning Turkey outside Europe and the European Union stands in stark contrast to UK travel journalism where Turkey is situated as a country *within* the European territory. With this counter-discourse, UK journalists successfully place Turkey in a much more easily consumable position. Turkey is presented as European, thus close and easily accessible; on the other hand, it is oriental, thus different

enough to satisfy the tourist's imagination.

Previous research showed that "hard" news coverage of Turkey, especially in continental Europe, e.g., France and Germany, foregrounds Islam, and presents Turkey as a backward nation trying in vain to become part of the EU (Wimmel 2009). By contrast, we find that British "soft" news journalism represents Turkey as a cheap, sunny, authentic travel destination, populated by friendly hosts whose religion remains unclear. Not only is this revealing in terms of the political and economic interests of countries and their media systems, it is also indicative that Turkey incorporates many contested images varying with context, space and time.

Finally, we find that journalists also commodify the landscape. A strong focus on scenic beauty and the climate suggests an association between the destination and commodification. A recurring language used to portray Turkey as a "stunning", "alluring", or "marvellous" place, suggests that the country is commodified either as a cheap/sunny destination by the tabloid journalists, or as a boutique/authentic destination by the broadsheet journalists. This additionally evidences that travel journalism is predominantly a by-product of the imagination, a journalistic creation that partially informs, simultaneously emphasizing those places in which they believe readers will be interested, as well as entertained (Hanusch 2010).

Our findings, then, tell us little about the country being sold. Instead, they tell us a great deal about the UK: British beliefs and priorities, their *view of* Turkey, internal class divisions, the workings of the British media system, and its interaction with the travel industry. It manifests existing economic and political inequalities (Fürsich and Kavoori 2001). British travel journalists also mediate the cultural and political relationship between the UK and Turkey, thus, while Turkey has geographically moved towards Europe and is somewhat Europeanised, that Turkish culture is orientalised and Turkish people delineated as Others, simply suggests an unequal power relationship.

Our findings that the form and language of travel journalism commodify Turkey and create an *Othering of the locals*, raises a number of questions for further research. First, although our small-scale study of 99 texts produced useful indicators for the travel journalism profession in modern societies, the empirical perspective of the debates presented here concerns the British press and culture. The results cannot thus be generalised to travel journalism in other Western countries. Moreover, travel articles are just one of the information sources tourists consult. A more detailed analysis combining, and comparing other resources, like travel channels, books, and blogs, may uncover more comprehensive representational dynamics. Second, given that Kemming and Sandikci (2007) uncovered a negative public image of Turkey in the Netherlands and Germany, a more detailed qualitative or quantitative analysis focusing, for example, on Turkey as a travel destination in the Dutch or German press, may uncover further representational dynamics or ideological conflicts. Third, and more important, it will be useful to empirically evaluate the representation of other countries popular with British tourists, like Spain, France, and Greece or the USA. With such a routine and generic language that selects and manufactures only well-known places and stereotypical images of a country, it would be interesting to question whether there is a country that travel journalism does not commodify?

CHAPTER 3

“I DUMP MY HUSBAND FOR A TURKISH TOYBOY”: Romance tourism and intersectionality in British tabloid newspapers



This chapter is co-authored by Lisbet van Zoonen and Giseline Kuipers. A slightly different version of this chapter has been published as: Hamid-Turksoy, Nilyufer, Van Zoonen, Liesbet and Kuipers, Giseline. (2014). “I dumped my husband for a Turkish toyboy”: Romance Tourism and Intersectionality in British Tabloid Newspapers”. *Feminist Media Studies*, 14(5): 806-821. doi: 10.1080/14680777.2013.792855

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CHAPTER 3

“I DUMP MY HUSBAND FOR A TURKISH TOYBOY”: Romance tourism and intersectionality in British tabloid newspapers

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*THERE ISN'T A SINGLE, 'TRUE' ACCOUNT OF
ANY EVENT, BUT THERE ARE LIMITS ON WHAT
SEEMS REASONABLE IN A GIVEN CULTURE AT
AT A GIVEN TIME; THEY DON'T CHANGE
FROM MOMENT TO MOMENT.*

Mckeen 2003, p.18

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Toyboys have a steady presence in global celebrity and popular culture. Superstars like Madonna, Cameron Diaz, and Demi Moore have dated younger men. Fictional characters have been put in relations with younger men, like Deirdre Barlow in the UK television soap *Coronation Street* (1960), Jules Cobb in the US television comedy *Cougar Town* (2009) or, especially, *Shirley Valentine* (1989), the middle-aged working class housewife, in the film of the same name, who has a happy affair with a charming young man in Greece. Women's and life style magazines equally have published stories with titillating titles like "Do you have a toyboy yet?"¹ or "Toyboy causes early death."² Specialized dating websites in the UK and the US offer both older women and younger men an opportunity to get in touch with each other³ or to exchange experiences and advice.⁴

While such fictional and real life stories may suggest that the hegemonic articulation of age and gender is shifting, it has also been claimed that the toyboy trend is a celebrity fad only, exacerbated by glamorous media and Internet attention (Dunn, Brinton, and Clark 2010). Part of the latter criticism is fed by suspicion towards the motives of younger men, who would see the relationship primarily in terms of economic benefit. This was the frame that the UK tabloids applied when UK soap star Cheryl Fergison dated and eventually married her twenty-one-years-younger Moroccan lover. Fergison is an actress who is clinically obese and does not match standard beauty ideals. The British media and the British public sharing their opinions on the Internet therefore doubted the toyboy's sincerity; he was described as "penniless" and a "goat herder" who would be mostly interested in the legal access to the UK that marrying Fergison could provide him with.⁵

This cursory glance at real life, fictional, and news stories about romance tourism suggests that they are assembled out of intersecting discourses of gender, age, nation, and class, with education, ethnicity/

race, religion, sexuality, beauty, and other sources of sociocultural division possibly coming in as well. Hence, romance tourism offers a steady stream of real life cases of intersectionality, enabling a more detailed examination of which intersections are more and less salient in situated practices, how their constitutive categories (for example, mature women; young men; Western; less developed) are not homogeneous in themselves; and how different levels of inequality are negotiated in situated practices (cf., Davies 2008; Valentine 2007; Yuval-Davis 2006). We explore these questions through an analysis of British tabloid stories about older British women dating younger Turkish men, who appeared as the dominant category. With their relatively big female readership, and their self-proclaimed status as guardians of public morality and common sense (e.g., Sparks 1992) the tabloids provide the forum *par excellence* to examine how gender and age are intersected by other dimensions of identity, like nationality, class, or religion. Contrasting headlines like “Two timing Turkish toyboy wrecked my marriage” (Billy Paterson 2002) against “Welcome to the toyboy safari” (Kathryn Knight 2005, p. 46) or “Delight for lovestruck Sylvia” (Geoff Marsh 2003, p. 15) already suggest that these stories may not all work in the same hegemonic direction but may be sources of negotiation and contestation as well.

Before we discuss our methods and findings in more detail, we review the extant literature about romance tourism, especially in relation to intersectionality. We then discuss how the British tabloids have been theorized and researched, in particular with respect to the maintenance and contestation of traditional gender discourse.

3.2 ROMANCE TOURISM

Sex and romance tourism are practices where different dimensions of identity are articulated in particularly strong and fraught ways (cf., Edward Herold, Rafael Garcia, and Tony DeMoya 2001). In sexual or

romantic encounters between tourists and local inhabitants, gender, age, class, nation, culture, and global economic inequalities come together in actual dyadic personal relationships. In tourism studies, the traditional male holiday pastime of “sex tourism” has been contrasted with female “romance tourism” (Herold, Garcia, and DeMoya 2001; Jacobs 2009). Deborah Pruitt and Suzanne LaFont (1995) suggest that women are looking for encounters that are more about romance and the possibility of long-term romantic relationships, and less about (casual) sex. However, this sharp distinction, reflecting rather traditional gender stereotypes, has been criticized in later studies (Jacobs 2009; Taylor 2006). For instance, Herold, Garcia, and DeMoya (2001) suggest that the difference between sex and romance tourism is more like a continuum that is somewhat but not completely gendered. While acknowledging the importance of such a modification, in this study we maintain the terms “sex tourism” and “romance tourism” to separate the practices of male and female tourists, for reasons of clarity and ease.

Scholarly interest in romance tourism is of relatively recent date, and scarce compared with the attention to sex tourism. First, this may be due to the relative newness of the phenomenon. Increasing economic freedom of women has made it easier for women to travel by themselves. As Wonders and Michalowski write: “Travel to other countries facilitated the fluidity of identity because we typically leave behind the signposts and people associated with our present identity, making it easier to adopt new ones” (2001, p. 552). This freedom that comes with travelling has now also become available to single women. Second, Pruitt and LaFont (1995) argue that romance tourism may be more invisible and less blatantly exploitative than male sex tourism. Sex tourism privileges male desire and pleasure, commodifying women as dependent objects of desire, thus as body-for-others (Pettman 1997). In sex tourism, “sex and bodies are viewed as commodities that can be packaged, advertised, displayed, and sold on a global scale” (Wonders and Michalowski 2001, p. 551). Romance tourism, on the other hand,

supposedly fosters female desire for romance, and a long-term emotional and sensual relationship. Although romance tourism unavoidably produces inequalities and complications between two parties, it does not directly commodify the (male) body. Third, romance tourism may have remained somewhat under the radar of scholarship, because it does not fit the framework of most critical research on (sex) tourism. Focusing mainly on Western exploitation of the local population, this framework seems most easily applicable when Western men exploit local women or men (Jacobs 2009). Female romance tourism showing (mature) women as actively looking for sex within a context of great inequality may have escaped scholarly notice precisely because it does not match established gender roles and theoretical frameworks. The somewhat superficial distinction between romance tourism and sex tourism does not help in this respect and may be a reflection of how similar practices often tend to be framed in gender stereotypical terms; hence the notion of romance tourism obscures the possibility that women may be looking for simple sex like men do, whereas the notion of sex tourism may underplay the romantic fantasies that men, similar to women, may foster about their foreign encounters.

While studies of sex tourism generally deal with Asia, the scarce research about romance tourism tends to concentrate on the Caribbean. This is, in part, the result of the proximity of this region to the US, making it a prime holiday destination for US citizens. The Mediterranean and Africa occupy a similar place in the imagination of European romantic tourists. Jacobs (2009), for instance, describes relations between local males and female tourists from across Europe in the Egyptian Sinai, while Michel (2007) identifies Senegal, Kenya, Egypt, and Morocco as popular countries for German romantic tourists. Our own study finds abundant evidence in the British tabloids of romance tourism from the UK to Turkey, Gambia, and Morocco. While the destinations of romantic tourism may differ, their unequal economic status is alike. The Caribbean, parts of the Mediterranean, and Africa are all less developed

regions, with their national and local economies depending largely on tourism. As a result, relations between romantic tourists and their toyboys are profoundly unequal in economic terms. Thus, they challenge traditional masculine hegemony, while simultaneously confirming the dominance of the developed world.

While the complex gender relations emerging from these contradictory negotiations of power form a key issue in most studies dealing with romance tourism, they generally do not engage with the burgeoning work on intersectionality. The notion of intersectionality, originating from black feminist studies, was specifically developed to deal with contradictory identities and social categorizations and the domination and exclusion produced by such intersections (Collins 1998; Hancock 2007; Weldon 2008). The research about romance tourism, by, for instance, Freidus and Romero-Daza (2009), Herold, Garcia, and DeMoya (2001), Jacobs (2009), and Taylor (2001, 2006) demonstrates the various tactics that both women and men use to quell the confusion arising from their relationship. Embracing traditional gender roles is the central one among them, with men performing particular kinds of masculinity typified by attention, courteousness, and (national) pride, thus articulating “the women tourists’ idealization of local culture and masculinity” (Pruitt and LaFont 1995, p. 422). Interestingly, some studies interpret this particular performance of masculinity as a transformation of the men, who reclaim their “true” identity until then suppressed by their economic subjugation (cf., Dahles and Bras 1999; Herold, Garcia, and DeMoya 2001; Pruitt and LaFont 1995). Through this particular focus, the research on romance tourism itself reconstructs a traditional gender discourse in which men are supposed to be autonomous and resistant to changing for the sake of their significant others, whether these are wives and children, or foreign romantic interests. As the distinction between male sex tourism and female romance tourism already suggests, gender emerges as the main social category, and the main analytic concept, in the vast majority of studies on romance and

sex tourism. Gender therefore, in this body of work, trumps all other inequalities – precisely illustrating the critique of intersectionality theorists in traditional gender studies (cf., McCall 2005; Weldon 2008).

Yet, the research on sex and romance tourism does hint at many other social divisions intersecting with gender. For instance, it suggests how masculinity and geography are connected through the projection of a certain kind of masculinity onto local men. This is particularly clear when looking at South-East Asia as a favourite destination for sex tourism (cf., Hall and Harrison 1992), but much less for romantic tourism. Chow (2008) has convincingly shown how the physical features of Chinese men are rarely considered masculine in the white Western world. On the contrary, Chinese male characteristics are often seen as delicate and effeminate which apparently does not appeal to Western women looking for romance. The reverse case has been made about South East Asian women embodying Western ideals of subservient and frail femininity, therewith becoming objects of high desire for sex tourists (Biemann 2002). The combined research thus suggests that romantic tourism not only involves gender relations, but also inequality of race, class, nation, the body, and age: all these structures construct intersecting systems and create contradictory discourses.

3.2.1 The Mediation of Romance Tourism and the British Tabloid Press

A major shortcoming of the research about romance tourism is that there is little to no attention on its representations and evaluation, whether in the public spaces of news, reality TV, documentary, or in the semi-private spaces of online blogs, commentaries, and forums. There are many studies about women's travel writing and how travel can be transformative of women's identities (e.g., Mills 1993), but the connection with romance and sex is less often made. To our knowledge, there are no studies that address how gender, race, class, and nation

inequalities interacting in romance tourism stories are represented, debated, and evaluated in popular or serious media alike.

It is clear, however, that media of all kinds are central to the understanding of contemporary intersectionality and to the analysis of postmodern and postcolonial relations of inequality. Media not only facilitate the spread of discourses retrieved from intersecting relations, but also may trigger the public to rethink the hierarchical systems and taken-for-granted beliefs (e.g., stereotypes on gender, age, nation, or class). Globalization, mass migration, and mass tourism have produced all kinds of new encounters and confrontations between people of different backgrounds, of which romance tourism is only one particular practice. Media provide a central resource to make sense of these experiences and to come to terms with the “others” presented to us by modernity and globalization on an almost everyday basis. These others appear as migrants, refugees, or local populations, as postcolonial scholars have theorized (see, for example, Said 1979), but also, as queer studies have shown, as individuals with different sexualities and/or ethnicities (cf., Weed and Schor 1997). In the current social and cultural conditions of high fluidity and complexity, the notion of “other” has been stretched and proposed as a position that comes into being when people identify others as somehow “different,” “strange,” or “deviant” (cf., Canales 2000). With their institutional and cultural assignment to identify and cover the new and the unexpected, media are a core location where “others” are socially constructed, usually in the form of schematic stereotypical images or characters that the intended audience is familiar with. This form of image construction also reproduces and circulates desires and fantasies regarding the “other,” although, conceivably it also facilitates an on-going dominant binary relation between “effeminate, exotic, poor” Third World nations versus “powerful, masculine, wealthy” First World nations. While, as said, there is no research about the representation of romance tourism specifically, it can be expected that various stereotypes will be combined and contested in one and the same story (whether it is

fiction or news).

The British tabloid press takes up a special position in the vast media landscape where stories about romance tourism may be found, first, because “sexuality in its various manifestations” is quintessential to this medium, as Sparks says (1992, p. 41). Evidence to that claim is, to begin with, the on-going phenomenon, be it currently limited to the *Sun*, of portraying a topless girl on Page 3. Like the sexist jokes that abound in the tabloids, the Page 3 girl supposedly represents “natural” sexuality,⁶ while all sexuality that falls outside this realm of normalcy is constructed as deviant, whether it concerns adultery, sex addiction, SM practices, homosexuality, virginity, nymphomania, or doing it with a toyboy. All such stories become even more newsworthy for the tabloids if they can be tied to a popular celebrity or holder of public or religious office. Sex crimes like rape and paedophilia can also count on extraordinary attention from the tabloids through which sexual normalcy and deviance are constructed in particularly ideological ways. According to Soothill and Walby (1991, p. 12) such stories have historically been constructed as a genre of pornography, simultaneously revelling in the details of particular transgressions and raging against the immorality of the alleged perpetrators. They also show how stories about sex crimes focus on “stranger danger” and extreme murder cases, hence making the more everyday realities of, for instance, date rape and rape within marriage invisible. Carter (1998, p. 220) argues similarly that the tabloids’ reporting of sex crimes has become “more explicit and lurid in detail over the past few decades.” She concludes that part of the ideological effect of such reporting is twofold: everyday sexual violence inflicted by men on their wives or girlfriends is made normal (because it is not deemed worthy of news coverage), and the world outside the home is constructed as a dangerous place where male strangers should be met with fear. Focusing specifically on how the victims of crime are covered, both Benedict (1992) and Meyers (1997) found in their studies that news coverage includes an interrogation of the victim’s sexual

behaviour, and a suggestion of blame if she does not pass the test of sexual modesty.

It is in this minefield of patriarchal heterosexual normativity that stories of British older women dating younger Turkish men acquire their newsworthiness and their ideological meanings. These women step out of traditional gender discourse by being sexually active with initially unknown men. According to the ideological frameworks of the tabloid press, this is not only transgressive but must also be a recipe for disaster. Their age adds an additional irregularity to their behaviour, as does the fact that they engage with a foreigner, for the tabloids are not only known for their misogynist stories but also for their xenophobic ones. The tabloid treatment of ethnic and religious minorities, migrants, and asylum seekers has been well examined, and generally produces evidence of stereotyping, prejudice, exclusion, and outright racism (e.g., Poole 2002; Poole and Richardson 2006; Van Dijk 1991). Female members of these “other” groups are often represented as victims of an excessive male self-centred culture (as in stories about single motherhood and absent fathers among British Caribbeans [Song and Edwards 1997]), or as refusing to adjust to the British way of life, as in stories about Muslim women wearing a veil (e.g., Khiabany and Williamson 2008). When “indigenous” British women voluntarily cross over to these groups, as the women dating younger Turkish men do, they not only defy norms of passive female sexuality, but they also challenge assumptions of white British superiority. Hence, one can expect the tabloids, as the popular producers of common sense and mainstream morality, to do everything they can to bring these women discursively back under control. Nevertheless, it has also been suggested that specific tabloid stories may sometimes undermine their own general misogynist and xenophobic slant, especially when particularly tragic human-interest stories coincide with the plight of their regular readership. As Bird (1992, p. 160) says in her study of US tabloids and their female readers: “They are to some extent an alternative way of looking at the

world... offer scope for some resistance to everyday realities and material for play.” More generally, popular culture has been shown to contain moments and spaces of negotiation (cf., Van Zoonen 2005), making the question of their construction of tabloid stories an empirical rather than a predictable one.

3.3 METHOD AND DATA

The word “toyboy” in relation to a foreign country appears for the first time in British tabloid headlines in 1993.⁷ It concerns a story about a forty-five-year-old grandmother who allegedly was stabbed to death by her twenty-six-year-old Moroccan lover (*Daily Mail*, August 5, 1993). Ever since there has been a steady stream of stories about British women and their toyboys from abroad. We focused our search for relevant articles on tabloid coverage of Turkish toyboys, since they seemed to appear most often and because Turkey is one of the most popular British tourist destinations, with resorts like Bodrum, Kuşadası, and Marmaris topping the list of favourite holiday places.⁸ British tourists are the biggest group of visitors to Turkey, after Germany and Russia (Tursab 2012). A documentary on Channel 4, *Manhunters: Our Turkish Toyboys* (2008), additionally demonstrates the popularity of holiday romance in Turkey.⁹

A search for tabloid stories in LexisNexis,¹⁰ yielded sixty-five stories about ordinary women running off with Turkish men in the *Mirror* and the *Sunday Mirror* (19), the *Sun* (11), the *News of the World* (7), the *Daily Mail* (6), the *People* (6) and sixteen stories from the UK regional press (see Appendix II). We looked for the offline version of these articles in the tabloid archives of the Department of Social Sciences at Loughborough University in order to have a full understanding of the placement, spread and layout of these articles.

We applied a combination of thematic, lexical, narrative, and visual analyses to examine these articles in detail. This meant that we

coded the articles in terms of the themes they addressed with regards to gender, age, nation; analysed word choice and style to assess the normative dimensions in the stories; examined the particular narratives in terms of behaviour, motives, and interactions of the main characters, the constructions of villains and victim, and the assumed closure of the events; investigated the presence and meaning of images with the stories. We checked the validity of our findings by making an additional search of tabloid articles dealing with toyboys from Morocco, and toyboy stories in the UK broadsheet press. We first present the general tendencies in the data, and then zoom in on two contrasting frames about romance tourism as deviant versus exciting.

3.4 RESULTS

3.4.1 General Tendencies

Three themes emerged from our analysis, in order of frequency: broken families, deceit, and holiday romance. The dominance of broken families is mainly the result of the 2005 story about a woman named Elaine Walker: according to the press she left her daughter of fifteen alone to join her young Turkish lover. The simultaneous coverage by the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Mirror*, the *People*, the *News of the World* and regional papers—all in August 2005—suggest that the police investigated this case, although none of the articles mention its originating source. The theme of deceit is closely related to the theme of broken families. News items in this category are about women who have been betrayed by their Turkish toyboys who were after their money or a visa to the UK. While the themes of broken families and deceit both construct romance tourism as highly problematic, a minority of news items look at the happiness that these relationships bring to women. Some articles report a successful marriage against all odds; others focus on the joys of unproblematic sex.

The headlines of the articles demonstrate the typical confrontational language of the British tabloids, with their ironic, satiric, and sometimes outright aggressive tone (Dick Rooney 2000). Most headlines, thus, express deep and explicit ideological judgments. For instance, Elaine Walker is described as “worst mum,” “runaway mum,” “fly-away mum,” “nasty Elaine,” and “mummy monster,” who “has lost [the] right to call herself a mother.” Other women are called “man-hungry gal pals,” “granny,” or “OAP” (old age pensioner), who “leave,” “dump,” or “ditch” their husbands; all in different gradations implying a unilateral and cold act of abandonment. Other expressions construct these women as immature, “behaving like a selfish teenager” or “giddy as a teenager,” while yet another type of description focuses on them being fooled: “blinded by love,” “fooled by his charm,” “fool in love.” None of these descriptions implies a sense of positive female agency. The Turkish men in these stories are much less visible and usually described in terms of their low economic status through characterizations such as “peasant’s son,” “chicken factory worker,” or “waiter” and “barman.” At the same time, however, their romantic behaviour and handsome appearance is often praised, especially by the women themselves. The descriptions of the men’s low economic status in combination with the women’s emphasis on their lovability, constructs Turkish masculinity as consumable rather than productive, a construct that is stereotypically captured by the recurring reference to “Turkish delight.”

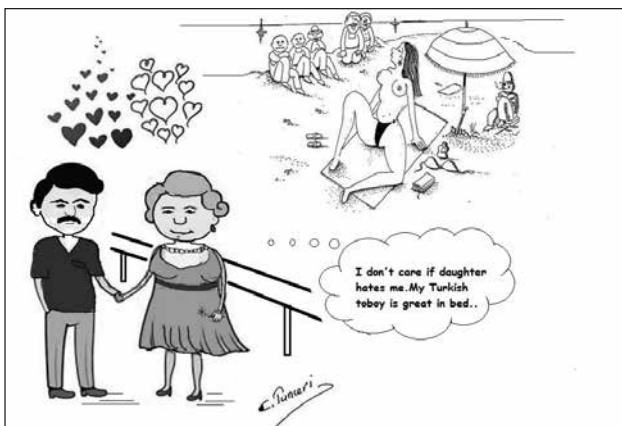
With such themes and language, only a limited number of stories are told in which gender, age, nationality, and economic inequality mostly come together in traditional ways. One type of narrative tells about older, lonely, and somehow vulnerable women who are fooled by much younger Turkish men. They are often depicted as humiliated, innocent, and naïve, manipulated for the purpose of economic gain or a British passport. These stories have no happy ending and they draw on stereotypes and clichés about female passivity and male activity, but also about evil men from the (Middle) East (cf., Semmerling 2006). In

contrast, other stories construct the women as active agents of their own lives. However, this is usually combined with a moral judgment of deviance; women leaving their families behind for their own self-interest, as in Elaine Walker's case. In our material, we only found a few exceptional articles in which such agency was presented as desirable and leading to a happy ending (more detail on this will be presented in the next section).

Invariably, the pictures with the articles show a white mature woman, wearing makeup, jewellery, and summer (often pink) attire, while the men in the pictures are young and dark of skin and hair (see Figure 3.1). Typifications like “blonde Rosemary” or “blonde 45 year old-grandmother” further construct a strong ethnic contrast between the women and their lovers. In most pictures, the women take the foreground by being in the front of the picture or, more subtly, through the absence of gestures or poses on the part of the Turkish man that suggest activity. Much more than the language and narratives, the pictures evoke discourses of ethnicity, age, and economic inequality, because the differences are directly visualized.

FIGURE 3.1:

Illustration of romance tourism news, copyright Cemal Tunceri



We thus see, on the basis of these general tendencies, how the themes, language, stories, and visuals together present a rather traditional framework of either victimized or evil women, with little space for positive female agency. This is articulated with an Orientalist discourse of the fearsome and treacherous East, and exacerbated by the age and economic differences between the women and their lovers. In these overall tendencies, two particular cases stand out because they seem structurally the same (sexually active mothers leaving home and hearth for their Turkish lover, ending happily in marriage), but are presented by the tabloids in diametrically opposed ways: the predictable demonization of Elaine “the monster mum” versus the unexpected celebration of “you only live once” Eileen.

3.4.2 Elaine versus Eileen

At the time of the news story in 2005, Elaine Walker is forty-five, divorced and in love with a twenty-six-year-old Turkish man she met on her holiday in Turkey. She decides to go back and live with him in Turkey, but her fifteen-year-old daughter does not want to join her and stays behind alone. She later moves in with her father in the UK and Elaine marries the Turkish man. Eileen Ozdag (the surname of her Turkish husband) tells the same kind of story: she was divorced, had three daughters, went on holiday to Turkey, met a younger Turkish man and married him. Yet, the tabloid coverage about the two women is completely different. This obviously has to do with the way their stories came to the attention of the tabloids: in Elaine’s case the story came from the police checking on the daughter living by herself. The very first sentence of her news portfolio starts: “A SCHOOLGIRL has been abandoned by her mother who has flown to Turkey to start a new life with a holiday romance boyfriend” (*Evening Standard*, August 5, 2005). Eileen’s story, in contrast, is part of a documentary about special people from Dublin, and her introduction to the tabloid readers is very

dissimilar: “Meet a real-life Shirley Valentine – she visited Turkey and returned with a hunk!” (Stronge 2005). In 2007, Eileen is back on the screen in a documentary about her efforts to help two other female friends to find love in Turkey (*The Turkish Wives Club*, 2007).

The initial framing of the story of Elaine as a deranged mother, and Eileen as a happy adventurous woman persists and is extended throughout the rest of the coverage. All initial headlines about Elaine construct the story as being about a daughter left behind (e.g., “Mother leaves girl”; “Girl left behind by mum”, Lister 2005, p. 47). The following days bring different extensions of that perspective, first by letting family and neighbourhood speak of their disgust with Elaine, and then by adding ever more detail suggesting what a bad mother Elaine has been before: she has been married three times and has five children with four (or five, the tabloid figures vary in this respect) different fathers; she put a son in care when he was nine and – as a result, according to an angry grandmother speaking in one of the tabloids – the son died of alcohol problems (in another paper he committed suicide) in his late twenties; she would go out drinking and clubbing with another daughter and leave the younger one behind with family. No wonder the popular press concludes in the second week of coverage, through the voice of an ex-boyfriend, that the “worst mum in Britain was like a selfish teenager. Her family always came second to wild boozing, partying . . . and passion” (Tate 2005, p. 16–17). After family, neighbours, and ex-boyfriends have vilified Elaine, she gets to speak herself but first in the Turkish press and television from which the tabloids quote her as not coming back, being prepared to risk everything, madly in love, not concerned about the age difference, and as showing no remorse at all: “I have had a rotten life and Ali is the best thing that ever happened to me” (Underwood 2005, p. 3). Leaving her daughter behind was a price worth paying, she is quoted as saying, although the tabloids also concede that according to Elaine her daughter did not want to come, was left in the safe hands of friends, and agreed to come over for a holiday later, thus putting the

story of abandonment in a different light. Nevertheless, when Elaine boasts, according to the *Sun* (Lister, 2005) about her Turkish toyboy being “great in bed” and an “amazing lover” with whom she experienced “the best sex she ever had” and “maybe wants a baby,” the scene is set for a new round of defamation and scorn by the tabloid writers and their readers:

Her excuse? Apparently, until 26-year-old Ali Murat came along she'd had a “rotten life.” Since it encompassed four previous husbands, five children – one of whom she'd put into care and who subsequently committed suicide – it was certainly a messy one. (Carroll 2005)

The overall discourse of the tabloids is that mothers cannot leave their children, and when the victimized daughter opens up and speaks against her mother this frame is then set in stone:

I have had to hear my mum saying she cares more for some man she has just met than her own daughter and it has been torture. Then I have had to read her bragging about her sex life with this man and posing for pictures and it just turns my stomach... There has been talk of my mum being charged with neglect if she ever came home and I hope she is. She should suffer. I can't think of a better place for her than prison. They should lock her up, throw away the key and forget about her – just like she forgot about me. (Dickinson 2005, p. 42)

In response, Eileen later told other media that her daughter was lying and had made up stories, but “the truth” is not really an issue for the discourse of sacrosanct motherhood that the tabloids are trying to enforce here, and that is typified also by a number of conspicuous absences: how much of the “rotten life” was articulated with being poor

and working class? Elaine went to Turkey with her other, older daughter who also fell in love with a Turkish man but the tabloids do not dwell on the question of what kind of mother she is to that daughter? The father of the abandoned daughter is said to be abroad and hurrying back through the course of events but does not enter the picture until weeks later. In addition, there is an almost complete absence of the object of Elaine's love, the Turkish man. The few occasions in which he does appear in the tabloids it is to ridicule his poor English and discredit his intentions.

The tabloids ignore class, fatherhood, and the Turkish man, thus annihilating several key intersectional dimensions of the story. Instead, they take the opportunity to hammer down traditional gender norms of motherhood being the ultimate fulfilment for women, even if that means giving up personal fulfilment and sexual pleasure. There is no serious attention to any kind of complementary discourse (fatherhood, kinship?), or of an alternative perspective. Wasn't the daughter in the safe hands of friends and later of her father? When one reads the final instalment of this story, when daughter Laura says: "Mum dumping me to live with her Turkish lover was the BEST thing to ever happen" (Stansfield 2005, p. 35), because she is so happy with her father, one cannot help but wonder where this father was before? But that is a question that does not fit the tabloids' obsession with motherhood as the core issue in this story.

Eileen's coverage started six days before Elaine's, at the end of July 2005, because she was featured in a documentary about Dublin and its multicultural life. She is shown in the documentary and described in the newspapers as an adventurous woman who searched for and found love in Turkey. Like Elaine, she speaks of a difficult past: "I was a single mum-of-three after my marriage of 22 years ended in divorce. At 44 I considered myself washed up" (Conmane 2007, p. 40). After her divorce, Eileen "developed an appetite for Moorish toyboys" and when she met a Turkish barman they got married within weeks (Fay 2005, p. 28). The feelings of Elaine and Eileen for their Turkish men also are

described similarly: Elaine is “head over heels in love,” and “the luckiest woman alive,” while Eileen “feels good” and sees herself as “young and lightening up,” or “opening like a flower.” In addition, like in Elaine’s case, the English of the Turkish partner is also not very fluent. Yet, while Elaine received scorn for her impulsive move to Turkey, Eileen is well understood and supported. This may be, firstly, because she tells her story at a moment when her love has been proven; the media present her with her Turkish husband’s last name as Eileen Ozdag. Secondly, there is also no sign of her three children needing her care (in fact, none of the articles gives any information about her children, nor of their age when she began seeking love in Turkey). It seems as if motherhood becomes less pressing for the tabloids when the children have grown up. The *Mirror*, for instance, writes supportively about another woman, fifty-six-year-old Linda and her toyboy. She is quoted as saying “I should’ve been enjoying life. I’d been divorced five years, my girls were grown up – surely now it was ‘me’ time” (Wharton 2007, p. 30). The only doubt about Eileen’s happy story is inserted by Eileen herself, who admits that her friends doubted her husband’s sincerity and thought he was looking for a visa (Fay 2005, p. 28). Two years later Eileen again appears in a documentary, which draws eager and mostly supportive tabloid attention. In *The Turkish Wives Club*, Eileen tells how she fell in love with barman Ulas Ozdag, “a man HALF her age and TWICE her size” (McCafferty 2007) and how she loves for her single female friends to find the same happiness. The programme is a one-off reality-type documentary following the women on their “search for Turkish talent” (Quigley 2007, p. 1). The tabloids are clearly on the side of Eileen and her friends; the stories are friendly and supportive and seem to accept that women of a certain age are entitled to pleasure and fun (unless they have family obligations as in Elaine’s case, or let themselves be duped as in the many stories about deceit). Yet, this positive frame seems to rest on the fact that Elaine and her friends go abroad for their search.

Turkey and its men are constructed as being available at will,

and made into passive consumables for British women. Eileen is the active person in all stories, making the first move on Ulas who never gets to speak in any of the tabloids. On more than one occasion she is quoted as calling him her “Turkish delight” (e.g., McCafferty 2007) and in the documentary she says jokingly: “He is great at carrying my bags through the airport” (*Sunday Business Post*, September 16, 2007). Turkey itself is described as a land of “sand, sea and no-strings sex,” where “besides the climate and the party atmosphere the main attraction is the men” (*Sunday Business Post*, September 16, 2007). Turkish men are available on this “market” for Eileen’s friends as “foreign lovers to spice up their lives” (Quigley 2007, p. 1), or “as a bit of eye candy on the arm” (Conman 2007, p. 40). Only one newspaper, not a tabloid for that matter, is critical about this limited and stereotypical portrayal of Turkey and its inhabitants (*Sunday Business Post*, September 16, 2007), but without these stereotypes a positive frame of the UK women looking for love and excitement may be impossible. One cannot imagine similar upbeat stories with Brighton or Newquay in the UK as the main hunting grounds.

3.5 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The general tendencies in our data and the specific contrasts between the stories of Elaine and Eileen suggest strongly that motherhood, nationality, and economic status are the main dimensions of identity that together construct the particular coverage of romance tourism in the British tabloids. The theme of broken families is prominent, and comes into play when older women leave their husbands and/or children for a Turkish lover. Elaine’s story has been constructed as a quintessential transgression of good motherhood and hence her vilification serves the tabloids well in restoring moral order. Her ex-husband, like Eileen’s, hardly appeared in the coverage, suggesting that it is not wifhood but motherhood that is the key driver of these narratives. This is further

demonstrated by the fact that single, divorced, or widowed older women are entitled to some fun in their difficult lives, according to the tabloids, but only if they don't get themselves duped by conning Turkish men; otherwise they are framed as brainless and naïve. The only way out of this kind of coverage is when a woman like Eileen has managed to turn the odds around: she is shown as in control of her situation, of her husband, and of Turkey, to the extent that she "offers" it to her friends to find pleasure and romance.

Overall, themes, language, narrative, and visuals of news coverage of romance tourism thus produce three basic frames: transgression (bad), victimization (stupid), or exploitation (good). Before discussing these outcomes in more theoretical terms, it is important to check whether they depend on our choice of media (tabloids) and of the particular nation (Turkey). A quick scan of tabloid coverage of Moroccan toyboys shows similar frames: there is a story of a "besotted OAP," described as a "plump redhead" who "ditched her husband" and met with disapproval of her children (transgression: Peake 2002, p. 27) and of a Moroccan toyboy suspected of murdering his older girlfriend (victimization: *Daily Mail*, August 5, 1993). In the tabloid coverage of obese EastEnders actress Cheryl Ferguson dating and marrying her younger Moroccan lover, all the elements in our data come together: the romance is first described as "far fetched" (*Daily Mail*, July 12, 2010), with the Moroccan being a "goat herder" and suspected of only wanting to marry her to get a visa (Wostear and Strange 2010, p. 42-43). Cheryl, however, is portrayed as happy and longing for her new man, without ignoring her family duties: "My son Alex was so excited – we were instantly like a little family" (*Mirror*, November 9, 2011). Nevertheless, the Moroccan man in question does not enter the picture; he is exoticized, also by Cheryl when she confesses that she wants to marry with "a few camels and a tent" (*Mirror*, February 23, 2011). While the camels are not part of the stereotypes of Turkey, the focus on poverty, little education, or a low-status occupation in an

exotic context speaks of a similar orientalist angle as in the construction of Turkey. The UK broadsheets did pay attention to the stories of Elaine and Eileen with the same kind of frames but much less intensively. A general Nexis search for toyboy and Turkey, Morocco, or Gambia and for “romance tourism” in the broadsheets delivered less than a handful of stories which all connected to celebrities, theatre plays, or television shows. This particular tabloid focus on romance tourism of ordinary woman is more evidence, first, of how sexuality is a main, constitutive concern of these newspapers, as we discussed in our literature review, and, second, of how through their stories about ordinary women instead of celebrities or the *élite*, they connect with “the people,” i.e., their readership of working class women and men.

Our analysis shows, furthermore, that despite the intersectionality of women’s romantic encounters with Turkish men, there is only one dimension of identity that counts, as far as the tabloids are concerned, and that is the one of motherhood. More generally, this connects to a traditional discourse of care through which people of the female sex are positioned as either good women looking after others (husband, children, family, and neighbourhood) or as failing ones, putting their own interests above those of others (cf., Fisher and Tronto 1990), which they do if they chose a younger Turkish man over their husbands and kids. Only if there are no others to look after anymore and if women have proven that they gave their very best (“I had a difficult life”), then will the tabloids allow them to go for their own fun.

Evidently, if that fun would undermine traditional relations of care, it would present a transgression and be once again morally reprehensible. The search for Turkish or other exotic young men is in that respect safe because they are not part of the normal horizon of care for British women; white, Western young men would be much too easily confused with their sons. It is hence possible, but a matter for further research, that the tabloids would be even less “accepting” of relationships with younger British men. On the other hand, while

presenting exotic and easily consumable pleasure Turkish men are also constructed as a risk because, as the tabloids keep repeating, their motives for dating older British women will be economic and exploitative. Such exploitation turns traditional patterns of the global economy around, at the expense of British women, and is thus furiously condemned by their surroundings and the tabloids alike. There is only one situation in which romance tourism fits the conservative politics and moral of the British tabloids and supports capitalist and patriarchal hegemony: this is when the woman in question has fulfilled her caring duties and may legitimately pursue her own happiness, and when she recreates the global economic order by exploiting the “Others” of developing countries, whether these are in Turkey, Morocco, Gambia, or elsewhere on the poorer parts of the globe. Intersectionality is thus highly visible in tabloid coverage, as is the way their particular articulation of gender, nation, and economic wealth maintains the global status quo.

3.6 NOTES

1. Available at <http://vrouw.blog.nl>, translation from Dutch by the authors.
2. Available at www.nu.nl, translation from Dutch by the authors.
3. For instance, www.dateacougar.com or www.match.com.
4. Available at www.therealcougarwoman.com.
5. Available at www.mirror.co.uk/3am/celebrity-news/eastenders-star-cheryl-fergison-marries-129931.
6. According to the Sun Editor Dominic Mohan, talking to the Leveson Inquiry, the Page 3 girl “is an innocent staple of British life whose daily pictures of topless models celebrate natural beauty” (Dan Sabbagh 2012).
7. Based on a search in LexisNexis UK.
8. For instance, www.101holidays.co.uk/top-10-holiday-destinations.
9. Man Hunters is a documentary series, which explores a growing

holiday trend, where it's not just sun, sea, and sand on tap, but love, affection, male companionship, and for some, sex.

10. Search conducted on September 10, 2012.

CHAPTER 4

**“GO TURKEY GO!”:
Football, nationalism and the
representation of Turkey in the
British broadsheet and tabloid
newspapers sport sections**

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CHAPTER 4

“GO TURKEY GO!”: Football, nationalism and the representation of Turkey in the British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers sport sections

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4.1 INTRODUCTION

In many nation-states, football serves as a national beacon; it articulates national identities (Giulianotti 1999). Like other fields of sport with large (sometimes enormous) numbers of viewers, readers and audiences, football is the most popular arena for the manifestation of nationalist behaviour in many countries, where people act emotionally *en masse* in support of their team and wave their national flag joyously with heartfelt and open patriotic fervour (Billig 1995; Kellas 1991). However, it is the media's coverage of football that emphasizes the ideological importance of sport. Blain and O'Donnell (1998), for instance, highlight the media's pivotal role in the imagination and visualization of nationhood, particularly in sports reporting on football. The media is regarded as a key societal sphere where discourses on national identities are mediated or simply transmitted: it is an integral tool in the affirmation of nationhood (Yumul and Özkırmılı 2000).

There is a well-developed body of literature tracing and evaluating the key issues and debates around the relationship between sport, media and national identity (cf., Maguire, Mazur, Wawrzyczek and Elliott 2009; Gökalp 2006; Crolley, Hand and Jetter 2000, 1998; Blain, Boyle and O'Donnell 1993). There has also been a growing interest in evaluating the practice of sports journalism. Helal and Soares (2014), Steen (2008), Boyle (2006), Rowe (2004), and Crolley and Hand (2002) all offer comprehensive overviews of reporting sport, particularly football. This array of work emphasises that "European print media discourse on football does more than cover the game's technicalities, though; it also shapes its readers' awareness of national identities" (Crolley, Hand and Jetter 2000, p. 107). To put it differently, "media sport in general and football journalism in particular contribute to the (re)construction of national identities in Europe" (Crolley and Hand 2000, p. 12). Mangan (1996), O'Donnell (1994) and Higson (1998) all argue that sports reporting has the potential to inform us

about our cultural beliefs, opinions, values and attitudes, and to create “a shared image of the nation and identity” (Higson 1998, p. 356). This image is a distinct, unique entity separating us from other communities (Higson 1998). Indeed, covering football events fulfils a fundamental role in imagining the nation and forming a sense of collective identity (cf., Kösebalaban 2004; see also Alabarces, Tomlinson and Young 2001; Roche 1998; Anderson 1995).

Sports have separate section in every daily newspaper. Journalists working in the sports section (re)construct the experience of the event for the newspaper’s readers. In other words, they produce symbolic meanings about the nation to which the readers can relate themselves. As Blain and Boyle’s (1998) discussion of sport highlights, the way in which newspapers write about sport “becomes a source of information about our beliefs, opinions and attitudes as cultures” (p. 370). Poulton (2004) also adds, “media sport has the ideological power to both represent and re-present the nation” (p. 438). Therefore, as Tudor (2006), Poulton (2004), and O’Donnell (1994) confirmed, the sport section of newspapers answers the “Who Are We?” question.

Extending from these studies, I enter the debate by providing an empirical case examining the 2004 UEFA European Championship (Euro 2004) qualifying matches between Turkey and England that took place at the Stadium of Light in Sunderland and at the Şükrü Saraçoğlu Stadium in Istanbul, in 2003. It is the aim of this study to analyse closely how the Turkish nation was portrayed in the sports section of British newspapers. In looking specifically at the Euro 2004 qualifying match reports on Turkey and England, it is possible to identify contemporary representations employed by British broadsheet and tabloid journalists. The comparison of broadsheet and tabloid football writing is particularly relevant given the institutional differences they have; broadsheets are considered quality papers catering to a more educated reading public, while popular tabloids, by far the most widely read in the United Kingdom, appeal generally to those sections of the population in lower-

income groups (Hanitzsch 2007; Sparks 2000). Such comparisons could also respond to Crolley, Hand and Jeutter's (2000) call for an analysis of media sport texts produced by "two newspapers from the same country but of opposing political convictions" (p. 108). The main question I want to confront and answer is how notions of the Turkish nation and national identity are projected and conceptualised in the football texts of broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. It is then possible to analyse how the broadsheet and tabloid view represent and frame the same matches and, in doing so, how they contribute in their very distinctive ways to the portrayal of Turkish national identity.

In most Europeans' imaginations, Turkey has a contested image: a cool, authentic, fascinating travel destination (e.g., Hamid-Turksoy, Kuipers and Van Zoonen 2014a). Yet, at the same time it is regarded as economically weak, a culturally oriental and predominantly Muslim country, located on the semi-periphery of Europe, but at the same time not belonging to Europe and, essentially, politically isolated from Europe (e.g., Hülse 2006). Many European tourists perceive Turkey as a backward nation among the classic "Islamic Arab countries" (Öztürkmen 2005). Until the late 1990s, strong European football nations saw the Turkish national team as "easy underdogs" (Kösebalaban 2004, p. 50). This historically abiding, fascinatingly ambiguous and paradoxical image of the country as an outsider – out of the occident – offers many possible metaphors, frames, and populist conceptions that can be recycled in the sports sections of British newspapers. In contrast with most of mainland Europe and certainly within the European Union (see, for example, Wimmel 2009), the British government and its media is widely acknowledged as the member state most favourable to Turkey's potential membership of the EU (Aksoy 2009). Moreover, Britain is one of the top investors in Turkey, and huge numbers of British tourists visit Turkey annually (e.g., Hamid-Turksoy, Van Zoonen and Kuipers 2014b). It would be expected therefore that this mutual compassion and understanding in both countries relations with each

other would transfer symbiotically to the British press coverage of the two group qualifying games between the two countries in Euro 2004.

Historically mass media has played a pre-eminent role in the creation and maintenance of national identities. In this context Brookes (1999) as well as Boyle and Haynes (2009) have argued that today most sporting cultures are largely mediated through the means of mass media. It is, therefore, not surprising that the literature on media sport and national identity often use media texts as a primary source of data (Buffington 2012; Maguire, Poulton and Possamai 1999a, 1999b). Guibernau (1996) highlighted that the mass media and their respective journalist will continue to have a profound impact on constructing and disseminating national identities and discourses.

Considering the discursive power in the field of journalism – the power to represent events in a particular way – journalistic texts provide the materials to produce identities (Kellner 1995). Boyle and Haynes (2009) suggest that for long time sports coverage, mainly football was considered as an entertainment that should be kept separate from “hard news” and should not be mixed with politics (p. 25-26). However, today sport texts present a rich seam of material from which to investigate and understand its ability to construct a national image of who we/they are, and/or what our/their nation is like (Rowe 2004). Contemporary journalists reporting on sport cover football in its many manifestations; their reports have the potential to draw a picture of the nation. In line with much critical media studies, I do not see the practice of sports journalism as an unbiased and neutral description of what is happening in any sporting event, but as an ideological medium that provides a basis for interpreting social, cultural, and political issues (cf., Tuchman 2002, 1978; Van Dijk 1991). What appears in sports texts is determined according to a socially constructed set of categories, e.g., the institutional character of the media, the target audience, the worldview of the journalist reporting or the organizational routine of making news (cf., Tuchman 1978; Hall et al. 1978). In other words, sports journalists

are themselves subject to a range of cultural, industrial, economic and political pressures that largely determine how they choose to make sense of events (cf., Boyle and Haynes 2009). For example, the *Guardian* newspaper in Britain may report a match involving Turkey and England differently than the tabloid *Sun*, as they cater to a different readership.

The media sport news, therefore, is framed in such a way that it reflect the dominant ideology and football discourse of the country in which the texts have been produced and consumed (see Maguire, Mazur, Wawrzyczek and Elliott 2009; also see Van Dijk 1998). That is to say, it is understood and expected that when British journalists report on a football game involving the Turkish national team, they add cultural, ideological, political and historical information about the concepts of, for instance, Turkishness versus Englishness, Turkish versus English cultural traditions, perceived differences and imagined national characteristics and habitus codes of the two nations (e.g., Maguire and Poulton 1999; Elias 1991).

Primarily, through a qualitative content analysis (cf., Schreier 2012), I hope to advance our knowledge and understanding on how journalists working for the British sports press construct the Turkish nation and national identity through football match reportage. This is done by analysing the data from four British broadsheets and four tabloid newspapers' coverage of the Euro 2004 group stage qualifying matches in the context of contemporary identity politics and cultural relations between the two nations. Before explaining the methodology of the study and discussing the data analysis techniques, I will devote some time to a review of the extant literature relevant to European football reporting, especially in relation to the construction of the nation and national identities in reporting sporting events. In the same section, I trace briefly the previous academic literature that engages with football and national identity in Turkey. In the last section, I present the analyses of the data researched.

4.2 FOOTBALL, NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE MEDIA

Most of the research concerning the complex interplay between media and sport (cf., Whannel 2008), and the role of “media sport” (Boyle and Haynes 2009, p. 3) in producing and amplifying elements of national identities has been conducted through the prism of the sociology of sport, media and cultural studies, sports studies and beyond. Over the past decades this topic has been extensively investigated in different countries mostly with qualitative methods. I have generally restricted my review to writings published about football reporting in Europe.

An established tradition, particularly, investigates media sport texts (e.g., Helal and Soares 2014; Steen 2008; Boyle 2006). Scholars in this field are often focused on specific sporting events, such as the UEFA Champions League or the FIFA World Cup, and are concerned about the role sports writing play in national identity formation for; central Europe (Crolley and Hand 2002, Maguire, Poulton and Possamai 1999a; Brookes 1999); southern Europe (O’Donnel 1994), the Netherlands (Lechner 2007), Israel (Carmeli and Grossman 2000), Turkey (Kösebalaban 2004; Gökalp 2004; Talimciler 2003; Bora 2001); for North and South America (Helal and Soares 2014; Alabarces, Tomlinson and Young 2001; Alabarces and Rodriguez 1999; Sugden and Tomlinson 1994). Scholarly work of this kind emphasizes that sports reports circulated by the media, especially through the print media, provide resources and prototypes for imagining the nation, and for creating imaginary bonds of unity between members of a nation who don't know each other.

This has already been acknowledged by academics, perhaps the most celebrated being Anderson (1995). He described the importance of the media in the formation of “imagined communities”. The definition of a nation as an “imagined community” helps us to explain the link between football and the nation. Football captures this notion perfectly; eleven Turkish players representing the Turkish nation line up to do battle in a game against another nation, international rival, in this case

England. This highly influential notion of “imagined community” helps us to see how nations define themselves: inwardly in terms of their own history and cultural traditions, and outwardly in terms of their difference from other nations (Anderson 1995). This framework also enables us to understand that nationhood is a particular style of imagining, a symbolic manifestation of a unified group of people who can never know all of each other personally, yet shares a common history, embraces the same cultural values, endorses similar beliefs, and has similar interests and concerns that are largely communicated through the mass media (Anderson 1995). Newspapers, for example, provide the symbols and stories to bind all of them.

Inspired by Anderson’s notion, Crolley and Hand (2002) have focused on the role played by the media in articulating national identity in football texts. By analysing the press in England, France and Spain, the authors uncover how media sports discourse reproduces and amplifies elements of the national identities associated with fans, clubs and cities. Crolley and Hand (2002) found that British football texts have the propensity to mediate English superiority and the idea and feeling of Englishness with an aggressive nationalistic and militaristic writing style that recycles historic and metaphorical images from an imperial era (p. 21-29). Such jingoistic presentation of football communicates xenophobia and patriotism, which turns to chauvinism as footballers from other countries are denigrated or treated as an enemy, says Crolley and Hand (2002). Authors also uncover that the Spanish press is filled with clichéd images of the battling English, the stylish French, the mechanical Germans and the gifted but cagey Italians. Yet, “the pejorative – and, occasionally downright hostile – stereotyping of foreigners” in the English press is largely absent in the Spanish press (p. 155). Crolley and Hand concludes: “One of the roles played by European print media discourse on football is to reinforce if not inculcate myths of national character which are rooted in wider political-diplomatic and socio-economic objective realities” (2002, p. 161).

This view is partially shared in the work of Maguire and Poulton (1999) and Maguire, Poulton and Possamai (1999a, 1999b), and is further developed by Poulton (2004). Their qualitative discourse analysis looks at English and German media coverage during Euro '96 and examines current European identity politics. They apply the concepts of Anderson's "imagined communities" as well as Hobsbawm and Ranger's "invented traditions" and Elias's "national habitus codes" (cf., Elias 1991). The authors demonstrate that "'We' learn about 'our' history and 'our' society via national habitus codes. These 'codes of being' are built around a core of significations that help us to know who we are, how to think, how to feel and how to behave" (Poulton 2004, p. 439). What the work of these researchers most stridently show is that English press coverage of Euro '96 served more to divide than to unite nations, especially in relation to Germany; it reinforced anti-European sentiments and was filled with deeply laden habitus codes about the I/we national identities of the English, rather than the we-image of being also European. While British media discourse celebrates England as an independent nation, at the same time it suffers from constant allusions to its past greatness, glory, power, symbolic superiority, and imagined charisma all perpetuated by "fantasy shields". The German press, by contrast, viewed the sporting stage through the lens of contemporary politics and current (economic, political, footballing) power, rather than dwelling on the past.

The findings of Maguire and Poulton (1999), Maguire et al. (1999a, 1999b), and Poulton (2004) have been echoed in Maguire, Mazur, Wawrzyczek and Elliott (2009) study. Scholars used the same concepts and compared British and Polish media coverage of England versus Poland football matches during the 2006 World Cup tournament. Maguire et al. (2009, p. 143-144) identify three central issues that occupy the English and Polish media, which I also follow in this study:

1. *History*: References to the historical ties between England and Poland focused almost exclusively on football-related issues;

2. *National identity*: Anti-foreign rhetoric was almost invisible in both British and Polish media, but the identity politics emphasizing cultural we/they distance was very apparent. Themes like the wide disparity in national wealth between the two countries, the contrast in civilizations and marked differences in national character were prevalent in the coverage of both sides. The journalists working for English newspapers emphasized the economic and cultural inferiority and backwardness of Polish society, the hostility of the fans, and the inequality between Western and Eastern Europe; whilst Polish journalists acknowledged English cultural superiority, professionalism and wealth;

3. *EU and labour migration*: There was no reference on either side to EU issues and related questions of the migration of Polish workers to England. Yet the issue of sports labour migration did permeate some reporting that drew attention to the disparities between the quality of English and Polish players and footballing teams in either country.

The work of O'Donnel (1994) sums up the national stereotypes in football reporting. In a highly contextualised study that compares core and periphery countries, O'Donnel (1994) maps the geopolitics of national sporting stereotypes that appear regularly in the sports reporting of 15 European countries. O'Donnel's (1994) macro-discourse analysis highlights that the Scandinavians are perceived as cool and rational, and the central Europeans – the Germans, the British and the French – as disciplined, hard-working, inspirational, mentally and emotionally committed, efficient, and reasonable by sporting journalists. In contrast to the North and Central Europeans, O'Donnel (1994) found deep-rooted negative stereotypes in the portrayal of Southern Europeans, the Mediterranean countries, the South Americans, and the Africans are seen as temperamental, passionate and frivolous, even primitive. According to O'Donnel (1994, p. 357), they are stereotyped as deceitful, undisciplined, disorganized, unrealistic, slapdash, unfocused and, in extreme cases, “simply lazy” particularly by those in central/core European countries. In one insightful passage, O'Donnel (1994)

highlights several specific issues that were evident during Euro '92. He states that sport:

[F]unctions on an international level as a site in which advanced countries can and must act out their preferred myths thorough self-and-other-stereotype, and celebrate those qualities which, in their own eyes, make them more modern, more advanced, in short *superior* (...) This process routinely involves downgrading other national groups (O'Donnel 1994, p. 353).

Coming to a similar conclusion, Crolley, Hand and Jeutter's (2000) work examine the national stereotypes intertwined in the print media discourse in British, German, Spanish and French quality newspapers. Their discourse analysis reveals that the lexical style and imagery produced by European football journalists is: "varied, entertaining and often highly inventive as well as occasionally provocative and inflammatory, evoking references to warfare (the Battle of Britain), politics (the administrative divisions of Spain), history (the French Revolution), economics (the German car industry) and popular culture (English beer bellies)" (p. 125-126). This finding demonstrates that sports journalists make football content more interesting than they actually are.

Numerous cultural and sociological studies additionally evaluated the role of football in the formation of the Turkish national identity. The modern republic of Turkey was brought into being by the Kemalist revolution in 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the first president of the republic. The nation-state was founded following an armed struggle against European powers after the end of World War I (Roy 2005). Especially since the 1990s, following Turkey's application to join the EU, football became part of a project for constructing a national unity, a Turkish national identity of being European (Erdogdu 2014). Football stadiums became a symbolic place to voice the feelings of the pro-western, Turkish elite's aspiration

to be part of Europe and the (imagined) civilized Western world (cf., Ermence 2007; Zürcher 2004). Turkey constantly seeks to stabilize its western stance (cf., Kaya 2004). The Turkish national team is perceived as an extension of the nation and its success is proudly celebrated in nationalist terms. Within this framework, Turkey's success became a tool for political expression and an indicator of political victory (cf., Gökalp 2006; Kösebalaban 2004). The Turkish national football team represents, in a certain way, the political and administrative unit called Turkey. Kösebalaban (2004), for example, evaluates newspaper columnists and commentators in Turkey and questions how they use sport as a channel of identity expression. He found that the Turkish press uses football competitions to re-define boundaries of national identity, and to inform the reader about who constitutes "us" and "them". Derived from Anderson's "imagined communities" approach, Kösebalaban's qualitative analysis suggests, "Europe/the West emerges as the most significant other of both the secular and Islamic/conservative media" (2004, p. 62).

Undoubtedly the above studies cast much light on the fact that football reporting is dominated by nationalist characteristics and that sports journalists present football as an emblem of the nation. Yet, some objections may remain. One such objection is that a great number of previous investigations of the European press have focused on analysing quality daily newspapers (for an exception see Blain and O'Donnell 1998, analysing the British tabloid *The Sun*). The available data does not entail comparison between quality broadsheet and popular tabloid press. Moreover, much of the European research carried out up to now looks at media representation of Europe's dominant footballing nations such as England, France, Germany, Italy and Spain. There is no reliable indicator of the representation of semi-peripheral countries, in footballing terms, like Turkey. What I suggest here is that football coverage involves special national characteristics and fantasy images which the British press have about Turkey; they can be nurtured and further developed differently via

different forms of media (e.g., broadsheets vs. tabloids). These national characteristics and images are reflected in and reinforced by media representations of cultural, economic and political events occurring in both nations. My purpose, therefore, is to discover and explore how the British press produce meaning about Turkey and how British journalists make sense of the Turkish nation and its national identity? Moreover, since Turkish people in general (see Hamid-Turksoy, Kuipers and Van Zoonen 2014a) and Turkish men in particular (Hamid-Turksoy, Van Zoonen and Kuipers 2014b) are made invisible in British newspapers, it is interesting to ask does the British newspapers sports sections also treat Turkish players and fans in a similar fashion when covering football events? No scientific inquiry to date has analysed how the Turkish nation, Turkish players and Turkish fans are portrayed and evaluated in European media. In search of an answer, I hope to fill this gap by examining modern Turkey's portrayal in British newsrooms. Before discussing the findings more comprehensively, I shall provide some information about the method and data.

4.3 METHOD AND DATA

Similar to previous empirical chapters, I base my analysis on British print coverage. I conducted an extensive search of the Nexis academic database. I looked at the news articles that contained the key words "Turkey", "England" and "football" in major British newspapers. The British media coverage in relation to a football match between a British and a Turkish team appeared for the first time on October 3, 1968. This coverage concerned stories about a European Cup match between Fenerbahçe and Manchester City. Since then 26 games (including home and away legs) have been covered by the British press that involved English and Turkish club teams. The British press additionally covered 10 international matches between England and Turkey. I focused my research specifically on the reportage of the last international matches

between the two countries – the 2004 UEFA European Football Championship (Euro 2004) group stage qualifying games. England played the first game at home against Turkey at the Stadium of Light in Sunderland on 2nd April 2003, and the return fixture was played at the Şükrü Saraçoğlu Stadium in Istanbul on 11th October 2003. The Euro 2004 qualifying matches were selected as the focus of inquiry because the previous eight international matches between the two countries took place between 1984 and 1993. The world of football has a new complexion now; it has changed enormously over the years. Also, old competitions could not mirror contemporary Turkey.

Four high circulation British broadsheet papers and their Sunday editions, and four top tabloid papers and their Sunday editions were initially considered for analysis. These newspapers were studied for three days. I first looked at the press coverage on the days leading up to the matches. I then examined the reports of the games on match-day itself, and finally I scrutinized what was reported in the press on the day following the games. These three days were selected, as these are typically the most active days during a national football competition. The same procedure of enquiry was used in earlier work conducted by Maguire et al. (2009). The Nexis search returned 292 items in total, ranging from news and feature articles to opinion pieces, letters to the editor, editorials, commentaries and television programme guides and reports on upcoming games, on players, or on match results. Of these, 157 items made Turkey their primary storyline: 111 published before and 46 after the matches had been played (see Appendix III). I included all the items concerning the Euro 2004 games played in Sunderland and Istanbul regardless of length, but excluded those mentioning the name “Turkey” only once, and letters to the editor or articles that only give the fixtures and scores of the week. As seen in Table 4.1, the data came from the following tabloid papers and their Sunday sister papers, the *Mirror* and *Sunday Mirror*, the *Daily Mail* and *Mail on Sunday*, the *Sun*, and the *Evening Standard* accounting for 97 items (62 per-cent); while the

broadsheet papers and their Sunday equivalents, the *Daily Telegraph* and *Sunday Telegraph*, the *Times* and the *Sunday Times*, the *Independent*, and the *Guardian* had 60 items (38 per-cent). These newspapers generally mirror the views of different social strata in the British community, and provide information on displaying national identities at football games. The most extensive coverage came from the tabloid Sun, while the broadsheet *Guardian* provided the thinnest coverage.

TABLE 4.1

Articles coded for analysis (n=157)

	NEWSPAPERS	Match in Sunderland (1-3 April coverage)	Match in Istanbul (10-12 October coverage)
BROADSHEETS	Daily Telegraph and Sunday Telegraph	5	9
	The Independent	5	10
	The Guardian	2	4
	The Times and Sunday Times	12	13
	Sub-Total (n=60)	24	36
TABLOIDS	The Mirror and The SundayMirror	8	20
	The Sun	20	15
	Daily Mail and Mail on Sunday	8	5
	The Evening Standard	14	7
	Sub-Total (n=97)	50	47
	TOTAL (n=157)	74	83

Regarding the structure of the study, a qualitative content analysis (cf., Schreier 2012; Berg 2001) was conducted for each article reported during the matches in Sunderland and Istanbul. After a close reading of each of the 157 articles that appeared in broadsheet and tabloid papers, I organized a design in terms of themes, lexical choices, narratives, and to a certain degree visuals. This means that I coded the articles on four levels: (1) general characteristics of football texts; (2) representation of the Turkish national team; (3) representation of the Turkish national players; and (4) representation of the Turkish society in general, and the Turkish fans in particular. I first looked at the general characteristics of football reporting and scrutinized the structure of sports articles in terms of the information they carry. I then applied a lexical analysis looking at the word choice and jargon recycled by the broadsheet and tabloid newspapers with respect to the construction of the Turkish nation. Second, I considered how the Turkish national team was represented: what references, metaphors and popular stereotypes (recurrent terms) are embedded in football articles; how journalists ascribe meaning to describe the Turkish national identity? Third, I looked at how the Turkish players were presented to the British sports readers; how were they depicted? Were they characterized as Europeans, as non-European outsiders, or were they drawn in neither of these terms? Finally, I looked at the representation of the Turkish society with an emphasis to the portrayal of the Turkish fans. How did British broadsheet and tabloid papers disseminate for a wider readership an image of Turkish supporters? What kind of language was used to refer to the Turkish fans? Were the fans present in the texts? If so, how were they presented?

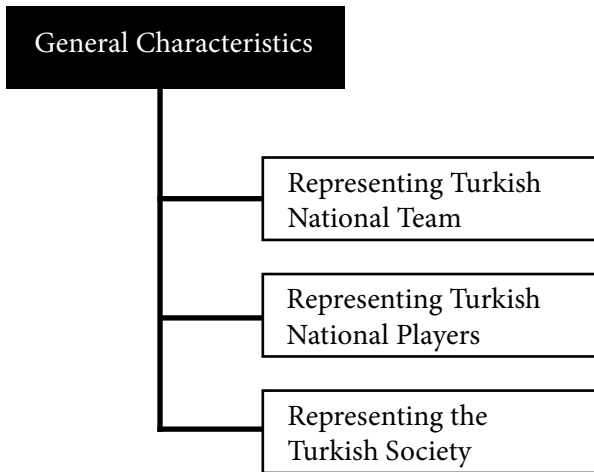
Nexis database does not provide a detailed description of the pictures accompanying the text. To understand the extent of visuals, I additionally checked the online web pages of some of the newspapers analysed. I looked at the impression given of the footballing atmosphere, the Turkish team, its players and how the Turkish fans were portrayed in the pictures.

4.4 RESULTS

The findings show that the British newspapers' coverage of the two games under discussion fell within the orbit of three broad but intersecting themes: (1) *representation of the Turkish national team*, (2) *representation of the Turkish national players*, and (3) *representation of the Turkish society*. Before I move on to discuss the levels of representation, I would like to look at the *general characteristics* of British football reporting, comment on some general findings and make some observations (see Figure 4.1).

FIGURE 4.1

Sport journalism: An analytical schema



4.4.1 General Characteristics

Routine reporting of the two matches took place in the sections predominantly called: "Sport", "Football", "Match Report", "European

Champions League” and “Soccer” in the tabloids, and “Sport Pages” in the broadsheets.

Two main findings can be identified. First, the dominant narration of British broadsheet and tabloid press coverage of the Euro 2004 match in Sunderland served to create a sense of historic rivalry by focusing on previous meetings between the Turkish and English national football teams. This was not a common narration in the match in Istanbul. The main argument of the latter match served to create a sense of history by focusing more on football violence in Turkey. This is achieved by informing the reader about the security concerns and police preparations against any potential trouble between the players and/or fans: “more than 5,000 officers in full riot gear will be on duty” (*Sun*, October 11, 2003). For the most part, broadsheet and tabloid newspaper coverage of the Euro 2004 match in Istanbul shared a more deep-rooted image of the venue as a place that had an “intimidating” atmosphere and where both the fans and the English national team were likely to meet with a “hostile reception”. Unwelcoming descriptions of Şükrü Saraçoğlu Stadium and the city of Istanbul, the venue of the second match, were prevalent in this reporting. The tabloids described Turkey as “one of the most intimidating venues in world soccer” (*Sun*, October 11, 2003). The *Mirror* stereotyped Turkey as a “hell” and read: “Turkey welcome you to hell” (*Mirror*, October 11, 2003). Şükrü Saraçoğlu Stadium also was depicted as: “intimidating arena fit for a gladiatorial execution” (*Sunday Mirror*, October 12, 2003). Except one Independent article describing the venue as a “hostile stadium” (October 11, 2003), such jargon hardly took place in the broadsheets.

I also observed that explanations for the huge national interest in football in Turkey were overtly visible both in the broadsheet and tabloid press. Turkey is portrayed as a “fanatical footballing nation” by the quality Times (April 2, 2003) and a “football-mad land” by the *Independent* (October 11, 2003). Similarly, “Football is an obsession in Istanbul” says the *Sunday Mirror* (October 12, 2003). Furthermore,

in the tabloids, the Turkish supporters are stereotyped as “fanatical Turkish fans” (*Sunday Mirror*, October 12, 2003) or “fanatical Turkish crowd” (*Mirror*, October 11, 2003) that “produces a carnival of national unity” when Turkey plays. The broadsheets talked about “fanatic supporters” (*Independent*, October 11, 2003) or “patriotic Turkey fans” (*Times*, October 10, 2003). To intensify this position a *Times* article quoted Şenol Güneş, the manager of the Turkish team, who typically says: “Football is our life. On Saturday, the entire Turkish nation will be playing” (October 10, 2003). Turkish people’s “obsession” with football has a deeper political meaning. In the Turkish national discourse, the national football team’s success is seen as a tool for political expression against Europe or the West (cf., Ermence 2007; Kösebalaban 2004), as if football made epic contributions to the westernization of the country. The fact that football has become a highly politicized entity in Turkey, a symbol to express patriotism did not escape the attention of the British journalists.

In some broadsheet and tabloid articles, I observed normative values of reporting footballers simply as “Turks” rather than “Turkish players”. The *Times* wrote, “the Turks have developed a free-flowing, exuberant style” (April 2, 2003). The *Guardian* also noted that: “the Turks are improving all the time” (October 11, 2003). As far as the tabloids were concerned, the *Mirror* reported: “The Turks can take a huge step towards the Euro 2004 finals by winning tomorrow” (April 1, 2003). A similar view was recorded by the *Evening Standard*: “The Turks, of course, have progressed significantly since then, finishing third in the 2002 World Cup” (October 10, 2003). It was especially the right-wing *Sun* newspaper that was somewhat bigoted: “the Turks are set for a roasting tonight” (October 11, 2003) or “Beating the Turks at the Stadium of Light” (April 2, 2003).

This over lexicalization of the plural use of the term “Turks” in the British news articles is striking. This style of presenting the ethnicity rather than the name of the players as main actors highlights

the national dimension of the match. By presenting the Turkish players as “Turks”, the British press establishes the communal identification of those players with the nation. Thus, it is evident that it is not about the players but rather their country. Turkish players are not manifested distinctively; they are addressed as a single and unified entity of the Turkish nation, and are homogeneously treated in the same category with the Turkish community at large.

Additionally, I examined the characteristics of the pictures accompanying the texts analysed in this study. I observed a predominant pattern: there were only images of British team players and their managers. Particularly in the tabloids and to a lesser extent in the broadsheets, the English players’ performances are often praised using visual imagery. For example, England’s victory against Turkey in Sunderland is pictured with the following caption: “Glory boys: Beckham (right), Rooney and Vassell celebrate” (*Daily Mail*, April 3, 2003). Given it’s the British press, targeting the British readers, newspapers naturally are filled with images from their own national team. These types of images confirm the priority of British players and/or managers, over foreign footballers. Priority is given to people familiar to their readers. They left no space to circulate any material visualising the opponents, and the emotions of the rival team. The Turkish players, the manager, and the fans – simply the Turks – were ignored by the British sporting press. This finding coincides with the visuals circulated in travel sections of the British newspapers (see Hamid-Turksoy, Kuipers and Van Zoonen 2014a). Turks are there, but are not seen by the British journalists.

4.4.2 Representation of the Turkish National Team

In April 2003, the Turkish national team travelled to the Stadium of Light in Sunderland to play England in a qualifying match for the Euro 2004 football championship. On the day of the match, the intention of the British broadsheet press was to create some sense of history

between Turkish and English national teams. Although Turkey is not generally considered to have an intense rivalry with England either in football, or in any political, economic or historical sense, the British press attempted to fabricate a tension between the sides by drawing attention to a dominant reference: the Turkish national football team's underachievement against England in the past. Take the following example: "Victory is something no Turkish team has previously believed possible against England, against whom they have never scored" (*Guardian*, April 2, 2003). Another striking example comes from the *Times*: "In eight meetings, Turkey have conceded 29 goals and scored none" (April 2, 2003). These quotes serve to illustrate how the British press were intent on creating a false rivalry where none had previously existed. Broadsheet papers chose to exaggerate the sense of antagonism between the two teams by reminding its readers that the Turkish national team had failed to beat England in all previous encounters. This reportage obviously stereotyped the Turkish team, but in an apparently uncritical way. The coverage had none of the chauvinism and xenophobia that characterized any negative nationalistic sentiment. As such, the reporting of the match in Sunderland somewhat produced a binary emotion towards the Turkish team. On the day of the match, the liberal *Independent* newspaper in particular was ambivalent towards the Turkish team. It emphasized the importance of the match for England and attempted to praise Turkey's recent footballing achievements. This is best summarized in Nick Harris's commentary, from which I quote at length:

According to almost any objective criteria, Turkey are a better team than their hosts, despite never having won or even scored, against England in eight previous meetings. They finished the World Cup in third place while England limply fell in the last eight. They made the quarter-finals of Euro 2000 after England had snatched defeat from the jaws of victory in the group stage. Turkey are ranked seventh in the world, England two places

lower (...) They are unbeaten by anyone except Brazil in a 13-match run that stretches back to the start of the World Cup (*Independent*, April 2, 2003).

This reporting also drew attention to the English team's poor performance. Another *Independent* extract repeats that: "the World Cup semi-finalists Turkey confirm the growing impression that England are going nowhere" (April 2, 2003). It appears that while the majority of broadsheets disregarded the Turkish team because of its abysmal record against England in previous encounters, the *Independent* produced a modest reportage, and complimented Turkey's recent success on the playing field. The journalist working for this paper certainly did not hold England in high esteem or as a unique footballing nation. Although England until recently was Europe's greatest imperial power, and "a global political, military and economic – as well as sporting – power, with an overseas empire which stretches across the world" (Maguire, Poulton and Possamai 1999b, p. 64), it seems Britain's historic superiority, former beauty and glory (cf., Crolley and Hand 2002) is losing its popularity among some broadsheet journalists. As Maguire et al. (1999a, p. 448) had found, the quotes in the *Independent* newspaper might also emphasize "the contention that England is no longer the global power of early years".

England wins the match in Sunderland 2-0, but this victory did not generate any new narration within the broadsheet press. Again, references to nine meetings were circulated in the reporting on the day after the match, albeit to a lesser degree. The *Times*, for example, noted in an ironic fashion: "Turkey are a fine side, who at various points seemed capable of ripping their opponents apart, but their miserable form against England is now extended. In nine meetings with England, they have not scored a goal, let alone won a game" (April 3, 2003). In a way, the indifference of the score and the failure of Turkey to register a goal reaffirm a long-established discourse in the British broadsheet

media about the Turkish national team.

The tabloids appeared to be more populist at times. Except for the *Mirror* which made a passing reference to praise the Turkish team: “Along with their World Cup heroics, Turkey reached the quarter-finals of Euro 2000 and have emerged as one of the most technically-gifted and organised sides in Europe” (April 2, 2003), the tabloids showed far greater evidence of the use of a stereotype, evoking the Turkish team’s continuing inability to win against England. Although the tabloids mentioned that the match is “certainly England’s most important game since the World Cup” and “is going to be a very tough game” (*Evening Standard*, April 2, 2003), much of the reporting for the match in Sunderland reflected the tabloids attempt to create an image of a weak Turkish team, whilst also referring to the historical dimension: “In eight previous games against England, Turkey have lost seven and not scored a single goal” (*Daily Mail*, April 1, 2003). Another *Daily Mail* extract confirm this stance by proclaiming that: “they [Turkey] only qualified for the European Championship Finals for the first time in 1996 but did not win a game, and until last year had not reached the World Cup proper for 48 years” (April 1, 2003). Steven Howard, a journalist writing in Britain’s best-selling daily tabloid the *Sun*, similarly noted: “Turkey have yet to record a win over England in eight attempts and are still to register their first goal - they have also been beaten 8-0 (twice) and 5-0” (April 1, 2003). Time and again, the tabloid newspapers repeated that Turkey was a weak team, thus making it clear that British victory was an ordinary one. The tabloid press did not merely draw attention to the previous matches, but made it the dominant theme in the majority of the articles that reported the match in Sunderland. To justify this position they circulated news items with an historic chronology of Turkey’s poor record against England, once again demonstrating its inability to win the previous encounters.

The *Sun* even went further by presenting Turkey’s 2002 World Cup achievement as a “failure” (April 1, 2003). In this article, the *Sun*

journalist Steven Howard wrote: "Turkey reached the World Cup semi-final by avoiding European opposition and playing "inferior" footballing countries Costa Rica, China, Japan and Senegal" (original punctuation, April 1, 2003). Indeed, in the 2002 World Cup, Turkey played all of its matches against non-European teams. These were all friendly and sympathetic nations with which Turkey shared no political or historical confrontations. Given Turkey did not play against any European team, the *Sun* regard this as a lack of success and a failure of the Turkish team. Stretching this view to its extreme, seeing Costa Rica or China as "inferior" also suggests a deeper meaning that Turkey is indirectly regarded as an inferior nation culturally, which shares values with friendly Asians and lack shared values with the West, unfriendly Europeans. The *Sun* additionally provided some space to Turkish voices that saw England "the best league in the world" (*Sun*, April 2, 2003). The Turkish player Yıldırım Baştürk, for example, says: "We have spent 50 years trying to beat England and never done it" (ibid). The use of this style was not restricted merely to the tabloids, but also sporadic in the broadsheets. The *Daily Telegraph* quoted Şenol Güneş who says: "England is a very powerful country in football and in other fields" (April 1, 2003). Similarly, the *Times* quoted Metin Tükenmez, a Turkish sports columnist, who says: "Even if we managed to be third in the World Cup once in our 100-year footballing history, in terms of football culture we are still a shanty house and they (England) are a villa" (October 11, 2003). Here the nationalism is circulated by speaking for the nation, by echoing "we", the nation, and making it the center of the story. The reference to "a shanty house" also deserves some attention. It's a direct translation of the Turkish word "gecekondu", and means a house put up quickly without proper official permission; a slum neighbourhood made of shanty or shack houses.

These types of quote serve well to demonstrate that the Turkish team, to some extent, lacks self-confidence. It might be said, given that Turkey has not managed to beat England since 1984, that

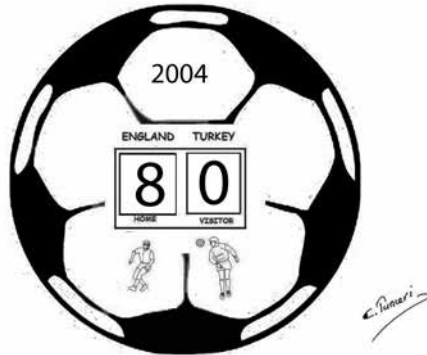
such representation suggests that the Turkish players, managers and supporters have developed an inferiority complex. By so doing, the tabloids, especially the *Sun*, and some broadsheets assigned meaning to the return match – a reminder of England's rich footballing history against Turkey on the one hand, and a reminder of the Turkish team's historic and on-going failure against England on the other. This national traumatic defeat was further reported in broadsheet and tabloid extracts that circulated statements from Turkish sources that sincerely believed Turkey would win. As the president of Turkish football association, Haluk Ulusoy said: "We're going to beat England for the first time in our history" (*Independent*, April 2, 2003). And Mehmet Demircan, a Turkish sports columnist, confirmed: "Forget the history...Turkey are the better team now" (*Evening Standard*, April 1, 2003).

Not surprisingly, the same national stereotyping dismissing while at the same time praising Turkey was circulated when the return fixture was played in Istanbul. Before the return fixture match in Istanbul some broadsheets made positive references to the Turkish national team: "This Turkey team are better than the one we beat twice in last year's World Cup. They have been playing very good football and are full of confidence, and to beat them you have to be at your best" (*Guardian*, October 11, 2003). Some tabloids also employ this reference: "The Turks will be harder to beat - and harder to get to. England are over-rated, Turkey are under-rated" (*Mirror*, October 11, 2003). Yet, the British press prefer allocating more space to the Turkish national team's lack of success against England. Especially, the tabloids heavily circulated the information that: "Turkey have never scored against, never mind beaten, England in the nine previous internationals between the two countries" (*Evening Standard*, October 10, 2003). Another *Evening Standard* extract also proclaimed that Turkey "have never beaten England, nor even scored a goal, in nine attempts" (October 10, 2003). Referring back to the European Championship qualifier in Izmir in 1987, the *Mirror* wrote: "So superior were England that goalkeeper

Peter Shilton had to wait 32 minutes for his first touch of the ball” (October 11, 2003). Andrew Dillon, from the *Sun*, said Turks “were dumped 2-0 in Sunderland back in April” (October 10, 2003) and Eric Beauchamp proclaimed rather ironically: “Those results made Turkish football – especially their keepers – a laughing stock in England” (*Sun*, October, 11, 2003). Given the match ended with a 0-0 score line, the *Sunday Mirror* portrayed the Turkish national team as “admittedly poor Turkish side” (October 12, 2003), once again re-affirming its poor performance against England (see Figure 4.2).

FIGURE 4.2

Illustration of sports news, copyright Cemal Tunceri



The broadsheets occasionally adopted a tabloid style and recycled the same reference: “no Turkey side have scored against England, let alone beaten them” (*Guardian*, October 10, 2003). A *Sunday Times* commentary by Joe Lovejoy, who reported from the Şükrü Saraçoğlu Stadium in Istanbul, wrote somewhat mockingly: “In 10 games against England, not only have the Turks still to win, they have yet to score” (October 12, 2003). In a *Daily Telegraph* article, the journalist Paul Hayward ended his commentary by saying: “An astonishing statistic is that no Turk has ever put the ball in an English net” (October 11, 2003). And the *Times* boast that the English players “steamrollered Turkey six

months ago” (October 10, 2003). The latter jargon employed in this theme demonstrated the deep-seated taboos in British society about the public discourse in relation to Turkish football. But it also serves well to demonstrate a British self-image that fantasises itself as a great, powerful, and superior country.

Even though the ways in which national identities are projected in the quality and popular press seems to be flexible, any favourable mention of the Turkish team was sporadic, especially in the tabloids. Rather, the projected historic image of the Turkish team was, by and large, contemptuously dismissive. In much of the reporting for the two matches, British tabloid journalists were very obviously prone to disregard and degrade the Turkish team, and at the same time, present a glittering image of the English national team’s superiority over their Turkish counterparts. The British press appeared to nurture the stereotype of Turkey as an uncompetitive footballing opponent that has no special status in international football. Stereotyping here was achieved less by the content and more by the tone of the presentation (slighting). Such representation emphasized the long-standing failure of Turkey against England in international competitions confirming English dominance as a prevalent discourse that fed into the British newspapers sports sections. So there are deeper messages in the texts of the British journalist: Turkey is cynically positioned as a country which lies not only on the semi-periphery of Europe, but one which does not know the rules of the larger game, a country which England need not take seriously, nor be seen as a threat or a significant enemy on the footballing stage.

4.4.3 Representation of the Turkish National Players

In sharp contrast to the negative overtone of the representation of the Turkish national team, the Turkish national players were almost always positively presented. Except a tabloid article mentioning that “the

Turkish players have a reputation throughout the game for being volatile” (*Evening Standard*, April 3, 2003), both the British journalists and the British source themselves drew extravagant pictures about the Turkish players. From the broadsheets, the *Times* referred to the “excellent footballers” (April 2, 2003). The *Independent* speaks of “dynamic young players” (April 1, 2003) with “international experience” (April 2, 2003), and described Hakan Şükür as “Turkey’s all-time top scorer” (April 2, 2003), and Emre Belozoğlu as the “Maradona of the Bosphorus” (April 2, 2003). The *Guardian* described Hasan Şaş as “a star of the World Cup run” (October 11, 2003). The *Daily Telegraph* portrays Rüştü Recber as “Turkey’s superb keeper” (April 3, 2003). On the day of the match in Istanbul, a *Telegraph* extract written by James Beattie depicts the quality of the Turkish players by saying that:

They are all over Europe, many of them at big clubs. Hakan Sukur played at Blackburn and he is a handful. Tugay, who is with Blackburn now, is the brains of the Turkish team, the midfielder who makes them tick. Emre made his name in the World Cup. He was great for Inter Milan against Arsenal (October 11, 2003).

Sven Goran Eriksson, the English coach, also confirms that: “Okan, Emre, Tugay and Basturk, those are all excellent footballers. If you want to win, you have to have the petrol in midfield. We have to stand up there and be as strong as they are. They can play one or two-touch and have good vision, are physically strong even though they are not tall, big guys” (*Times*, April 2, 2003).

The tabloid press similarly presented the Turkish players in a more favourable light. The *Evening Standard* suggests that Turkey has “quality players from some of the best clubs in Europe” (April 2, 2003). The paper describes Turkey’s defensive midfielder Tugay Kerimoğlu as “an excellent player” (*Evening Standard*, April 2, 2003). The *Sun* portrays

Hakan Şükür as “Turkey’s all-time leading scorer” (October 11, 2003). In a lengthy *Evening Standard* commentary that ran under the headline “This Turk’s bigger than Goldenballs”, Ian Chadband described Ilhan Mansız as “brilliant and unpredictable” as well as “sexy and different” (April 2, 2003). The *Sun*, on the other hand, described Nihat Kahveci as “one of the hottest forwards in La Liga with 16 goals this season” (April 2, 2003). Especially the descriptions in the tabloid and broadsheet press tend to give due weight to popular narrations (“hottest”, “sexy”, “top”, “star”) than to tactical and strategic aspects of the Turkish players performance. Yet, these positive overtones, to some extent, shows that the individual Turkish players, who play in prestigious European clubs, are much respected by the British press. They are treated different than their national team.

Are the Turkish players portrayed as Europeans or non-European outsiders? The Turkish players are portrayed as “emotional, attention-seeking Mediterraneans” by the broadsheet *Times* (April 2, 2003), and as “Mediterranean players but with a bit more steel than some from northern countries” by the tabloid *Daily Mail* (April 1, 2003). In the previous study (see Hamid-Turksoy, Van Zoonen and Kuipers 2014b), we sees that the British press articulate young Turkish so-called toyboy men with an orientalist discourse, as part of the East. This stands in stark contrast to the representation of the Turkish football players, who are coming from a different economic class. The Turkish players are associated with Europe and depicted as successful players in the European clubs.

One last aspect, which is entirely overlooked by tabloids, has been treated newsworthy by the broadsheets. An interesting extract from the *Independent* newspaper attempted to give more credit to Turkish players who originated from Turkish population in Germany. The paper emphasized that: “Turkey’s international progress is exemplified in their creative midfield personnel. Were they motor cars, they would be stamped with the slogan “Made in Germany. Polished in Europe””

(April 2, 2003). By doing so, the *Independent* attempted to upgrade the qualities of the members of the Turkish team and give them a German, thus a European dimension. In other words, the paper gave the credit to Germany and not to Turkey. In this respect, and from a slightly different perspective, a *Daily Telegraph* article speaking of the Turkish player Ilhan Mansız is exemplary:

He grew up in Munich and the mother of his two-month daughter, Aimee, is not a Turkish woman but a gorgeous German blonde called Nina to whom, shock and horror, Ilhan is not yet married. In traditional Turkey, having children out of wedlock is not really acceptable. But then Ilhan is a man of the West who grew up in Germany and has led the group of younger players, including Yildiray Basturk and Umit Davala, who refuse to be browbeaten by the senior players like Sukur and Hasan Sas - both practising Muslims (October 10, 2003).

In this passage, carefully scripted descriptions of the Turkish players were observable. Broadsheet media reflected on current identity politics matters by implying that Turkey is a conservative and Muslim country. "Having children out of wedlock" is portrayed as one of the stereotypical Turkish national vices. Both the *Daily Telegraph* and *Independent* attempted to draw a distinction between the Turkish players that born and/or grew up in Germany versus those in Turkey. Players like Yıldırım Baştürk, Ümit Davala and Ilhan Mansız are depicted as "man of the West", thus, they are treated as European and not originally Turkish. On the other hand, players like Hakan Şükür and Hasan Şaş are delineated as "religious, traditional Turkish players against the secular Westernised youngsters" (*Daily Telegraph*, October 10, 2003). The latter argument might be interpreted as an indication that Turkey is seen by the broadsheet journalists as a traditional, backward country, and not modern or western for that matter.

4.4.4 Representation of the Turkish Society: Images of the Turkish Fans

In October 2003, the British national team travelled to Şükrü Saraçoğlu Stadium in Istanbul to play the return fixture with Turkey. Before the match in Istanbul, the intention of tabloid journalists was to draw attention to the intimidating atmosphere in previous matches surrounded with “crowd disturbances”, street “fighting” and “notorious incidents”, especially, in 2000. At the centre of this reporting lies the famous “Welcome to the Hell” greeting banner opened in a European Cup game between Galatasaray and Manchester United in November 1993, and the killing of two Leeds United fans in Istanbul before a UEFA Cup tie, in 2000. For example a *Mirror* extract, referring to England defender Danny Mills, writes: “For Mills, Istanbul will always bring back thoughts of that night in April 2000 when Chris Loftus and Kevin Speight were stabbed to death before Leeds UEFA Cup semi-final with Galatasaray” (October 11, 2003).

To further sensationalize this tragic incident, a *Sunday Mirror* article printed after the match in Istanbul opened by evoking a historical connection: “They descended on Istanbul from all corners of the old Ottoman Empire. From Izmir and Ankara, from Trabzon on the Black Sea, they came with their faces painted red like an army of devils into the city they like to call Hell” (October 12, 2003). The style of the narrative, told like a fantastic adventure story between good and evil, heaven and hell, serves in itself to bestow an alien character to “them”, the Turkish fans. The symbolic use of “they” is an out-group attribute used to refer to foreign fans, but in this manner of telling, it made the Turks seem not so much foreign as from other worlds. This served well to create exclusion and an emotional distance from the Turkish fans. Here we additionally see a reference to the Turkish flag (“faces painted red”), and far-fetched warlike jargon describing the Turkish fans as “an army

of devils". The choice of "devils", easily translated into something bad, conveys a sense of negativity if not fear of unknown horrors, towards the Turkish fans. Though, it's not surprising that some metaphoric connections have been made between "hell" and "devils". By so doing, the British press successfully frame the venue as hellish place readers can easily recognise. Journalists simply copy and paste old understanding to news articles to create a familiar landscape for the reader.

Although broadsheets may have been subtler in their use of lexicon, their reporting style arguably amplifies stereotypes in ways similar to the tabloid press. It could be argued that it was the *Times*, reporting prior to the game in Istanbul, that best captured the press's interpretation of the playing environment. An article printed the day before the match opened by stating: "Welcome to hell, reads the massive banner unfurled by fanatical Galatasaray fans every time a foreign team visits their intimidating stadium in Istanbul. It will be on display again tomorrow when England play Turkey in a decisive European Championship qualifying match" (*Times*, October 10, 2003). Broadsheet reporting which sought to heighten the interest for a match which had no previous historical rivalry, as would, for instance, a game between England and Germany or Turkey and Greece, attempted to create a sense of anticipated tension by additionally drawing on security alerts and potential disorder that might erupt before, during or after the match: "Three busloads of nervous-looking riot police sealed off the main street in Istanbul where two English football fans were killed in a brawl 3 years ago, hoping to avoid more bloodshed at today's Euro 2004 qualifier in Turkey" (*Times*, October 11, 2003).

The broadsheet coverage was much alarming, dramatizing the security preparations, the number of "police vans" and "riot police" on duty. In a *Daily Telegraph* extract, the anticipated disturbance was reported in the following fashion: "England arrived to a warm reception mixed with heavy security and the occasional, ritualistic ribald chant from Turkish supporters" (October 10, 2003). The *Times* also confirms:

“Celalettin Cerrah, the Istanbul police chief, said that police would establish a triple security cordon around the Sukru Saracoglu stadium in Asian Istanbul” (October 10, 2003). Little effort is required to interpret the narrative in such news articles suggesting a dangerous atmosphere. These examples demonstrate that the Turkey-England match in Istanbul involved something more than football for the British readers. By so doing, the broadsheet media created hype about any possible trouble that might occur in Istanbul.

Lastly, the broadsheet *Times*, additionally had a propensity to say something about the history of violence in Turkish football. For example, the day before the match in Istanbul, a *Times* article headlined “Turkey: just pray there are no shots on target” opened with the following sentence: “Turkish football fans are renowned for their passion, their volatility and their violence” (*Times*, October 10, 2003). In this article, Suna Erdem writes that:

Volatile Turkish character can lead to violence, many Turks believe that tomorrow it could work the other way. Perhaps, after ceaseless warnings from officials and politicians, there is the consciousness of being on show, of restoring a tarnished reputation, of proving to the world that it is wrong in thinking that Turkey is a violent, dangerous place (...) Indeed, should Turkey win the match tomorrow, their own citizens – football fans or not – could be in more danger than anyone else. Turks tend to fire guns in the air in celebration – sometimes killing unsuspecting revellers far away on balconies or walking in the crowd. When Turkey reached the World Cup semi-finals last year, 24 people were hurt by gunfire and a further seven killed in the chaotic celebration traffic (*Times*, October 10, 2003).

The apparently aggressive behaviour of the Turkish fans is, thus, occasionally associated with violence, and as part of stereotypical

Turkish football culture. With a less than a half million circulation in the UK, the *Times* newspaper was keen not only to create a sense of intimidation and hostility with respect to the environment in Turkey, and the city of Istanbul, it was also keen that this sense of intimidation permeated the Turkish fan groups too.

In the same lengthy article, Erdem further stereotype the Turkish nation within a typical European discourse. This argument was best captured in the following extract: “Turks hide their inferiority complexes under an exaggerated sense of national pride. In a way, performing well in the European football arena is a Turkish two fingers at the politicians who are keeping them in the political wilderness”. Erdem, attempted to show that Turkey has an ambiguous European identity and an identity crises of being European (cf., Erdogdu 2014). By way of concluding this section let me also quote the *Times* columnist Simon Barnes, who wrote on the day of the match in Istanbul: “Turkey's desire to win counts double because victory emphasises their right to be considered a modern, grown-up nation” (October 11, 2003). In this article, Barnes went on to suggest that Turkey is hungry for success; it wants to achieve international recognition as a footballing nation in order to prove that it is capable of winning and is therefore part of Europe, as strong as its European counterparts and is a “modern, grow-up nation”. The fact that Turkey was constantly seeking to stabilize its western stance was visible in the latter extract. This coverage was exclusive to the *Times* newspaper.

4.5 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

It has been widely analysed that over the past decades, the mass media – in this case, the press – propagates elements of nationalism. It is especially true that in the sports sections of the newspapers, for

instance, the nation and national identities can be reconstructed. Sports texts allow us to observe how the newspapers build national identity. The journalistic practice in the British newspapers' sports coverage of matches between Turkey and England in the 2004 UEFA European Championship provide new insight into the representation of the Turkish national identity. We have seen that British football texts are not soft news that merely entertains the reader. We also observe that football writing in the British broadsheet and tabloid daily press does more than simply explain what went on the pitch during the two matches. Sports journalism also provides a platform that feeds the imagining of the Turkish nation in a variety of ways. I, especially, find commonalities with the work of Maguire, Mazur, Wawrzyczek and Elliott (2009). The representation of Turkish national identity offered by the British daily press in their reporting of Euro 2004 and, especially, of the Turkish national team was based on three main stereotypical characteristics:

First, the historical dimension: I find that the Turkish national team's historic failure on the pitch against England in all encounters is consistently presented to the British broadsheet and tabloid reader as the success of the English team. Yet, there are some differences of tone. The tabloids, in particular, tend to be more populist, partisan and aggressive than their broadsheet counterparts, most notably in their depiction of the Turkish team. Nonetheless, the homogeneity of this representation is remarkable. In much of the reporting for the two matches British journalists made it clear that the Turkish national team was not competitive. Even though less than a handful of articles in broadsheet and tabloid papers made passing reference to the success of the Turkish national team in past tournaments, British newspapers were prone to undermine and undervalue the Turkish team's weight in football. Although this finding tells us little about the Turkish nation it does tell us a great deal about Britain/England: British standing in European football, its national habitus codes, the view held by the British press of the Turkish national football team, and the workings

of the British media industry. It also manifests England's imagined charisma as a leading established footballing nation. The constant repetition of England defeating Turkey also shows that England suffers from the constant allusions to its past glory and symbolic superiority (cf., Maguire et al. 1999a). This work, therefore, adds to the idea that England is obsessed with its lost grandeur, with regaining by some means what it saw as its heroism and superiority and that to this end, particularly in the tabloids, Turkish national team is crudely denigrated as an inferior country (cf., Crolley and Hand 2002).

Second, the national identity dimension: I find that Turkish fans are almost exclusively associated with aggression and violence; they are portrayed as extremely fanatical and passionate, especially by the tabloid articles analysed here. These sentiments were largely intensified by two factors: first, the famous "Welcome to the hell" banner, and second, the two English fans that were killed in Istanbul before the 2000 UEFA Cup semi-final match between Leeds United and Galatasaray. Furthermore, in both forms of newspapers I find no reference to England's politically and economically powerful position, and any strong reporting in the context of economic or cultural superiority of England against Turkey, or an unequal treatment of Turkey being a non-EU country. But, a handful of negative reports, especially in the broadsheet *Times*, present the Turkish nation as a country constantly seeking to stabilize its western stance. Success in international football competitions is seen as a powerful source to show Europe that Turkey is a "modern, grown-up nation". Furthermore, much has been written about the use of militarist language and the vocabulary of war in football reporting in several Western countries (see Crolley, Hand and Jeutter 2000; and Blain and O'Donnell 1998). The conclusions that can be drawn from my data, however, are at odds with these views. It seems an overstatement to suggest that military clichés dominate the reporting of international football games. In the Turkish context, I hardly encounter with a warmongering jargon. I find only one tabloid article mentioning

of “army”, which happened in descriptions of fanatical fans but not with reference to any football game, as is the case in the games between Germany and England (e.g., Maguire, Poulton and Possamai 1999).

Third, the sports labour dimension: One of the most notable representations documented in this study is the astonishing uniformity between examined broadsheet and tabloid press, especially in how Turkish players are represented. A positive overtone dominated the reportage. Broadsheets and tabloids alike were all enthusiastically complimentary about the abilities of players in the Turkish team. This was in sharp contrast to the Maguire et al. (2009) study, which drew attention to the disparity between the English and Polish players. I observed that even though the Turkish national team had never win against England, the Turkish players are almost always characterized as “excellent footballers”, with “international experience” playing in prestigious European clubs. There is a complete absence of any reference that suggests that Turkish players lacked the quality to compete at international level.

The results presented in this article show that differences between broadsheet and tabloid forms do exist, and that those differences in many respects are attributable different reporting styles. Whilst broadsheet papers had a more careful and restrained reporting style, avoiding making explicit value judgements about the Turkish nation and its people, tabloid papers tend to write in an emotional style, with the typical employment of an inflammatory and contemptuous presentation of the Turkish national team or players, e.g., “Turks were dumped” (*Sun*, October 10, 2003), “admittedly poor Turkish side” (*Sunday Mirror*, October 12, 2003).

The research in this article is not without shortcomings. As we know from the literature, nation representation is a multi-faceted phenomenon and in this article, I have encapsulated only a small part of it, that of Turkey’s representation by the British press. Expanding the research to press coverage of Turkey in other countries might produce

other national representations. Also, different media outlets provide different forms of representations. In other words, research may be extended to, for instance, television coverage of football games between Turkey and other European nations. More empirically grounded discussions regarding Turkey's representation in all its various forms are needed, as what may appear one way in the "core" European countries may well be an entirely different experience in "peripheral" countries. What also becomes evident from the above empirical study is the need for further research that can test whether this is the case in the representation of other non-EU or EU candidate countries in the British or other European press.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

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5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the proceeding chapter, I have tried to answer my main research question – *how does British print media construct and circulate views about Turkey in lifestyle news texts?* By content analysing different lifestyle news sections of broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, I found inequalities and disparities in the global political, economic and cultural context. The use of three case studies is of central importance in understanding these inequalities from different perspectives, yet leading to some overlapping findings. The combined results of the proceeding chapters indicate that journalists working for British papers largely commodify Turkey in a variety of ways.

The British press treatment of Turkey, then, facilitates the promotion of the old understanding of the cultural superiority and dominance of Britain. In other words, the representations of national identities offered by the British print media in their reporting of Turkey, especially, in terms of travel, gender and romance, and sports are based upon an array of perceptions that serve more to define the British way of life, the shared values of its people and the commonly received beliefs they have about the Turkish nation. In a real sense, the imagined identity in British media of Turkey tells us a great deal about English culture. The mediation of the Turkish national identity, particularly by the broadsheet and tabloid lifestyle news articles analysed here, perpetuates notions of Englishness which are made up of related stereotypical characteristics which, in turn, are connected with deeply rooted British cultural codes (cf., Elias 1991), and an unwritten hegemony of values. These dominant values are communicated explicitly in the lexis of broadsheet and tabloid writing that naturally draws upon the connections of cultural traditions, patriotism, national habits, class division, gender roles, and an insular domestic mentality for its inspiration.

These findings also open up opportunities for further discussion as I have indicated in the conclusions of each chapter. Below I will

discuss the main findings of my research. Then, I will refer to what might be regarded as the inevitable limitations of the study and finally I will conclude this dissertation by elaborating on the theoretical and methodological implications of my results.

5.2 WHAT HAS BEEN LEARNED?

By means of three case studies, I have explored different types of representations of Turkey in lifestyle outlets. I will synthesize the results by looking at three topics: (i) the representation of Turkey in relation to travel (Chapter 2); (ii) the representation of Turkey in relation to gender and romance (Chapter 3); and (iii) the representation of Turkey in relation to sports (Chapter 4). The second indicator does not so much measure directly the construction of Turkish national identity in the British press, but rather signals the extent to which British mature/aging female tourists challenge traditional masculine hegemony, while simultaneously confirming the continuing dominance of the developed world. Thus, it demonstrates how different levels of inequality are negotiated in situated practices (cf., Yuval-Davis 2006).

Chapter 2 (see Hamid-Turksoy et al. 2014a) makes a direct contribution to the research question by documenting the representation of Turkey in British newspapers' travel sections. Turkey is presented to the reader and potential traveller to the country as a culture radically different from that found in Great Britain. I observe that the more Turkey is promoted as a place entirely different from the one experienced at home, the more interesting it becomes to the British reader. Travel texts seem to be highly interpretive; they present a particular image that is hugely influential in the shaping of public opinion on Turkey. The language employed by tabloid and broadsheet travel writers in the British press position Turkey as a culturally oriental country, e.g., mosques facing Mecca, the muezzin's or imam's voice, exotic cities, Arab-style buildings, Ottoman hamams (baths), mediaeval

bazaars. Turkey's natural resources or other cultural characteristics are framed, commodified and marketed for the potential travel reader. Furthermore, I detail the nature of the newspaper industry in Britain, which is shaped by different factors (e.g., globalism and consumerism) and industries (e.g., tour operators) that are mutually dependent on each other. This interdependence leaves little or no space for negative arguments. As I exemplified, at a much more mundane level, the terminology used to describe Turkey's landscape is fanciful, flowery and upbeat. Both broadsheet and tabloid travel journalists produce happy stories that encourage the reader to travel and banish any reservations the reader might have regarding danger in the country.

Chapter 3 (see Hamid-Turksoy et al. 2014b) is devoted to tabloid press representation of gender and romance tourism. As presented in this chapter, the relations between mature British women and their young Turkish toyboy lovers are profoundly unequal in economic terms. Young Turkish men are presented as being of a lower economic and social status (e.g., waiter or barman) and commodified as men available on the market for mature British women. As such, women themselves depict the Turkish toyboy as being "great in bed," and an "amazing lover." The tabloids reserve a special condemnation for this kind of practice among female protagonists who have flaunted gender norms by dating a much younger man in an economically less powerful position, and with a lower education. In these stories, ethnic and national differences combined with the massive economic disparity between mature female tourists and their much younger toyboy lovers. These news articles position the Turkish men as suspiciously exploitive and the British women as being even more irresponsible. This kind of news puts a lot of emphasis on what the press regards as the predatory intentions of these young Turkish men who, the familiar story is, are only after British women's money or a UK visa.

Chapter 4 presents an analysis of the representation of Turkey in sports texts. The frames identified in the British newspaper coverage

of sport in particular reinforce what we already know regarding media coverage of national identities. While the British press is prone to express in a sports context the success and imagined charisma of their national team, the Turkish national team is almost exclusively presented to the British reader as weak, uncompetitive and unworthy of being taken seriously by England. This is a further instance of accepted inequality and assumed English dominance. This chapter, therefore, adds to the literature regarding an English obsession with its lost grandeur; with regaining and restoring in whatever way it can what it sees as its heroic qualities and superiority. To this end, particularly in the tabloids, the Turkish national team is crudely denigrated as an inferior country (cf., Crolley and Hand 2002). Moreover, I illustrate in some detail, how Turkish football fans are stereotyped as “fanatical Turkish fans” especially by the tabloids. As we have seen in the course of this chapter, their aggressive behaviour is occasionally associated with violence, and as part of a stereotypical Turkish football culture. The focus on the violent nature of Turkish supporters seems a discursive strategy to portray Turkish citizens of lower status in general as inherently aggressive and Turkey as a developing nation in which such behaviour is tolerated or even condoned.

5.3 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

In this research, I have used newspaper articles to examine the representation of Turkey in the British press. I have marshalled new data that allow us to see new representations in lifestyle fields, rather than just representations of Turkey’s EU candidacy, for an empirically based analysis that allows us to be better informed about what we know, and don’t know, about the role of at least some representations in the lifestyle sections of the British press. This new data allows us to draw the following conclusions:

- *Including Turkey within Europe:* British lifestyle journalists working for the broadsheet and tabloid press are more likely to include Turkey geographically, “within” the EU than “outside” the EU. Turkey is presented as a Mediterranean country. This does not mean that the British press see Turkey as part of the EU or Western civilization generally. But it does mean that at least in terms of travel, this form of journalism has the power and potential to impose a different viewpoint that best serve its readers. Similar to travel journalists, British broadsheet and tabloid sports journalists also portray Turkish football players as European or Mediterranean. They are associated with Europe and depicted as successful players in European clubs.

- *Presenting class division:* Especially in football texts, journalists were prone to present Britain as a great, and powerful country. Print media posits a normatively superior Britain. Turkey is degraded and cynically positioned as a country, which England can comfortably disregard, because the country is not a threat or a significant rival on the footballing stage.

Texts covering gender and romance also include the socio-economic status of Turkish toyboys, who come from a deprived economic background. The press has a general tendency to depict the young toyboy from a lower economic point of view, and as inferior (e.g., marrying for economic benefit or to secure legal status in the UK). The British tabloid press classify toyboys as poor peasants or seasonal workers. The journalists depict much mainstream discourse on toyboys as characteristic of an Orientalist prejudice. This shows us how romance manifest a far older pattern of discrimination and *Othering*. By way of complete contrast, Turkish football players are praised for playing successfully in European clubs underlining their rightful place as members of the higher social

echelons in Turkish society.

Class division between the genres was also visible in travel texts. Tabloids, targeting the lower middle classes, present Turkey for their readers as an economically weak country, as a cheap and low cost destination (e.g., “cheap flights”, “package deals”, or “dirty cheap mud baths”). The broadsheets, targeting social groups higher up on the economic ladder would appear to differentiate themselves by positioning Turkey as a place with “top-end”, “luxurious” and “tailor made” hotels or villas – an image of the country which matches the expectations and lifestyle of their reading public.

- *Portraying a beautiful country*: The deixis of Turkey’s landscape is accompanied by poetic representations of the country. Turkey is presented as an extraordinary piece of land: “incredibly beautiful” (*Daily Telegraph*, 11 February 2006), “fascinating region” (*Mirror*, 18 July 2009), and “beautiful land, full of archaeological treasures from 55 civilisations” (*Daily Mail*, 20 May 2006). Such buoyantly flattering representations of Turkey, by transforming an ordinary piece of land into an extraordinary land, evoke feelings of fantasy, and reinforce the dreams of the reader of a “breathtaking” place “to die for”. The discourse used by the British broadsheet and tabloid press, thus, is crammed with positive elements of the consumerist ideology. The press ultimately present a romantic view of Turkey as a seaside heaven and/or a place of historical richness. Yet, it differs in intensity and modes of expression. Unlike in the case of the tabloids, where Turkey is positioned as a “lovely” and “magical” beach destination, the broadsheets seems to differentiate themselves by positioning Turkey as a culturally and historically rich place with “impressive”, “astonishing”, “wonderful” archaeology and heritage. Yet, their framing is similar in nature. Both types

of newspapers are prone to neglect negativity. Any narration suggesting that the traveller might encounter the dangerous unknown or even the unexpected, are absent from the average travel articles in the British papers. The nature of travel stories, then, is purely positive and almost too good to be true.

- *Ignoring the locals (visually)*: The case studies do make one important observation in common: British journalists working for the broadsheet and tabloid newspapers largely ignore Turkish people, especially in visuals that accompany the text. For instance, travel texts talk about Turkey's beautiful landscape, food, weather, but local people are almost made invisible in these texts. During the five-year analysis of the travel texts, more has been written about the sunny coastlines of Turkey and its historic resources than the Turkish people. This is particularly noticeable in breath-taking photographs of scenes that capture the beauty of a country that would appear to have no people. In much the same way, pictures that supplement the sports texts focus on the British players or team manager, while Turkish players are generally excluded. In the second case study, although there are pictures to illustrate and highlight romance tourism texts, often showing a young Turkish man happily standing with his mature British girlfriend, it is not in this instance the visual that is ignored but the role of the toyboy is very much downplayed in the content of these news items. Turkish toyboys are presented as dependent and passive objects.

This markedly noteworthy absence could be interpreted as suggesting that Turkish people barely have a real existence in the pictures placed alongside the British travel texts as these texts are occupied with pictures showing people familiar to the British reader. It is a mere reversal of exclusion in all

cases. Turks are deliberately unseen in visuals that accompany texts that concentrate on natural beauty, because there is no place for them there, while their absence is noteworthy from the texts of foreign romance stories involving mature British women. Because, although toyboys may appear in a photo, the presumed interest for the reader is in the behaviour of the woman and less in her Turkish lover.

- *Presenting a violent Turkish national identity:* In stark contrast with the absence of Turks in the visuals of sport and travel texts, British sports texts go out of their way to highlight visually the behaviour of Turkish football fans. While, the English fans, who for long have been identified with “football hooliganism”, (see, for example, Poulton 2005) are made almost invisible; the fans of the Turkish national team are constantly presented in an unfavourable light. The broadsheet newspapers are only sporadically prone to report the Turkish football fans as volatile, and the Turkish character as violent. In a more explicit fashion, and more blatantly, tabloids have a propensity toward demonising Turkish football supporters. Specifically, when reporting the game in Istanbul, the Turkish fans are presented as a violent majority. It is highly likely that the tabloid journalists have a capacity to over-hype provocation and tension, which in turn can generate a highly charged mode of antagonism against Turkish people. It seems that the British press successfully locate Turkish fans as violent partisans that readers can identify with. The press creates a homogeneous picture and manufactures a perspective of Turks as violent people. This is manifested in sports news texts. When speaking about Turkey in the context of football, violence, along with security preparations, are common discourse mechanisms occupying British sports texts, allowing the reader to imbue

them with their own prejudices. In its most extreme form, the British sports journalism contributes to the construction of Turkish national identity in such a way that it is seen as violent and primitive, and Turkey as a dangerous and undeveloped country.

- *Orientalising Islam*: Islam is characterised with many negative clichés in the political discourses of Western media (e.g., backward, violent, primitive, irrational religion). This has been recognised and discussed at length by academics, perhaps the most celebrated being Edward Said (1981, 1979). Authors like Abbas (2001), Saeed (2007), Poole (2002), and Mishra (2008) all expose the claim that Muslims are perceived as a community that damage the social fabric of western society in general; and that they receive negative media coverage, in particular. Much of the media literature on the EU and Turkey debate also chooses to foreground the religious differences between predominantly Muslim Turkey and Christian Europe. As such, in the mainstream media of continental Europe Turkey is perceived as a threat and positioned as the Muslim *Other* (cf., Wimmel 2009). However, and in very interesting contrast to the conventional mainstream view on Islam from the mainland European press, Turkey's representation as a Muslim country in travel journalism in Britain has largely escaped the attention of journalists working in both broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. We know that broadsheets serve to a more educated sector of British society and tabloids have a reading constituency largely among the least educated and some sections of the lower-middle and working classes. Each form develops a regular, unique and characteristic mode of addressing events (Hall et al. 1978). Thus, we might expect that their approach to religion would follow a familiar pattern and that they would have

widely different viewpoints in their attitude to Islam. However, broadsheet and tabloid newspapers in Britain are broadly similar in their reporting, portrayal and characterization of Islam in travel texts. When focus is on travel and tourism, newspapers shared the ability of branding Islam merely as an oriental religion. Both broadsheets and tabloids market Islam as an unthreatening religion with beautiful mosques and minarets. In other words, any reference to religious differences, religious extremism and terrorism, or racism is conspicuously absent in British broadsheet and tabloid travel texts. This seems a strategic framing that facilitates the marketing of an “authentic” Turkey as just another safe, yet different, European or Mediterranean beach destination.

5.4 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In addition to these empirical insights, I also suggest some methodological conclusions. Most of the studies presented are concerned with debating Turkey in the print media. Better analysis will require more data that is not solely generated by newspaper articles in Britain. One thing that would help to enhance a holistic approach would be to look at newspaper outlets in European countries other than the UK. This would allow us to see whether different patterns of media representation are associated with different European countries. I have tried to address this important question here in the British media context, and my results are, I think, a provocative and intriguing first step in this process. For instance:

1. Looking at different European countries could allow us to test theories of lifestyle journalism. What kind of information is circulated in, for instance, the Dutch or German lifestyle outlets (countries with the largest Turkish migrant populations in Europe)? Better data could help us answer this question by

conducting analysis on Dutch or German media to determine which kinds of representations are being expressed or whether or not there are any similarities with the British press. By analysing the British press, I've begun to lay the foundations for an approach that does this by looking at travel, gender and romance, and sport news articles. In the absence of further data about Turkey's representation in the European lifestyle outlets we cannot do any cross-national comparative analysis.

2. Richer data sources that explore Turkey's representation in different media outlets would allow us to better analyse the flow of information. Do British television channels recycle similar types of representations as newspapers do? What kind of images do television programs like *Manhunters: Our Turkish Toyboys* spread about Turkey? What kind of representations do sports programs distribute when presenting a football game between Galatasaray and Arsenal? Or, what kind of frames do travel documentaries recycle when their focus is on Turkey? In order to answer this question we first need to know how broadcasting media operates in Britain. Television is much harder to assess when given to scholarly scrutiny, but it has nevertheless become an important forum for the debate on Turkey.

3. Data that allow us to see how readers of broadsheet and tabloid newspapers interpret news on Turkey. Anderson and Meyer (1988) argue that readers of both formats have an equal effect on the respective news texts. To try to make sense of the press coverage of Turkey throughout textual (e.g. themes, narratives, lexicon) detail alone would be a partial reading, and a potentially mis-reading of its essential nature because text-centered content analysis alone, looking

solely at newspaper texts and dealing with only symbolic and metaphoric representations of Turkey would give us an incomplete interpretation. While text-centered reading of Turkey potentially can yield insightful generalisations, it cannot tell us anything about how readers of the travel or sports texts understand them. Content analysis ignores the diversity of the media audience. After all, the very nature of newspapers just offers written words and static illustrations whereas, far from being passive, the audience is seen as active participants; they interpret news content according to their own knowledge and experience. Interpretation is a complex issue. There is no single, accurate interpretation of any news text. Audience perception largely depends on how they read and interpret news. People interpreting news about Turkey do so by drawing on relevant knowledge, their interpretations of Turkey generally, and wider cultural codes. Thus, the ways in which tabloid readers interpret news texts will vary just as much as the ways in which broadsheet readers interpret news. For example, an average tabloid reader can be racist, bigot, Islamophobe, immigrant hater, sexist, or fascist. He/she can be a hypocritical voyeur, feigning outrage on the way in which mothers and/or mature women behave, but happy to read the lurid details. In other words, wanting to be part of it her/himself. Therefore, to acknowledge the limited power of news texts and to avoid one-sidedness of content analysis approach; we have to create an ideal multi-perspective approach that considers the increasing power of the audience and includes the interpretations of the readers (cf., Anderson and Meyer 1988).

First, this can be made possible by, for instance, dissecting the readers of the papers by questioning how they actually use news articles and

construct meanings, how they frame Turkey, and what sort of dominant images they have about Turkey. In other words, we are looking for answers to the question of how news articles are read by the people who consume them? This question can be asked in an audience reception analysis. Such a reader-oriented critique is important as readers slowly become real and active actors (Livington 2000); they have their own point of view; they have their attitudes and behaviours towards newspapers; and they produce their own range of interpretations and evaluations arising from their own beliefs alongside their personal and social experiences. In other words, meaning resides not merely in the text but in the negotiations between readers and texts. With this perspective in mind, the ideal research undertaking should additionally investigate the viewpoint of the readers. To widen our horizons and advance our understanding we need to do more than examine how journalists construct Turkey in their news articles. We need to understand who is reading this news content and how this content is influencing their attitude toward Turkey. A better understanding of the role of lifestyle outlets in readers' perceptions about Turkey will be of immense value to researchers. Even if it does not allow us to generalise the findings across the European press, it provides us with a path of understanding for a better grasp of the issues potentially shaping Turkey's contemporary image abroad.

Second, we can ask journalists, or interview the editors of newspapers. Interviewing journalists and/or editors from the British broadsheet and tabloid press can help to explain how and why Turkey is covered in a particular way. We can identify how the journalists personally approach the issues surrounding Turkey, and we can examine how the production process of lifestyle news items concerning Turkey takes place. In other words, we can find what social, economic and political matters influence the way they portray Turkey.

5.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this dissertation, I wholeheartedly subscribe to the importance of understanding the role of lifestyle news. Undoubtedly, it's a short study, with modest ambitions: to explain the rationale behind the media representation of Turkey in areas beyond the familiarly political or economic; and to insist that lifestyle news texts are significant in equal measure. They also provide us with clues about Turkish culture and Turkish people.

With these reflections on print media representation of national identities, this dissertation on Turkey's representation in lifestyle fields has come to an end. Throughout this study I have developed an alternative approach for addressing the question of Turkey's media representation, formulated empirical and theoretical propositions on travel, gender and romance, and sport issues, and offered suggestions for future research. I hope this study will give readers something to think about when considering Turkey's representation in lifestyle fields. I believe this provides a challenging – and highly relevant – domain for future media research. I hope this will aid and inspire scholars in the field of journalism and communication studies to conduct research on Turkey's representation in different media systems, and different journalistic sub-fields, such as art, music and literature.

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- The British Broadsheet and Tabloid Newspapers Archive in the Pilkington Library at Loughborough University, Loughborough, the UK.
- The British Broadsheet Newspapers Archive in Leicester Central Library at Leicester, the UK.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: List of news items used for analysis

1. The Guardian. 2010. "Travel: Glamping: Turkey." May 15, p. 2.
2. The Guardian. 2010. "Travel: Wellbeing: New faces: Never mind Botox, a course at a boutique hotel in Turkey claims to offer a natural 'face-lift' with a programme of facial exercises. But would it work for Liz Boulter?" May 8, p. 10.
3. The Guardian. 2010. "Travel: Turkey: Cities: Making noise: The last decade has seen the development of a glamorous clubbing scene in Istanbul, but now the city also has a burgeoning alternative nightlife, and a new brand of Turkish indie music." April 10, p. 4.
4. The Guardian. 2010. "Travel: Turkey: Readers Tips: Places To Stay In Turkey: Olimpos, Gunes Pansiyon." April 10, p. 14.
5. The Guardian. 2010. "Travel: Turkey: Readers Tips: Places To Stay In Turkey: Faralya, Yuva Eco-Holiday Centre." April 10, p. 14.
6. The Guardian. 2010. "Travel: Turkey: Readers Tips: Places To Stay In Turkey, Fethiye: Villa Dimitri." April 10, p. 14.
7. The Guardian. 2010. "Travel: Turkey: Readers Tips: Places To Stay In Turkey, Kilyos Kale Hotel." April 10, p. 14.
8. The Guardian. 2010. "Travel: Turkey: Readers Tips: Places To Stay In Turkey Istanbul, The Empress Zoe Hotel." April 10, p. 14.
9. The Guardian. 2010. "Travel: Turkey: Cultural Sites: Empires of the sun: Many visitors to Turkey get no further than Istanbul, but the relics of the country's rich history are scattered all around, waiting to be discovered." April 10, p. 10.
10. The Guardian. 2010. "Travel: Turkey: Deep and meaningful: From an underground city to 100 churches cut into the sides of a 16km canyon, Cappadocia is a subterranean treasure trove, says Raja Shehadeh." April 10, p. 10.
11. The Guardian. 2010. "Travel: Turkey: Trail mix: Other treks across Turkey: Kate Clow, guidebook writer and founder of the Lycian Way and St Paul Trail, reveals other new routes and activities across the

- country.” April 10, p. 9.
12. The Guardian. 2010. “Travel: Turkey: Five more adventure holidays.” April 10, p. 9.
13. The Guardian. 2010. “Travel: Turkey: Coast: Roasting in Turkey: Travel experts choose their best holidays by the sea for the summer, from villas in unspoilt fishing villages to boutique hotels and white-sand beaches, Islamlar Lycian Coast.” April 10, p. 6.
14. The Guardian. 2010. “Travel: Turkey: Kas Antalya peninsula.” April 10, p. 6.
15. The Guardian. 2010. “Travel: Turkey: Cirali Antalya peninsula.” April 10, p. 6.
16. The Guardian. 2010. “Travel: Turkey: Selimiye Bozburun peninsula.” April 10, p. 6.
17. The Guardian. 2010. “Travel: Turkey: Cesme peninsula Aegean.” April 10, p. 6.
18. The Guardian. 2010. “Travel: Turkey: Cities: A whirl of its own: Few westerners visit Konya, but Kevin Gould is spellbound by the tomb of the original whirling dervish and the city's brilliant architecture.” April 10, p. 4.
19. The Guardian. 2010. “Travel: Turkey: Cities: Been there, doner that?: Istanbul's neighbour, Bursa, is a wonderful but overlooked gem that was the birthplace of both the Ottoman empire and the original Iskender kebab.” April 10, p. 4.
20. The Guardian. 2010. “Travel: Turkey: Istanbul Must-sees, The Suleymaniye mosque.” April 10, p. 2.
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ENGLISH SUMMARY

REPRESENTING TURKEY: An Analysis of the Power and Politics of Turkey's Representation in British Lifestyle News

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation investigates *how British print media construct and circulate views about Turkey in lifestyle news texts?* By content analysing different lifestyle news sections of British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, I debate the representation of Turkish national identity in lifestyle news that has been lacking so far in media studies evaluating the Turkish nation and its people. I have developed an alternative approach for addressing the question of Turkey's media representation, and I formulated empirical and theoretical propositions on three lifestyle areas: "Travel", "Romance Tourism", and "Sports". I uncover the way in which travel and tourism, gender and romance, and sports and nationalism have been treated in the British press, particularly in relation to Turkey.

Scholars in the field of journalism and communications studies have mainly evaluated the political representation of Turkey and have scrutinized the dominant media discourse on Turkey's EU candidacy (e.g., Aksoy 2009; Negrine 2008; Negrine, Kejanlioglu, Aissaoui, and Papatthannassopoulos 2008; Aissaoui 2007; Koenig, Mihelj, Downey and Gencel-Bek 2006). Little, if any, effort has been made to move beyond politics and engage the socio-cultural fields in order to dig deeper for an understanding of Turkey. The main claim of this dissertation, therefore, is that it is not simply enough to draw a representational picture of Turkey only by looking at hard news coverage on Turkey's potential EU membership. My main argument was that looking at the portrayal of Turkey in other journalistic fields, such as lifestyle news sections that carry soft and more entertaining-based information is necessary to come to a more holistic and complete understanding of the representation of the country.

In this dissertation, I contributed to prior research on Turkey's media representation by moving beyond this merely political debate on Turkey-EU relations. I proposed a framework that questions what other competing media discourses, fantasy images, clichés, prejudices and stereotypes are available in the British lifestyle texts. I questions what other

competing media representation, fantasy images, clichés, prejudices and stereotypes are available in the British lifestyle texts. Additionally, I collected rich and encompassing information that compares British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. Such comparisons within the British press industry enabled to come to understand more thoroughly how and to what extent different media formats portray Turkey and what kind of distinctive and similar representations they produce. The British press is at the core of this dissertation, because the British government's and in large measure the British media's imagination of and attitude to the Turkish nation and its people is generally positive when compared to the prevailing opinions found amongst the countries and media outlets in continental Europe (Wimmel 2009). In this regard, the British mainstream media organizations have generally framed their image of Turkey in terms of "a positive *Other*" (cf., Paksoy 2012).

The collection of the three empirical cases – travel, romance, and sports – offered a useful starting point for reframing arguments about a nation exclusively evaluated by political and media scholars in terms of its potential EU membership. Hence, I unpack the highly ignored, yet ultimately helpful lifestyle categories. I consider my study as a movement away from the traditional, solely political hegemonic representation of Turkey toward an empowered model of an alternative, diverse, comprehensive yet ideologically and politically significant cultural representation of Turkey in British lifestyle context. By gaining a better knowledge of how British broadsheet and tabloid lifestyle texts are produced and what they might mean, I explain how lifestyle texts are produced in different journalistic genres; and I show that it is possible to learn more about other societies via these same texts.

In the first case study I investigate the role of travel journalism in presenting Turkey as a travel destination for the intended British reader. How Turkey is evaluated and portrayed as a travel destination for British tourists and how the country is culturally pervaded in the tourism discourse are the main questions I analyse. In the second case

study I evaluate the tabloid media's representation of romance tourism. I question how tabloid newspapers represent relationships between mature British women and the younger Turkish toyboy lovers they meet on their holiday. I examine how the British tabloids make sense of the contradicting social categories and power relations at play, with respect to age, gender, nation and economic position. In the third case, I look at the representation of Turkey in British sports news. I question how British journalists communicate notions of the Turkish nation, national identity and culture.

The methodology I chose to examine lifestyle representations in the print media is based on a qualitative content analysis (cf., Richardson 2007; Berg 1989). I follow, especially, the work of Schreier (2012) and Hijmans (1996), and apply a four dimensional analysis: the thematic, the narrative, the linguistic, and to a certain degree the visual dimension. I analysed 321 news articles dealing with three case studies. Without insisting on the accuracy of these news articles, the level of realism conveyed, or the extent of truth or prejudices in the representation, at the simplest level, I try to understand the ways in which these news articles portray Turkey at particular times covering topics of contemporary popular appeal.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Theoretically I draw on the concepts of sociology of news and social construction of lifestyle news. Lifestyle journalism has long been viewed as an *unserious* type of journalism that is not deserving of *serious* attention (Hanusch 2012). Undoubtedly, the production of traditional hard news journalism has a considerable hegemonic power and role in representing Turkey and in drawing a particular stereotypical image of Turkey. Lifestyle journalism, in equal measure, has ideological power to re-present the nation. Journalists producing lifestyle pages shape our opinion about Turkey as much as politics and economics pages do. They outline many political, economic, social and cultural tensions (Hanusch

2013). They provide us information about who we/they are, and what our/their national identity is perceived to be (cf., Hanusch 2012, 2010; Fürsich 2012). Lifestyle news texts, as outcomes of human activity, have within them a power that cannot be dismissed contemptuously by an old and narrow journalistic view that they are merely trivial, soft and entertaining. The production of lifestyle news discourse has serious implications for representational aspects: they provide additional and often different informational and cultural frames about Turkey. Because lifestyle agenda (e.g., softening the news) has a distinctive way of framing an event compared to its hard-news counterparts. I, thus, argue that an in-depth evaluation of lifestyle news also tells us something about Turkey, about its national identity, history, beliefs and even aesthetics (e.g., beauty, art, taste). As the three empirical case studies demonstrate, lifestyle news are not necessarily uncritical by definition; they shed new light on how national identity is projected in such news texts.

SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS

In line with some political arguments of stereotyping Turkey in the European media, I found in this dissertation that British lifestyle journalism is inclined to facilitate traditional inequalities. I found disparities in the global political, economic and cultural context. By commodifying Turkey, British lifestyle journalism manifests existing economic and political inequalities, and suggests an unequal power relationship between Turkey and Britain.

First, British travel journalists working for the broadsheet and tabloid press are more likely to somewhat Europeanise Turkey and compare it with neighbouring places like Greece, Italy, Cyprus, Spain or southern France. Travel journalists include Turkey geographically, “within” the EU than “outside” the EU. They positively present Turkey as just another safe Mediterranean destination “in” Europe, but different from Europe. This obviously does not mean that the British press sees

Turkey as part of the EU or Western civilization generally. But it does mean that at least in terms of travel, this form of journalism has the power and potential to impose a different viewpoint that best serves to the 21st century consumer culture. Instead, British travel journalists working for the tabloid press commodify Turkey as an economically weak country, as a “cheap” and “low cost” destination for sun, sea and sand loving lower-middle class tourist. On the other hand, broadsheet journalists, targeting social groups higher up on the economic ladder, commodify Turkey as a place with “top-end”, “luxurious” and “tailor made” hotels, also as an authentic, exotic, oriental and stunning travel destination that upper-middle class tourist can dream about.

Second, similar to travel journalism, the practice of sports journalism is prone to Europeanise the Turkish football players, which are coming from a different social class. British broadsheet and tabloid sports journalists portray Turkish national football players as European or Mediterranean. The players are associated with Europe and depicted as successful players in prestigious European clubs. Especially the broadsheet press almost always positively presented the Turkish footballers as “excellent”, “physically strong” and “quality” players. Tabloid press similarly presented the Turkish players in favourable light and give due weight to popular narrations such as “hottest”, “sexy”, “top”, “star”. These positive overtones, to some extent, shows that the individual Turkish players are much respected by the British press.

This stands in stark contrast to the representation of the Turkish football fans. I found in this dissertation that the aggressive behaviour of the Turkish fans is occasionally associated with violence, and as part of stereotypical Turkish football culture. Turkish fans are almost exclusively portrayed as extremely fanatical and passionate, especially by the tabloid articles analysed here. To a certain degree the broadsheet press reporting style also amplifies stereotypes about the history of violence in Turkish football. The focus on the violent nature of Turkish supporters is a discursive strategy to portray Turkish citizens of lower status in general

as inherently aggressive and Turkey as a developing nation in which such behaviour is tolerated. In a similar fashion, tabloid texts covering gender and romance news also include the socio-economic status of Turkish toyboys, who come from a deprived economic background. The tabloid press has a general tendency to depict the young toyboys from a lower economic point of view, and as inferior (e.g., marrying to secure legal status in the UK). The Turkish men are mostly invisible and usually classified as “peasant’s son,” “chicken factory worker,” or “waiter” and “barman.” The journalists depict much mainstream discourse on toyboys as characteristic of an Orientalist prejudice. This shows us how romance manifest a far older pattern of discrimination and *Othering*. Quite similarly, in the travel texts local Turks are also invisible. The friendly, local people are only of service when they aid in what is considered a successful tourism encounter. Turks remain anonymous and are represented in a non-individualised manner as a part of a colourful mosaic, as passive outsiders, therefore, “*Others*”. At its extreme, such representation suggests a dominant form of Eurocentric, touristic imperialism: Turkey is seen as just an object, a country to invade, or to be priced, sold and treated as a commodity. Locals are there, but are not spoken to or seen by the travel journalist.

Third, by portraying an image of a beautiful country, lifestyle journalists commodify the Turkish culture and its people. For instance, in an average travel text, Turkey’s historical resources, architecture, and cuisine are orientalised, e.g., mosques facing Mecca, imam’s voice, Ottoman hamams, Arab-style buildings, Ottoman desserts, and mediaeval bazaars. Turkey is presented as an extraordinary piece of land, e.g., “incredibly beautiful”, “fascinating region”. Travel journalists’ adopt an uncritical and celebratory jargon, overstating the good things about a destination, while social, economic and political problems are neglected. Such buoyantly flattering representations of Turkey, by transforming an ordinary piece of land into an extraordinary land, evoke feelings of fantasy, and reinforce the dreams of the reader of a

“breathtaking” place “to die for”. Similar to the commodification of the Turkish culture as a “Turkish delight” or “Try a taste of Turkey”, romance news commodify the Turkish men. In these news, women themselves depict the Turkish toyboy as being “great in bed,” and an “amazing lover”. They are constructed as being available at will, and made into passive consumables for British women. Turkish men are available on the toyboy market for western women as “foreign lovers to spice up their lives”.

Fourth, and last, Turkey’s representation in hard news media as a predominantly Muslim country and as the *Muslim Other* (cf., Wimmel 2009), almost entirely disappears in British lifestyle journalism. Islam is hardly mentioned in my sample; and the Turks are generally not labelled as Muslims. Islam is commodified by repacking orientalism, including harmless, aestheticized references: “beautiful mosques”, “minarets” and “calling to prayer” enter the texts and allow readers to imagine an oriental place with an Ottoman and Arabic flavour. Islam is either avoided, or reframed as an unthreatening religion that the visitor (be a British tourism or a British mature woman) can experience without fear. With this counter-discourse, UK journalists successfully place Turkey in a much more easily consumable position. Turkey is presented as European, thus close and easily accessible; on the other hand, it is oriental, thus different enough to satisfy the visitor’s imagination.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

In this dissertation, by means of three case studies, I have explored different types of representations of Turkey in lifestyle topics: the representation of Turkey in relation to travel (Chapter 2); the representation of Turkey in relation to gender and romance (Chapter 3); and the representation of Turkey in relation to sports (Chapter 4).

Throughout the dissertation, I observe that the British press treatment of Turkey facilitates the promotion of the old understanding of the cultural superiority and dominance of Britain. In other words, the

representations of national identities offered by the British print media in their reporting of Turkey, especially, in terms of travel, gender and romance, and sports are based upon an array of perceptions that serve more to define the British way of life, the shared values of its people and the commonly received beliefs they have about the Turkish nation. In a real sense, the imagined identity in British media of Turkey tells us a great deal about English culture. The mediation of the Turkish national identity, particularly by the broadsheet and tabloid lifestyle news articles analysed here, perpetuates notions of Englishness which are made up of related stereotypical characteristics which, in turn, are connected with deeply rooted British cultural codes (cf., Elias 1991), and an unwritten hegemony of values. These dominant values are communicated explicitly in the lexis of broadsheet and tabloid writing that naturally draws upon the connections of cultural traditions, patriotism, national habits, class division, gender roles, and an insular domestic mentality for its inspiration.

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING (Summary in Dutch)

REPRESENTATIE VAN TURKIJE: Een analyse van kracht en politiek in de Britse Lifestyle nieuwsberichten over de vertegenwoordiging van Turkije

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INTRODUCTIE

In dit proefschrift wordt onderzocht hoe de Britse media in lifestyle nieuws berichten meningen over Turkije construeert en rondzendt. Door een inhoudsanalyse in verschillende lifestyle nieuws paragrafen in Britse broadsheet en tabloid kranten te doen, discussieer ik de Turkse nationale identiteit in lifestyle nieuws berichten. Aanleiding voor dit proefschrift is het ontbreken van media studies waarin de Turkse nationaliteit en de bevolking worden geëvalueerd. Voor de beantwoording van de vraag over de representatie van Turkije in de media heb ik een alternatieve aanpak ontwikkeld en heb ik empirische en theoretische voorstellen geformuleerd op drie lifestyle gebieden: “Reizen”, “Romantiek” en “Sport”. Ik achterhaal de manier waarop reizen en toerisme, gender en romantiek en sport en nationalisme met betrekking tot Turkije zijn behandeld in de Britse pers.

Onderzoekers in de journalistiek en communicatie studies hebben voornamelijk de politieke representatie van Turkije geanalyseerd en hebben de dominante media discourse over de toetreding van Turkije in de EU onderzocht (e.g., Aksoy 2009; Negrine 2008; Negrine, Kejanlioglu, Aissaoui, and Papatthanassopoulos 2008; Aissaoui 2007; Koenig, Mihelj, Downey and Gencel-Bek 2006). Weinig tot geen inspanning is er geleverd om verder te gaan de de politiek. Door ook de sociaal-culturele gebieden te onderzoeken, zou een goed beeld van Turkije geschets kunnen worden. De hoofdconclusie van dit proefschrift is dan ook dat het niet eenvoudig is om een representatief beeld van Turkije te schetsen door alleen te kijken naar de harde berichtgevingen over de mogelijke EU-lidmaatschap van Turkije. Mijn belangrijkste motief was door te kijken naar het beeld van Turkije in andere journalistieke gebieden, zoals lifestyle nieuws secties die meer zacht en amusement gebaseerde informatie bevatten, nodig is om meer holistische en volledig inzicht van de representatie van het land te krijgen. In dit proefschrift heb ik bijdrage geleverd aan voorafgaand onderzoek op het gebied van de representatie van Turkije in de media door verder te kijken dan de politieke discussies over de Turkije-EU relaties.

Ik behandel andere concurrerende media uitingen, fantasie beelden, clichés, vooroordelen en stereotypen die aanwezig zijn in de Britse lifestyle teksten. Daarnaast heb ik alomvattend informatie verzameld die de Britse broadsheet en tabloid kranten vergelijkt. Dergelijke vergelijkingen binnen de Britse pers industrie hebben de gelegenheid gegeven om grondig, de mate waarin verschillende media formaten Turkije schetsen en wat voor soort onderscheidend en vergelijkbaar representaties zij procuderen te begrijpen. De Britse pers is de kern van dit proefschrift omdat zowel de Britse regering als in grote mate de Britse media in hun verbeelding en houding ten opzichte van de Turkse natie en haar bevolking over het algemeen positief is in vergelijking met continentaal Europa (Wimmel 2009). Hierdoor hebben de Britse heersende media organisaties over het algemeen hun beeld van Turkije afgebakend als “de positieve andere”(cf., Paksoy 2012). De collectie van de drie onderwerpen – reizen, romantiek en sport – bood een bruikbaar uitgangspunt voor de herkadring van de argumenten over een natie die uitsluitend geëvalueerd is door politieke en media wetenschappers op het gebied van de mogelijke EU-lidmaatschap. Hierom zal ik de nadruk leggen op de buiten beschouwing gelegde maar net zo behulpzame lifestyle categorieën. Ik beschouw mijn proefschrift dan ook als een beweging weg van de traditionele, uitsluitend politieke hegemonische representatie van Turkije naar een geschikte model van alternatieve, diverse, uitgebreide maar ideologische en politiek significante culturele afbeelding van Turkije in de Britse lifestyle context. Door beter kennis te vernemen over hoe de Britse broadsheet en tabloid lifestyle berichten zijn geproduceerd en wat ze kunnen betekenen, tracht ik hoe lifestyle berichten zijn geproduceerd in verschillende journalistieke genres en laat ik zien dat het mogelijk is om via deze berichten andere samenlevingen te leren kennen.

In de eerste case studie onderzoek ik de rol van journalistiek met betrekking tot reizen en de presentatie van Turkije als een bestemming voor de geïnteresseerde Britse lezer. De gestelde vagen

gaan over hoe Turkije is geëvalueerd en geschetst als reisbestemming voor de Britse toeristen en hoe het land cultureel binnen de toerisme discours is doordrongen. In de tweede case studie evalueerd ik de representatie van romantisch toerisme in de tabloid media. Mijn vraag is hoe de tabloid kranten de relaties tussen de volwassen Britse vrouwen en hun jonge Turkse toyboy geliefden representeren. Ik analyseer hoe de Britse tabloids de tegenstrijdige sociale categorieën en de machtsverhoudingen in het spel, met betrekking tot leeftijd, geslacht, natie en economische positie verklaren. In de derde case studie bestudeer ik de representatie van de Turkse natie in de Britse sport berichten. Ik onderzoek hoe de Britse journalisten communiceren over de Turkse nationale team, Turkse spelers en Turkse voetbal fans.

De toegepaste methode voor het onderzoeken van lifestyle representatie in de print media is een kwalitatieve inhoudsanalyse (cf., Richardson 2007; Berg 1989). Hierbij volg ik met name Schreier (2012) en Hijmans (1996) en pas ik de vier dimensionale analysis toe: de thematische, het verhaal, de taalkundige en in zekere zin de visuele dimensie. Ik heb 321 nieuws artikelen geanalyseerd die betrekking hebben op de drie case studies. Zonder aan te dringen op de nauwkeurigheid van deze nieuws artikelen, op een eenvoudige manier, probeer ik de manieren waarop deze nieuws artikelen Turkije schetsen te begrijpen met betrekking tot hedendaagse populaire onderwerpen.

THEORETISCH ACHTERGROND

Theoretisch heb ik de concepten van sociologie van nieuws en sociaal constructie van lifestyle nieuws toegepast. Lifestyle journalisme is lange tijd gezien als niet-serieus genre binnen journalisme en hierdoor minder belangstellend is geweest. (Hanusch, 2012). De productie van traditioneel harde nieuws journalisme heeft een aanzienlijke hegemonische macht en rol in het representeren van Turkije en in het schetsen van stereotypische beeld van Turkije. Lifestyle journalistiek heeft in gelijke mate een ideologische

macht in het representeren van een natie. Journalisten die lifestyle berichten schrijven, beïnvloeden net zoveel onze mening over Turkije als politieke en economische pagina's van een krant. Zij benadrukken politieke, economische, sociaal en culturele spanningen (Hanusch, 2013). Zij voorzien ons van informatie over wie wij/zij zijn en wat onze/hun nationale identiteit is en hoe deze wordt ontvangen (cf., Hanusch 2012, 2010; Fürsich 2012). Lifestyle nieuws berichten, het resultaat van de menselijke activiteiten, zou niet minachtend gezien moeten worden vanuit het oogpunt van de oude en nauwe journalistiek als triviaal, soft en amuserend. De productie van lifestyle nieuws discourse omvat ernstige gevolgen voor de representatieve aspecten: ze zorgen voor extra en vaak verschillende informatie en culturele frames over Turkije. In tegenstelling tot harde nieuws, heeft lifestyle agenda (vb. verzachten van het nieuws) kenmerkende framing procedure. Daarom beweer ik dat een nauwkeurige evaluatie van lifestyle nieuws ons ook iets over Turkije, over de nationale identiteit, geschiedenis, overtuigingen en zelfs esthetiek (bijvoorbeeld, schoonheid, kunst, smaak) vertelt. Zoals de drie empirische cases aantonen, lifestyle nieuws berichten zijn niet per definitie niet-kritisch; in zulke nieuws teksten werpen zij een nieuw licht op hoe de nationale identiteit wordt geprojecteerd in deze nieuws teksten.

SAMENVATTING VAN RESULTATEN

In lijn met een aantal politieke argumenten van stereotypering van Turkije in de Europese media, vond ik in dit proefschrift dat de Britse lifestyle journalistiek is geneigd om de traditionele ongelijkheid te vergemakkelijken. Ik vond de verschillen in politieke, economische en culturele context. Binnen het kader van Turkije als handelswaar, manifesteert de Britse lifestyle journalistiek de bestaande economische en politieke ongelijkheid en suggereert een ongelijke machtsverhouding tussen Turkije en Groot-Brittannië.

Ten eerste, Britse reisjournalisten die voor broadsheet en tabloid pers werken, Europeaniseren Turkije meer en vergelijken zij met de landen in de buurt zoals Griekenland, Italië, Cyprus, Spanje en Zuid-Frankrijk. Reisjournalisten zien Turkije geografisch “binnen” de EU. Zij beschouwen Turkije als een veilig Mediterrane bestemming binnen Europa maar wel anders is dan Europa. Dit betekent natuurlijk niet dat de Britse pers Turkije als een onderdeel van de EU noch als een beschaafd Westers land ziet. Maar het betekent wel, in de termen van reizen, dat deze vorm van journalistiek de kracht en potentie heeft om een ander gezichtspunt van de consument cultuur van de 21ste te benadrukken. Daarentegen, Britse reisjournalisten van de tabloid pers commodificeren Turkije als een economisch zwak land, een “goedkope” bestemming van zon, zee en strand voor de middenklasse toerist. Daarentegen, broadsheet journalisten die hogere klasse als doelgroep hebben, commodificeren Turkije als een plaats van “top-end”, “luxe” en “op maat” hotels. Zij beschrijven Turkije voor de hogere midden klasse als een authentieke, exotische, oosterse en spectaculaire reisbestemming.

Ten tweede, vergelijkbaar met reisjournalistiek, is sportjournalisme gevoelig in het Europeaniseren van de Turkse voetbal spelers die afkomstig zijn uit een andere sociale klasse. Britse broadsheet en tabloid sportjournalisten beschouwen de Turkse nationale spelers als Europeaan of Mediterraan. De spelers zijn geassocieerd met Europa en afgebeeld als succesvolle spelers bij prestigieuze Europese clubs. Met name de broadsheet pers presenteerde de Turkse voetbal spelers als “uitstekend”, “fysiek sterk” en “gekwalficeerde” spelers. Ook de tabloid pers presenteerde de Turkse spelers gunstig door populaire termen te gebruiken zoals “heet”, “sexy”, “toppers” en “ster”. Deze positieve ondertoon laat zien dat Turkse spelers door de Britse pers worden gerespecteerd. Dit is sterk in tegenstelling met de representatie van de Turkse voetbal fans. In dit proefschrift heb ik de associatie van het agressieve gedrag van de Turkse voetbal fans met geweld en als een deel van het stereotypische Turkse voetbal cultuur gevonden. Turkse fans zijn met name in de tabloid artikelen uitsluitend

afgebeeld als extreem fanatiek en gepassioneerd. Ook de broadsheet pers schrijft stereotyperend over de geschiedenis van het geweld in de Turkse voetbal. De nadruk op het gewelddadige aard van de Turkse supporters is een discursieve strategie om de Turkse burgers uit de lagere klasse te portretteren als inherent agressief en Turkije als een ontwikkelingsland waar dergelijk gedrag wordt getolereerd. Op een vergelijkbare manier, tabloid berichten waarin wordt geschreven over gender en romantiek, betrekken de socio-economische status van de Turkse toyboys die afkomstig zijn uit de achterstandswijken. De tabloid pers heeft de neiging om de jonge toyboys af te beelden als uit de lagere economische stand afkomstig en als minderwaardig (vb. trouwen om juridische status in het Verenigd Koninkrijk te verkrijgen). De Turkse mannen zijn meestal onzichtbaar en meestal geassocieerd als "boeren kinderen", "fabrieksarbeider," "ober" of "barman". De journalisten omschrijven de toyboys als een karakteristiek van Oriëntalisme. Hieruit kan afgeleid worden dat romantiek manifesteert met een oude vorm van discriminatie en *othering*. Vergelijkbaar hiermee zijn de lokale Turken in de reis berichten ook onzichtbaar. De vriendelijke, lokale bevolking worden genoemd als zij van dienst zijn tijdens een succesvolle toeristische ontmoeting. De Turken blijven anoniem en worden op een niet-geïndividualiseerde wijze weergegeven waarbij zij onderdeel uitmaken van een kleurrijke mozaïek, een passief buitenstaander en daarmee de "Other". Breed opgezet, deze representaties suggereren een dominante vorm van Eurocentrische, toeristische imperialisme: Turkije wordt gezien als een object, een land om aan te vallen, of om te kopen en behandeld als ingrediënt. Lokale mensen zijn aanwezig maar worden niet gezien noch wordt er over hun gesproken door de journalist.

Ten derde, door het schetsen van een beeld van het land zetten de lifestyle journalisten de Turkse cultuur en de bevolking als producten neer. Bijvoorbeeld, in een doorgaans reis tekst zijn de historische bronnen van Turkije, oriëntaal architectuur en keuken, moskeeën richting de Mekka, gebed van de imam, Ottomaanse hamams,

gebouwen in Arabische stijl, Ottomaanse desserts en middeleeuwse bazaars benadrukt. Turkije wordt gepresenteerd als een buitengewoon stuk land, bijvoorbeeld door te omschrijven als, "ongelooflijk mooi", "fascinerende streek". Reisjournalisten nemen een kritiekloos en uitbundige jargon aan, overdrijven de goede dingen over een bestemming, terwijl de sociale, economische en politieke problemen worden verwaarloosd. Dergelijke veerkrachtig flatterende representaties van Turkije, door het transformeren van een gewoon stuk land in een buitengewone land, roepen gevoelens van fantasie en versterken de dromen van de lezer van een 'adembenemende' plaats. Net als bij de verhandeling van de Turkse cultuur als "Turks fruit" of "Probeer een voorproefje van Turkije". Romantische berichtgevingen commodificeren de Turkse mannen. In deze nieuwsberichten verbeelden de vrouwen de Turkse toyboy als "goed in bed" en "geweldige lover". Daarmee zijn de Turkse mannen beschikbaar en passieve gebruiksartikelen als de Britse vrouwen dat willen. Turkse mannen zijn beschikbaar op de toyboy markt voor westerse vrouwen als "buitenlandse liefhebbers te animeren".

Tenslotte, in tegenstelling tot de harde berichtgevingen waarin Turkije wordt neergezet als in het bijzonder Islamitisch land en als de andere moslim (cf., Wimmel 2009), verdwijnt dit in de Britse lifestyle journalistiek. Islam is bijna niet genoemd in mijn steekproef. Bovendien zijn de Turken niet bestempeld als moslims. Islam wordt tevens gecommercialiseerd binnen het kader van Orientalisme met de bijbehorende ethetische referenties: "prachtige moskeeën", "minaretten" en het "roepen voor het gebed" zorgen ervoor dat de lezer een beeld creëert van een oosterse plek met Ottomaanse en Arabische stijl. Bovendien is Islam vermeden of geherformuleerd als een niet bedreigende religie voor reizigers (de Britse toerist of de Britse volwassen vrouw) en zonder gevaar de reis kunnen ervaren. Met deze contra-discours, plaatsen de Britse journalisten Turkije in een gemakkelijk consumptie positie. Turkije is neergezet als Europees dus dichtbij en makkelijk bereikbaar. Anderzijds is het oosters en daarom verschillend genoeg om de fantasie van de bezoeker te bevredigen.

DISCUSSIE EN CONCLUSIE

Aan de hand van drie case studies heb ik in dit proefschrift verschillende type representaties van Turkije in lifestyle onderwerpen onderzocht: de representatie van Turkije met betrekking tot reizen (hoofdstuk 2); de representatie van Turkije met betrekking tot gender en romantiek (hoofdstuk 3) en; de representatie van Turkije met betrekking tot sport (hoofdstuk 4).

In dit proefschrift stel ik vast dat de Britse pers de behandeling van Turkije faciliteert als de bevordering van het oude begrip van culturele superioriteit en dominantie van Groot-Brittannië. Met andere woorden, de representatie van de nationale identiteit in de Britse pers media over Turkije, met name over reizen, gender en romantiek en sport zijn gebaseerd op een matrix van observaties die de Britse manier van leven, de waarden van de burgers en de algemene overtuigingen over de Turkse natie definiëren. Deze denkbeeldige identiteit in de Britse media over Turkije vertelt ons veel over de Britse cultuur. De bemiddeling van de Turkse nationale identiteit, met name door de hier geanalyseerde broadsheet en tabloid lifestyle nieuwsartikelen, bestendigt begrippen zoals die zijn samengesteld uit verwante stereotype kenmerken die, beurtelings, zijn verbonden met diepgewortelde Britse culturele codes (cf., Elias 1991), en een ongeschreven hegemonie van waarden. Deze dominante waarden zijn expliciet gecommuniceerd in het taalgebruik van de broadsheets en tabloids die als inspiratie gebaseerd zijn op de verbanden tussen culturele tradities, patriottisme, nationale gewoonten, klasse divisie, gender patronen en nauwe binnenlandse mentaliteit.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Curriculum Vitae

Nilyufer Hamid (Isperih, Bulgaria in 1978) is a media sociologist, analysing the interface between power, politics, authority, ideology and dominance in the media of contemporary Western societies. She was affiliated to the Sociology Department of Erasmus University Rotterdam. (EUR) She obtained her Bachelor's and Master's degrees both with distinction from the Faculty of Communication and Media Studies at Eastern Mediterranean University in Cyprus. In 2008, she received a one-year grant from the European Commission and worked as a visiting researcher at the Amsterdam School of Communication Research at the University of Amsterdam. Between 2010 and 2014 she worked as a doctoral researcher at The Centre for Rotterdam Cultural Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam. Since February 2014, Nilyufer is providing education at Eastern Mediterranean University.

Her research interests include the media construction and representation of national identity, the sociology of news production, and the social construction of lifestyle news. Other research interests include the media treatment of foreign countries and the sociology of mass media. Nilyufer published numerous research papers in edited books and peer-reviewed scientific journals, such as *Journalism Studies* and *Feminist Media Studies*. She is a member of ICA, ECREA and IAMCR.

PROPOSITIONS

To accompany the PhD thesis of Nilyufer N. Hamid

Representing Turkey: An Analysis of the Power and Politics of Turkey's Representation in British Lifestyle News

1. There are more similarities than differences between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. They have different institutional structures and employ different writing styles, yet they pay particular attention to the familiar and to the culturally similar. They mirror the views of their readers.
2. Travel journalism has a hyper-commercial format that follows the economic conditions of the society within which it is produced. Its language promotes a place culturally different from the one experienced at home. It presents a mysterious and authentic place different enough to satisfy the readers' imagination.
3. Relations between female romantic tourists and their toyboys are profoundly unequal in economic terms. Even though women challenge the traditional masculine hegemony, simultaneously they confirm the dominance of the developed world. This is manifested in British tabloid news that articulates young Turkish so-called toyboy men through an orientalist discourse.
4. Sports journalists project contradicting personal and national identities. Contrary to the ambivalent representation of the Turkish national team, both broadsheet and tabloid journalists compliment the abilities of the Turkish players.
5. British sports journalists' position the English team as part of a superior western civilization; while they stereotype the Turkish team as an uncompetitive opponent, thereby denigrating the Turkish national identity as inferior.
6. The western print media is biased. They have a strong western orientation, especially in their coverage of foreign nations. They negatively stereotype others by using binary oppositions.
7. To decorate and fabricate their news, lifestyle journalists need empathic skills, to enter into the reader's feelings, emotions, culture, and experience.

8. The increasing number of lifestyle pages in newspapers has challenged the reliability of conventional journalism. Traditional journalism no longer has dominance on the field.

9. The media provides much of our information about the world we live in. It teaches us how to understand we/us and them/others; leads us to be much more empathetic towards people that we think are in our own society, and far less tolerant, and more punishing, towards people that we think are them.

10. Academic journal editors/reviewers tendency to prefer the traditional, and their unsympathetic attitude towards the unknown and unfamiliar blocks innovation and scientific progress.

11. Research, no matter how objective it may seem and claim to be, is a subjective and political in nature.