

THE EFFECTS OF STEREOTYPES WHICH ARE IMPOSED THROUGH MEDIA
ON THE CREATIVITY OF CHILDREN DURING THE EARLY PUBERTY:
THE CONCEPT OF GOODNESS AND BADNESS



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PLAGIARISM

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to understand how much children in early puberty get affected by the stereotypes that are presented through media. Also, it aims to elaborate how much these children manage to get out of these stereotypical patterns in situations that require them to use their own creativity. To understand how much they can cross the stereotypical borders as they think during a creative process, students are asked to illustrate goodness and badness in human forms in focus group sessions held in different types of schools located in Istanbul and Mardin. The illustrations are then statistically analyzed via categorical analysis method to understand at what level they choose to recreate angel and demon stereotypes. They are also analyzed via semiological analysis method in order not to exclude some valuable qualitative data. In conclusion, this study shows that students are aware of the iconological qualities of these stereotypes, and they mostly choose to recreate these stereotypes they see in media, in their own unique illustrations. It is also noted that the student's perceptions of goodness and badness symbols are not influenced, neither with respect to cities they live in, nor the school types they attend, at any statistically significant level.

Keywords

Children, media effect theories, imagination, creative imagination, imitative imagination, culture flow, stereotypes, angels, demons, goodness, badness

ÖZET

Bu araştırmanın amacı erken ergenlik dönemindeki çocukların, medyadaki iyilik ve kötülük stereotiplerinden ne kadar etkilendiklerini anlamak ve kendi yaratıcılıklarını ortaya koymaları gereken durumlarda bu stereotipik kalıpların dışına ne düzeyde çıktıklarını ortaya koymaktır. Yaratıcı süreçlerde hangi oranda stereotipik kalıpların dışında düşündüklerini anlamak için odak grup yöntemi ile İstanbul ve Mardin illerindeki farklı tür okullarda öğrencilerden iyilik ve kötülüğü birer insan olarak resmetmeleri istenmiştir. Bu resimlerde öğrencilerin melek ve şeytan stereotiplerinin ikonolojik özelliklerini ne düzeyde yeniden ürettikleri istatistiksel kategorik analiz yöntemi uygulanarak irdelenmiştir. Veriler ayrıca kategorik analiz yönteminin sınırlılıkları gereği dâhil edilemeyen bazı değerli verilerin de işlenebilmesi için semiyolojik analiz yöntemiyle de incelenmiştir. Araştırmanın sonucunda öğrencilerin, stereotiplerin ikonolojik özelliklerini çok iyi bildikleri, medyada gördükleri bu stereotipleri kendi özgün çalışmalarında çoğunlukla yeniden üretmeyi tercih ettikleri ve bu durumun farklı okul türlerinde ve farklı şehirlerde yapılan araştırmalarda kayda değer bir farklılık göstermediği anlaşılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler

Çocuk, medya etki kuramları, hayal gücü, yaratıcı hayal gücü, taklitçi hayal gücü, kültür akışı, stereotipler, iyilik, kötülük, melek, şeytan

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1. INTRODUCTION

Even though angels and demons are not visible to the eye, people seem to have a common idea about how they look like. In a World in which some people still question if the planet is flat or round, how can there be a consensus about angel's hair color or demon's gender? These intangible characters somehow travel all around the World and diffuse every individual's mind. This study aims to understand the elements that shape these images, the ways they travel and touch people's minds and their effects on children's identity development and their creativity.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

It is thought that people start to get affected by stereotypes starting from very early ages. Also, it is debated if children are aware and critical about such messages or are they passive recipients of them. Can children generate their own points of view and unique personal identities while being exposed to such messages or do they unconsciously get shaped and standardized inside their minds by these negative stereotypes. Is their perception of goodness and badness a result of their own unique minds or is it filled with negative stereotypes that guides their thoughts without even their own knowledge? Answers of these questions can arise social awareness on the issue and contribute to the change.

1.2. Aim of the Thesis

The aim of this thesis is to put forward the effects of stereotypes in media on the creativity of children during the early puberty. By showing how parallel their imaginations are with the images shown in media, how familiar are they of these images and how much their imagination gets limited by them is tried to be stated in quantitative rates with categorical analysis and in qualitative way with semiologic analysis. This research also illuminates if there is a difference in the embodiments of goodness and badness based on geographical and economical positioning.

1.3. Hypotesis

Children in the early puberty are familiar with the goodness and badness stereotypes which are imposed through media.

The creativity of the children in the early puberty is being limited by the stereotypes which are imposed through media.

Geographical location and socio-economical level does not cause a notable difference in children in early puberty's exposure and affection of stereotypes because stereotypes are elements of global cultural flows and they are transferred everywhere by media.

1.4. Significance

Researches such as Schramm, Lyle, and Parker (1961, p. 2) suggest that television contributes to the fantasy behaviour of children. It seems sensible because it offers many inspiring images to the youth. However, recent studies has shown conflicting results on the issue. For example Harrison and Williams (1986, p. 124) compared the originality of the ideas of children who has got no television reception and who has got television reception and the children who had no television reception scored significantly higher. However, after these children received television reception, their results dropped and equalized to the other group. In 21st Century, while children are heavily exposed to media, it is vital to come to a consensus on the issue because the next generation's creative imagination abilities might be under threat. The field requires more academic quantitative and qualitative reseaches to reach a solid sight. This research by analyzing the media effect processes, stereotypes and cultural flows and by building a statistical focus group study on this basis contributes to the clarification of the television's possible rates of risks on children's creative imagination.

Another significance is that "A systematic theoretical and empirical overview of research on media-generated stereotype threat is missing"(Davies et. al, p. 2002). By bringing the focus on stereotypes, this study also contributes to the understanding of stereotype threat, narrowing the topic down to children in the early puberty in which their identity development occur. It offers a through explanation of stereotypes, how they are formed, perceived and spreaded, the differences of positive and negative stereotypes, stereotypes and attributions and the relation of stereotypes and social prejudices emphasising the role of media.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Stereotypification

In this study, in which children's drawings are analysed, first, it is important to know what to focus and look for in the pictures. At this point, first, it is significant to know the definitions of stereotypes and how they differ from archetypes, types and characters. A stereotype is simply explained by Lippman as a term that expresses images in individual's minds that reflect typical properties of people in society and to create mental maps which make it easier to live with the complexity of groups and people (Brown, 1995, p. 82). While this definition looks neutral, when dug deeply, it is understood that stereotypes may have a serious impact on the society and people. Thus, it is not enough only to know the general definition, also its affects on the society. To be able to do that the differences between the positive and negative stereotypes should be clear. Negativeness of a stereotype is about its context. If a stereotype has a context that idealizes, accepts or praises a group that is called a positive stereotype. However if it humiliates or denies a group it is called a negative stereotype (Demir, 2014, p. 22). Another term that should be known is counter stereotypes because previous studies have shown that depicting positive exemplars, or idealized racial types, can modify preexisting negative perceptions (Holt, 2013, pp.108-125). Such counter-stereotypes can be effective in changing the perception of the society. Hence, counter stereotypes are another form of stereotypes that can be looked for in the children's drawings. Also, Simon (2011, p. 60) states that in some situations, eventually members of the stereotyped group may start embracing the stereotype instead of challenging it. This is called self stereotypification and that's another point to be focused on to analyze the drawings. This information may be helpful to put an emphasis on the detected stereotypes in children's drawings and if the negative meanings under these stereotypes are unknowingly recreated by the members of that sub-group itself.

This section also elaborates intragroup and intergroup stereotype packages. Intragroup stereotype packages are a useful tool for understanding stereotypic trait's unique meaning when they are in combination with different traits (Cuddy, et al., 2008, p. 61). This model puts forward two new terms which are warmth and incompetence and gives a depth to stereotype analysis. Also, the relation of stereotypes and social prejudices can be emphasized thanks to the terms: shared and variable stereotypes. Here, shared stereotypes stand for stereotypes that are about issues that can be found in

all parts of the World such as age, gender or class. For example, in every country there are people from different age groups. Thus, stereotypes about people's ages are called shared stereotypes. However, stereotypes about differences that can not be found in all parts of the World such as race, ethnicity and religion are called variable stereotypes and they create the second group of negative stereotypes. The intergroup model provides explanations by comparing the relevant groups with one another. According to this model, social groups do not exist in a vacuum. People usually judge a group in reference to other groups. This is true especially for groups in society like women and men which are compared to one another, whites and blacks, poor and rich, low status and high status. The stereotypification of such groups occurs in pairs. They justify a group's position in comparison to another (Kay et. al, 2007, p. 305).

These stereotypes are not static images. They are in connection with one another and moreover, they do travel on the globe and interact with other countries and cultures. To understand this process in this section the motion of cultural goods, symbols and stereotypes around the globe is taken into consideration with a special emphasis on cultural flows. 'Cultural flows refer to multidirectional movements and reallocations of human beings, artifacts, and ideas within the ill defined sphere of 'culture' in its global, national, and regional dimentions.' (Tzanelli, 2011, p. 2) As Hill (2005, p. 33) explains, because culture is not limited by specific geographical or national areas anymore, the migration of images and people affects and changes other cultures and creates the cultural flow. Different cultures stowly penetrate into one another and in this kind of a World system, cultural identities can not remain homogenous. Undertanding the globalism and culture flows is vital for this research since it helps the interpretation of the images in the study, looking for the origins of the images and making assumptions on how and why they appear –or if they appear- in the drawings of students coming from different cultural backgrounds.

2.1.1.1. The definition of stereotypification

Before making the definition of the term stereotype, it is better to define other terms that are usually confused with each other. Stereotype, archetype, type and character... These are words that all have different meanings but usually confused with each other. Character expresses a person in a narrative who has a complicated structure, psychological depth, who can change or develop. However a type is a person in a narrative that reflects a social group. A type only shows properties of one characteristic. For example he-she can be a coward and that's the only thing about him-her. He-she

does not bear any more depth than that (Demir, 2014, p. 28). The term archetype has a different meaning. Faber & Mayer (2009, p. 108) lists the characteristics of modern archetypes:

- They are characters in stories
- They are represented psychologically as mental models like self-and other- They are psychological representations of mental models such as -self and other- schemas and prototypes.
- They usually cause emotional responses.
- Their affects are usually not consciously controlled or recognized.
- They are recognizable to most people and they can be learned very easily because they are culturally enduring (Faber and Mayer, 2009, p. 108).

According to Kidd (2016, p. 26) archetypes are useful to story tellers because trying to tell a story in a short time period, archetypes help the audience to identify basic character roles quickly. She also explains that: “An archetype is the basic character that moves a story forward such as Prince Charming as the hero and Cinderella as the innocent and it is applicable in multiple cultures.’

Carl Gustav Jung (In Indick, 2011, pp. 131-153) studied archetypes. Jung had a belief that all people were connected in a metaphysical way. He called this connection “collective unconscious”. This connection is made of common connotations and images that are called archetypes. However Freud was not a fan of these metaphysical aspect of his studies. He did not find it scientific. In this case Jung’s theory can be interpreted another way. In this interpretation this metaphysical connection is not heavenly but it just means that all humans, no matter what their personal experiences are, share connections about universal humanly matters. For example, everyone has a mother and a father, everyone experiences inner conflicts, everyone grows up in a society etc. Archetypes we see in fairytales, cinema, literature, arts and myths are a reflection of these universal matters. Collective unconscious is people’s unconscious tendency to understand and share these archetypes. Thus, we can say that these archetypes are reflections of universal psychological conflicts. There can be differences in these archetypes but the symbolism behind them has always been the same. For example everyone has a mother. In some cultures this is reflected as the mother earth, in others

it is “Madonna”. The character may change but the symbolism behind the archetype does not. (In Indick, 2011, pp. 131-153)

One of the archetypes Jung explains is called ‘angel’. Gilliam (2004, pp. 47-49) gives information about the angel as an archetype as explained below:

The Angel is an archetype and as such emerge from the deep timeless portion of the psyche, the collective unconscious. The archetypes emerge synchronistically from this timeless realm, conveying deep unconscious forces. Archetypes, like the Angel, manifest in dreams and life-circumstances, in the mind, through the imagination and the physical world, through synchronicity. As an archetypal symbol, the Angel has a life of its own and a transforming power over humans’ lives. Existing on the threshold between conscious and unconscious, the Angel unites ego with the Self, the individual with the cosmos, and as an ancient messenger, the ancient wisdom with modern sensibility. As a gatekeeper and guide, the Angel not only initiates the individuation process but engenders discourse with the life of the psyche and the soul of the world. The Angel archetype can manifest as a guide and friend who holds one’s life’s purpose and well being in its interest or, as demon, a threatening image that one must wrestle with at times in one’s life. The Angel teaches, informs and guides an individual through life, sometimes through a small inner voice, other times through a spiritual experience or in dreams. It is the messenger of one’s soul’s purpose, and according to Plato, was sent to help us humans because we forget our purpose and lose our way in the twisting journey of incarnation (Gilliam, 2004, pp. 47-49).

As it can be seen above, this depiction of angel does not consist information about the angels age, gender, race, socio-economical status or so. An archetype has nothing to do with such sub-groups in the society and characteristics which are attributed to them. It is universal and it rises from the ‘collective unconscious’ with Jung’s terms. However, unlike archetypes, stereotypes rise from the subgroups and the social attributions to these groups as it will be explained below.

A stereotype is a concept that was first used by Lippman in his study called Public Opinion. He used the term to express images in individual’s minds that reflect typical properties of people in society and according to him people create stereotypes like mental maps to make it easier to live with the complexity of groups and people

(Brown, 1995, 82). Here, it is understood that, a stereotype is a neutral classification system. Miller (1982, pp. 4-5) defines it as a firm image in minds of people in society about members of a sub-group such as members of a gender, nationality or age group. Hence, first of all we can say that a stereotype is basically an image. The term image means reflections and representations of the World in people's minds. Thus, naturally it presents generalized and simplified information about the represented. Such images stick on the represented group and has its own place in the World as stereotypes. According to Demir (2014, p. 8) it is obvious that people perceive the World through such stereotypical images in their minds. Social psychologists explain stereotypes as below:

Like most (if not all) social psychologists, we believe that stereotypes are universal, used by every human being in processing information about the social environment. In our opinion, stereotypes are not only inevitable but also, are usually quite functional for effective social interaction. ... Stereotypes are generalizations about social groups- characteristics attributed to all members of a given group, without regard to variations that must exist among members of that group. Stereotypes are not necessarily based on people's first-hand experiences with members of stereotyped groups. They may be learned from others or from the mass media. ... The lack of regard for differences within a stereotyped group makes stereotypes 'over – generalizations', and as such they are always at least somewhat distorted. However, many stereotypes may have valid grounds and a 'kernel of truth' in them (Babad, E. Y., 1983, p. 75)

Myers (2008, p. 303) also suggests that "An accurate stereotype may even be desirable. We call it 'sensitivity to diversity' or 'cultural awareness in a multicultural world' ." Tajfel (1969, p. 79) explains that people's cognition is dependent to categorization. Hamilton (1979, p. 12) states that categorization protects people from cognitive overload. It simplifies enormous amounts of information. It also provides an organization of information about the social world. From this perspective stereotyping is simply an outcome of human cognition.

This perspective is not accepted by all experts. Billig (cited in Perry & Hinton, 2013, p. 25) states that viewing stereotypes as a feature of individual cognition it is argued for two main reasons. The first is the social aspect of stereotyping. It is wrong

to ignore the nature of social interaction in use of stereotypes. Secondly, stereotypes are expressed through language. Their linguistic expression is the only way people can observe stereotypes. Instead of assuming the stereotyped language to result from a particular cognitive structure, it is better to analyse the language itself. For example the things people say to each other, the things they read and write. Stereotypes occur as part of a discourse. Instead of looking for causes of behaviour in terms of 'things in the head' researchers may analyse the different discourses that are being used by people around a topic, such as a particular social group. If people investigate the arguments that are used in discussion it can be found that prejudiced people are not more rigid than non-prejudiced people (Billig, In Perry and Hinton, 1985, p. 25). According to (Potter and Wetherell, 1987, p. 11) Through arguments people try to support their views and if a person is prejudiced he-she is more likely to select particular arguments to prove their views. Thus, stereotypes function as a device for maintaining an ideological position in an argument. Seeing them simply as a result of some cognitive process of categorization is not enough to explain that.

However, Myers (2008, p. 303) also states that “The problem with stereotypes arises when they are overgeneralized or just plain wrong” Unfortunately today the studies commonly show that stereotypes of subgroups are apt to emphasize negative interpretations. And for people who do not encounter people from these subgroups enough, these stereotypes becomes the reality. Kidd (2016, p. 25) explains this situation with these words:

One of the challenges for a multi-cultural society is how to foster effective intercultural, or inter-group, relations. Since some members of a large country may have little to no interaction with some of the other groups in their society, mediated images may be the only way they can learn about each other. Thus, the media have a powerful role to play, and need to ensure that they neither continually reinforce negative stereotypes nor omit representation of all co-cultures in the mediated world (Kidd, 2016, p. 25).

As it can be understood from Kidd’s explanations stereotypification by creating a distorted image in society about different groups creates prejudice and discrimination. It is impossible to expect every individual to interact with all members of all different subgroups. For example, a Turkish woman may never meet an American man all her life but she will still have an image in her mind about how American Men are like. This

image is not created by real American men because she has never met one. This image is created purely by media and narratives that depict American men. When these depictions are overgeneralized or false, this Turkish woman will have a negative perception of American men. Considering this stereotype will affect perceptions of many members in a society it is possible to claim that it may cause a social prejudice and discrimination based on no legitimate reason.

Seiter (2006, p. 22) explains that the intention of avoiding pejorative connotations that surround the word stereotype some critics describe popular culture's characters as archetypes since archetypes maintain interest for other cultures and other generations. Cawelti (1971, p. 25) gives an example and indicates that stereotypes of white heroes are usually called archetype and imposed deep psychological significance and social meaning. In another work of his (Cawelti, 1976, p. 11), he also comments that a good writer should renew stereotypes by adding new elements, show us some unexpected facet.

In light of these explanations, it can be said that it is important to differentiate between the archetypal characteristics of an angel or a demon and the stereotypical ones. The archetypal characteristics derive from the collective unconscious, which requires a whole different expertise –possibly in children's psychology- to make statements depending on children's paintings, this is not the main research area of this study. The study mainly focuses on the social attributions that are made to angels and demons. These attributions point to the groups in society, angels and demons are associated with, thought to represent or fit better into –such as the socioeconomical levels, races or genders-. In other words, this study does not search the state of angels in collective unconscious. It rather focuses on which groups in society they represent. Are they male or female? or Are they black or white? Hence, the angels and demons in this study are considered as stereotypes, instead of archetypes.

2.1.1.2. Positive and negative stereotypes

Stereotypes are divided into two groups. Positive and negative stereotypes. Negativeness of a stereotype is about its context. If a stereotype has a context that idealizes, accepts or praises a group that is called a positive stereotype. However if it humiliates or denies a group it is called a negative stereotype (Demir, 2014, p. 22). Blum (2004, p. 276) emphasizes that contexts of some stereotypes can be more obvious

and more humiliating than others. “Stupid blonde”, “Silly tall guy” are just some examples...

Although many social scientists believe that stereotyping is not rational, just or ethical as it distorts the reality, categorizes people and ignores their uniqueness, some claim that not all stereotypes are negative. For example Allport (In Hewstone & Giles, 1997, p. 271) is one of them. First of all all groups create positive stereotypes for themselves. Also he thinks groups with social differences sometimes mutually create positive stereotypes. For example people living in the city are familiar with a stereotype “Good Hearted Anatolian Villager”. This positive stereotype is the opposite of the negative stereotype which depicts materialistic and cold people living in the city.

Stereotype threat theory basically focuses on negative stereotypes and their harms on the society. Appel and Weber (2017, p. 1) explain it as follows:

“Stereotype threat theory suggests that negative stereotypes and devaluing content in the media impair the cognitive and educational achievement of members of the negatively portrayed groups (e.g., Latino Americans, women), whereas nonstereotyped recipients are not affected or even show reversed effects (stereotype lift).” (Appel and Weber, 2017, p. 1).

Perez (2011, p. 25) explains that racist, religious and sexual stereotypifications have always brought evil in the human history. By stereotyping the dominant group creates a feeling of “us” and “them”. It brings the comfort of being “in” the group and makes them feel superior. With this need in everyday life people chose to create a “fearful evil other” concept. Although stereotypification is not necessarily a negative thing, it most certainly can be very dangerous. When this becomes a part of policemen’s life as for example, it can become even destructive.

2.1.3. Counter stereotypes

While negative stereotyping can harm subgroups in society but still recreated even by members of subgroups or worse cause subgroups to try to fit themselves into these stereotypes counter stereotypes are presented as a solution. According to Holt (2013, pp. 108-125) previous studies have shown that depicting positive exemplars, or idealized racial types, can modify preexisting negative perceptions. Such counter-stereotypes have been proven effective in changing perceptions of blacks. In one study to break “black people are criminals” stereotype counter stereotypes are presented. Showing white people related to crime and black people who are not related to crime

actually changed the perception of people and was affective in breaking the negative stereotype's effect (Holt, 2013, pp. 108-125) In Kidd's (2016, p. 25) article this issue is explained as such:

“Stereotypes are conventions which are easy to employ as a substitute for more extensive character development. It is easy to evoke the idea of the thug or gang member by casting an African American man, framing the African American as the rebel or villain. ... However what if we as media professionals proposefully studied the stereotypical tendencies of our particular media and consciously work to counteract those stereotypes?” Later she gives the musical Hamilton as an example in which the hero is portrayed by a Puerto Rican American, and George Washington was played by an African American. Kidd thinks this type of casting lets the audience embrace the hero and it does not reinforce stereotyped images (Kidd, 2016, p. 25).

However, previous research has found that even with media literacy training and counter-stereotypical messages, blacks are still more despised than whites (Holt, 2013, pp. 108-125). Hence, it can be assumed that changing these social prejudices may take more time and effort but such ideas are nice steps forward to create a more equal world order.

2.1.4. Individual stereotypes

The level of individual stereotypes is a helpful guide to understand specific emotional and behaviour reactions to groups based on judgement-relevant stereotypes by providing an outline to the common attributional signatures of stereotypes (Reyna, 2008, pp. 439-458).

In this approach, stereotype's internal or external causes and their controllable or uncontrollable causes are taken into consideration. To explain, internal causes means qualities that are internal to group members such as being nice, smart, lazy, aggressive etc. (Pettigrew, 1979, pp. 461-476). On the other hand, external causes mean the external forces surrounding a group. Simon (2011, p. 53) provides an example to understand the difference better in these two categories. She states that, saying ‘African Americans have lower educational levels because they are lazy.’ relates their situation to internal causes. However, saying ‘African Americans have lower educational levels because they go to schools which lack the necessary funding, motivated and qualified teachers, safety and security.’ relates their situation to external causes (Simon, 2011, p. 53).

A cause can also be controllable or uncontrollable. Simon (2011, p. 53) explains that if a stereotype is controllable it means the people in that group have the power to change it. On the other hand, if a cause is uncontrollable, it means the people in that group cannot change it even if they want to. For example, if the lower education level of African Americans is thought to have caused by their lack of intelligence, this is a controllable cause. However, if it is thought to have caused by their lacking of effort, this is an uncontrollable cause (Simon, 2011, p. 53)

Individual level stereotype approach handles the stereotypes in three groups. According to this approach, a stereotype can be external/uncontrollable internal/controllable or internal/uncontrollable. Simon (2011, p. 57) explains that external/uncontrollable stereotypes put the blame on the external conditions of a group. For example if someone says: 'white people are in positions of power because of white privilege.' they point at a reason totally outside the inner characteristics of these people. Suggesting African Americans to have lower education because they attended ghetto schools is another example to this. Lee, Jussim and Mc Cauley (1995, pp. 30-39) states that these stereotypes may contain some truth but this does not mean all members of the group suffer from the same causes. When positive or negative outcomes are attributed to external forces, the stereotyped groups are not blamed for failure or they are not credited for success.

Internal/controllable stereotypes refer to internal, controllable reasons for life outcomes. 'African American's are lazy.', 'Irish are alcoholics.', 'Immigrants do not want to learn the language of their host countries.' are some examples. As it can be noticed, these stereotypes blame these people of choosing to be this way. As a result, members of these groups in society meet with disdain, condemnation, punishment or denial of help or benefits (Darley&Zanna, 1982, pp. 515-521). In case the stereotype is a positive one, internal/controllable stereotypes trigger positive reactions such as trust and gratitude. They are rewarded and recognized. For example, 'Asian people are harworking.' is a positive stereotype, and it points at internal/controllable causes. As a result, Asians are considered to be model minorities (Simon, 2011, p. 56).

Internal/uncontrollable stereotypes are another type of the individual level stereotypes. These stereotypes put the blame on internal causes that people cannot control. Genetically determined traits, not having the ability or being physically weak are some examples. In the short term, these stereotypes are likely to generate sympathy towards these groups because they are not held responsible for the outcomes they suffer.

However, in the long term, targets of this kind of stereotypes are apt to be neglected and are not given much opportunities. They get a reduced self-esteem on the topic and eventually a withdrawal from the task (Weiner, 1993, pp. 957-965). Hill, Corbet & St. Rose (2010, p. 20) claims that due to the internal/uncontrollable stereotype suggesting ‘women do not have mathematical ability.’ Women are not directed to fields related to math as much as men. On the other hand, since the same stereotype considers men to have better mathematical skills which is an example of this kind of stereotypes with a positive outcome, they gain easier access to resources and their motivation increases. This results in men succeeding in this kind of fields rather than women.

When angels and demons –as explained in the angels and demons section of this study- are considered in light of this approach, because they are considered to be good and bad by their inner nature and out of their control, it can be said that they fit into the internal/uncontrolled category. From this perspective, social group attributions to them such as, angels are female or demons are male can be interpreted as ‘women are good by their nature and it’s out of their control.’ or ‘men are bad by their nature and it’s out of their control.’ The logic is explained below:

Stereotype:	Angel= Goodness	Demon=Badness
Attributed group:	Angel= Women	Demon=Men
Social assumption:	Women=Goodness	Men=Badness

But here it should be noted that unlike in the example of succeeding in maths, being an angel is an irrational and vague expectation. The values it represents is not clear, can change from person to person –as explained in the angels and demons section of this study-, moreover it requires a high degree of these vague qualifications. Weiner (1985, pp. 548-573) states that when a person fails in a situation which implies internal/uncontrollable attributions, the results can be psychologically and motivationally weakening. The individual may feel ashamed or incompetent. Thus, with such stereotypes the society would have highly increased moral expectations from women. They would get less sympathy from others, if they cannot be as good as *angels*. However, men would receive more tolerance for their bad actions because they gain a withdrawal from the task of *being angelic*. On the downside, the society would have less confidence for them to be moral and they might have to work harder than women to prove their innocence. Situations such as a women who is a victim of a sexual crime

to be considered guilty for wearing a skirt around men and the criminal men to be considered a victim of his inner instincts can be an example of this. Hence, even though it might seem positive for women to be related with angels, due to the nature of this task which requires the unachievable ultimate perfection in vague terms, it has got negative consequences.

This idea can also be adjusted to race group characteristics which are attributed to angels and demons. Stereotypes such as ‘angels are white’ or ‘demons are black’ can cause white people to have a target that they cannot achieve and black people are thought to be apt to crimes by nature which can have serious negative outcomes.

2.1.5. Self stereotypification

Sometimes it is seen that even members of the subgroups enjoy or recreate the negative stereotypes about them, themselves. This is called self stereotypification. Crocker and Major (In Simon, 2011, p. 59) explains:

‘if attempts at success are embedded within an environment of hostility and discrimination which is likely for many groups targeted by negative/internal/controllable stereotypes success may never be achieved. This could cause the stereotyped individual to ultimately turn the responsibility and blame inward, threatening the individual’s self-worth and persistence on the task.’

Simon (2011, p. 60) states that in these situations, eventually members of the stereotyped group may start embracing the stereotype instead of challenging it. This results in stereotypes to be seen as descriptive, perhaps containing more than a little piece of truth. Accordingly, the existing social system is justified and rationalized. Simon (2011, p. 60) refers to these stereotypes as ‘ready explanations for high status groups to judge low status groups and serve as an internalized barrier for the advancement of the disadvantaged groups.’

There are some studies sampling self stereotypification. For example, Moe, Cadinou and Maass (2015, pp.1-8) explains that a study in which the stereotypic belief that “women are poor drivers” was tested on women. Women who were merely asked to drive were mostly good drivers. However, women who were told that the research is about evaluating if women are poor drivers than men before the driving test seemed to make more mistakes and this showed that the stereotype turned itself to be true. This

results in that group to stereotype themselves as well which is self stereotypification. There are further studies giving the same results. For example the same test was done to test the stereotypic beliefs that are “women are not good at math.” “people with lower socioeconomical level score lower in iq tests.” By different researchers and they all gave parallel results. Hence, if they are not stereotyped, women drive better, can get better at math and people with lower socio-economical level can score higher in iq tests (Moe, Cadinou and Maass, 2015, pp. 1-8).

2.1.6. Intragroup stereotype packages

Intragroup stereotype packages are another model which is a useful tool for understanding stereotypic trait's unique meaning when they are in combination with different traits (Cuddy, et al., 2008, p.61) This model puts forward two new terms which are warmth and incompetence. Warmth refers to being sociable, helpful, happy or such mostly emotional states, and competence refers to being competent, skillful, able or such achieving, strong states (Williams&Bargh, 2008, p. 606).

There are four combinations of these terms. These are low competence/low warmth, low competence/high warmth, high competence/low warmth and high competence/high warmth.

Low competence/Low warmth: Lack of warmth indicates bad intentions and responsibility for being in that position. Lack of competence stands for being needy. Drug addicts or homeless people are some example of such stereotyped groups. These groups are ignored, isolated, rejected, harmed and dehumanized (Harris and Fiske, 2005, p. 447). Simon (2011, p. 63) explains the emotions people feel for these groups as contempt and disgust and the behaviour they face rejection, denial of resources and dehumanization.

Low competence/ High warmth: This group is thought to lack control over the negative outcomes they suffer. Therefore they receive pity. People in this group are the elderly or the disabled individuals. Even though this pity might trigger the helping behaviours at first it usually results in avoidance over time (Weiner, 1985, p. 548).

High competence/Low warmth: This group is seen in competition with one's own group. If they are successful they are approached with envy. However, in times of stress they are scapegoated. Example groups are feminists, asians or jews (Simon, 2011, p. 63).

High competence/High warmth: Such stereotypes create admiration as a response because the group is thought to be responsible and also deserving of success. These are often ingroups or dominant groups in society such as Christians, middle class or whites (Simon, 2011, p. 64).

Using this model, it is possible to understand the reasons lying behind the social situation of a particular group. It also enables people to have an idea about the variations of discrimination and prejudice. It especially works well among groups which are stereotyped with positive and negative traits at the same time (Clausel & Fiske, 2005, p. 161).

This study takes the angel and demon archetypes and the stereotypical attributions that are directed to them. This model does not provide an accurate explanation for this kind of evaluation. For example demons are usually attributed to be male. However, while demons have high competence but low warmth, men have high competence and high warmth. Thus, this approach is not used to make a discussion.

2.1.7. Intergroup stereotype packages

This model provides explanations by comparing the relevant groups with one another. According to this model, social groups do not exist in a vacuum. People usually judge a group in reference to other groups. This is true especially for groups in society like women and men which are compared to one another, whites and blacks, poor and rich, low status and high status. The stereotypification of such groups occurs in pairs. They justify a group's position in comparison to another (Kay et. al, 2007, p. 305).

According to Tajfel and Turner (In Perry & Hinton, 2013, p. 24) Stereotyping is essentially about the perception of groups. When people categorize someone as a member of a group they attribute the characteristics of the group to that individual. However, the perceiver is also a member of a social group. People are not isolated individuals unrelated to the other people. They exist as members of various social groups. People are family members, they belong to occupational groups, they are members of a nationality. In analysing groups, the group of which perceivers are a member is called: the ingroup. A contrasting group that the perceivers are not a member of is called: An outgroup. People are apt to view an ingroup in more positive terms than an outgroup. Because of that stereotypes may arise as a result of individual cognition

and a cognitive process of categorization and a motivational process of comparison. If people view outgroups stereotypically (they are all the same) and negatively compared to the ingroup (they are less intelligent, hard-working, caring than us) then it serves to enhance our social identity (In Perry&Hinton, 2013, p. 24).

This model divides the stereotypes in three groups: 1. status relevant stereotypes for a high status group, coupled with a status irrelevant (but positive) stereotype for the low status group. 2. status relevant stereotypes for the high status group paired with the status relevant stereotypes for the low status group. 3. Status irrelevant for both groups (Simon, 2011, p. 68).

1. Status relevant stereotypes for a high status group, coupled with a status irrelevant (but positive) stereotype for the low status group: These stereotypes attribute characteristics such as being hardworking or competent to the groups in high status. On the other hand they attribute positive characteristics to the low status group in a way that has nothing to do with status such as being happy. Such stereotype combinations have a role in the justification of the social system as they offer positive reasons about the high status people's succession. Furthermore, they have a positive view of the other stereotyped group as well. The lower class's negative position is compensated by the positive approach of the stereotype. It also explains why the positions of the people who belong to a higher class are more advantaged than the others (Jost, Pelham&Carvallo, 2002, p. 586).

2. Status relevant for high status/status relevant for low status: These stereotypes explain and justify the existing system by disregarding if there is a balance in justice between those who have and who have not. Instead, the justice is related to deservingness. These stereotypes can be both positive or negative (Eagly&Mladinic, 1989, p. 543).

3. Status irrelevant for both groups: These stereotypes do not give information about the stereotyped group's social status but they provide information about their morality. They are positive versus negative stereotypes. In such stereotypes, groups with a lower status are not approached in a completely positive way and groups with a higher status are not approached in a completely positive way as well. For example the stereotype pair that suggests the poor to be honest and rich to be dishonest gives both

groups something to hold on to. It gives the feeling that both groups has its benefits and its costs. This way the perceiver is allowed to view the entire system as fair and it relieves the fear of injustice (Simon, 2011, p. 68).

Jost& Kay (2005, pp. 498-509) explains, when the system requires justification in a higher level, for example if there is a huge gap between the high and low status groups, people need stereotypes to be able to elaborate the situation. For example studies have shown that when complementary gender stereotypes are exposed to participants, they generate a more positive perception for the patriarchal system (Jost&Kay, 2005, pp. 498-509).

According to Doosje and Haslam (2005, p. 508) stereotypes which explain the causes of a social system change when the social system changes. This change reflects the evolving group relationships, intentions and behaviours.

The cases such as women being stereotyped as angels and men being stereotyped as demons can be analyzed in light of this model. It fits in the status irrelevant for both groups section because men are the higher status group in patriarchal societies and they are attributed a negative quality-irrelevant to their status-. However, women which are the low status group are attributed a positive one –again irrelevant to their status-. This brings justification of the existing system by providing both groups a positive and a negative quality. Women have a lower status but they are angels, men have a higher status but they are demons. It points at a fair world order even though it is not.

2.1.8. The relation of stereotypes and social prejudices

Here at this point, it is important to understand the effects of stereotypes on the judgement of individuals. Kuçuradi (2003, p. 47) explains that, to be able to say someone is good or bad that person should be known and understood as a whole. This requires all qualities that make him-her that person to be understood and more or less having an idea about how that person would react in aspecific situation. Later the observer compares all these information about that person to the ideal person stereotype in his-her mind. Even if the observer means well still he-she cannot overcome the ideal stereotypes that were imposed to him-her. Every ideology has its own good and bad person ideals. People usually do not question values these stereotypes bear while

making judgements about someone else. It is seen that people even value themselves by looking at their similarities with famous people.

Cüceloğlu (2000, pp. 543-545) also claims that stereotypes and social prejudices are strongly related to each other. He defines prejudice as having an idea if a person is good or bad before meeting them without any proof. Stereotypes group people into categories such as blonde women, black men and they present them all as the same. Prejudice comes with two main characteristics: judging individuals as members of a group and ignoring their unique personal characteristics. Stereotyping, by overgeneralizing and ignoring differences in between members of a group contributes to the construction of prejudices and perception of “us and the others” in society. Stereotypes appear as a result of ideologies and it continues its existence by recreating these ideologies (Demir, 2014, pp. 9-12).

Stereotyping is a research field of social psychology as well. According to Blum (2004, p.273) researches in field of social psychology show that stereotypes homogenizes groups and they try to value individuals which has an extremely complicated structure reducing them into a short summary. Characteristics that are attributed to social groups are called role schemes. These role schemes affect inter-group relations and perceptions. For example, women are expected to be emotional or the Japanese are considered hard-working. Harlak (2000, pp. 86-87) thinks role schemes are social group stereotypes because roots of stereotypes are based on typicalizing groups into exaggerated and over simplified representations. Interactions between people are strongly related to membership of such groups. Individuals all see themselves as a part of a group which affects his/her desires, likes and dislikes, behaviours. Stereotypes are psychological representations of these groups. They insert the properties of a membership of a group to people. A stereotype bears the sum of all properties that characterizes a group. It is natural that some people show some resemblances with each other. This causes them to be seen as a group. But stereotyping while putting people into groups one by one ignores their uniqueness (Demir, 2014, pp.17-18). Oakes (1994, p.2) sees a conflict here. On the one hand a stereotype is a part of a social reality but on the other hand its group based perception distorts the reality.

Maas and Arcuri (1996, pp.194-197) take the issue and look at it from the aspect of linguistics. They analyze social category labels in language such as Jewish, Muslim, black, communist etc. They believe that these labels are a must to create social categorization and stereotyping. These labels are the center and the stereotypical

information is organized around them. Words that are used to define ethnic and social groups, people, men, women, nationalities highlight different properties and call for different images and relations. This is about the organizing the affect of language. For example the word housewife reminds role schemes such as doing housework, looking after kids and cooking. Thus, the word “housewife” bears a stereotypical context with its unique norms roles and actions. Individuals define themselves as a part of a group in society and they perceive other groups from that group’s point of view. They define themselves and others based on scheming individual and social identities.

Tajfel (1970, pp.96-98) states that people take their group identities very seriously and they classify people as ingroup or outgroup. Individuals have strong positive feelings for their ingroup. People that does not belong to that group are seen as outgroup or in other words “others”. Everyone is tend to express behaviours in favour of their ingroup. While properties of an ingroup is exalted by positive stereotypes, the out group is represented via negative stereotypes. Stereotypes not only define the hyerarchial structure but also it confirms the existance of a hyerarchial structure and justifies it (Jost and Hamilton, 2005, pp.218).

2.1.9. Negative stereotypes targeting different social groups

In this part, different social groups -defined by their race, gender, socio-economical status or religion- which are affected by the negative stereotyping will be sampled and explained part by part.

2.1.9.1. *Shared stereotypes: stereotypes of gender, age and class*

Fiske (2017, p. 791) analyzes stereotypes in two different groups. Shared stereoypes are stereotypes that share many features across cultures such as gender stereotypes, age stereoypes and class stereotypes. On the other hand, variable stereotypes such as stereotypes of race, ethnicity and religion are solving different cultural problems across different contexts which causes the cultural similarities to diminish.

To start with, people are being stereotyped based on their genders an such gender stereotypes do not vary much from culture to culture because people often have both men and women in their families all around the World (Fiske, 2017, p.792). While commenting on the issue of gender stereotypes, Ellemers (2018, p.276) states that stereotypes reflect general expectations about members of particular social groups.

There can be actual differences between these groups. But this does not mean all individual exemplars in these groups will differ the same way. For example, when the heights of men and women are considered, it is true that men are longer than women on average. However, this is not true for individual men and women. Individually speaking, a women can be longer than a men. But stereotypes overemphasizes such differences between groups and underestimate the differences.

Men and women are not only compared on the basis of their heights. Studies have pointed at that certain jobs such as policing are in male domination and other jobs such as nursing are women dominated (Jarman. et. al. 2012, p.19). These differences in occupation preferences of men and women looks like it can be explained by inherent biological differences between the two genders such as different testosterone and oxytocin levels. However, Van Honk (2014, p.92) states that there is no one to one relationship between hormones and behaviours. Testosterone can trigger of aggressive behaviour but it can also trigger prosocial behaviour and caringness. Such studies show that there are higher amounts of differences between men and women as individuals than between men and women as groups. This shows that biology is not the main factor of the creation of the gender differences (Ellemers, 2018, p.278). According to Bussey and Bandura (1999, pp.676-713) a kernel of truth lies under the gender stereotypes. But this does not reflect the over generalized inferences people usually make about the differences between the two genders. They explain that gender differences are mainly formed as boys and girls are educated and raised.

Ellemers (2018, p.278) states that stereotypes are helpful and harmful at the same time. On the good side, it enables people to make quick estimates about how unknown individuals are likely to behave. However, they also cause harm by hindering the estimation of the exact potential of specific individuals. They reinforce the boundaries between the two genders via justifying the social inequality. The results can be really affective. For example, a study has shown that an identical CV may actually result in different reactions and job offers from employers depending on the name of the applicant: John or Jennifer. Because women are stereotypically expected to have less talent in fields of science the employers first reaction is directed to choose the CV sent by John, instead of Jennifer (Moss&Racusin et. al. 2012, p.79). These prejudices may result in differences in the career advancement and income amounts of the two

genders which may lead to raising gender inequalities in a life span (Ellemers, 2018, p.278).

Ellemers (2018, p.280) also states that, most people try to avoid explicitly making claims such as: 'Women are identified with warmth and men are identified with competence.' However, implicit beliefs and private convictions are usually based on such stereotypical associations. It is possible that even people who have such beliefs do not always realize this is the case. For example a study has shown that even parents who say they try to raise their children without imposing them stereotypical gender roles, treat and discipline their sons and daughters differently (Endenijk et. al. 2014, p.61)

Thus, what kind of expectations do these gender stereotypes create in society? Zoonen (1997, p.483) explains that femininity is associated with being emotional, cooperational and tame while masculinity is associated with being rational, efficient, competitive, individual and cruel. Like Zoonen, Ellemers also (2018, p.281) summarizes the stereotypical expectations in her way. She explains that women are characterized with communality, care for others, family and warmth. Men on the other hand are characterized by agency, individual task performance, work and competence. Men's need for interpersonal connection and women's professional achievement are generally neglected. As a result of the expectations gender stereotypes create in society, women are evaluated according to their appearance while men are evaluated according to their accomplishments even in irrelevant situations (Fredericson&Roberts, 1997, pp. 173-206). It also affects people's choices of romantic partners. For example, while men describe their ideal partner they can say 'she should be intelligent.' However, studies have shown that when their actual choices do not fit their descriptions since they are tend to avoid women who outsmart them (Park. et. al. 2015, p.73). Also, women are stereotypically assumed to take the child as their first priority and withdraw themselves from work and career. On the other hand, when men become fathers people do not expect much change in terms of their career. This results in working mothers to face many problems at work. They are not as easily hired or promoted as men (Lyness&Judiesch, 2014, pp.79-121)

Ellemers (2018, p.283) also argues that in the case of groups such as homeless people or migrants about whom the society has little or no factual information it is

relatively easier to understand why people need stereotypes to predict and understand the behaviours of the individual group members. However, even though most people have intense and intimate connections with members of both gender groups, people still depend their expectations on gender stereotypes. She states that this is because the gender stereotypes are being communicated implicitly via five different ways. These are parent child interactions, linguistic bias, internet and media portrayals, body postures and expressions of feelings. First of all, children are taught to behave according to the stereotypical gender roles by their parents. Even if the parent consciously tries to avoid imposing these gender roles, implicitly they do (Endenijk et. al. 2014, p.61). Secondly, representations in media strengthens the stereotypical expectations of women and men. Showing women in caregiving roles and showing men as experts is an example of that. Another example is showing women in programs about appearance or personal relationships while showing men in programs about politics or sports (Ellemers, 2018, p.285). Thirdly, linguistic biases contribute to the reinforcement of gender stereotypes. For example, in a study that analyzes recommendation letters in field of geoscience, it is observed that female applicants are less likely to be described as 'excellent' or such terms. People who try to support them, preferred using grindstone terms such as dependable or dedicated (Schmader et. al. 2007, p.14). Nonverbal communications such as body posture are also related with the communication of gender stereotypes. Cashdan (1998, p. 28) explains that men and women have differences in their preferences of body postures. Men display open and expansive postures while women display closed and contractive postures. This implicitly activates gender stereotypes because open postures relate to high power and dominance. On the other hand, closed postures relate to low power and submission. These postures provide information to others and affect the perception and presentation of oneself (Carney et al. 2010, p. 68). Finally, there are differences in the expressions of the emotions between men and women which reinforces the stereotypical expectations from genders. Reseaches show that men and women's emotional experiences does not differ much but their way of expressing them differs. Men are tend to express emotions that are negative as anger. Anger is related to agency and action. However, women are apt to express negative emotions as sadness. Sadness is related to lack of control over the situation (Plant.et al. 2000, pp.81-92)

Faniko (2016,13) explains that ‘stereotypes motivate people to accommodate to existing expectations because challenging the status quo is incompatible with the behaviour presented by the stereotype, particularly for women.’ Gender stereotypes depict women as people caring and helping each other instead of having an agenda to stand out. The requirements of many aspects of life in which people usually have to compete with one another to get the best opportunities does not match with this representation. When women complain about unequal outcomes or when they state that they are disadvantaged because of the gender stereotypical expectations they are called: complainers. Speaking up is considered to be inappropriate for women. (Kaiser & Miller, 2001, p.63). Expressing anger can cause a reduce in their lower wages, perceived competence and undermining their status at work (Brescoll and Uhlmann, 2008, p.75) On the other hand, men are accepted to express their anger freely which is a significant requirement (Radke. et al. 2016, p.74).

Ellemers (2010, p.13) explains that ‘the awareness of groups having unequal chances in society raises emotional responses indicating a focus on prevention and resistance toward reparation measures among those who benefit from current arrangements.’ Studies have shown that men are apt to act against women when the privilege of their group is questioned. Men who are highly identified with their group may have an aptitude to harass women through the exposure of pornographic images if they feel the value of their male identity is under threat (Maas et. al. 2003, p.70). Ellemers (2018, p.290) states that apart from people who belong to the advantageous group, people who suffer the disadvantages because of their group membership can contribute to the maintaining of the status quo. For example women who are successful in male dominated jobs usually claim that they were not held back by their gender and they emphasize that they are successful because they are different from other women. In order not to be held back by gender stereotypes, they choose to put down other women (Faniko, 2017, p.51).

Ellemers (2018, p. 291) claims that ‘as long as people fail to recognize gender stereotypes rather than individual merits and choices lie at the root of gender differences, change is very unlikely.

Fiske (2017, p. 793) states that like gender, people have young and old members in their families in all cultures which makes it a shared stereotype. However, it should

be noted that regions do vary, depending on aging populations that strain resources. Thus, Fiske (2017, p. 794) uses the word: ‘near-universal stereotype with cultural variations about the stereotypes of age.’

Cuddy, Norton & Fiske (2005, pp. 265-283) explain that stereotypes of older people expect them to share their resources. If they comply, they are elevated; if they do not, they are derogated. Most old-person stereotypes show them doddering but dear. In warmth and competence scale, they are attributed to be incompetent but warm. The only samples that admire their old members in studies are African Americans (Fiske, Bergsieker, Russell & Williams, 2009, p.83) and Native Americans (Burkley, Durante, Fiske, Burkley & Andrade, 2017, 202). Contrary to popular wisdom that eastern cultures highly respect their elders, they are mostly derogated in Asia compared to Europe (North & Fiske, 2010, p. 993). Fiske explains that this is related to the nation’s growing elder population.

Social classes have predictable stereotypes that do not vary much by culture (Fiske, 2017, p. 794). In general, middle class is seen warm due to their cooperativeness. However, because rich people or homeless people use the middle class’s resources they are not considered to be warm (Willis & Todorow, 2006, p. 592). Stereotypical competence also comes from status. All societies rank their members by resources like income, education, wealth, occupation prestige or titles. This pattern is cross-cultural. It results in stereotypes such as: ‘poor as warm and incompetent’ and ‘rich as cold but competent.’ (Durante, Tablante & Fiske, 2017, 138). This provides feelings of justice by attributing competence to the rich and attributing warmth to the poor. This justifies the system and supports social inequality (Durante et. al, 2013, p. 726).

2.1.9.2. Variable stereotypes: stereotypes of race, ethnicity and religion

Fiske (2017, p.795) states that more socially constructed groups like ethnicity, race and religion are less likely to operate through the prescriptive stereotypes that typify face-to-face interdependence more than stereotypes such as gender, age and class. Intimate interdependence happens less frequently between ethnicities, races and religions. Different genders and ages have to cooperate with one another however, it is not the same for different ethnic groups. As a result, people do not have much need

for shared prescriptive stereotypes which control the interdependence across status divides.

According to Spencer and Taylor (2004, p. 93) people can be discriminated based on their biological or cultural differences. Being white or black are biological features people can be racially differentiated. Orientalism and Islamophobia are some examples of cultural racism. In both kinds of racism there is the stereotypical 'other'. The dominant group is considered to be 'us' while the rest is positioned as 'them' It represents cultural difference. One is taken as conventional, normal, safe and central while one is reduced to be a threat. For example, Spencer and Taylor (2004, p. 91) indicates that it is not possible to understand racial stereotyping without an analysis of whiteness which is racially unmarked, a normative centre from which it stems. Whiteness is seen like a natural fact and a standard. For example, while white people are routinely not mentioned as 'white lawyer' or 'white lecturer', black people are often talked about as 'black lawyer' or 'black lecturer.' These descriptions has a hidden meaning like non-white people occupy these professional posts. When a category becomes racially marked like this, this is the first step of racial stereotyping. Cheyette (1997, p. 111) adds that certain white people such as Jews or Irish also have been racially marked which brings their *whiteness* in question.

Spencer and Taylor (2004, p. 92) also explains that even in stereotypes of black people which depicts them talented in areas such as music and sports, they are simply being portrayed as exotic entertainers of white audiences. They relate these stereotypes with colonialism, which put black people in position of servants and labourers. While positive stereotypes praise them in body centered areas like sports, it is hard to see a stereotype as a 'black intellectual.' even if there is, it a cut from the rest, an exception.

Also, there are more obvious negative stereotypes such as the 'black savage' stereotype. 'It portrays black people as immoral, violent, disrespectful of private property, incapable of refinement through education and driven by hereditary dark satanic impulses.' (Spencer&Taylor, 2004, p.94). Black people are usually represented as muggers, drugdealers, illegal immigrants or welfare scroungers (ANC, 2000, p.21).

According to Spencer and Taylor (2004, p.94) there is also the problem of dividing different ethnic groups and minorities from each other. When different minorities absorb different stereotypes against one another, they start developing

prejudices and hostilities to each other while the dominant group remains to be racially unmarked.

Spencer and Taylor (2004, p.100) states that there are only two ways to go. One can either internalize the stereotype against them or you can challenge it. If one internalizes a stereotype, he-she admits inferiority. The stereotype gets under the stereotyped individuals skin and takes over.

As these are variable stereotypes, the perception of different religious or racial groups vary from nation to nation. Fiske (2017, p.796) has listed the results of case studies of common religious groups. According to this list, Jews are generally stereotyped as low warmth, high competence groups. Their stereotypic competence is low only in Iraq. They are usually portrayed as mercants or outsider entrepreneurs. It is also important to note that stereotypes about these professions are usually competent but cold quadrant as well. Another religious group in the same list is muslims. Muslims are admired groups in Jordan, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Malaysia and Turkey. However, in other countries such as Kenya, Denmark, Greece, German-Switzerland or Spain, they are viewed neither warm nor competent. In Australia, Belgium, Canada, England, India, New Zealand, French-Switzerland and United States they are perceived as low warmth and moderate competence. In Italy, Northern Ireland, Sweden and Uganda they are moderate in warmth and competence. In Afganistan and Iran they are subgrouped as Sunni or Shia. This shows that muslim stereotypes are driven by the social context. Finally, stereotypes about christians also vary according to the social context. They are seen as competent and warm in Engalnd, Australia, Canada, Greece, Kenya, Mexico, New Zealand, Malaysia, Spain, German-Switzerland, USA, Uganda, and Iraq). However, in Egypt, India, Lebanon, Pakistan, Jordan and Bolivia and in places where they are numerically less dominant, they are considered to be moderate in both dimentionns (Fiske, 2017, p.796).

Fiske (2017, pp. 796-797) also lists the case studies of races. This shows that black people are moderate in competence and warmth in Mexico, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, Portugal, Spain, German Switzerland, Northern Ireland, United States. However, she also notes that in United States there two subtypes: poor blacks and black professionals. Also, in South Africa while Africans are seen as competent and warm, black foreigners are seen as incompetent and cold. This shows that there is a culture specific creation with the patterns of subgroups distinctive to each country. Another race group that is

listed is whites. When they are the dominant racial group or historically powerful one, whites are seen as competent and warm in both scales (Fiske, 2017, p.797).

In Turkey unfortunately there is a lack of academic research on racial stereotypification. However, there are some platform based criticisms in alternative media sites such as AGOS (Eke, 2014) about Kurdish stereotypification. For example there is a “Kurtmaker” game in which you can draw a “typical kurdish man”—as written in the definition of the game- with the given accessories which are white athletes, axes, bats with nails, rocketlaunchers. As a result appears such pictures (picture 1). This stereotyping game is criticized to be racist by Eke. Eke claims that after this game is consumed, kurdish people will suffer the consequences of such stereotypification for a long time. He also indicates that people thinks it is just for fun hence, it should not be taken seriously but actually such things affect culture and perception of the society thus they are in deed dangerous. Eke also adds an interesting note that even his kurdish friends enjoyed this game which can be handled in the self stereotypification heading in detail. Hence, it can be inferred that just like the rest of the World, in Turkey racial subgroups are stereotyped and harmed because of this as well.

2.1.10. The motion of cultural goods, images and stereotypes around the globe

In the former section, it is seen that some stereotypes are known all around the world but the attributions may sometimes vary. But how do these images and meanings spread all around the world and why do the attributions sometimes vary? In this part, globalization and related theories about the movement of ideas, symbols and images around the globe will be discussed.

Globalism stands for ‘the process leading to the increased density, speed and reach transnational connections, associated with the global spread of capitalism and new information and communication technologies.’ (Eriksen, 2007, p.5). Mass media, especially television created shared frames of reference and mutual knowledge between people all around the World (Mc Luhan&Powers, 1964, p.10). As a result of this process consumer tastes, measurements and values are globally getting standardized (Eriksen, 2011, p.4). As Hill (2005, p.33) explains, because culture is not limited by specific geographical or national areas anymore, the migration of images and people affects and changes other cultures and creates the cultural flow. Different cultures slowly penetrate into one another and in this kind of a World system, cultural identities

can not remain homogenous. This is called culture flows and it results in hybridity. It regulates fusions of tangible or intangible categories that are initially seen as separate entities. The symbolic process of the production of goods in local, national and transnational markets is taken into consideration. Apart from scapes, the concept also refers to fusions which are defined as ‘different understandings and material reproductions of national cultures by different groups (producers and consumers)’ (Tzanelli, 2011, p.3).

Under these theoretical circumstances the children in this study can be hypothesised to draw hybrid images which reflect the images rooting from their own culture and images rooting from the global culture both in their drawings. The similarity and difference rates of their drawings with the popular cultural commodities’ can be analyzed in light of the information under this heading to be explained with its reasons thoroughly.

2.1.10.1. A general view to the issue of globalization

The term globalization refers to ‘the process leading to the increased density, speed and reach transnational connections, associated with the global spread of capitalism and new information and communication technologies.’ (Eriksen, 2007, p.5) After the World War II, the global interconnectedness strongly intensified. This is the period in which the number of transnational companies and transnational nongovernmental organizations grew, international travel got easier and popular. (Eriksen, 2011, p.2) In 1960’s the term global village was put forward by Mc Luhan (Mc Luhan & Powers, 1964, p.10). This term has been used to mention the new mass media situation. He stated that mass media, especially television created shared frames of reference and mutual knowledge between people all around the World (Mc Luhan & Powers, 1964, p.10).

This global change has been the topic of many research in different fields such as economy, culture, environment, politics. However the perspective has varied. While some approached it as a chance for the poor countries to catch up with the rich ones, others used terms such as imperialism, claiming that the rich countries were actively exploiting the poor countries and stopping them from getting developed (Eriksen, 2011, p.2) The World is more interconnected today than at any other time in history. Satellite tv, mobile phones, internet, migration, tourism, trade brings an intensified traffic in

signs and meanings. However, it is observed that some cultures are more resilient to change than the others and even though the similar goods and services are available all around the globe, they are articulated through local contexts that continues to vary (Eriksen, 2011, p.3).

Standardization is a key dimension of globalization. It is the implementation of shared criteria of measurement, exchange and communication. Globalization builds nations by creating shared standards, comparability and bridging principles. Consumer tastes, measurements and values are globally getting standardized (Eriksen, 2011, p.4). McDonaldization is a good example of this. Ritzer (1993, p.30) explains that like the spreading of the fast food restaurants, the spread of mass production of commodities and services are getting easier. The staff loses importance because skills are not as significant as they were in past. Also, the connection with the local communities and local traditions is getting weaker. Disneyization is another term that resembles McDonaldization. Alan Bryman's (2004, p.1) definition of the term is: 'the process by which the principles of the Disney theme parks are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society, as well as the rest of the World.'. Here, again, Disneyization principles are analyzed to spread throughout the World and create standard consumption patterns, unrelated to the local culture.

Increased intercultural contact results in the creation of new cultural forms which is especially visible in popular culture. Such cultural mixing is tried to be explained in various terms which are cultural pluralism, hybridity, syncretism, diasporic identity, transnationalism, diffusion and creolization. Firstly, cultural pluralism stands for different groups consumption of different kinds of good systematically due to their cultural differences. Secondly, hybridity is a very commonly used term which indicates syntheses of cultural form or fragments of diverse origins. In hybridity, boundaries between groups do not fade away. Syncretism, on the other hand indicates the amalgamation of formerly discrete world views, cultural meanings and religions. Another term is diasporic identity which directs attention toward a social category which is unique because it consists people with subjective belonging in another country. Transnationalism differs from other terms since it puts more interest on a social existence attaching individuals and groups not just to one place but to several or none. The term diffusion does not necessarily require actual social encounter but it focuses on the flow of substances and meanings between societies. Finally, creolization is a

cultural phenomena which is caused by displacement and social encounter that creates an ongoing dynamic interchange of symbols and practices. It eventually results in new forms that have differing degrees of stability (Eriksen, 2011, p.25).

One other debate on the issue of globalization is if it causes homogenization or heterogenization. One view is that people become more similar all around the World. Eriksen (2011, p.6) states that it can be argued that similarities in consumer preferences show a certain flattening or homogenization. But he also points out that global modernities always have local expressions. Such similarities can be the concealments of true differences or they may be simply superficial. Ritzer (2004, p.3) uses the terms 'the grobalization of nothing' and 'the glocalization of something' on the issue. Here glocalization stands for 'locally conceived nad controlled and rich in discinctive substance' and grobalization stands for 'generally centrally conceived, controlled, and comparatively devoid of distinctive substantive content.' Here the term 'nothing' indicates the big and standardized and 'something' stands for small and locally fashioned. For example, Amselle (2001, p.22) states that Mc Donalds restaurants can be globalized spreading all around the world but they do not sell the same products everywhere. It shows that locals invest in the nothing with something in discriminating, critical ways. Commodities and services can be standardized yet the attributed meaning vary locally.

Globalization is usually associated with Americanization which stands for American cultural good's dissemination. However, Eriksen (2011, p.7) argues that view by showing the example that fast food restaurants may spread to all over the World but they rarely dominate the local markets. Also, not all these restaurants are owned by Americans. For example 7 eleven is owned by the Japanese. Thus, foreign artifacts and practices can be imported and modify the preexisting worlds yet this does not necessarily cause homogenization since bureaucracies, consumption, markets, computer networks, human rights discourses take on a local character.

2.1.10.2. Cultural Flows

Giddens (1990, p.20) describes the cultural flow by putting the emphasis on how the relations of societies become dislocated and how the boundaries start disappearing. 'Cultural flows refer to multidirectional movements and reallocations of human beings, artifacts, and ideas within the ill defined sphere of 'culture' in its global, national, and

regional dimensions.’ (Tzanelli, 2011, p.2) As Hill (2005, p.33) explains, because culture is not limited by specific geographical or national areas anymore, the migration of images and people affects and changes other cultures and creates the cultural flow. Different cultures slowly penetrate into one another and in this kind of a World system, cultural identities can not remain homogenous. For example, As Kanoğlu (2009, pp.401-402) explains: ‘anime’ refers to Japanese cartoons. Their context involves the Japanese cultural properties. However, because they are exported by people from other cultures, they also contain the consumer culture’s norms and expectations. This creates a culturally hybrid form. According to Kanoğlu (2009, p.402), cultural flow occurs through the distribution of animes and a hybrid culture is being created.

Tzanelli (2011, p.2) states that studies of consumer culture often use the term ‘cultural flows’ especially in topics about product-consumption processes and products. Transformationalist globalization theorists mobilize the term and they suggest migrations and mobilities cause ever changing cultural formations. The reason of this is shown to be the erasing of imagined boundaries and territorial borders because this causes the nation states to legitimate their power. Similarly, Rizvi (2005, p.188) states that globalization should not be theorized in an abstract manner. According to him, globalization refers to something bigger than the construction of a global economic space. It also refers to the restructuring, extension and articulations of networks of money, people, technologies and ideas. For example, when people move to other parts of the World, cause the emergence of transnational diasporic networks which are temporally and socially particular. Also, these networks involve socially constructed relations of power and meaning. The assumption that thoroughly relates territoriality and citizenship is to be questioned. There is a link between social identities and transnational communication circuits which enables people’s affiliation with more than one place at once. In other words, this is not limited by national boundaries. Nation states have never been homogenous entities and they have been reshaped by global processes (Rizvi, 2005, p.188) Globalization gains speed as people all around the World start consuming the same commodities. Economic and cultural flows can not be stopped by geographical or national boundaries because social networks are related to people’s communication with one another and today this communication is not held simply within the same geographical or national territory. This is called ‘deterritorialization’ (Scholte, 1999, pp.11-12).

Transformationalists do not accept the definitions of globalization which approaches the term as cultural standardization such as Americanization. Instead, they think cultural flows diffuse identities and they generate new chances for intercultural dialogues. Even though some branches of globalization theory such as World systems theory, define culture as a single system of collective values and practices, transnationalists highlight the multiplicity of cultural trajectories through time and space, and the power individuals and collectives have to create, destroy and reinvent cultures. Human creativity is facilitated in organized, institutionalized and nonorganized forms by the term culture flows. Here organized and institutionalized form can be sampled as nation-states, factories or cultural industries and nonorganized forms can be sampled as travel, migration or consumption. Culturally specific goods and ideas are produced and become interconnected. People who consume these products and ideas assign new meanings to these. This process transforms them into symbolic producers and it also gives them some agency and belonging to consumer community (Tzanelli, 2011, p.2).

Peacefully or not most societies are somehow in contact with one another. The advancements in fields of communication and transportation intensified this contact. Yet the distribution of cultural flows is not homogenous. Rural peripheries are less benefited by flows of goods than urban areas. This is mostly because urban areas are destinations of business, labour migrants and production centers of commodities. Also, the developed countries or Northern hemisphere such as Britain, USA, China etc. have got more technological and military power. It enables them to have control over other regions of the World which become subaltern cultural formations and political satellites (Held, 2000, p.5).

According to Appandurai (1990, p.2) the approach that sees colonial history through the glass of binary oppositions should change. Instead of analyzing it as global vs. local, north vs. South, urban vs. rural, how 'flows' or 'scapes' sweep through the globe and how they carry capital, technologies, ideas, images, people and information should be focused. These flows pass through national boundaries and as they do this, they form different combinations and interdependencies, mutate, and split cultural imaginations into nation and state. This process takes down institutional barriers. People become a part of imagined communities such as internet blogs, that live beyond they were born and raised.

Appandurai's thesis depends on Lash and Urry's (1997, pp.1-24) disorganized capitalism hypothesis which splits global cultural flows into ethnoscapescapes (human migrations), technoscapes (configurations of technology), finanscapes (global business networks), ideoscapes (concatenations of images) and mediascapes (cultural industry networks). In and through the growing disjunctures between scapes global flows break out. For example, during the olympic games global, regional and international business networks invest in the host city which is an example of financescape. Also, during olympic games the opening and closing ceremonies showcase national cultures which is an example of mediascape. Images of the host city circulate globally and attracts tourists which is an example of ideoscape.

The result of cultural flows is hybridity and it regulates fusions of tangible or intangible categories that are initially seen as separate entities. The symbolic process of the production of goods in local, national and transnational markets is taken into consideration. Apart from scapes, the concept also refers to fusions which are defined as 'different understandings and material reproductions of national cultures by different groups (producers and consumers)' (Tzanelli, 2011, p.3). For example, when the olympic games were hosted by the greek in 2004, they stressed that the games are a part of greek-european heritage. However, when the host city was Beijing in 2008, they emphasized the inventions of Chinese civilization such as compass, calligraphy or paper and how they preceded the European-Hellenic civilization. But eventually, the audience developed their own understanding about the ceremonies themselves (Tzanelli, 2011, p.3).

The term 'traveling cultures' was put forward by James Clifford (1992, pp.96-116) which has similarities with cultural flows. Clifford did not consider the anthropological field as a neatly framed area. Instead, he claims that it is an open area which is created by the observers and the observed together. Culture is a grand travel in which people leave home and return, interact with interconnected cosmopolitanism as they encounter others. Even their casual interaction with locals is enough to introduce social change. Here, the tourist's travel creates a tie between the global and the local. Ronald Robertson's (1992, p.3) term 'glocalization' can be fit here to define these ties. In Robertson's study it is also understood that goods of the global companies also travel and flow all around the world like tourists and create such ties. Tzanelli (2011, p.3) shows the Barbie doll's travel as an example. He states that Barbie doll is inspired by a

german doll and it was produced in USA. It is manufactured in China now. It takes different forms in different national contexts such as sumatra Barbie dolls etc. Tzanelli also states that Barbie's inspiration Bild Lilli was a very strong female character that did not need men's support and knew what she wanted but when a number of economic changes threatened the social structure, it transformed into a stupid 'blonde girl' stereotype.

'The production and distribution process transcended state boundaries, whereas the idea itself is a cultural synthesis in constant flux (Tzanelli, 2011, p.3).' For example even though the Barbie doll might have been imported to the Arab World, due to the cultural differences it was seen as 'the Jewish Doll', 'The doll with revealing clothes and shameful postures, accessories and tools', 'a symbol of decadence to the perverted west'. Instead, another doll named Fulla was distributed by the Emirates based NewBoy design studio which was dark skinned and veiled. Another example is the salsa music which is linked to the communist regimes. Even though it is popular all around the World now, it is divested of its political background (Tzanelli, 2011, p.3).

Thus, it is understood that cultural flows is not the enrichment of culturally specific goods and ideas. It does not simply point at the Americanization of the World or handle the issue with just one way. Instead it points at fusions of ideas and their flow which enables the mobility, interaction and clashes between spaces, creating the globalization dynamics.

2.2. Children, Media and Stereotypes

This part of the study narrows the topic down to the youth. Researches show that adolescents between the ages of 8 and 18 spend almost nine hours per day consuming media (Lenhart et al. 2008, p.12). But why do they do that? As an answer to this question two main theories are put forward. These are the uses and gratifications perspective and self determination theory.

According to the uses and gratifications perspective, enjoyment is the key to understand why youth consume media so much. The most commonly cited uses and gratifications are escape, arousal, companionship, learning, habit, passing time and relaxation (Sparks, 2001, p.10). To elaborate, companionship refers to the use of media to promote friendships. For example youth can play video games with their friends or

they can chat with them. Also, they can have imaginary relationships with characters in the media which is called parasocial relationship (Rubin & McHugh, 1987, pp.279-292). Another gratification that is listed is escape. Youth have many problems in their lives. For example, they need to do chores, they might have annoying siblings, they might have so much homework to do... To escape from this reality, youth consume media. They visit virtual worlds and immerse themselves in the lyrics of a song or a scene of a movie. They get lost in the content and forget the real problems (Kirsh, 2010, p.16). Habit is another gratification in the list. Sometimes youth consume media because of unconscious desires. It gives them the feeling of engaging in an activity. Such behaviour shows that a media habit is formed. If it strengthens too much it can even be considered an addiction (McIlwraith, Jacobvitz, Kubey & Alexander, 1991, pp.104-121). Fourth gratification in the list is learning. It means the use of media to find information. For instance, doing research online is very easy since one can access lots of informative websites with a click of a mouse (Kirsh, 2010, p.17). Fifth gratification is passing time. Media use can make time fly. For example, video game players may lose track of time. In addition to passing time, it reduces boredom related anger, and hostility (Zillmann, 1998, pp.179-211). Another gratification is relaxation. Listening to classical music to relax and relieve stress can be a good example of this gratification (Kirsh, 2010, p.18). Finally, sensation seeking is another gratification to be mentioned. Media use can be very stimulating which draws the youth to consume it. Users of media want to feel their flowing blood, their beating hearts and their sweating palms (Zukerman, 1994, p.4).

Another main theory that is put forward to explain why youth consume media is self determination theory. It focuses on factors that affect human motivation (Ryan, Rigby & Przybylski, 2006, pp.347-365). This theory is based on three basic psychological needs. These are competence, autonomy and relatedness. Autonomy refers to the sense of control people feel when they do something on their own. Here, it is important to note that youth feel autonomy in activities they choose to engage in, not in activities they are forced to do. For example, using the remote control, choosing the songs to play or regulating an avatar can give this feeling to media consumers. Secondly, competence refers to the successful completion of tasks. For example, completing all levels of a video game gives this kind of a feeling. Relatedness is the final psychological need which is significant for well being. It is the sense of connection

with others. Instant messaging, blogging, playing online video games with other people are some examples of media that creates this feeling (Valkenburg & Peter, 2007, pp.267-277).

Other than these two main theories, identity formation, social status and mood management are other theories that try to shed light on the issue. Identity formation theory explains that youth uses media to establish and maintain their individual and social identities. Here, individual identity means traits and attributes to describe self, while social identity refers to the self assigned social group membership. For example by listening to metal music one can feel belonging to the Goth community (Kirsh, 2010, p.21). Another theory, which is social status claims that when peers start bragging about their media experiences, in the process of social comparison, individuals start to desire having same experiences (Kirsh, 2010, p.21). Finally, mood management is another theory in the field. It refers to the media consumption to control one's emotional state. For example, after a break up a person can try to manage his-her mood by listening to certain types of music or when a person feels angry he-she can watch a violent movie (Kirsh, 2010, p.22).

The potential influence of media consumption on youth may vary as a function of these reasons given to justify its use. For example, a research has found that children who watch a horror movie in order to seek sensation reported feeling positive emotions while another group who watched the same movies to alter their mood reported negative emotions (Johnston, 1995, p.522-552). However, Kirsh (2010, p.24) reports that there is not enough developmental research on the issue which is why this research does not mainly focus on the reasons of the media consumption to understand the effects. To elaborate the effects, rather media effect theories will be used as a guide.

Here, it is understood that teens, consume media for many different reasons. However, the Frankfurt School theorists point at a threat here. They believe that media is not as innocent as it seems and they point at the economical and ideological hidden agendas of media. Adorno and Horkheimer states that culture industry works to spread the hegemony of capitalism, to turn the cultural storytellings of people into commodities using technology and how reason becomes a tool for all of this (Mutlu, 2005, p.227). They also take the attention to the possible harms of consuming these kind of cultural commodities as lot. According to Adorno (2007, p.55), the culture industry

created a decline in the imagination of the audience. Adorno believes that this is no longer a matter of psychology because it is very clear that cultural commodities which are the characteristic products of cultural industry, by nature paralyzes the imagination and critical thinking talents of its audience. As technology penetrates in the lives of everyone since 20th Century, cultural products are designed to be understood fast by observation yet for the events that pass through so fast to be caught they do not let the audience to stop and think about it (Adorno, 2007, p.56). So it is understood that teens consume media for many different reasons such as mood management, passing time or relaxation but doing that they are unknowingly guided to embrace the dominant Capitalist system, they start losing their ability to think critically and they start losing their imagination.

This part of the study explains the culture industry and later, it elaborates the industrialization of children's narratives. Next, the effects of media on children is discussed by giving a general view to the media effect theories with an emphasis on social learning and social cognitive theories which are directly related to the study as well. Media's effects on children's imagination is discussed through the glass of researches about imagination itself specifically. Here, stereotype development in children is taken into consideration and finally, it sheds light on the examples of stereotypes in different types of children's media.

2.2.1. The Enlightenment, Frankfurt School and Culture Industry

In 1923, a group of intellectuals came together and started a foundation which is later on called: 'the Frankfurt School' –The members of this group prefer calling it The Critical Theory.-. This school creates a philosophical tradition that has a critical approach to the idea of enlightenment. The most important theorists of Frankfurt School are Adorno and Horkheimer. They questioned positivism and they refused to identify the information as object and subject. They also criticised the approach that separates the information from people's wills. They conduct their argument on rationalism. They believe the rationalism Weber states is in fact irrational. They are against the Orthodox Marksizm and their ideas lead to the start of Western Marksizm (Odabaş, 2018, p.211).

The Frankfurt School has mainly started when Horkheimer became the principle of The Social Studies Institute in Frankfurt. Horkheimer gathered a team with Herbert

Marcuse, Theodor W. Adorno and Erich Fromm. Historically, the School's foundation is affected by the defeat of the working class movements after the World War I, the Russian revolution to become Stalinism and the rise of the racist movements. In this very hard conditions, the theorists, with radical social reality, added new aspects to the new Marxist theory. Even though they do not deny the contributions of the Marxist movement, they claim that this is not enough to understand and define the situation in their time (Cevizci, 2013, p.682)

According to Kızılcılık (2015, p.60) The critical theory differs from other theories in three ways:

1. The critical theory works as a guide to people's behaviours by informing people about where their interest truly lies.
2. It is informative.
3. It does not objectify things like other scientific fields do. Instead, it is reflective (Geuss, 2002, pp.10-11).

The critical theory from modernity to enlightenment, makes criticisms on many different topics. Today, the school still exists as social sciences philosophy and the criticism of ideology.

It is significant to understand the approach of the critical theory to the enlightenment because they base their ideas about the cultural industry on it. Enlightenment is generally defined as the replacement of the myths that are thought to be static with rational thought (Kurt, 2009, p.25). It is considered to start in 17th century and rise in 18th century which is the reason why this period is called the Enlightenment Period. The renaissance and reform movements had created an environment for this movement to start and it had its differences according to the countries. Generally, the enlightenment movement brought forward the concepts of reason, individual, freedom, human rights and scientific thinking and these concepts recreated the social life (Kurt, 2009, p.25).

Bierstedt (1990, pp.19) stated four arguments to explain the enlightenment period. First, it is the interchange of the supernatural with the natural, religion with science, orders of God with the laws of nature, religious leaders with philosophers. Secondly, socially, politically and religiously, all solutions had to be based on reason guided by an experiment. Thirdly, people believed that man and society can be

perfected. Finally, human rights were respected and people were believed to have the right to be protected against the pressure and distortedness of the administrations.

Kant (1984, pp.213) is one of the most important philosophers of the Enlightenment Period. According to Kant, people have the freedom of thought especially in matters such as religion. People demand moral and political maturity and this demand is vital for it sheds light on free people's personal minds. He states that enlightenment is the rescue of people from not being able to use their own minds without consulting an outer guide. It is people's own fault to fall into this kind of a position. He states that the reason of this should not be looked for in the mind itself but in the presence of the individual who puts himself into this position. By maturity, he refers to using one's own freedom and doing his thinking on his own. His ideas differ from the other enlightenment thinkers for he puts the blame on the individual instead of the society. He holds people responsible for the situations they are in and he does not accept the excuse of them claiming themselves to be unable. A person is first responsible for himself and nothing and no one should have the right to change it. Kant blames laziness and conformism to explain why people choose to live under the hegemony of others. Besides, the social hegemony mechanisms also guide people not to use their minds freely. It is easier to have a book that thinks for them, a religion leader to replace their conscience, a doctor to make health decisions for them. As long as they can spend money, they can let someone else do the thinking which is boring and tiring. According to Kant (In Recki, 2005, pp.196-198) a despotic state power can only rise if people are convinced that freedom is not for their benefit and as a result do not attribute much significance to it. Yet the human mind is completely surrounded with dogmas, rules and social pressure.

This shows that Kant did not believe that the enlightenment had not yet been successfully applied in his time and even today it is hard to state that this accomplishment has been reached since people still cannot use their minds freely and independently.

The enlightenment thought aims the individual to work freely and creatively and use the outcome to form a richer and independent daily life for people. It promises a salvation against famine and the unexpected hit of natural disasters by dominating the nature. However, in 20th Century, militarism, death camps, the 2nd World War, nuclear

weapons showed that the outcomes of these promises are otherwise. It generated suspicions about if this ideology is destined to create a universal pressure system against its own aims. Adorno and Horkheimer's criticism mainly rises on this base (Harvey, 1999, p.26). In their book 'Dialectic of Enlightenment' their main thesis is that by its inner nature, the rationality aims to save humanity from the mythical powers and dominate the nature yet causes to turn people to myths again and from a new way of enslavement (Adorno, 2007, pp.13-14). Adorno and Horkheimer stated that the idea of enlightenment betrays its own ideals and they think this happens as a result of two reasons. Firstly, at the point the enlightenment brings reason, the individual is erased. Reason is only defined with the tools that help to reach aims and this causes a new form of domination in which an individual's mind is captured by the whole. As a result, an individual cannot cross the lines the system draws. The most powerful tool of it is the cultural industry (Dellaloglu, 2001, p.20).

In Horkheimer's (2005, p.69) book 'Eclipse of Reason' the concept of reason is handled in two ways which are objective and subjective. The objective reason does not only exist in the individual's mind. It exists in relations between classes, social foundations and in nature itself. The idea of creating an objective reason has the aim of forming a hierarchy that covers the whole. The appropriateness of an individual's life to this reason depends on the harmony it has with this whole. With the changes happening in the western thoughts recently, Horkheimer believes that the objective reason started to be replaced by the subjective reason. Subjective reason helps the thinking mind's artificial work by classification and deduction. Subjective reason seems to be dominant which generates tools to reach the targets that are accepted without question beforehand. Subjective reasons, taking the throne of the objective reason penetrated to all concepts in time and no reality is seen to be reasoning by itself. The main concepts and terms lost their meanings and became simply like empty shells. These concepts are justice, equality, happiness and so on. Subjective reasoning accepts them as targets but there is not a rationality that binds them to reality anymore.

According to Slater (1998, pp.32-33) capitalism creates the perception that reality is supernatural and it cannot be changed. Even though enlightenment rose from the point of rejecting mythical powers and faith, this perception creates a return to them. The capitalism, to remain its presence goes back instead of moving forward. Capitalism which used to be an ideal that promised moving forward, justice, humanity and equality

taking down the feudal system that came before it, does not obtain these ideals anymore but rejects them. This is because if these ideals actually happen, this would mean the end of the capitalist system (Slater, 1998, p.206). For example, the scientific advancements let the atom to be understood yet this knowledge is used in the creation of atom bombs. Another example is that people are enslaved by the technological production tools. The social groups that owns these production tools are given the right to dominate the rest of the society without question (Horkheimer&Adorno, 1995, p.15) When the meaning is extracted from concepts, people start to accept things without question. This causes a lot of problems. For example, the concept of democracy is being used to start wars, people accept it because they do not question the meaning. They just accept the concept as holy (Kurt, 2009, p.38).

Another problem Adorno points out is that enlightenment separates the individual and nature very shaply. While myths claim that people are subjugated to nature, enlightenment claims otherwise and subjugates nature to people. This seperation, caused to believe that nature is an outer factor, like an object even though people are in fact a part of the nature. The consequences of things that happen to nature, affects people as well (Dellaloglu, 2001, p.21).

As enlightenment looked like moving forward, Horkheimer and Adorno believed that this is just an illusion because as the society moves forward, people are destroyed. Individual is left with no power against the economical powers. These economical powers raise the level of people's hegemony on nature very high. Individual becomes invisible next to the machine he-she uses and this gives him-her income. As the number of the commodity that is presented to them rises, so does the incapability of the people and they get more apt to be dominated. As reason becomes a cultural commodity and given to people for consumption, it dissolves. The flood of information and ornamented fun, makes people sillier and more intelligent at the same time in different ways (Horkheimer&Adorno, 1995, p.15).

Here it is understood that Adorno and Horkheimer, supports the technological and scientific advancements yet they also claim that economy becomes a huge power with this which is no longer used for the benefit of societies and people. The economical power is under the hegemony of certain groups in the society and the individual is left without power and unorganized. Because of the welfare, criticism and reaction levels

go down. As a result, reason that the enlightenment puts a lot of emphasis on, ends up causing a hypocrite reality by missing its main target.

The term culture industry first appears in the book of Horkheimer and Adorno called: 'The Dialectic of the Enlightenment'. Here, it is stated that culture industry works to spread the hegemony of capitalism, to turn the cultural storytellings of people into commodities using technology and how reason becomes a tool for all of this (Mutlu, 2005, p.227). According to Adorno and Horkheimer who criticized totalitarian regimes and tendencies, culture has a role in reinforcing the capitalism to move away from humanity and this makes it a key concept to explain the existence and durability of this ideology. The claim that culture as a term covers lots of things such as movies, radio, magazines, art galleries, big buildings of business, houses and more. The international capital has the power to define all of these. For example, cinema does not need to pretend to be art anymore because people accept that it is a part of a business plan. This means culture industry has been accepted by people without a necessity to cover itself. A little criticism against it, is allowed within the boundaries that can be kept under control. When the boundaries of control are forced, system provides alternatives which are unaffordable to be a real rival to it (Kejanlıoğlu, 2005, p.185). All cultural commodities such as movies, radio, magazines and so on, unite and work together to form a similarity. All of these speak with a single voice as a whole and within the each part. Cultural production is now accepted to be a part of the capitalist economy. The power of culture industry depends on the persuasion of people that there is not an actual alternative (Bernstein, 2007, p.19). At this point, the culture industry's effects on the society which are applied through the mass media should be thoroughly analysed.

Mass communication devices stand for devices that aim to inform, educate and entertain people and reaches a specific audience continuously. Newspapers, magazine, television, radio and cinema are all examples of mass communication devices. They all transmit the information to the audience at a high speed. Also, everyone can reach them. However, this is also temporary because it is produced to be consumed by the audience fast (Wright, 1959, p.15). They have many missions in societies in terms of culture, economy, politics, education, entertainment and so on. Having such significant missions also provides them with great power. This power is so big that after the

executive, legislative and judicial powers it is considered to be the 4th power (Kurt, 2009, p.44).

According to Mc Quail (2010, p.80), the mission of mass communication devices can be grouped in five. Firstly, these devices are responsible to provide information about the happenings in the society and all around the world, the innovations and show the power relations. Secondly, they are to interpret and make comments on the existing situations to attribute meanings in light of the existing rules and sovereignty. Thirdly, they explain the dominant culture and get to know the subcultures and new cultural achievements to preserve the common sense on values. Next, to provide opportunity to have fun, relax and have consolation to relieve the daily pressure. Finally, for politics, religion or economy guide people to take action (Mc Quail, 2010, p.80). These missions become a trigger of the culture industry which is criticized by Adorno and Horkheimer. As the owners of the capital owns mass media devices, this is now an expression of the hegemony and a tool to maintain its presence (Erdogan&Alemdar, 1990, p.194).

It is true that mass communication devices shorten the distance between people. People can communicate faster thanks to the technological advancements of 20th Century. Internet, telephone and television has the power to bring people together even if they are geographically far away. However, mass media devices also mix, art, philosophy, religion and trade in a harmonic way and turns them into a way of commercialism. Today, even music is a form of trade. The only thing that matters is the trade value of things and the rest becomes less in value (Marcuse, 1975, p.76).

According to Adorno (2007, p.55), when films became with sound, audience was aimed to find a parallelism between the real life and the life presented in the film. This created a decline in the imagination of the audience. Adorno believes that this is no longer a matter of psychology because it is very clear that cultural commodities which are the characteristic products of cultural industry, by nature paralyzes the imagination and critical thinking talents of its audience. As technology penetrates in the lives of everyone since 20th Century, cultural products are designed to be understood fast by observation yet for the events that pass through so fast to be caught they do not let the audience to stop and think about it (Adorno, 2007, p.56).

Having this sort of a guiding power, mass media devices, can take people's attention to specific focuses, problems and solutions. They lead the audience to behave parallel to the benefits of the groups in power. This way they set the behavior of big groups. They are entertaining and relaxing they are not rejected by the audience and this makes it easier for the society to be guided. These products can be planned and controlled easily as well which is another factor that makes the people who holds the control of the mass communication devices under their possession even more powerful (Alemdar&Erdogan, 1990, p.96).

The main mission of mass media devices is transmitting the information to masses as fast as possible. The key point to be understood here is that doing this transmission, the information is being chosen from lots of information that exists. Moreover, this chosen information is transmitted to the audience in a way that is chosen by the people who control these devices prefer (Kurt, 2009, p.47).

As a result, the cultural products are now simply commodities to be sold or bought. Their value is evaluated by their value in trade. They cannot be produced independently which results in the production to have certain aims and strategies leading to the benefit of certain social classes and groups. Rules of capitalism penetrate in culture through these processes. Culture becomes a market and kept in control by the social classes that own capital.

The standardization of culture products and the rationalization of the distribution processes are the two main processes of the culture industry. The administration of the dominant system standardizes the culture products and advertisements rationalise the distribution techniques.

John Berger (2005, p.129) states that no society in history has ever been exposed to such an enormous pile of images and messages. He explains that these images and messages are spread through advertisements, and because of this density and repetition, this becomes a habit which makes it to be considered natural. According to Berger, people are used to advertisement images so much that they do not pay attention to their effects on them. It is seen like climate, a completely normal phenomenon. The culture industry of Adorno depends on advertisements and they are generally accepted to be beneficial for economy emphasizes Berger. This perception mainly rises on the idea that advertisements are related to independence. The hidden truth here is that this

independence is not the independence of the individual or society but independence to consume. There is a fraud here in the belief that advertisements present a freedom to the consumer to choose, and the producer to be initiative. An advertisement tries to persuade people to use this cream or that cream, this car or that car however the main message in all advertisements is that people should buy something to make their lives richer even though buying that product makes you poorer than before (Berger, 2005, p.129).

According to Adorno (2001, pp.151-168), in 20th Century people has lost their ability to evaluate, interpret the social life and make an effort to change things for better or even dream about it. The generation of this era are passivized they simply accept what the system offers them. Furthermore, they embrace the system and become totally senseless towards criticism.

Adorno (2007, p.56) has a pessimistic approach and he states that industrial society will always have power on people. According to this idea, even if the society fights severe poverty people will continue their consuming behavior. Each and every product is a small part of a huge economical system. For example, a single movie can bear certain sociological effects that can be generalized to whole movies. Cultural industry, inevitably, recreates the system in each and every part of it.

For people to take on the roles as consumers culture industry uses entertainment. Instincts that should be triggered by art are triggered via sexuality. Even humour is no longer related with real happiness. These cultural commodities make people forget the problems they suffer in society and in business life. They make people relax until they fell ready to continue their duties within the system. There is such a consuming pressure that it does not simply argue that needs can only be satisfied by consumption but also if needs are not being satisfied by this industry cannot be satisfied any other way (Atiker, 1998, p.55). Culture industry, also forces the high and low forms of art to be combined to one another but this does not bring a better result for either of them. High art loses its seriousness and low art is purified from its rioting elements (Adorno, 1990, p.110). When something new arises in this system, it is always the same things with a new outlook.

According to Adorno and Horkheimer (In Spurk, 2008, pp.30-31) understanding the political explanations of the tragic events of the era is not enough. It is also

significant to understand the individual. The children of the middle class families do not learn anything about the possibility of changing the world. They think that it is natural to live by adapting the existing system and it is the only way. The situation of the labour class families children is not so different from them as well. For them to realize this problem, they should learn the theories but this will not be enough by itself. They should also get rid of all the pressure of the social life. However, the recreating mechanism of the culture industry makes it harder for them to realize this for it imposes everyone how to behave (Adorno, 1990, p.91).

On the one hand the system makes people believe that they are unique and invaluable, but on the other hand this individualism is not real. This is because the rules to be unique and invaluable are set by the system. For example, people buy certain clothes because the system makes them believe it is what unique people wear. However, these clothes are simply new fashion waves that are also parts of the culture industry (Kurt, 2009, pp.53).

Under these circumstances individuals lose their ability to think freely. They cannot be against the system or critical about it. These individuals are also recreated as small parts of this big system. This is not done by open threatenings. This is done by making people believe that there is no other way and this kind of an adaptation is simply a necessity.

Adorno and Horkheimer (1995, p.119) state that big companies domain the system and these companies now have control over lots of other work areas. Considering the power of mass media, it makes sense that these companies want to add them into their control area. This helps them to guide the messages people get to their own benefit. These are not simply natural results of the technological advancements but they are the proof of the capital's making benefit over the technological advancements. Especially after 1980's the understanding of globalization as the end of borders between nations and as a result the expectation to have a stronger and more effective social, economical and cultural bond between the nations ended up creating the idea that culture is a commodity that can be bought and sold. According to Adorno (2005, p.45), culture industry do not produce products that are turned into commodities. In fact, the products that the culture industry produces are designed for trading purposes from the beginning. Their aim is not really satisfying people's needs. Like all the other

commodities they also strengthen the ideology behind this system. Individual's needs are set by the system and people start making decisions guided by outer powers. They all listen to the same music, they think the same, they make interpretations and comments the same ways, they even feel the same about similar events. They are no longer individuals. They become simply a part of the whole.

Individuals, trying to escape from a mechanical world for example: the business life, dives into another mechanical world which is culture industry. Cultural industry sees entertainment as amusement. It is simply a preparation for work (Bozkurt, 1995, p.176). When individuals consume these products, they are presented commodities that are specifically designed to help them to be more efficient in their work life. They are mostly simple and predictable. All the emotions and reactions of people are predicted beforehand. The strength that they need to exist in the system is provided by the system itself. Other than that, all the mental effort, creative and independent thinking are excluded because they are considered to be tiring (Kurt, 2009, p.59).

According to Adorno and Horkheimer (1996, p.23), cultural industry does not like differences as well. For example, best-seller scenarios which are known ways to get attention of the masses, have so little chance to find a place in it. On the one hand, it expects originality but on the other hand it expects to be well-known. This contrast creates an illusion that people are given lots of different alternatives to choose from yet in the end under the labels of new and unique they are all the same (Adorno, 1996, p.23).

Consumers are so bounded by the system that they show no resistance to it. Moreover, as the administered usually takes the morals that are imposed to them by the administrations, these people who are misguided by the system embrace the system. Masses accept the desires of the authorities; they support the system that turns them into slaves. As people think of themselves as not worthy and less in value, they take their parts in the system (Adorno, 1996, p.22-23).

Connerton (1999, p.46) states that collective memory is shaped by visual, semantic and auditory coding. Here, collective memory stands for remembering the past together as a society but it does not mean experiencing past together. This can be achieved by the stories being told by former generations. However, this can also be achieved by the consumption of media products which are more mediated, indirect

ways of transferring knowledge and experiences. While traditional and verbal societies create a memory that is more visual and auditory, in societies that have written cultures semantic coding is more dominantly observed. In these semantic areas biographical and historical experiences are maintained. However, this maintaining is selective. What will be remembered and what will be forgotten is set according to the individual's and society's whole experience. This maintaining results in the achievable social information that can be transferred from generation to generation (Berger&Luckman, 2008, p.61). Media products provide the material for these coding mechanisms and set their quality. Especially in today's society in which people experience most of the things via media products, collective memory is mostly designed by mass media (Fentress&Wickham, 1992, p.59). Such collective memory is the core of national identities. It links different generations that creates an image of continuity and it justifies the existing socio-political system (Gross, 2002, p.342). Bilgin (2008, p. 36) explains that collective memory is usually is not left to its natural path because it can be used to add a historical spirit to the identity that are tried to be formed by nations. For this reason, states impose the official collective memories they create to the subgroups. Just like today, the past is also homogenized. According to Licata, Klein and Gely (In Bilgin, 2008,39) media provides stories to members of groups information about who they are, where they come from and where they lead to. These stories raises the ingroups and marginalizes the outgroups. There seems to be a similarity with the interpretation of intergroup stereotype packages and this for it also explains how stereotypes are attributed different levels of warmth and competence based on if the groups they represent are considered to be ingroup or outgroup (Simon, 2011, p. 64)

Narrowing down the topic to children's narratives, Öcel emphasizes that it is important to differentiate the narratives that position children as a way of making profit (Öcel, 2002, p. 207). A children's narrative is a narrative that is by narration, plot and in all other aspects designed for children's perception. There are four elements that makes a narrative to be perceived as a children's narrative. These are narratives that bear children's image, narratives with child actors or actrists, childish narratives (based on its topic and ways of narration) and narratives that target children as audience (Öcel, 2002, p. 249).

When people look at the recent situation of the children's publishing houses, they see that big media companies started to dominate the market which lead to the production of industrial children narratives.

Over the past 10 to 15 years, the big media companies have purchased the children's publishing houses, incorporating the houses into their media conglomerate of news and entertainment businesses. The significance of these takeovers is exhibited in the quality and types of children's books being published. Considerable emphasis on the licensing and branding of book and television characters has resulted in a plethora of licensed-character products (Naidoo & Bryant, 2006, 130).

This shows that due to the the industrialization of children's narratives, the quality is not the priority of the companies anymore. They prefer creating brands and licenced characters instead of imposing positive morals to the youth.

While Öcel (2002, p. 207) gives Disney as an example to the industrialization of children's narratives, the documentary called Mickey Mouse Monopoly (n.d.) analyzes products of the media company in detail in these terms. In criticizes the company for imposing negative morals to young people's minds. For example in Disney cartoons that are analyzed, Latino's are shown as hichikers and they are depicted as dogs that get even more loyal as they are humiliated by American's. Illustrations of African American's are shown as crows that make hip hop dance and monkeys that sing a song with lyrics such as "I want to be a man like you". Asians are cunning manipulative cats and Arabs are so cruel that they cut a princess's hand just because she gives an apple to a hungry boy. However the western, middle class man is depicted as someone who tames wild others, makes others civilized. These are all examples of popular racist stereotypifications. Also, female stereotypes are imposed in a magical kingdom package that charms children who cannot judge these women thinking they do not look like real women and take them as models.

So, it is understood that the industrialization of culture is a threat even for adults who are less vulnerable in terms of being affected when compared to children. When it targets children the problem becomes even bigger. Öcel (2002, p. 247) states that for

media companies, the main importance is upon the children's consumption of the media product. Moreover, children are expected to consume other products about that media product after watching it. This provides a huge market hence it is vital for film producers. These producers offers films that give people a chance to run away from real life. Children entering this artificial world where there are no real problems generate expectations but they do not do anything to achieve them. With frequent exposure to such media products, children start to identify with them permanently and their balance gets affected. These people grow up as individuals who can neither stop their unlimited expectations nor achieve them. They become consumers and they recreate this system continuously.

Thus, how should a good media content for children and adolescents be like? It is understood that it should not be designed specifically by seeing children as consumers. "Various researchers and educators have generated lists of criteria for "good children's literature. Essentially, they all agree that children need books that are accurate and insightful, aesthetically pleasing, and free of stereotypes or negative cultural representations" (Naidoo & Bryant, 2006, p. 130).

Kortenhaus and Demarest (1993, pp. 219-232) said that most children's books on the market historically presented females and males in a stereotyped way. Sexism is observed as one of the following: a. the idealization of the women in traditional female roles. b. women are viewed as delicate beings and they are represented to require protection. c. women are shown as overly romantic (Diekmann&Murnen, 2004, p. 373). For example in fairy tales, a prince falls in love with a beautiful woman who happily cooks, cleans, sews which are representations of the traditional roles given to females. The prince rescues the delicate female character from danger or harm and they live happily ever after which is overly romantic. Even the non-sexist books which are written to break these stereotypes are found to portray female characters having stereotypically female characteristics. The only difference is in such books female characters are attributed some stereotypical male characteristics as well. Sadly, such books failed to show male characters adopting many stereotypical female characteristics and roles (Diekmann& Murnen, 2004, p. 380).

Apart from gender stereotypes, children's books are observed to contain different kinds of stereotypes as well. For example, the content of literature and text

books are seen to be stories of white characters. In 1980's only less than 1% of books had African American characters. Moreover, people from different ethnic roots were portrayed even less. By 1990's this number increased to 2% (Reimer, 1992, pp.14-21). It can be said that this number is still not enough to indicate racial equality.

Apart from books, newspaper comics also rarely represent minorities and they usually bear stereotypes (Kirsh, 2010, p. 111). A study by Glascock and Preston-Schreck (2004, pp.423-431) has shown that in newspaper comics female characters were two times more likely than males to be married or to be shown with children, in household activities which is consistent with gender stereotypes. This study also showed that males are depicted with jobs or doing yard work. While women are depicted to be verbally aggressive in line with the nagging housewife stereotype, men are depicted to act physically aggressive. Glascock and Preston Schreck (2004, pp.423-431) also found evidence that 96% of comic strip characters are white, 2.5% are African American, and only 1.5% are Asians, Latinos and Native Americans. They also put forward that minorities are usually shown in blue collar works.

Studies have also shown that in cartoons, male characters outnumber female characters and males are portrayed to have leadership qualities, emotionally restrained character and physically aggressive more than females (Streicher, 1974, 125-129). More specific studies put forward that gender stereotypification varies according to the genre of cartoons. Leaper, Breed, Hoffman and Perlman (2002, pp.1653-1662) found that males outnumber females only in traditional adventure cartoons and comedy cartoons. However, in educational, family and non-traditional adventure cartoons, this does not apply. Racial stereotyping seems to be another problematic of cartoons. Towbin and colleagues (2003, pp.19-44) analyzed 26 Disney and Dreamworks cartoons and they have found that marginalized racial groups are being portrayed in negative stereotypical ways. Also, Klein and Shiffman's (2006, pp.163-182) study has shown that in short cartoons (20 minutes or less) Asian characters occur only 1.7%, Latinos 2.4%, Native Americans 1.5%, African Americans 0.3%.

In commercials, the situation does not change much. Davis (2003, pp. 407-424) explained that for over 30 years, males have consistently appeared more than females in commercials directed at children. However, Stern and Mastro (2004, pp. 215-236) explained that when products are being marketed to adolescents the two genders have

similar proportions. Jennings and Wartella's (2007, p.10) study focused on the content of commercials. They have found that in commercials of toys that are related to competition and independence males are under the spotlight while in commercials related to emotions and relationships females are preferred. An interesting detail which was put forward by Gunter et. al. (2005, p. 23) is that while boy actors can play both in commercials of toys marketed mainly to boys and girls, girl actresses play only in commercials directed at girls. This situation is linked to the idea that while girls might be interested in buying products that are mainly presented to boys, boys strictly avoid buying products marketed for girls. The issue of race looks a bit better at first glance in commercials because Li-Vollmer (2002, pp.207-228) has found that in 19% of commercials, African Americans do exist. However, the percentages of other races are still under 3%. Moreover, the study has also found that even if people of other races do exist in commercials, they simply colour the background and make a crowd. The primary speakers are 86% whites. When African Americans have a role, they are likely to be athletes or musicians and Latinos only exist in commercials of restaurants. Another interesting finding is that people from different races are virtually absent from commercials of hygiene products. This shows that even though in commercials the situation seems to be better in terms of racial stereotyping, this is just an illusion which can be linked to the desire to sell products to people from all races. Racial inequality still exist under the surface.

Studies about stereotypes in prime time television shows which target the youth show that male characters speak more often and they are more physically aggressive. The findings also show that male and female characters appear in a wide range of occupations. But professions such as doctors, lawyers, elected officials, firefighters, law enforcement officers and CEOs are more commonly male than female while low status jobs and domestic responsibilities are more commonly female (Signorelli, 2001, pp. 341-358). Studies also analyzed racial stereotypes on prime time television shows and found out that white people outnumber other races. Also, people of colour and people from other races are shown more negatively than whites. For example, Latinos are shown to be criminals, or in works related to crime (Greenberg et. al. 2002, pp. 79-93).

Another type of media that the youth consume is video games. Hanninger and Thompson (2004, pp. 856-865) found that 89% of video games has got playable male characters and 52% of video games has got playable female characters. Smith (2006,

pp. 57-75) said that female characters are more likely to be props, bystanders or victims of violence. He also stated that while there are some cases in which female characters take on stereotypical masculine properties, males almost never take on stereotypical feminine properties. Janz and Martis (2007, pp. 141-148) made a research about racial stereotypes in video games and they found out that characters in video games are %60-70 white. African Americans appear %20 of video games, %7-9 are Asians and 2-3% are Latinos. Also, it is important to note that when minorities do occur in video games they are usually portrayed as street thugs, athletes, victims and criminals.

Internet is a portal in which the youth are exposed to stereotyping but it is also a place which can help the youth learn about cultural prejudices and beliefs (Tynes, 2007, pp.1312-1320). Not enough is known about stereotypes on the internet but there are more than 7000 extremist websites which spread sexist, racist or such hateful ideologies and they are easily accessible by the youth which seems depressing (Simon Wiesental Center, 2007).

2.2.2. The effects of media on children

In the former part, it has been shown that children's media is being industrialized. Under the circumstances, it is important to know how does their constant exposure to this kind of a media affect children? In this part, media effect theories which aim to shed light on the issue will be discussed.

Starting from 1700's, media has been thought to influence its young consumers negatively (Starker, 1989). The first empirical researches also showed youth had been affected primarily negatively by media (Jowett, Jarvie & Fuller, 1996). However, Starker (1989) thought that these negative effects are not mentioned until the media became popular. In other words, as a medium's popularity rises, so too does the perceived power and negative influence on youth. For example, between the years 1950 and 1980 television was thought to be the primary negative influence of youth because it was very popular (US. Surgeon General's Advisory Committee, 1972). But between the 1990 and 2000, video games became popular and they become the most important threat to the good behaviour of youth (Anderson, 2000).

Kirsh (2010, p. 3) states that media is neither good nor bad. The content of media is the thing that affects the consumer youth. Whether good or bad, there is only one simple conclusion that can be drawn from all the studies on this matter: Infants, children and

adolescents are being influenced by media. Media is powerful. This power can be perceived. It is a reality (Kirsh, 2010, pp.3-4).

Kirsh (2010, p. 26) states that media theories are composed of interrelated ideas. When they are put together, they can have three main accomplishments. First, they explain why specific outcomes occur as a result of media exposure. Secondly, they make predictions regarding the effects of media use on thoughts, feelings and behaviour. Thirdly, they detail the means through which the typical outcomes of media use can be controlled. In this part, these media effect theories will be discussed from a developmental perspective.

The first theory to be discussed is The Magic Bullet Theory. Sparks (2001, p. 13) explains that this theory puts forward the idea that when people consume media, they are all affected by it pretty much the same way. However, today this theory is thought to simplify the effects of media on the youth too much and many research has proven that media does not affect everyone the same way. As a result of these studies, this theory is no longer accepted to be valid (Sparks, 2001, p. 13).

The second theory to be handled under this heading is called: The Excitation Transfer. This theory explains that psychological arousal dissipates relatively slowly. When an event generates an arousal, this arousal is associated with a subsequent event. The final result of excitation transfer is an intensified level of arousal for the latter event (Zillman, 1983, pp. 215-240). For example, if a child gives twice as much a reaction to some unpleasant situation he/she encounters right after watching an action movie, this reaction can be explained with excitation transfer. This theory presents a biological mechanism to explain why media consumption can influence the emotional experiences and behaviours of the youth. However, this mechanism is active only temporarily, hence this approach is limited to explain the emotional impacts that occur shortly after the media has been turned off (Kirsh, 2010, p. 28). Thus, in this study which focuses more on long term affects of angel and demon stereotypes, it will not be useful.

Another theory is called the cultivation perspective. According to Gerbner, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli (1994, pp.17-41) media is like a clay artist. Like an artist molding clay and shaping it, media can slowly shape the reality of its consumers. This theory also claims that all audiences are affected by the media pretty much the same way. However, the difference of this theory and the magic bullet theory is that according to

the cultivation perspective this process takes time. This theory puts forward two terms to explain this process. Mainstreaming and resonance. Mainstreaming refers to the situation in which heavy media consumers start building a reality based on what is presented to them on media rather than the real life experiences they have. Furthermore, resonance stands for the situation when real life increases these affects of media. As a result, with mainstream and resonance, people start to get influenced by media messages and media shapes the reality. However, the occurrence of resonance requires a similarity between an individual's real life experiences and those displayed on media. For cultivation to occur, the same content of media should be displayed by big number of audiences. Thus, this perspective is usually used to explain the effects of television and such largely consumed media types.

Shrum and Bischak (2001, pp. 187-215) claims that Gerbner's cultivation theory is based on three information-processing heuristics. These are the availability heuristic, the simulation heuristic and the representativeness heuristic. The availability heuristic shows that estimation is based on ease when the information is retrieved from memory. If an event is easily remembered, it is perceived as more frequently than others that were harder to remember. Accordingly, events that are being commonly observed on TV become salient and they can be easily remembered. Secondly, the representative heuristics is about the similarity of an event with its prototype which affects estimation. If an event has got resemblance to its prototype that event is perceived to be more probable. Thirdly, simulation heuristic suggests that events that can be imagined easily are thought to have a higher chance to occur. (Tversky&Kahneman, 2005, p. 13).

Kirsh (2010, p. 30) states that 'the cultivation effect works because media-based content creates memories, reinforces engrained memories, and makes existing meories more readily avaiable to use. In turn, through the heuristics mentioned above, estimates of occurance and probability of the reel world tend to match those portrayed in the 'reel world''.

Another media effect theory to be discussed here is called 'priming'. Kirsh (2010, p. 30) explains priming as a readying process. Before priming an information can be inaccessible. But after priming, it becomes immediately available. Media may prime related networks of concepts, thoughts and feelings. But it should be noted that priming does not activate one single network. It activates many networks at the same

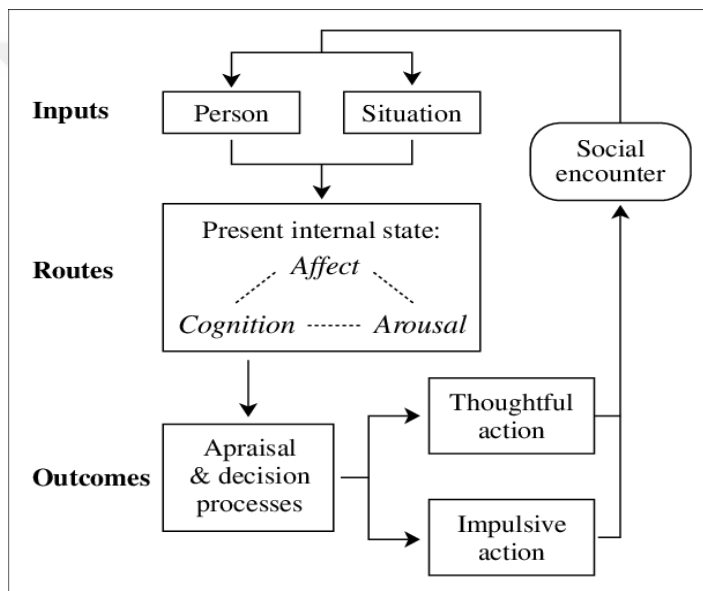
time. Also, as the usage rates of a network goes high, it becomes more likely for those networks to be activated in the future. With overuse, there is even a chance to make networks cronically active (Dodge, 1986, p. 18). To sample it from this study, angels to have blonde hair in most depictions of media, activates goodness and blonde hair networks at the same time. Being exposed to this depiction chronically in media, goodness network can be matched with blonde hair network in perceptions of the youth and cultivate a reality. In this study, when students are asked to depict 'goodness' or 'badness' in human form, they are tend to depict the networks these concepts activate in their minds. Thus, this study aims to shed light on the cultivated networks of goodness and badness by media on teenagers which makes this approach significant for the research.

Another theory to be explained here is called Script Theory. This theory suggests that all films, comics, tv shows and video games are based on scripts. Also, in real life, children and teenagers use cognitive scripts as well. These cognitive scripts set the expectation about what to happen at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of an interpersonal interaction such as a football game or a date. These scripts provide information about the appropriateness of a behaviour. For example, if the pizza is late it is optional to tip the deliverer (Huesmann, 1986, pp. 125-139). Cognitive scripts are formed through observational learning and direct experience. Media is also a factor that can form scripts in teenagers' minds. Once they are formed, they are resistant to change. Media forms scripts that the youth can use to form scripts which enables them to use to interact with the World. Hence, according to this theory, all factors –including media– affect the behaviour of the youth indirectly. (Kirsh, 2010, p. 35) There are many scripts the youth can choose from during their social lives. During the process of choosing a script these factors affect them: 1. Content of the script, its similarities and differences from the situation. 2. Decisions regarding the script appropriateness 3. The possible results of using the script 4. Whether or not it is socially acceptable (Huesmann, 1986, pp. 125-139). In this study this theory is important to understand how stereotypical scripts about goodness and badness are formed in teenager's minds and how it secretly lead them to recreate these scripts in their own creative work. Also, this study may shed light on different scripts about the concepts of goodness and badness in teenager's minds and how they relate to the popular scripts on media.

Another theory to be handled here is Universal Media Model. This theory is an applied version of Anderson and Bushman's (2002, pp.27-51) general aggression model. General Aggression Model claims that input variables, routes and outcomes cyclically interact to affect aggression. Universal Media Model explains the behaviour this way as well. This theory, combines all the elements in other theories –except for the magic bullet theory-. The general aggression model is explained in the chart below (See Figure 1):

Figure 1

Flowchart of general aggression model



Note. from Anderson, C.A. & Bushman, B.J. (2002) *Human aggression*. Annual Review of Psychology, 53, 27-51.

To explain in detail, input variables are created by person and situational variables. Person variables are composed of person based characteristics. These characteristics set a person's preparedness to act in a specified way. This variable consists of preexisting biological factors, attitudes, beliefs, personality characteristics and scripts. On the other hand, situational variables are context dependent. They refer to environment based interactions. When the youth changes the setting, the situational variables change but personal variables remain the same. These variables affect the children and the teenager's behaviour in three ways which are affective, arousal and cognitive. Affective route refers to the moods and emotions evoked as a result of the

input variables. The arousal route refers to current levels of psychological arousal and the cognitive route involves the priming and creation of thoughts, scripts and networks associated with the input variables. These three routes are interconnected (Kirsh, 2010, p. 38).

The decision to enact a behavior occurs after the information is evaluated by an appraisal process which can be immediate or thoughtful. The immediate appraisal processes assesses three factors: The emotions, intentions, and aims of the involving parties. Furthermore, the immediate appraisal process is automatic, not conscious. If the outcome of the appraisal is not checked (e.g. because of the lack of resources), impulsive action is expected. However, if resources are enough and if the outcome of the decisions which are made due to the initial appraisal is not satisfactory, or if important decisions are to be made, a reappraisal is expected. ... When the reappraisal process results in a behaviour it is called: *thoughtful action*. ... Following an impulsive or thoughtful action, the current social encounter changes into an input variable for the interaction which continues. (Kirsh, 2010, p. 39).

Kirsh (2010, p.39) gives an example from the tv show for children called 'Sesame Street'. She explains that when a child is watching an episode in which the Cookie Monster looks for its lost cookies, if he-she sees her father looking for his shoe at home, the TV show acts as a situational variable. The child's input variables is expected to have a personal variable replete with prosocial scripts and a positive attitude about helping others. As a result he-she will be likely to show helping behaviour. After this, if she gets an appraisal this will act upon her personal variables and reinforces her already well-established helping scripts.

Albert Bandura's (1986,p.10) Social Learning and Social Cognitive Theories are the most important theories that can be used to explain the effects of media on children in this study. According to social learning theory behaviour is a learned response and is learned through observation. Social Cognitive theory is an extension that Bandura has done to his own study. It claims that behaviour is more a choice than a response and cognitive, emotional and motivational factors all affect it.

Albert Bandura (1977, p.22), states the significance of imitation and observation in children's learning. He claims that learning would be very hard and dangerous if people had to rely only on the effects of their own actions. But according to him,

learning is based on observation most of the time. He calls this kind of learning 'modeling'. This kind of learning has four stages. First stage is the attentional process. In this process the person attends and perceives significant features of the modeled behaviour. Models that bear more engaging qualities are paid more attention while the others are generally ignored or rejected. Second stage is the retention process. If a person cannot remember a modeled behaviour, they cannot be much influenced by it. The behaviour can be coded in a person's mind imaginally or verbally. The modeled activities are transformed into images or verbal symbols and these memory codes serve as guides for performance. Third stage is motor reproduction process. In this stage the person converts the symbolic representations into appropriate actions. Ideas are rarely transformed into correct actions without error on the first attempt. Accurate matches are usually achieved by corrective adjustments of preliminary efforts. Fourth stage is the motivational process. Bandura explains that people tend to adopt modeled behaviour if they achieve outcomes they value.

Bandura (1977, p. 52) explains that social learning by modeling is being used by media and marketing for a long time. For example how do people know that garlic keeps vampires away? Even though no one has ever encountered an actual vampire, almost everyone knows how to keep them away. This is an example of observational learning. People, by observing vampires displayed on media, learn many things about them. According to Bandura (1977, p.52) "symbolic modeling functions as the principle conveyance of innovations to widely dispersed areas. This is especially true in the early stages of the diffusion." Here, people are informed by media of new practices and their possible advantages or disadvantages. Early adopters come from those who are more exposed to media sources that give information about the innovations. Once they are introduced symbolically, through local adopters and personal communications they are disseminated to group members. However, because benefits cannot be experienced until people try the new practices and the innovations promotion lies upon the anticipated reinforcement. New ideology's and technology's advocates create expectations. They try to provide better solutions compared to the existing ways. The behaviour is displayed with rewarding effects on the host after they are internalized. For example in commercials the audience is tried to be persuaded that people's admiration can be gained by the usage of a certain shampoo. Here, the admiration is offered as a reward of the wanted behaviour. Yet, if the wanted behaviour is not

adopted, negative consequences are displayed. Characters on media that bear certain ideological qualities that are tried to be cultivated can also serve as a model.

According to Bandura (1977, p. 52), especially the youth are more apt to learn by observational learning. Also, studies about this theory has shown that children are tend to imitate what they observe. For example, a study has shown that after watching power rangers, children started imitating flying kicks and punches (Boyatzis et. al, 1995, pp. 45-55). Studies has shown that if the observer sees the model being punished as a result of his-her actions, they are tend to imitate the actions much less and also if the character faces no consequences, the behaviour is perceived to be approved of (Bandura, 1965, pp.589-595). Kirsh (2010, p.33) explains that media offers the youth lots of content that provides opportunity to learn by observing. Children observe many behaviour as they watch popular characters in media who takes rewards as a result of their actions, gets punished or face no consequences. Observational learning is stronger if the observed behaviour is being performed by individuals, youth are attracted to such as popular heroes or characters in media (Hoffner&Cantor, 1991, pp. 41-62). Besides how behaviours are learned, social learning theory also sheds light on how the acquired behaviour is maintained. There are three factors that affects the maintaining. The first one is the person's needs. If a behaviour successfully satisfies a person's needs it is likely to be maintained. The second factor is the approval of peers. If a behaviour is being approved by the individual's peers it is reinforced and maintained. Final factor is the reinforcement of media. Media, by providing a chance to observe rewards and punishments for a certain behaviour, determines whether it will be maintained or not.

Bandura (1977, p. 52), showed modeling with an experiment in which children watch adults on TV as they act violently toward a doll. These children showed an aptitude to act violently toward their own dolls when they are given a chance. This modeling mechanism may also have a role in the learning of moral behaviors. As an example, sharing might be learned by children through the observation of the people who display sharing behaviour on a tv program. Another way to teach moral behaviour to children and adolescents is direct messages. For example people on TV talking about the advantages of sharing or being honest. But researches has shown that modelling is much more effective than direct messaging (Hardy&Claborne, 2006, p. 811).

In past, it was accepted that if the model is good, it guides the viewer to goodness. If the model is bad, it brings out the badness in the viewers via viewing and purifies them. So, identification was seen as a useful thing. However recent studies put

forward that mass psychology is affectively being formed via this technique and it is very important to be aware of the messages the model aims to convey to the audience. (Öcal, 2002, p.265)

Identification is another important mechanism to affect adolescents. “Identification sometimes refers to the process by which an individual puts him- or herself in the place of a character and vicariously participates in the character’s experiences during a program. Many scholars have recognized that the process of identification can extend beyond the viewing situation. The phrase wishful identification has been used to describe this type of response, a psychological process through which an individual desires or attempts to become like another person.” (Hoffner, 2006, p. 813). Öcal (2002, p. 265) stresses that according to the studies, every child is affected by child characters in movies in a very considerable level. Also, violent and scary characters, supernatural powers and interesting characteristics affect children very deeply. Children identify with these characters they see and they try to bring them into real life either consciously or subconsciously. Teenagers who have the desire to be like celebrities, who wear and behave like them are examples of this.

But this can have certain consequences. They can end up changing their appearance and behaviour to be like them or change their life goals accordingly. For example a teenager adoring the character Cinderella can set her life goal as “getting married” and she can make her life decisions accordingly. Also violent heroes in fantasy narratives can affect moral judgements and moral reasoning of their viewers who identify with them quite easily. Moral judgment and moral reasoning are important terms about moral development. Children’s judgements about certain behaviour’s rightness and their moral reasoning which refers to their ability to explain the reasons of their judgements, creates their moral judgement. Children’s social interactions and media consumption play a key role here. Media provides salient moral lessons about the right or wrong. “Research shows that exposure to particular types of television content is associated with less advanced moral reasoning about the type of behaviors depicted (e.g., violence, sexual behaviors). For example, adolescents heavily exposed to TV shows featuring sexual indiscretions such as adultery judged similar behaviors as less bad than those with less exposure. Similarly, children who viewed more fantasy violence were more likely to believe that aggression was an acceptable solution” (Hoffner, 2006, p. 813). This shows that such representations are being models for the youth and this affects their moral development.

While the social learning theory is accepted to be a behaviour-based learning theory, Bandura has thought of it as a cognitive theory which is why he has revised his theory and put forward the social cognitive theory (Kirsh, 2010, p. 34). This revised version of Bandura (1986, p.10) suggests that behavior is explained using three key influences. These are behavioral, personal and environmental factors. Behavioral factors are related to the formerly learned behaviours. Personal factors stand for the individuals beliefs, expectations, self-perceptions, intentions and desires. Finally, environmental factors are outer influence factors such as media, friends and family members. When these three factors work together and affect a person's behaviours, thoughts and emotions, this is called reciprocal determinism. This theory indicates that when the provided media content matches the youth's inner motivations, it becomes more effective.

Like everyone having knowledge about vampires, even though they have never encountered one, everyone having an idea about the appearances of angels and demons can also be explained by Bandura's theories. Accordingly, this part of the study is theoretically related to these two theories: social learning theory and social cognitive theory.

Narrowing the topic down to stereotypes, Allport (1979, pp.76-88) starts his discussion on the stereotype development in children by asking a question: 'How is prejudice learned?' And he uses common mechanisms of learning such as: paired association, reinforcement, observation and imitation. He also states that prejudice is not simply a matter of parental teaching, blind imitation or mirroring the culture (Allport, 1979, p. 318). Later, he suggests that emotional and cognitive stages of development are also among the factors affecting children's beliefs about others. Moreover, a recent research on stereotype formation suggests the need to look beyond the individual's beliefs about others, and instead focus on majority and minority group membership of both the perceiver and the target, and in-group and out group preferences and biases (Cameron et al. 2001, pp. 118-128).

Three main stereotype formation theories are the socio-cognitive theory, the social identity theory which was later replaced by the more recent self categorization theory and the developmental intergroup theory (Davidson, 2011, p. 116).

The socio-cognitive theory claims that a child's response to others depends on his or her level of development in relation to two overlapping developmental processes. Initially, the child is dominated by affective processes associated with attachment to the

familiar or known, and a fear to the unknown. When the child's development enables more sophisticated thinking (age 7 and over) children's preferences and biases toward others changes. They show more sympathy to about the characteristics which are unique to the individual (Aboud, 1988, pp. 32-55).

On the other hand, self-categorization theory (Turner&Reynolds, 2012, pp. 399-417) has a different approach to the issue. This theory claims that prejudiced preferences reflect primarily motivational rather than cognitive considerations. Hence, prejudiced preferences are not expected to decline during middle childhood (age 7 to 12) as a result of cognitive acquisitions. Furthermore, it is likely to increase (Nesdale et. al. 2004, p. 233). Davidson (2011, p. 117) explains that according to the self-categorization theory, children who display ethnic prejudice pass through four sequential developmental phases. These are undifferentiated, ethnic awareness, ethnic preference and ethnic prejudice. Nesdale (2004, p. 233) states that in this 4 stage model, self identification occurs based on an in-group focus rather than an out group bias.

However, developmental intergroup theory (Brown and Bigler, 2002, pp. 5-25) suggests that children's reliance on stereotypes is affected by a combination of cognitive and social factors. This theory puts forward four basic principles that create the formation on stereotypes in children's development. The first principle is that social groups that are marked by perceptually salient attributes are much more likely to become the target of intergroup bias than social groups that are not marked by perceptually salient attributes. Also, membership into a group, a minority group in particular, may also affect the formation of stereotypes. In addition, linkages and associations between certain traits and behaviours to a particular group often leads to stereotypes formation in children. These links can be implicit or explicit. Bigler (1998, p. 22) explains these implicit and explicit links with an example: Suppose a child is told: 'African Americans are good at basketball' This provides an explicit link. However, if the child observes that three out of four basketball players in NBA are African American, that provides an explicit link. Finally, Bigler's (1998, p. 98) fourth principle is the interaction of multiple factors. She argues that the in case there is a combination of two or three of these factors explained above (perceptual salience, functional use, linkages) it is likely to produce intergroup stereotyping and bias.

Other than these theories, there are more general models to explain stereotype formation: Pure abstraction model and the pure exemplar model. Although these models are primarily formed with adult participants, research has shown that they may

be applied to children (Davidson, 2011, p. 119). According to the pure abstraction model, when a target individual is encountered, he or she is automatically categorized by the perceiver with all relevant stereotypes pertaining to that particular category or group subsequently activated (Hamilton et al. 1990, pp. 35-60). However, the pure exemplar model suggests that the content of stereotypes are flexible and changing because perception is dependent upon whatever exemplars are activated at that time (Smith & Zarate, 1992, pp. 3-21). Fiske (2000, pp.299-322) explains that people with low levels of experience have exemplar-based social perceptions. However, people with high levels of experience have abstraction-based social perceptions. This means when people have more experience with members of a group, subcategories of these groups are being formed. This brings the feeling that individuals are more distinct and removed from the stereotyped group. Hence, it can be said that impressions of others are formed based on the information one has beforehand about these groups or their motivation to seek out that information -or counter information- about them.

Davidson (2011, p.119) states that all these models and theories agree on one thing: 'Children's expression of negative stereotypes and prejudice is less sophisticated and often more tentative than of adults. Because children lack the emotional and verbal sophistication of adults children's prejudice does not take the form of anger or overt hostility but instead may be experienced by the child as fear, sadness or disapproval. The reactions of children may be avoidance, social exclusion, name calling or fighting.

2.2.3. Media and children's imagination regarding stereotypification

Imagination and creativity of children are other factors that are affected by media. Hence, there is a necessity to understand and elaborate these terms in deep. Imagination has been the topic of many different research areas such as psychology, philosophy and education. Firstly, Vygotsky (In Lindqvist, 2003, p. 245) states that imagination is an ability that changes the reality by taking some parts of it. Biyikli and Gülen (2018, p.1274) explains it as follows:

Things may look the same yet they mean different things to different people. Things that people sense through their five senses are interpreted cognitively and this interpretation potential of a person shows their imagination level. This interpretation assigns 'meanings.' which changes from person to person. Here, the cognitive capacity of a person, their thinking and rationality, openness to the

outer manipulations, the ability to inner-seeing and intuitive evaluation all play a role.

Even though the studies are limited on this field, the physiological roots of imagination indicates that the process of perception has an impact on imagining as well. For example, Pallasmaa (2009, p. 126) stated the perception and the imagination happens in the same areas of the human brain. Perceptions are not simply the automatical results of the five senses. There is always an aim and imagination and the perception is an interpretation of these. Another study by Edelman (2000, p. 12) claims that all perceptive actions are in fact a sort of creation.

Imagination and creativity are two terms related to one another. Biyikli and Gülen (2018, p. 1274) indicates that 'imagination is the most important characteristic of a creative person because designing a new and unique thing requires a different way of thinking.' Especially in field of psychology, the studies about geniusness and human evolution focuses on this (Simonton, 2021, p. 88). In these studies the term creativity is defined in different ways by different researchers. 'According to Galton (1869) creativity is a genetically inherited privileged and natural talent. However, according to Quetelet(1835), creativity is the measured and observed way of behaviour which results in the creation of a new product.' (In Simonton, 2001, p. 89) P Guilford (In Reisman, 2013, p. 1277) is another researcher on the topic and he states that human intelligence and creativity are related to one another. He states that this term explains how people use their knowledge and intelligence to create new ideas. Here sensitivity to problems, flexibility, innovation, synthesis, reordering, redefining, complexity, and evaluation all play a role. He also states that creativity is linked to the ability to solve problems. In this process, a new reaction is generated to a new situation. This is important in the process of designing something. The designers genetic qualities, cultural background, knowledge and such specialities let him-her to define a problem, solve it and this turns into creativity.

The studies about creativity indicated some classifications. Wallas (In Rouquette, 1973, p. 19) put forward four main phases. These are preparation, incubation, inspiration and verification. However, the recent studies developed this idea. Harris (In Rouquette, 1973, p. 19)'s phases which are more contemporary are the

determination of the need, collecting information, information processing, the design of the solutions, verification and application.

Some studies approach the issue to come up with the compounds instead of phases. For example, Andreasen (2005, p. 22) defines three compounds of creativity. The individual, the process and the product. Creativity starts with the individual, this individual handles a problem, asks a question or looks for a new perspective. Finally, when this process is completed, in other words when the problem is solved, there is a product on the stage.

Some researchers claim that the enlightenment does not occur in a single phase, it exists during the whole process in different levels (Arieti, 1976, p. 39). Here, the word enlightenment is related to the concept of imagination. The process of creativity starts with the flow of ideas which are fed by information, culture, perception and needs. Starting from the very first moment of inspiration to the production of the product, lots of different variables occur due to the firing of ideas and motivation. The designing process might be approached differently by different individuals. Different people have different solutions and evaluations about the same problem. It is clear that the thinking changes based on intelligence, memory, attention and such cognitive variables. During the imaginative processes, especially when imagination is involved, the physiological activities can shed light on how creativity is related to imagination. The imagination is effective during the whole process and it shows itself as the ability of having different perspectives thanks to the hereditary basis, observations, information and experience (Arieti 1976, p. 39).

During the process of design, imagination is seen as a force to start the motivation. It is affected by a lot of hereditary and environmental factors. These are associated with specific abilities such as talent, intelligence, memory, perception, conscious, sub-conscious, psychological potentials, intuition, awareness and inspiration. For example, some decision making processes are affected by intuition and this cannot be explained rationally. In this kind of situations, in fact, there is an activity in the brain about imagination. According to Joydeep Bhattacharya (In Lehrer, 2012, p. 49), it is possible to foresee if a person will solve an insight riddle eight seconds before it happens. In the brain's right hemisphere a continuous alpha wave rhythm foretells that. These alpha waves are very important for insight. According to Bhattacharya, when

these waves are not enough, people cannot even solve problems if they are given leads (In Lehrer, 2012, p. 49). Recent studies which are made on creative people show that there are physiological differences between them and the others. These studies put forward some concepts such as insight, awareness and intuition. Insights occur when unrelated situations crash. They happen when the places of concepts are changed, when the rules of a place are moved to other areas. According to Hume, this is the basis of imagination. The whole imagination is about the mixing of the materials our perception and experience provides for us, changing, increasing or decreasing them (In Lehrer, 2012, p. 57). According to May (1975, p. 39) awareness stands for noticing things, general information and interpretation, and active perception. Also, Roquette (2007, p. 72) explains the term intuition as the understanding of the truth without the necessity of any tool or readiness process. It happens all of a sudden when the person finds new ways and these lead to solution directly.

All these concepts, as factors bringing up imagination, affect different phases of designing process. They are all used to explain the end product of creativity truly.

A design is shaped with a unique character and artistic baseline. It should present an innovation which is new and it should have the right technical ability. Imagination guides this process, to catch a different perspective, notice, or interpret. Curiosity is the start and uniqueness is the result of this process which also consists intuition, research, getting rid of limitations and recreation. A creative process should be beyond the rules. A design emerges when technical information, aesthetical values, usefulness come together in harmony in a new product. The process mainly depends on imagination because it provides the opportunity to evaluate things from different angles. Imagination itself is affected by genetics and environmental factors. A product that only makes the daily life easier is not enough to be regarded as 'innovative' or 'creative' and these should be evaluated in different basis. (Biyikli & Gülen, 2018, p. 1277).

As the topic is narrowed down to children and the effects of media on their imagination there are different perspectives. Schramm, Lyle, and Parker (1961, p. 2) suggests that television's primary function is its contribution to the fantasy behaviour of children. Belton (2015, pp. 800-801) also agrees that television and videos push out the boundaries of their viewer's perceptions. Watching television, people can see many things which are normally impossible for them to see such as galaxies or deep water or

so on. Yet, it should be noted that all those sights are mediated which means they are carefully selected and manipulated by authors and editors. Belton (2015, p. 801) states that this positions the audience in a passive condition. The active position of the viewer remains only for a short time in the viewer's head and most of what is seen is simply forgotten. However, the construction of imagination and creativity is not a matter of such a short time period but it happens at a later point when the viewer starts to take part in a creative activity. Salomon (1981, pp. 89-102) emphasizes that television is an undemanding medium for children and they put little mental effort into it. They see some images and scenes there yet they do not think about it. As a result, the processing of television messages become shallow and limited. However, creativity requires determined application and after a child gets used to being a passive viewer, they start to expend little mental effort to other activities as well. All these bring suspicion to the idea that television simply contributes to the imagination of the youth. It is understood that there has to be a deeper analysis on the issue to come to a conclusion.

Contemporary research on the topic approaches the topic of imagination with an understanding that suggests imaginative response can be interpreted in a number of ways. These are creative imagination and imitative imagination (MacBeth, 1996, p. 10). A stimulus such as television can fire, capture or feed the imagination. Firing the imagination refers to sparking off a completely new image or a train of thought. On the other hand, capturing the imagination refers to one's experience of perceptions, ideas and images that are created by others. Finally, feeding the imagination refers to drawing an idea but neither wholly reproducing it nor creating something entirely unrelated, instead, adapting it to inform some activity that involves the imagination (Belton, 2015, p. 800).

In a study, Harrison and Williams (1986, p. 124) compared the originality of the ideas of children who has got no television reception and who has got television reception and the children who had no television reception scored significantly higher. However, after these children received television reception, their results dropped and equalized to the other group. In another study, Belton (2015, 806) asked middle school students to write stories and she noted that some of the children simply imitated what they saw on the screen and avoided making a deep thinking or involving some of their own ideas. For example, one student in the study wrote a story called 'Alone' which was almost the copy of the movie 'Home Alone'. The researcher's comment about the

story was ‘incoherent’ and the teacher’s comment was that ‘it barely made sense.’ Imagination usually works best when it is based on the experiences of real life and can be reinforced by class discussions, dramatic improvisation and reading (Parker, 1993, p. 132). On the other hand, watching television, children spend many hours and passive viewers and this causes them to lose their desire to perceptively explore the real World. As an example, while observing a bird in real life takes time and effort moreover it is less rewarding, one can see all kinds of birds on tv without any effort by watching the selected and edited images by professionals. This perfection and selection of television might look positive, yet it reduces children’s impulse to observe the real nature. As a result, they can not make their own observations, develop their own ideas and images based on these observations. They simply imitate what is provided to them by the media. Bettelheim (1987, p. 87) explains this by saying the deindividualized and impersonal fantasy of the mass media does not leave room to personal fantasies anymore. And what this mass media fantasy results in is called ‘a common consciousness’ by Singer and Singer (1981, p. 152). And Valkenburg and Van der Voort (1994, p.1) calls it collective memory. They state that television’s ready-made images are so widely seen and this limits the possibilities of individual, original thinking.

Another approach puts emphasis on the change of culture. Murray and Kippax (1978) explains that we are living in the culture of speed, ease, constant activity, instant gratification and sophisticated entertainment. This lowers down the tolerance for undesignated moments. Children, who have never seen a different era adapt to this culture even more than adults. Whenever they have leisure time, television and videos are always there to fill the gap. Also, due to the dangers of traffic, strangers etc. they do not roam, play and socialize beyond home. This limits their chances of invention of occupations, physical activity and autonomy. Their freedom and independence is not as much as the former generations. This increases the need for television and videos to create distraction. According to Harrison and Williams (1986, p. 124) under these circumstances, people can not come to realization that watching television involves choosing not to do other things and they develop a ‘let you entertain me’ orientation. They lose the motivation to persevere with difficult tasks. It is possible that human mind requires some boredom, lying around, quiet time alone with no distraction, to discover one’s inner World and to get more creative and imaginative. In Bruner’s (1980, p. viii)

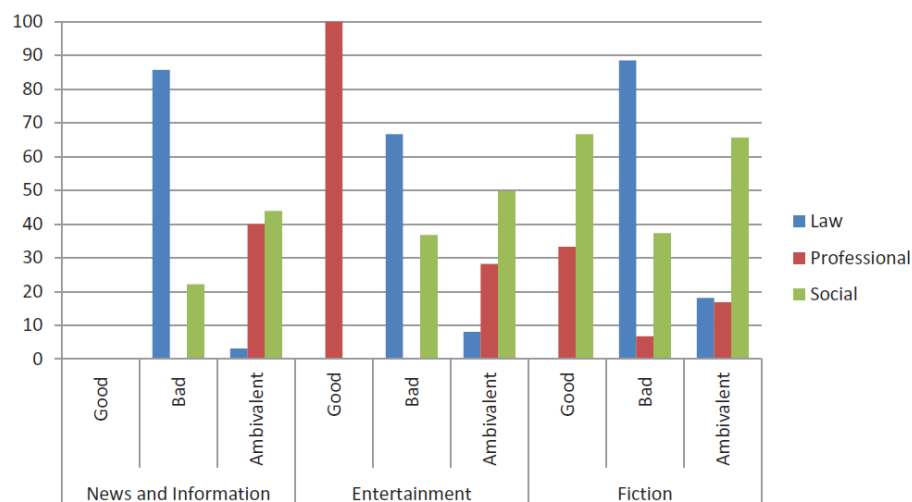
words: ‘Boredom is a powerful phenomenon. – a poison to the intellectual in large doses. And like many poisons, it is rather a benign stimulant in small doses.’

2.3. The Representation of Goodness and Badness in Media

Gerbner (1995) states that television traditionally affirms and rewards good characters and good deeds and it also has a tendency to punish bad characters to bring a sense of justice. However, in contemporary movies and series, there are also morally ambivalent characters taking the viewers and academician’s attention. Examples of these characters are Dexter, Mr. Robot, Walter White, House MD. and so on (Askar, 2013). Hijmans and Wester (2013) explains that television has plenty of traditional good and bad characters and lately, ambivalent characters as well. Television judges the actions of characters by the understanding of morality of the group they are a part of (Grabe, 2002, pp. 311-328). These can be the laws, values and norms the people in the society share. A study by Daalmans, Hijmans & Wester (2017, p. 41) looks at different genres and comes to statistical results to show how different genres handle different types of moral transgressions (Figure 2).

Figure 2

Combined overview of types of transgressions committed by persons of various moral natures per genre.



Note. by Nature Serena Daalmans, Ellen Hijmans & Fred Wester (2017) *From good to bad and everything in between: an analysis of genre differences in the representation of moral nature*. In *Journal of Media Ethics* 32 (1) 28-44

Here it can be seen that, good characters never break the law but in entertainment programs such as reality shows or talk shows they may be seen committing professional transgressions. In fiction genre, they can sometimes commit professional or social breaks but never seen to break the law. Traditional bad characters however, have very high rates to be represented as law breakers. Ambivalent characters seem to break almost all types of moral codes but social codes seem to take the leading part.

Among the other findings of Daalmans, Hijmans & Wester (2017, p. 41), “with regard to the gender differences between moral natures, the results revealed a predominant (proportional) association of women with good and ambivalent moral natures in the entertainment and fictional programming.” In other words, women are most likely to be represented as moral creatures compared to men. The results of the study also shows that men are likely to be shown with neutral morality in entertainment and news -not that much in fiction-. Daalmans, Hijmans & Wester (2017, p. 41) relates these results to the former study of Gerbner (1995, pp. 125-137) which suggests male moral authority, stereotyped gender roles and attributions.

The study also sheds light on the punishment issue. The results show that, two thirds of all transgressions are punished. Morally bad, law breakers always get a punishment however, ambivalent character’s social or professional transgressions are sometimes not punished. Especially in fictional genres, bad characters are punished more often than the other genres. It shows that fiction presents a more straightforward moral lesson than the other genres.

“Age differences between the genres indicated that overall adulthood was associated with moral ambivalence in fiction and entertainment and moral badness in fiction, while moral neutrality was the dominant category for all ages except in fiction.” (Daalmans, Hijmans & Wester (2017, p. 41)

About the issue of ethnicity the study showed that in informative genres such as news, Arabic and black people are represented morally bad, whites morally neutral. Ethnic minorities are more frequently represented as criminals than whites are and they are usually shown as villains. However, surprisingly, whites were also displayed as ambivalent characters. The researchers relate it to Todd Van der Werff’s (2013) opinion as “a movement dominated by singular White men, whose combination of ruthlessness,

inherently sympathetic nature and sexual charisma has led them to deeper and darker things.” (Daalmans, Hijmans & Wester, 2017, p. 41). In general, morality is mostly seen to be represented in relation with different colours of skin or ethnicity.

2.3.1. The history of angels and demons

This part of the study mainly focuses on angel and demon depictions. First, the religious background of the two icons is explained. Islam, Christianity and Judaism all shares the belief of angels but there are some differences in details. Angels emerge as servants of God with the birth of religions. However, the emergence of Demons takes time and there are some disagreements about them in different religions (Albert, 2010, p. 23). According to Russell (1999, 11, p. 39) in religion the good self is symbolized by God and the shadow is symbolized by the evil. The Christian and Budist ideologies define evil as the lack of goodness. It is like dualism. It defines goodness and badness as opposite poles. Badness is thought of a power with a purpose in most societies and perceived via personification. This personification is simply ‘the Devil’. Thus, it can be understood that ‘The Devil’ is the personification of the perception of enemy powers. All powers that people can not create a conscious control over causes the feeling of fear and this is perceived as evil which has got a reflection to religions. This reflection emerges in religion as opposed to God and angels and personified as demons.

The angel and demon depictions differ from one another in imagery. In angel depictions, there are some traditional elements that has been found throughout the history. These are wings, halos, musical instruments and light colour tones. Also the gender of angels have been a traditionally set element which has changed along with the industrialization of culture (Albert 2010, p. 32). Russell (1999, p. 301) explains the devil is usually depicted with black wings, horns, rake and such icolonogical elements.

Furthermore, they differ within the same category based on the era or the depiction. For example, Early Christian angel images are seen to be masculine. However, with Renaissance this tradition has changed because artists in this period were influenced by classical Greek documents such as the figure of the goddess Nike as well as the religious sources. In this period, angels are started to be portrayed as children or women and sometimes androgynous.

The dominant effeminization of angels occurred in 19th Century with the romantic movements and the industrial revolution (Albert, 2010, p. 60). The idea that angels are pure intellects have been replaced with idea that they are representatives of

the imagination. They got detached from the Christian ideology. These female angels formed the contemporary angel depictions in popular culture in which a person is directly assumed to be female if referred to as 'an angel' (Albert, 2010, p. 39)

These iconological elements are vital for this study because they provide concrete categories to look for in students' goodness and badness depictions. Thanks to these categories it can be understood if the students draw angels or demons as they are exposed to by the culture industry. Based on these categories the drawings can be analyzed quantitatively which contributes more reliability to the study. For this reason, in this section of the study, these iconological elements will be discussed in detail and tried to be understood.

2.3.1.1. The religious background of angels and demons

Islam, Christianity and Judaism all share the belief of angels but there are some differences in details. It all starts with Abraham being visited by 3 angels. According to Genesis 18:1-2 Abraham is visited by three men with no halos, wings or names. In this period, angels are not attributed much personality or characteristic. Without a story of their own, they deliver messages that are given to them. They simply follow the orders without a specific emphasis on their personal identity that differs them from other angels. When Israel became a kingdom, angels were seen as soldiers of the army of heavens. Although this army thought was present, there was no emphasis on the different ranks of angels. The Jerusalem was captured by Babylonians in 586 BC. After this historical event, many people were exiled to Babylon. This, had a huge impact on their religious beliefs and their beliefs about angels. One of the most apparent change in their belief was that the angels started to be given names and ranks. First, the seven archangel's names entered the stage and when the exile ended, so many things had changed. In this new era the hierarchy of angels were paid much attention. Every individual was believed to have assigned an angel to guard him-her. Moreover, the idea of demons started to be talked about with a special emphasis on the head of them called Satan. He was accused of being the enemy of God and the enemy of mankind. When the Christian belief emerged by the birth of Jesus, the beliefs about angels got affected by those changes in the World. Because Jesus and his first followers were Jews, the early Christian beliefs were mostly in continuity with Judaism even though the church had separated and formed a new religion. The Christian beliefs about the angels were also parallel to the Judaism. In Matthew 18:10 it is seen that Jesus explains to his

followers that every child has a guardian angel. Other than angels, he spoke about demons as well. He oftenly casted out demons from people who were claimed to be possessed by demons. During the middle ages, angels were paid an increasing attention. This can be seen in the architecture of cathedrals and in Dante's literature work. Thomas Aquinas is a very important name among the people who studied angels. He was called 'the angelic doctor' because he was interested in angels. Also, John Milton and William Blake paid a special attention to angels in their works of literature (Albert, 2010, p. 11).

In Islam, Muslims were called to follow Abraham's religion in 3:95 of Quran which indicates that this religion also shares the stories and beliefs of other Abrahamic religions such as Judaism and Christianity in its roots. This religion also involves the belief of angels. Actually, in Islam, believeing angels is among the traditional six articles. In this belief, angels are told to be servants of God who are created by God. In Quran (51:24), angels who had visited Abraham are called 'honoured guests'. Quran (3:45) also indicates that angels visited Mary to deliver her a message from heavens that she had been chosen to be the mother of Jesus. Angel's names are mentioned in Quran as well. For example, Gabriel is believed to have delivered the content of the holy book to the prophet of Islam (Quran, 2:97). Harut and Marut are the names of two other angels that are mentioned in the holy book of Islam. They are told to teach the Babylonians magic and sorcery. The Devil's name is mentioned in Quran as well however, quite differently than other religions. Quran does not describe the Devil as an angel or a human being but a Djinn(Albert 2010, p. 23).

Although angels names, ranks and stories are mentioned in different holy books, their appearance is not that clear. Christian artists are the ones who shaped their traditional depiction mostly. The reason of this is partly the reluctance of Judaism and Islam about depicting angels. Some exceptional angel images are found in Persian or Ottoman manuscripts but they are rare and not given much attention because in Islam and Judaism, images are feared to turn into objects of worshipping quite easily. In fact there has been serious concern about this in Christianity as well. The iconoclast dispute in 8th century flared up because of this. During the reformation (16th Century) in Germany and Britain, the building of statues and painting of images were a serious matter of debate. Many artwork were destroyed because of these debates and as a result, just a few number of statues and images could be maintained. However, in east and west the dominant forms of Christianity had a more sympathetic approach to sacred and

representational art. Thus, the history of angel depictions is mostly shaped by these cultures (Albert, 2010, p. 45).

In 16th Century, the spirit of Renaissance was overtaken by the Protestant reformation. The reformists had an understanding simply based on the Bible, disregarding the saints, angels, images or ornaments. The spreading of this new idea, changed the way artists work. Instead of painting church walls and Windows, they started painting personal houses with more secular themes. This brought a decline in the number of angel depictions until the 19th Century. With the romantic movement following the industrial revolution, the depiction of angels has revived (Albert, 2010, p. 48).

2.3.1.2. The emergence of demons as opposed to God and angels

In the former section, it was explained that while angels emerge as servants of God with the birth of religions, the emergence of Demons takes time and there are some disagreements about them in different religions. While Christianity sees demons as an evil form of angels, Islam sees them as Djinnns (Albert, 2010, p. 23). Russell (1999, pp.11-39) believes to understand the idea of demons, one should first understand the essence of evil on Earth.

According to Russell (1999, pp. 11-39) the definition of evil is whatever one understands from it. Even in one person's inner perception this concept does not have a balance. Evil exists everywhere, every time and in every individual. Everyone feels the defects of this world we live in. The essence of evil is causing pain to a being that is able to feel it. This pain can be physical or spiritual. When people question this, they open the door of the problem of the evil. To understand evil people should not look at numbers. For example, six million jews that were slaughtered is just a number. What people need to understand is the pain that one person went through. Otherwise people just see numbers and they become indifferent. When people see evil in an abstract form without a link with the individuals pain, it becomes deadly. People start seeing them as if they are not manmade anymore. For example the national socialism that Anne Frank was victimized for or the democracy that the child from Vietnam was murdered for is not real. The only reality is the pain children suffer. When someone focus on the reasons of the evil, it guides him-her to a dangerous path. In other words, even the Devil made itself believe that it was doing the right thing (Russell, 1999, pp. 11-39).

Evil is not just something that is done to others but it is also something that is done by people to others. It exists in every individual's inner World. It is impossible to imagine a person who has never experienced evil. It is also impossible to imagine a person who has never felt it inside. Thus, it is not simple to get rid of evil by dividing people as good ones and bad ones and killing the bad ones (Russell, 1999, pp. 11-39).

The source of evil is another problem people focus on. Some think that the source is within our primitive wild nature which evolved this way to defend us from threats in nature. However, there is not any proof that shows evil breaks out without any other reason but simply because of our genetics. Even if there were such evidence, it would not be enough to explain evil that has no link to self defence. Another approach takes the source of evil as the general conditions. Social and economical conditions, culture, family, peers etc... (Russell, 1999, pp. 11-39).

Jung and Neumann (2015, p. 10) believes that violent emotions emerge as a result of the oppression of the negative feelings. For example, when someone makes another feel angry they desire to hit that person but they either consciously or unconsciously oppress that feeling. But that negative feeling does not just go away. It stays at the unconscious level and it causes them to hate themselves, channel this hatred to others or get sick. This is called a 'shadow'. The more one presses his/her negative feelings, the darker and tenser the shadow gets. The more they keep quiet about badness, the deeper they bury it. But then it becomes a part of self and some day it comes out much bigger than it originally was. Hence, according to Jung, one is pure at the beginning. In the second phase the oppressed feelings create the shadow. In healthy people there is a third phase where the individual realizes the good and evil within and these two become one again. These three phases occur in the concept of 'God'. According to Russell (1999, pp. 11-39) in religion the good self is symbolized by God and the shadow is symbolized by the evil. The Christian and Buddhist ideologies define evil as the lack of goodness. It is like dualism. It defines goodness and badness as opposite poles. Badness is thought of as a power with a purpose in most societies and perceived via personification. This personification is simply 'the Devil'. Thus, it can be understood that 'The Devil' is the personification of the perception of enemy powers. All powers that people can not create a conscious control over causes the feeling of fear and this is perceived as evil which has got a reflection to religions. This reflection emerges in religion as opposed to God and angels and personified as demons.

2.3.1.3. The traditional iconological elements in angel depictions

In angel depictions, there are some traditional elements that have been found throughout the history. These are wings, halos, musical instruments and light colour tones. Also the gender of angels have been a traditionally set element which has changed along with the industrialization of culture.

In Christian and Jewish beliefs the idea that angels have wings were seen in the holy books before they started to be depicted this way. For example, Cherubim and Seraphim are told to have wings in Exodus 25:20 and Isaiah 6:2. Early Christian writers such as Tertullian has taken the idea one step forwards and claimed that all spirits have wings even if they are good or bad, not just Cherubim and Seraphim. Also, in Samuel 22:11 God is imagined like a charioteer who flies upon the wings of the wind. After two centuries, Quran also embraces the idea that angels have wings and not just one pair but two, three or four pairs (35:1). Furthermore, the recorded sayings of the muslim prophet, claims that archangels Gabriel and Michael have 600 pairs of wings each (Albert 2010, p. 32).

Even though the idea that angels have wings was present, the early depictions carved on objects that show angels appearing to Abraham and appearing at the tomb of Jesus are among the earliest examples of angel depictions in history and they do not represent this idea. In these depictions, angels do not have halos or wings and they are male. The tradition of depicting angels with halos and wings starts in fourth century. These images are thought to be influenced by the pagan images of Nike and Eros. From the fifth century to the present day, the standart image of angels has been depicted as a man with wings and a halo. Also, sometimes they are depicted with harps or such musical instruments even though nowhere in the holy books they are told to play harps, there are indications of horns or trumpets as signs of the end of time (Albert 2010, p. 20).

Byzantine art has a symbolic focus picturing angels without much concern with realistic representation. The Christ's and of Mary's faces are sometimes portrayed very realistically, but other figures, and especially angels,

are usually presented as flat and stylized, in brilliant colours or gold (Albert, 2010, p. 21).

At the turn of the 16th Century, masters of high renaissance such as Raphael Sanzio or Michelangelo Buonarroti painted angels but with an interest in the artistic expression more than the religious context and they worked hard to show the natural expression of form, colour, emotion and posture. Their angelic images were more realistic portrayals of children or young men with wings (Albert, 2010, p.43).

The gender of angels is another element to be analyzed in these icons about which there has been conflicting messages in different religions and in different sayings and interpretations of same religions. According to the traditional Christian view, angels are pure souls and they do not have a body (Hebrews 1:14, Luke 24:39). Also, Jesus is told to have a saying that angels do not marry (Matthew, 22:30). In Islam, there is a consensus on the idea that angels are not male or female and, they do not get married as well. In Quran, the idea of female angels is condemned (6:9, 37:150, 43:19). In Genesis 18:2 angels are described as men. Also, in Mark 16:5 Mary is told to see angels as men who are dressed in white robes. The angels in the Jewish literature are seen to have male names for example Michael or Raphael. Early Christian images are seen to be masculine as well. For example the archangel Michael is depicted in a military uniform with a male imagery which indicates his belonging to the army of God. This shows that in religions angels are dominantly considered to be genderless but their portrayals are mostly in male form (Albert, 2010, p. 60). However, with Renaissance this tradition has changed because artists in this period were influenced by classical Greek documents such as the figure of the goddess Nike as well as the religious sources. In this period, angels are started to be portrayed as children or women and sometimes androgynous.

The dominant effeminization of angels occurred in 19th Century with the romantic movements and the industrial revolution. The idea that angels are pure intellects have been replaced with idea that they are representatives of the imagination. They got detached from the Christian ideology. These female angels formed the contemporary angel depictions in popular culture in which a

person is directly assumed to be female if referred to as 'an angel' (Albert, 2010, p. 39) Michele De Doeuff (2003, pp.18-27) states that when a category loses its intellectual value, they become females. Even though angels are still popular as females, they are not intellectually respected as they once were. They are not taken so seriously and do not see cultural respect.

Kathleen Ferraro (2006, pp. 2-3) handles the issue a bit differently. She claims that this is an example of victim-offender dualism. Here, victims are seen as 'good' and offenders are seen as 'bad'. These are binary categories. One cannot exist without the other. Also, social evaluation of victims and offenders rise from cultural narratives of good and bad people. She also states that narratives about good women, usually portrays them with assumptions about sexuality, race and class. White, middle class, heterosexual, monogamous and sexually modest women are portrayed as good women. Their piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity are emphasized. Women who fit into these categories are called 'angel in the house'. On the other hand, women who do not fit into these categories are 'impure'. Angels, being symbolized as female in art and literature is related to that. They symbolize feminine chastity and obedience and their binary opposite is demons. Demons are depicted as male most of the time. The lead demon Satan is the evil contrast to a male God. However, women who do not accept the angelic qualities are usually demonized. They are portrayed as monstrous deviations from *real* womanhood. Female demons do not nurture men and children. Instead, they suck the energy from men through sexual intercourse as a vampire or kill children like Lilith, Lamia and Lulu. For example, Christian myths explain the original sin as being brought to the people by Eve, when she disobeys her husband Adam. Just like these examples, women who transgress the patriarchal codes seen as a threat to the social order and demonized. However, innocent angels and malecious demons do not exist in real world. Nevertheless, these imaginary constructs tap deep emotions that influence our perceptions and understanding. For example, when people confront a criminal case, they use these available binary codes of good and bad to judge people who are involved. People ask: Is she an angel who did all she could to protect herself and her children from a monstrous man? Or is she a demon who killed for her own pleasure and profit? (Ferraro, 2006, pp. 2-3)

Also, with the development of mass media technologies, the depictions which were once originally on the church walls became a content recreated and mass produced. With Benjamin's (In Artan, 2007, pp. 88-100) terms, this resulted in the loss of their aura and become simply commodities. Nowadays, one can see seductive female angels in perfume commercials which are characters specifically designed to motivate the audience to take place in a system of consumption. It is impossible to talk about these modern angel's traditional meaning.

2.3.1.4. The traditional iconological elements in demon depictions

Finally, Satan is another angel all three main religions talk about. Albert, (2010, p. 50) states that there seems to be a consensus in between religions in terms of their approach to demons. Firstly, they all accept the existence of such creatures. Secondly, they all mention that they are the enemies of mankind. Thirdly, none of them takes demons as evil Gods because such perception would elevate demon's importance. They are mostly seen to be fallen angels after rioting against God the ultimate good. They try to tempt humans to leave the route of God and cause their unhappiness. Yet, according to Albert (2010, p. 53) it is important to note that demon's power is limited. Not all bad in the World comes from them since that would be overestimating their powers.

Russell (1999, p. 300) states that Satan's modern depictions are usually in colour of black and red. He believes that black represents the colour of the night and death while red represents the colour of Seth from Egyptian mythology and the fire in hell. Muradova (2008, p. 67) searches for the reasons of this colour symbolism by looking at the meanings of these colours. According to Muradova, Breton speakers considered black and red to be a 'bad' colour. Faverau's phraseology points at negative qualities such as hostility, cruelty and strength. In Celtic languages red was a symbol of royal power and strength. In Irish literature it represented both male and female otherworld characters but in time it evolved to be mostly male. In oral literature, the destructive aggression of the king's power turned into demon's force and red started to symbolize the devil.

A problem that occurs in the colours of modern depictions of angels and demons comes from the black society. An article from the Independent by Philips (15 November 1997) explains the rebellion with these words:

...if you paused to take a look at the bundles of junk mail tumbling through your letterbox, amongst the offers of Christmas cards, of special gifts and of charitable emblems, you'll notice one glaring omission. Whatever colours the people come in, the angels all seem to come from Scandinavia - blonde, blue-eyed, rosy-cheeked cherubs, and resolutely Teutonic seraphim (Philips, 15 November 1997).

Although roots of these traditions was as explained by Albert (2010,21) the usage of brilliant colours to emphasize the holiness, in 21st century, this depiction does not seem fair anymore because it seems to bear a hidden meaning. "Why can't an angel be black?" asks Philips in his article and he continues with the explanation:

It may be hard for white people to grasp the awfulness of this. Most people think that the worst effects of prejudice are associated with gross racial attacks and overt job discrimination. Appealing as these are, it is the millions of everyday humiliations and slights that leave the deepest wounds on the psyche (Phillips, 15 November, 1997).

Philips (15 November 1997) complains because although no one actually knows how angels look like, Hollywood teaches everyone that they are all white, they wear white. The article explains that angels have a relation with mankind in terms of appetite and shapes yet they do not share mankind's faultiness and weakness. They are physically perfect and do not have gender problems. Thus, an angel should look like what each person desires to look like in their dreams. This dream is not the same for everyone but manufacturers of Christmas cards somehow think everyone dreams to be white skinned, blonde and blue eyed. Even in churches which are usually visited by black people seem to represent angels this way (Phillips, 15 November 1997). Thus, although the popular representation of angels are all white, there are protests raising on the issue because people think this representation affects people's identity development and causes social discrimination against all non-white groups in society. While this is handled from a skin colour perspective, races which are generally associated with dark eye and hair colour can also get affected since it is hard to see a blonde Satan depiction.

Apart from its colours, Satan and demons are usually depicted with animal qualities. Russell (1999, p. 301) states that these animals are pigs, scorpions, alligators, dogs, rats, black frogs, lizards, lions, snakes and dragons. Satan's relation to these animals has its roots in Egyptian and Mezzopotamian mythology. The depiction of Satan as a goat comes from the image of Pan. Satan's paws, hoofs, hairy body, big genitals, wings, horns and tail are inherited from its ancestors from myths.

Russell (1999, p. 301) puts more emphasis on wings, horns and rake because he thinks these qualities are not simply depictions of animals. For example, wings are seen on depictions of many Mesopotamian Gods because it represents divinity. In Hebrew tradition, wings are seen on Cherubim and Seraphim's images to emphasize their divinity as well. In Iran, Ahura Mazda is depicted flying to the sky with its powerful wings. Hermes which is the Messenger of God has got wings on its feet. Just like that horns are the symbols of power and fertility. The rake of Satan looks like Poseidon's spear which gave him power on sea, air and soil. It also looks like Kharon's stick which represents death. This rake also represents the torture being done to the souls in hell.

2.3.2. The representation and perception of good and bad characters in children's stories

Spanothymiou, Kyridis, Christodoulou & Kanatsouli (2015, p. 49) run a survey among children to understand their approach and preferences about good and bad characters in stories. %48.9 of the participants thought that good characters should have mental attributes and abilities such as being brave, cheerful, funny dynamic or brave. Only 1.4% of the children looked for beauty in a good character. The list of popular characters children like below also show the qualities they like about these characters.

Strength: Hercules, Robinson Crusoe, Batman, Peter Pan, Superman, Papernik

Decisive: Aragorn

Adorable: Tweety

Handsome/Beautiful: Harry Potter, Superman, Tinkerbelle, Minnie Mouse,
Sleeping Beauty

Funny: Nicholas, Asterix, Obelix, Sponge bob, Wimpy Kid, Pippi,
Constantina, Donald Duck, Longstocking

Brave: Hercules, Batman, Jack Sparrow

Invincible: The magician of Samarkand

Constant: Alice

Flexible: Tinkerbelle

Active: Sinbad the Sailor

A good wizard or witch: Harry Potter, Hermione

Intelligent: Peter Pan, Superman

Introverted: Batman

Adventurous: Alice, Nicholas, Constantina, Superman, Sinbad the Sailor

Rich: The Prince

In the study (Spanothymiou, Kyridis, Christodoulou & Kanatsouli, 2015, p. 51), villains are expected to have negative loads in %41. In general, badness is associated with a character who is know it all, a pain in the neck and funny. The list of popular evil characters children like below also show the qualities they like about these characters. Interestingly, the study found that there is a confusion among children regarding the semantic content of hero and villain. They seem to give same character's names for both heroes and villains such as Batman, Superman, Harry Potter or Tweety.

Foolish: Trelantonis, Goofy, Tweety, Scooby-Doo

Ugly: Alice, Pink Panther

Boring: Snow White, Batman

A wizard: Harry Potter

Evil: The witch in Hansel and Gretel, Cruella, Harry Potter, Cerberus,

A know-it-all: Robin Hood, Bugs Bunny

A pain in the neck: Barbie

Fat: Obelix

A girl: Barbie

A cheat: Trelantionis

A liar: The boy who cried wolf, Jack

Intelligent: Spiderman, The Green Shark

One who says stupid things: Nicholas' friend

One who wears black: Batman

One without a cheerful face: Voldemort

Not funny or entertaining: Tweety, Bugs Bunny

Irritable: Gemma

Always asking easy questions: Dora

Frightening to people: Dora

The one who spreads evil and kills people: Harry Potter, Voldemort

The one who wants to conquer the World by force: Voldemort

The one who tries to kill Harry Potter: Mad-Eye Moody

The one who disguises himself: Tom Sawyer

It is interesting that simply being fat, being a girl, wearing black, not having a cheerful face, being boring or foolish can all relate to badness from children's perspective. While being intelligent can relate to goodness, it can also relate to a character's badness. In addition to these findings, the study also concluded that 83% of children associated villains with males rather than females. 74% believed that most villains are poor. 56% said that villains come from other countries and villains usually have a different cultural and religious identity according to the 57% of the participants.

To look at the media references of the participants of this study, Yagasaki Light, Eros, Princess Aurora, Selena, Elsa, Harry Potter, Hawkman and Raf are traditional good characters and they are referred to by the participants during the drawings of goodness. Ryuk, Hades, Voldemort, Slenderman, Chucky and Sulfur are traditional bad characters and they are referred to during the drawings of badness. Ghost Rider and Maleficent can be two examples to be ambivalent ones. Interestingly, it is also

observed in this study that children can relate a character as good even though it's presented as bad in the original text or visa versa.



3. RESEARCH METHOD

This section explains the method, schools, participants and data collection methods in detail.

3.1. The method of the analysis

The method that is used to analyze the raw data is called categorical analysis and semiotic analysis. Categorical analysis is a subcategory of the content analysis technique which is defined as “a research technique which aims an objective and systematic definition of the context” (Tavşancıl, Aslan, 2001, p.17) This analysis technique infers hidden meanings from the open meanings of a text or communication. (Gökçe, 1995, p. 24) It also has a quantitative aspect which calculates the limits of the categorizations. But in this kind of studies quantitateness and qualitateness are not seen as contrary to each other. They are both used in harmony. (Tavşancıl, Aslan, 2001, p. 25). Also, the categorical analysis method is explained as follows:

A categorical variable has a measurement scale consisting of a set of categories. For example, political philosophy may be measured as “liberal,” “moderate,” or “conservative”; choice of accommodation might use categories “house,” “condominium,” “apartment”; a diagnostic test to detect e-mail spam might classify an incoming e-mail message as “spam” or “legitimate e-mail.” Categorical scales are pervasive in the social sciences for measuring attitudes and opinions (Agresti, 2007, p. 1).

Also Bilgin (2000, p. 21) explains categorical analysis as: “It is the division of a message into parts and the grouping of them according to categories.”

In this research the following categories are also used:

- The iconological qualities of goodness and badness,
White Wing, halo, musical instruments for goodness
Black wing, horn, rake, fire, tail for badness
- Genders of goodness and badness,
Female for goodness
Male for angel
- Colour tones of goodness and badness.
Light colour tones for goodness

Dark colour tones for badness

These categories are set according to Albert (2010) and Russell's (1999) explanations about angels and deemons. They explained the traditional iconological elements and qualities of angel and daemon stereotypes. In this study, each element in these explanations are taken as a new category. It is also important to note that angels and deemons have had different qualities in different ages and cultures. This study mainly sets its categories according to popular angel and daemon stereotypes which is seen in media after the industrial revolution.

After the categories each picture fit into are stated with the categorical analysis method, the statistics can be calculated by frequency analysis technique. Here, the researcher counts how many times a category emerges in the study. An appropriate contingency table is constructed. The frequencies are then statistically analyzed and compared by the Chi-Square technique which may or may not involve Yates or Fisher's correction operations, depending upon the frequency values (and the degree of freedom) in related contingency table.

Results are compared in terms of school types and cities. Also, the comparison of the results of student's pictures and the pictures of the popular characters in media show the rate how much they are being affected by the stereotypes in media. Along with the pictures drawn in sessions, focus group debates are also taken into consideration in order to be able to make comments on their consciousness on what they draw.

Characters that children refer to during the focus group study are as follows (For pictures of the characters go to the visuals section):

Goodness: Hawkman (a character by DC Comics), Eros (mythological character), Princess Aurora (a character by Disney), Yagami Light (from the movie Deathnote), Raf (from Angel's Friends), Selena (a character from the serial called Selena), Elsa (from Frozen) (Harry Potter (from Harry Potter).

Badness: Maleficent (a character by Disney), Ryuk (from the movie Deathnote), Sulfur (from Angel's Friends), Chucky (from the movie Chucky), Ghost Rider (from the movie Ghost Rider), Hades (a character from the serial called Selena), Slenderman (from Slenderman), Voldemort (from Harry Potter).

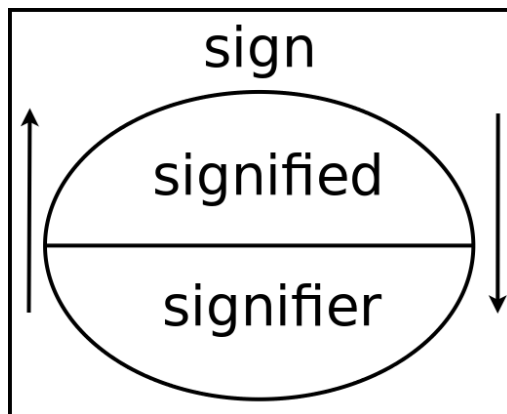
A character is accepted as good or bad not by looking at the the context it is taken from. Here, a character is considered good or bad according to the student's perceptions, for which drawing they refer to that character: goodness or badness.

Even though the categorical analysis provides quantitative and dependable data, it has some limitations as well. Looking at children's drawings from a categorical perspective causes the exclusion of many aspects of children's paintings which cannot be turned into categories. This limitation may cause to disregard some creative ideas of children.

In order to solve this limitation problem, the paintings are also analyzed with the technique of semiotic analysis. "Semiotics is a science of non-linguistic communication forms and has been designed as a general science of a number of communication forms including the natural language" (Guiraud, 1994, p.12). The layers of history and culture formed the human history (Leppert, 2002). Since the first day of their lives, people have been forming new meanings from their personal perspectives as they gather the codes of their cultural background. This cultural background is formed by images they have stored in their main memory since birth (Türkkan, 2008). "The semiotic approach has increasingly gained importance so that people, who live in a visual bombardment today, can analyze the codes included in visual culture and understand the form of visual communication" (Türkcan, 2013) pp. 600-607).

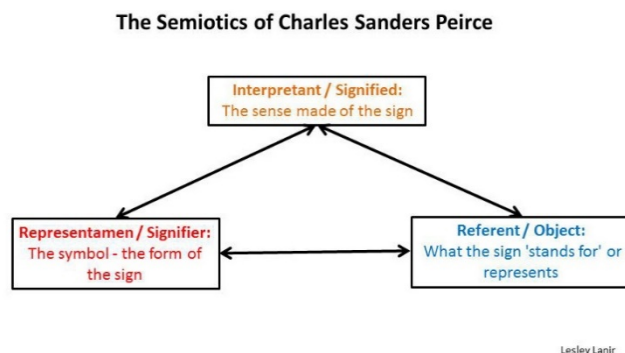
Saussure and Peirce are the first philosophers who generated a systematical approach on the traditional semiotics, the study of signs. Anything that creates a meaning or anything that can represent something else is a sign. Saussure's approach has two categories, signifier and signified. A signifier is the form of a sign. It can be word, sound or image. Signified is the represented concept or object. (Türkcan, 2013) (See Table 1)

Table 1. Sausures's semiotics



However, Peirce has another category, the interpreter. According to him, signs consist of signifier (representamen), signified (object), An interpretant (what the audience derives of the sign). Peirce also classified a signifier in three categories. These are icons, symbols and indexes. An icon has a physical resemblance to the signified like a photograph of it. An index is an evidence of the signified like showing the smoke of a fire without showing the fire but indicating that it's there. A symbol has no resemblance to the signified. (See Table 2)

Table 2. The semiotics of Charles Sanders Peirce



Note. Retrieved from <https://blogs.commonsgorgetown.edu/cctp-748-spring2018/2018/05/05/the-meaning-behind-computer-systems-a-semiotics-perspective/>

Barthes is another theoritian who work in this field. He stated there are two methods of describing a sign: connotaition and denotation. A connotation is a cultural meaning and it is attached to words. A connotation can be related to symbolic, historic

and emotional matters. However, denotation refers to explicit meanings of the words (Mudjiyanto, 2013, 77).

Other important terms are paradigm and syntagm. Paradigms are groups of signifiers or signified signs which are somehow associated. Syntagms are sign combinations and to produce some form of meaningful whole, they are put together in an organized way.

Semiology is a useful tool to identify patterns in communication. As Irvine (1987, 33-77) suggests, the Peircean semiotic tradition provides an open model for investigating the foundations of symbolic thought and the necessary structures of signs at many levels of analysis:

- the generative meaning-making principles in sign systems (individually and combined with other systems like in music and cinema/video),
- the nature of communication and information representation in interpretable -- patterns of perceptible symbols,
- the function of physical and material structures of sign systems (right down into the electronics of digital media and computing architectures),
- the symbolic foundations of cognition, learning, and knowledge,
- how a detailed semiotic model reveals the essential ways that art forms and - cultural genres are unified with scientific thought and designs for technologies by means of different ways we use symbolic thought for forming abstractions, concepts, and patterns of representation,
- the dialogic, intersubjective conditions of meaning and values in the many lived contexts and situations of communities and societies (Irvine, 1987, 33-77) .

3.2. Schools and participants

The study is conducted in four different schools, and in each school with four groups and each student group involves two girls and two boys in total of four students. So, the study involves 16 different sessions and 64 students in total. Half of them are girls, hence the results are not gender biased.

Schools are not chosen randomly. One of the schools is a private school in Istanbul, in which the families of students usually belong to the upper income level in Turkey due to the required tuitions. Second school is a state-run school in Istanbul which is usually preferred by the families of children belonging to relatively lower income level because they do not require payment. Istanbul is chosen because of its socio-

economical development rate is the highest of Turkey according to the Turkish ministry of technology and industry (Sege, 2019, p.91). The third and fourth schools are located in the city of Mardin, in south-eastern region of Turkey. Mardin is chosen due to its lower level of development based on the data provided by Turkish ministry of technology and industry (Sege, 2019, p.91). Also, Mardin's population mostly consists of Kurdish and Arabic origin. Therefore, research in these schools also provides information about different subcultural groups. In order to differentiate the results of the economical level and cultural difference third school is a private school and fourth school is a state-run school.

For ethical reasons, Ministry of Education has been applied for a permission to run the study among the students. School principles, teachers and parents of children are informed as well. -Main permission documents are included in the permissions section.- Private school's brand names and student's surnames are not revealed as well.

As a limitation of the study, it can be said that the children aren't personally asked many questions. Individually, their religious beliefs, economical or cultural backgrounds, media habits or such personal information aren't directly asked to any participant in the study due to several reasons. Firstly, the schools did not allow students to be asked such personal questions due to ethical reasons. Secondly, this study focuses on media being conveyed by a media researcher who doesn't specialize on children's psychology. Directing such questions to children requires a knowledge and expertise on children's psychology. However, the choice of the cities and school types are chosen to provide a general sense of different backgrounds to cover for this limitation as explained in the second paragraph of this section.

While selecting the students for this study, the researcher who does not have any previous contact with the students choose them for the focus groups among volunteered ones. If the students are enthusiastic and willing to participate in the study, their parents have been contacted and session time and place is settled. For practical reasons, student's own school sites are chosen for the location of the conducted study.

All participants of the study are at the stage of their early puberty. This age group is chosen because this is the stage is very critical for identity development. Erikson's (In Selçuk, 2009, pp. 58-70) theory provides the basis of this understanding:

People have the same needs in general and development occurs in phases. In every phase there is a different crisis and this crisis creates development opportunities. According to this theory children in the ages of 11-12 are in a very critical condition because this phase is the intersect of the inferiority complex and identity development. Although identity forming is a process that lasts a lifetime this phase is much more important because before choosing a profession and starting a sexual life one should form an identity that can help him-her with making choices. In this phase individual's interest in social matters increases and he-she looks forward to gain approval of other people. Also by overcoming the inferiority complex individuals determine their self confidence and their own self-worth (In Selçuk, 2009, pp. 58-70).

Another reason to choose this age group is that this age group's artwork is expected to be realistic enough to make an analysis about stereotypes. Jean Piaget's theory of cognitive development claims that as children grow, cognitive development changes. The cognitive development of a child is not just about getting more knowledge. It is also about the child's development or construction of a mental model of the world. Cognitive development happens as a result of the interaction of environmental events and innate capacities. Piaget's theory of cognitive development proposes 4 stages of development.

Sensorimotor stage: birth to 2 years

Preoperational stage: 2 to 7 years

Concrete operational stage: 7 to 11 years

Formal operational stage: ages 12 and up

The sequence of the stages doesn't change from culture to culture. It follows an unchanging order. All children go through the same stages in the same order. Here it can be noted that the rates may vary (McLeod, 2022). In the beginning of the 20th century, researchers concluded children go through three phases in drawing. These phases are called naturalistic scribbling and schematics. From the approach of art development children, pass through the same phases in the same ages. The lines are usually meaningless in earlier ages. However, in time they turn into meaningful pictures. To generalize, the older the children grow, their pictures become more realistic, more detailed and better proportioned. Drawing development's phases also has some

striking characteristics and they define the drawings. The development of children's drawings is approached in five phases today. These are the scribbling phase (ages 2-4), the pre schematic phase (ages 4-7), the schematic phase (ages 7-9), the realism (grouping), phase (ages 9-12), and the apparent naturalism phase (ages 12-14) (Keser&Eren, 2015, 137-142). Since the researchers aren't specializing on children's psychology and cognitive development, it would be hard to analyze paintings drawn by children in the scribbling phase or pre-schematic phase. The choice of the early puberty age group enables to analyze pictures in apparent naturalism phase in which the drawings are more realistic caused by the cognitive development of the age group.

Hence, it is very important to know how much children in this phase are affected by negative stereotypes and icons. How much their representation of goodness and badness in human form is parallel to stereotypes that are generally depicted in media is important to be known. In this critical phase if these stereotypes are affective to define their senses of good and bad, this results in the future generation to consciously or unconsciously become passive followers of the imposed ideas. For example, if a negative stereotype discriminates some social groups, sadly even the members of the discriminated groups can recreate these stereotypes and contribute to their own discrimination unknowingly.

3.3. The method of data collection

The data is collected via focus group sessions. Çokluk (2017, pp. 91-107) states that a focus group is a well planned debate that happens in a place where each individual can freely express their thoughts. Focus group studies basically used in field of social psychology and communication theories. It is a very systematic, qualitative way of collecting data. Focus group studies look forward to understand the conscious, semi-conscious and unconscious behaviours of group's and subgroups in a society. It provides qualitative information about the experiences, thoughts, perspectives and habits of the participants on the selected topic.

There are advantages and limitations of collecting data via focus group sessions. The advantage of this kind of studies is that the communication between the participants makes new ideas emerge and appear. The purpose is not making explanations about the participants themselves but to understand how the participants perceive the topic in this study. It allows the links between the signifiers and signifieds to be understood by

observing the participant's discussions occurring naturally during the process instead of directing them questions afterwards. However, focus groups also brings some limitations and it should be noted here that some ideas of the individuals in the group aren't accepted or ignored by other group members within the group dynamics. If students draw individual pictures, their personal ideas could be all expressed in their paintings. However, in group works some ideas of the individuals are not reflected on the final drawing. The categorical analysis only takes the final drawings into consideration and this results in the exclusion of such unreflected data. However, some important ideas that aren't reflected on the final drawings are tried to be included in the semiotic analysis to cover for this limitation.

In every session of this study, students are invited in a room and sit around a table, and they are provided an A3 size sheet of paper. They are asked "if goodness would be a human being how would it look like? Draw." They are expected to debate and finally draw one picture all together. After the first picture is completed and another A3 size sheet of paper is given to the group. This time they are asked to draw the picture of badness in the form of a human being. Just to be clear in these sessions, each student do not draw their own personal pictures. They are expected to work together, and together as a group they form one single picture. In order to do that they have to work in collaboration and they have to communicate to make up their minds on what to draw.

The topic is not explained to the students before the study because the process of discussion should start and grow during the session. If the discussion starts before the session the data can not be collected or it can be manipulated by other people's ideas. But students are told that they will be asked to draw a picture and their creative idea development processes will be analyzed. Only the topic of the drawing is hidden until the session starts.

Each session lasts 40 minutes in total. 20 minutes for the drawing of the goodness and 20 minutes for the drawing of the badness. When the time is up, student's are given 1-2 extra minutes to finish what they have started to draw and then the paper is taken. At the beginning of each session students are read all the instructions and after this researcher only passively observes and do not answer any questions in order not to be involved. Instructions are as follows:

1-‘If goodness/badness would be a human being how would it look like? Illustrate your imagination of this concept.

2-You have 20 minutes to complete your picture.

3-This is a group study so you are not supposed to draw pictures individually.

4-As a group you need to draw one picture so discuss and decide what to draw together.

5-You will not be provided an extra sheet.

6-If you do not want to be a part of this study you can go out now. During the session please do not leave.’

This explanation is read directly from a sheet to avoid any differences of meaning because of researchers explanation. In the sheet provided for the students to draw only the topic is written. The question is asked this way: “If goodness/badness would be a human being how would it look like? Illustrate.” Goodness and badness are general concepts and they can be narrowed down by children as a representation of their understanding of goodness and badness. These are both intangible concepts and they mean different values to every individual. What kind of values they perceive as goodness and what kind of values they perceive as badness can be observed. But other than values the research is interested more in what kind of physical and social qualities children insert to these concepts. Also, whether or not they prefer recreating the common stereotypical goodness and badness personifications they see on media, such as angels or demons. The question is asked this way in order to avoid students to draw anything other than a human being to represent goodness or badness such as a shed of light. Considering the main objective of the study, it is important that the students draw these concepts in human form.

3.4. The method of data analysis

3.4.1. Chi-square method

Chi-square (or chi-squared) method (Agresti et. al. 2007, p.1) is used to test for statistical significance of categorical variables. Contingency tables are created using the observed data obtained as described in preceding section. Then, the table is tested for a nonrandom relationship, and the results of the test are interpreted. Interpretation is based on hypothesis testing where chi-square test of association is used for testing the hypothesis about the distribution of frequencies in various categories.

For a chi-square test, following two pieces of information are needed:

1-Degrees of freedom (= the number of categories minus 1),

2-The alpha level which is selected by the researcher. The usual alpha level is 0.05 (5%), but it can be 0.01 or 0.001. This number is also called as the “level of significance”, which numerically equals 1 minus the level of confidence. Hence, this factor helps to answer the question of “how confident are we in our decision?”.

Chi-square test of association is used when there is categorical data for independent variables. Most contingency tables have two categorical variables (such as gender) and test outcomes (such as pass or fail). Then, this test is applied to find out if there is any relationship between these independent variables.

The chi-squared distribution with n degrees of freedom is used in calculating chi-squared statistics which is obtained as

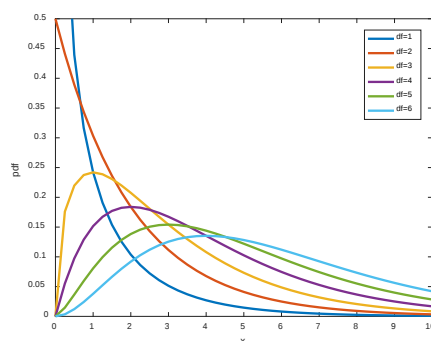
$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^N \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

where, O_i an observed frequency, E_i an expected frequency, N is the number of distinct events, while chi-squared value is a decimal number.

The chi-squared distribution is plotted as a function of degrees of freedom, as shown in Fig.3. The chi-squared distribution is the distribution of the sum of the squared random samples taken from a normal (Gaussian) distribution. A Chi- squared distribution is right skewed. But, for larger degrees of freedom, the chi- squared distribution performs like a normal (bell shaped) distribution (See Figure 3).

Figure 3

The chi-squared distribution plots as a function of k degrees of freedom



Note. This edited figure is plotted using the MATLAB code (AppendixX).

The chi-square test assumes that; a) The data are randomly selected, b) Each subject fits in only one category, c) The data must be counts of a particular category (not in percentages), d) The observations should be independent of each other.

As an example, a 2x2 contingency **O** (observations) table can be constructed as follows; (See Table 3)

Table 3

Sample contingency table

	0	1	Total
1	a	b	a+b
0	c	d	c+d
total	a+c	b+d	N

From this table, (expected) frequencies (**E**) table is constructed, (See Table 4)

Table 4

Sample frequencies table

	0	1	Total
1	A	B	a+b
0	C	D	c+d
total	a+c	b+d	N

where,

$$A = \frac{(a + c)(a + b)}{N}$$

$$B = \frac{(b + d)(a + b)}{N}$$

$$C = \frac{(a + c)(c + d)}{N}$$

$$D = \frac{(b + d)(c + d)}{N}$$

$$N = a + b + c + d$$

Chi-squared value is obtained as

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^N \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i} = \frac{(a - A)^2}{A} + \frac{(b - B)^2}{B} + \frac{(c - C)^2}{C} + \frac{(d - D)^2}{D}$$

The chi-squared value is a number that indicates how much difference exists between the particular observed frequencies and the expected frequencies if there were no relationship in the population. A p-value (such as $p < 5\%$) is used to decide if a difference is significant.

The calculated chi-square value is compared with a critical value (h) from a chi-square table. A simplified table (mostly used in manual calculations) is given in Table Y. This table is constructed to display probabilities corresponding different alpha and degree of freedom values (AMATLAB code to compute the probability values for commonly used alpha values of 0.05, 0.01 and 0.001 is given in Appendix). If the chi-square value is more than the critical value, then there is a significant difference (H1). This is the basis of hypothesis testing. Note that null hypothesis H_0 states that there is no significant difference.

The chi-squared distributions plotted as a function of degrees of freedom (as shown in Fig.3) and Table 3 which displays probabilities corresponding different alpha and degree of freedom values have been included herein to describe the logic behind the chi-squared method, as well as hypothesis testing. (See Table 5)

Table 5

Chi squared values for different alpha and degree of freedom

Alpha	0.05	0.01	0.001
df=1	3.8415	6.6349	10.8276
df=2	5.9915	9.2103	13.8155
df=3	7.8147	11.3449	16.2662
df=4	9.4877	13.2767	18.4668
df=5	11.0705	15.0863	20.5150
df=6	12.5916	16.8119	22.4577
df=7	14.0671	18.4753	24.3219
df=8	15.5073	20.0902	26.1245
df=9	16.9190	21.6660	27.8772
df=10	18.3070	23.2093	29.5883

Note. Probability values for $\alpha = 0.05, 0.01$ and 0.001 for 10 different degree of freedom values.

It should be noted here that Chi-square cannot be used if more than 20% of the expected frequencies have a value of less than 5. As a remedy to this problem, the categories can be combined together (if it is relevant), or those properties containing frequencies (cells) having a value of less than 5 can be deleted from the contingency table. Otherwise Yates or Fisher's corrections can be applied.

Yates's correction for continuity:

In this method, for a 2×2 contingency table (or equivalently, when the degree of freedom is 1), one subtracts 0.5 from the difference between each observed value and its expected value. It is used when at least one cell of the table has an expected frequency value smaller than 5.

Yates's corrected Chi-squared statistics is obtained as

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^N \frac{(|O_i - E_i| - 0.5)^2}{E_i}$$

where, O_i an observed frequency, E_i an expected frequency, N is the number of distinct events.

Fisher's Exact Test:

Chi-square test is not accurate if the sample size is small. The Yates' correction makes the chi-square approximation better. But, when working with low counts of frequencies ($N < 20$) in a 2×2 contingency table, or if fewer than 80% of the categories have expected values less than five (more specifically, less than three), Fisher Exact test can be used. While the chi-square test calculates an approximate p value, Fisher's test gives the exact p value.

Fisher's Exact Test Procedure:

For a contingency table of the size 2×2 , if the cell frequencies are denoted as a, b, c, d, and the marginal totals are $a+b$, $c+d$, $a+c$, $b+d$, and N , following table is obtained, (See Table 6)

Table 6

Contingency table of the size 2x2 with denoted cell frequencies and adjusted marginal totals

	0	1	Total
1	a	b	a+b
0	c	d	c+d
total	a+c	b+d	N

The probability p of any particular possible array of cell frequencies, with fixed values for the marginal totals, is given by

$$p = \frac{(a+b)!(c+d)!(a+c)!(b+d)!}{N!a!b!c!d!}$$

These calculations are repeated until minimum cell frequency value reaches to zero. Then, all calculated probabilities are summed together, yielding final probability value by which a particular hypothesis is concluded.

In this thesis, Fisher's exact test procedure is coded in EXCEL, and the results obtained by running this EXCEL code have been checked by the application of other algorithms, and then presented in the following sections.

Note: A folder containing MATLAB based codes have also been prepared during this thesis work. However, such codes are more engineering oriented. EXCEL based "spreadsheet programming" is found to be more useful and easier to grasp in this particular study, therefore MATLAB files have been precluded from the context, besides some files which have already been indicated in this section are included in the appendix section.

Odds Ratio (Cross Product Ratio) OR:

Consider the two by two contingency table of observed values in Table.X1.

OR is defined as the ratio of the product of the diagonals (Saunders&Trapp, 1994, p.55),

$$OR = \frac{a \times d}{c \times b}$$

It is a measure of association between variables (exposure) and an outcome. A value of OR greater than 1 indicates increased occurrence of event. (See Table 7)

Table 7

A two by two contingency table with cell values and column and row sums.

a	b	a+b
c	d	c+d
a+c	b+d	N=a+b+c+d

Note. As a standardization of calculation, place the outcome of interest at the top and the variable (exposure) on the left.

Example: In a study examining the association between smoking (exposure) and lung cancer (outcome), the contingency table is given in

Table 8. (See Table 8)

Table 8

Sample lung cancer – smoking contingency table

		Lung Cancer	
		Yes	No
Smoking	Yes	50	250
	No	20	350

For example, observations table for lung cancer versus smoking is shown below.

$$a = 50, \quad b = 250, \quad c = 20, \quad d = 350$$

$$OR = \frac{50 \times 350}{20 \times 250} = 3.5$$

This value of OR indicates an increased occurrence of lung cancer (individuals with lung cancer are 3.5 times more likely to be exposed to smoking than those without lung cancer).

Yates' Correction:

Yates correction can be used with the G test. It also resolves the problem if one of the observed frequencies is zero. Following steps are applied in this method:

If $(ad-bc) > 0$, subtract 0.5 from a and d and add 0.5 to b and c.

If $(ad-bc) < 0$, add 0.5 to a and d and subtract 0.5 from b and c.

The Yates corrected G-statistic is then calculated in the normal way.

Williams Correction:

William's correction is the preferred correction for the G - test. Corrected G-test statistic is

$$G_c = \frac{G}{q}$$

where Williams correction factor in G-tests for association is given as (Holmes, 2011, 200-201)

$$q = 1 + \frac{\left[\frac{N}{a+b} + \frac{N}{c+d} - 1 \right] \left[\frac{N}{a+c} + \frac{N}{b+d} - 1 \right]}{6N}$$

Example for the application of G-test of independence:

As a worked example for the application of G-test of independence, let the elements of a two by two contingency table (matrix) be

$$O(1,1) = 30, \quad O(1,2) = 470, \quad O(2,1) = 25, \quad O(2,2) = 125$$

with the row sums, $30 + 470 = 500$, $25 + 125 = 150$ and column sums $30 + 25 = 55$, $470 + 125 = 595$, and sum of the cells $N = 30 + 470 + 25 + 125 = 650$.

The expected values matrix E has the following cell values,

$$A = \frac{(55)(500)}{650} = 42.31$$

$$B = \frac{(595)(500)}{650} = 457.69$$

$$C = \frac{(55)(150)}{650} = 12.69$$

$$D = \frac{(595)(150)}{650} = 137.31$$

Here, $\min(E_{ij}) = 12.69$, which is greater than 5, hence G-test statistic can be employed without any corrections.

Likelihood-ratio test statistic for the given 2×2 contingency table is calculated as

$$G = 2 \left[30 \ln \left(\frac{30}{42.31} \right) + 470 \ln \left(\frac{470}{457.69} \right) + 25 \ln \left(\frac{25}{12.69} \right) + 125 \ln \left(\frac{125}{137.31} \right) \right]$$

$$G = 2[30 \times \ln(0.709) + 470 \times \ln(1.027) + 25 \times \ln(1.97) + 125 \times \ln(0.910)]$$

$$G = 2[30 \times (-0.344) + 470 \times (0.027) + 25 \times (0.678) + 125 \times (-0.094)]$$

$$G = 2[(-10.32) + 12.69 + 16.95 + (-11.75)] = 2 \times 7.57$$

$$G = 15.14$$

Degree of freedom for this contingency table is 1. Using Chi-squared distribution tables for the value of $G = 15.14$ yields $p = 0.0001$. At 95% confidence level, this is much less than $p = 0.05$, which means that null hypothesis corresponding to the construction of given contingency table is strongly rejected.

Note that manual calculations are prone to accumulation of round off errors (For example, an EXCEL spreadsheet code written to compute the same test statistic yields $G = 14.77$). Nevertheless, it does not affect the result of hypothesis testing, in general.

Example for the application of Williams corrected G-test of independence:

Let the elements of a two by two contingency table (matrix) be

$$O(1,1) = 4, \quad O(1,2) = 15, \quad O(2,1) = 8, \quad O(2,2) = 5$$

The row sums are $4 + 15 = 19$, $8 + 5 = 13$, column sums are $4 + 8 = 12$, $15 + 5 = 20$, and sum of the cells $N = 4 + 15 + 8 + 5 = 32$.

The expected values matrix E has the following cell values,

$$A = \frac{(19)(12)}{32} = 7.125, \quad B = \frac{(19)(20)}{32} = 11.875$$

$$C = \frac{(12)(13)}{32} = 4.875, \quad D = \frac{(20)(13)}{32} = 8.125$$

Here, $\min(E_{ij}) = 4.875$, which is less than 5, hence G-test can be employed with corrections.

Uncorrected G- test statistic for the given 2×2 contingency table is

$$G = 2 \left[4 \ln\left(\frac{4}{7.125}\right) + 15 \ln\left(\frac{15}{11.875}\right) + 8 \ln\left(\frac{8}{4.875}\right) + 5 \ln\left(\frac{5}{8.125}\right) \right] = 5.46$$

Williams correction factor is

$$q = 1 + \frac{\left[\frac{32}{4+15} + \frac{32}{8+5} - 1 \right] \left[\frac{32}{4+8} + \frac{32}{15+5} - 1 \right]}{6 \times 32} = 1.05352$$

Corrected G-test statistic is

$$G_c = \frac{G}{q} = \frac{5.46}{1.05352} = 5.1826$$

Degree of freedom for this case is 1. Using EXCEL to compute right tailed probability of the Chi-squared distribution for the value of $G_c = 5.1826$ yields ($\text{chidist}(5.1826;1)$) $p = 0.023$. At 95% confidence level, this probability value is less than $p = 0.05$, which means that null hypothesis corresponding to the construction of given contingency table is rejected.

3.4.2. Semiotic analysis

According to Peirce, signs consist of signifier (representamen), signified (object) and an interpretant (what the audience derives of the sign). Peirce also classified a signifier in three categories. These are icons, symbols and indexes. An icon has a physical resemblance to the signified like a photograph of it. An index is an evidence of the signified like showing the smoke of a fire without showing the fire but indicating that it's there. A symbol however, has no resemblance to the signified (Türkcan, 2013).

To apply this technique, focus group paintings will be analyzed in harmony with the focus group debates. All paintings will be analyzed under three main categories. Under the signifier category, the study focuses on the signifying elements in the painting such as icons, symbols and indexes. 'In speaking of the sign as the signifying element, then, Peirce is more properly speaking of the sign refined to those elements most crucial to its functioning as a signifier.' (Atkin, 2010). Under the category of signified, the concepts and ideas students aim to express are listed.

Just as with the sign, not every characteristic of the object is relevant to signification: only certain features of an object enable a sign to signify it. For Peirce, the relationship between the object of a sign and the sign that represents it is one of determination: the object determines the sign. ... The idea is that the object imposes certain parameters that a sign must fall within if it is to represent that object. However, only certain characteristics of an object are relevant to this process of determination (Atkin, 2010).

Finally, the interpretant category a translation of the sign, allowing the readers a more complex understanding of the sign's object is provided. Peirce thinks the sign determines the interpretant. Furthermore, this isn't a casual or random determination. The sign determines an interpretant. It uses certain properties of the way the sign signifies its object in order to shape and generate people's understanding of it. For example, there is a physical connection between smoke and fire. Smoke as a sign, determines an interpretant sign of its object which is fire by taking the viewers attention to the physical connection. (Atkin, 2010)

In this study the relation between the signifier and signified is also extracted from the focus group debates. The study is not designed for the children to draw their personal pictures. This is a group work and the children draw it together after discussing what they want to draw and the discussion usually illuminates their intentions what they aim to mean by drawing the signs.

4.RESULTS

4.1.The semiological analysis of the pictures drawn by the focus groups

This section presents the data that is gathered during the focus group studies.

These are:

- Drawings of focus groups and their semiological analysis
- Pictures of the referred characters that are referred to during the focus groups

The number of illustrations drawn by the students is 16 for “goodness” and 16 for “badness”, 32 in total. There are 16 focus groups. Each focus group consists of 2 boys and 2 girls, 4 students in total. Hence, the number of students reached by this study is 64. Half of these students are from İstanbul and half of them are from Mardin. Also, half of them are studying in the state-run schools while the other half are studying in private schools. Applicants are all selected among students between the ages of 11-13.

Among İstanbul, state school students 4 different focus group sessions were run. Each group drawn two pictures, one for goodness and one for badness.

Goodness and badness drawings of focus group 1 in an İstanbul state school are as follows: (See Figure 4 and 5):

Figure 4

Depiction of goodness in a state school of İstanbul



Sign: Goodness in human form

Signifiers: A boy, wearing yellow and dark blue clothes, holding three balloons, smiling

Signified: Childhood, innocence, Fenerbahçe, happiness, peace

Interpretant: In this picture, goodness is depicted as a boy holding three balloons. According to the focus group sessions, students prefer drawing a child because they are innocent. They prefer to represent the innocence with the balloon symbol. The discussion notes can be seen below:

Girl 2: Let's draw an angel.

Boy 1: But the instructions say 'draw a human.' Angels aren't human. We can't draw an angel.

Girl 2: Oh! Ok! I didn't think that way.

Girl 1: I think goodness would be a child.

Boy 1: Good idea because children are innocent.

Boy 2: Don't look at me. You know, I'm not good at painting pictures. You draw what you draw. I'll help you with the colouring.

Girl 2: I imagine it with balloons. I'll draw some balloons in his hand.

Boy 2: I'll paint his clothes yellow and dark blue, like my Fenerbahçe uniform.

In the focus group, there wasn't a debate about the gender of goodness. It is seen that at the beginning each group member took on some responsibilities and they didn't interfere with other's decisions. However, the drawing's short hair, and the indication of boy 2 that it's clothes are like his own Fenerbahçe uniform (Due to this member of the group's gender is male which suggests that the clothing of the character is like a male's Fenerbahçe uniform) shows that the final drawing's gender is male. The colour choices, other than pointing a similarity with Fenerbahçe, also seen to have light colour tones in general. Fenerbahçe is not included in the categorical analysis because it isn't a media character but a popular football team. However, it should be noted here that, sports teams can also take part in media and this can point at a possible media effect. Other than Fenerbahçe, the focus group didn't refer to any character from media.

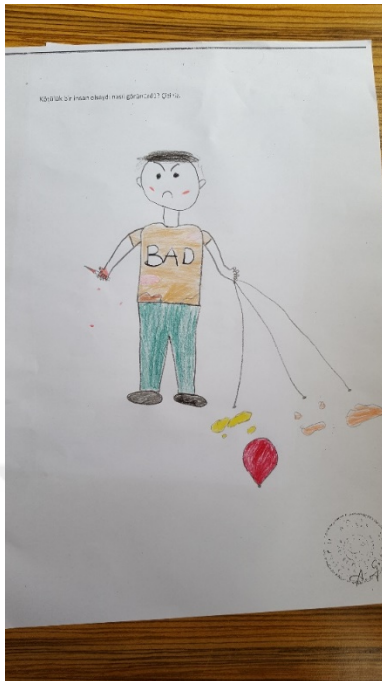
The facial expression was also not a matter of debate in the focus group. Boy 2 drew a smiling expression. This facial expressions can be seen as the representation of happiness and peace.

In this group's goodness depiction, there isn't an obvious signifier that relates to angels or demons.

Another interesting point that can be seen in the focus group session is that students' first idea is drawing an angel but this idea was ignored because angels aren't perceived as human and the instructions asked them to draw a human.

Figure 5

Depiction of badness in a state school of İstanbul



Goodness and badness drawings of focus group 2 in an İstanbul state school are as follows: (See Figure 6 and 7):

Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: The boy wearing a t-shirt that writes BAD on it, angry facial expression, a bloody knife, exploded balloons, dirty clothes

Signified: Destruction of one's own innocence, anger, violence, irresponsible

Interpretant: In this picture badness is depicted as a boy who exploded his own balloons with a knife. The group came to a consensus very fast to draw this image.

Girl 2: We drew a child holding balloons for goodness. Now let's draw a child with exploded balloons.

Girl 1: Yes! Like he cut his own balloons.

Boy 1: I'll draw a knife in his hand.

Girl 2: A knife with blood!

Boy 2: You draw I'll colour.

Girl 1: With dirty clothes, like he never changes or washes them.

Even though, the knife is told to be and seen as just cutting the balloons, it is drawn to be bloody. There isn't a clear explanation in the discussion about it. A bloody knife indicates violence. Here, it can be the violence of one to others and to oneself. The badness in the picture is seen to have an angry face. It is probably angry at others but his violent actions caused by this anger, in fact causes him to explode his own balloons of innocence. There isn't a painful expression on his face but angry. It can show that, he doesn't notice that his actions are causing harm to himself more than others.

The only balloon left, isn't being held by the boy anymore and it isn't flying. It is on the floor and even though there isn't a red balloon in the picture of goodness, here the balloon is red which can relate to fire, blood and demons. In general colour tones are darker than the same group's goodness painting's colours.

It is also interesting to see that, in a study that is done in İstanbul where people's native language is Turkish, students don't write KÖTÜ (The Turkish translation of Badness) but BAD. They prefer using English. They don't decide it first, but after Boy 1 writes it without asking others, Girl 1 sees it and asks about it.

Girl 1: Why did you write it in English? This isn't an English lesson.

Boy 1: It usually writes English on clothes. Have you ever seen a t-shirt that has Turkish writings?

Girl 1: Laughs.

Badness being depicted as wearing dirty clothes is explained as "he never changes or washes them." It is seen to have a link with his irresponsibility according to the focus group.

There wasn't a gender discussion in this session either. But the short hair, body form and clothing indicates him to be male.

In this group's badness depiction, there isn't an obvious signifier that relates to angels or demons. The group in general didn't do any reference to media and the result picture doesn't bear any angel or demon iconology elements. They preferred to make a discussion about goodness and badness and found some symbols to represent them in

their pictures. So, this group can be evaluated under the category of creative imagination.

Figure 6

Depiction of goodness in a state school of İstanbul



Sign: Goodness in human form

Signifier: A woman with yellow wings and halo, smiling facial expression, flower, birds, cats, stars, clouds, hearts, butterfly

Signified: Angel, domestic nature, love, happiness, peace

Interpretant: In this picture, the focus group depicted a female angel at the center of the paper. This angel is depicted to fly over the clouds. She is surrounded with stars, flowers, birds and hearts. Down at the bottom there are two cats. The picture is depicted with very light colour tones, mostly yellow and white.

Angel being the central element of the picture, supports the hypothesis that children are familiar with these stereotypes and it affects and shapes their imagination and creativity. The angel does bear all the stereotypical elements expected like wings, halo, being female and having light colour tones.

Students in the focus group easily decided on this image. Even though the image shows all expected stereotypical categories of angel depictions, they didn't refer to any character from media.

Boy 1: What would goodness look like if it was human? Let's decide on the gender first.

Girl 1: Let's draw an angel. I'm imagining an angel like a butterfly.

Boy 1: A girl, then.

All the other members agreed and they started drawing together. It is interesting that the idea of drawing an angel automatically referred to a female image in the minds of all members of the focus group. Also, They used very light colour tones for this picture and there wasn't a debate about the colours. Individually they seemed to all have a consensus about using light colour tones and this wasn't even a matter of debate as well.

As they started drawing, ideas about the surrounding elements started to emerge.

Girl 2: Let's draw clouds. Like it's flying over the clouds.

Girl 1: And I'll draw some birds.

At some point girls realized a boy drew two cats down below. They responded:

Girl 2: Oh! What did you do? It's the sky! Why did you draw cats?

Boy 1: I drew it on the ground. Look, the upper side is the sky and the down side is the ground.

So, there wasn't an exact consensus about drawing a ground to the picture. An interesting observation can be that all the animals in the picture are domestic or harmless. There is no depiction of a wild animal. They didn't think about drawing an animal with horns which are usually seen in demon depictions, in a goodness painting as an example. Butterfly seemed to be chosen due to its similarities with angel stereotype.

There wasn't a debate about the heart symbol. Boy 2 just drew it and no one talked about it. It can be interpreted as the symbol of love.

Figure 7

Depiction of badness in a state school of İstanbul



Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: Man with black red clothes and horns, pirate eye band, triangle head, crown, dead boy in blood, evil laughter, trees with triangle fruits, badness kites, stormy weather with rain and lightning, a scared boy taking a video with cell phone and saying there is a demon here, animals killing one another, dead and zombie animals (zombie birds, zombie octopuses)

Signified: Illuminati, violence, murder, death, authority, wild nature, taking a video instead of helping people in need, loss of innocence, victory, superiority over someone else, mocking

Interpretant: The central image in the picture is a dead boy. However, in the focus group, children didn't draw it as a central image. They decided on drawing a demon first. Because the boy who drew the demon stood on one side of the table, he drew it not in the middle of the paper but a bit closer to his side. The dead boy was an idea that came up later, as a surrounding element.

The first idea to appear as a demon and the demon to be drawn within the stereotypical expectations strengthens the hypothesis that student's are familiar with these stereotypes and it affects their imagination. It can be seen that the colour choices

of the demon are black and red, it is male and it has horns. Even though there seems to be a similarity with some vampire characters like Dracula, and there is a pirate eye band that resembles pirate characters from media, no character from media was directly referred to during the session. The first decision making was very fast and easy in this session.

An interesting finding in this picture is that there is an obvious and intentional emphasis on the concept of illuminati. The emergence of the idea in the focus group was based on a an accident. An accident that Bob Ross maybe could have mentioned as ‘a happy accident’ (Wilson, 2021):

Girl 1: What did you do? Why did you draw a tree on a badness picture? Trees are good!

Boy 1: Ohhhh! I’m sorry! I was just drawing a back ground. I wasn’t thinking.

Girl 1: Teacher! Can we use an eraser, please?

Teacher: Sorry. No eraser.

Silence.

Boy 1: Don’t worry! I’ll figure it out.

And he started drawing triangles on the trees.

Girl 2: What are you doing?

Boy 1: No, these are not just trees. These are illuminati trees.

Boy 2: Wow! Great idea!

Girl 2: Awesome!

As boy 1 started getting appreciation for his illuminati tree idea the group dynamics suddenly changed. The group until then, was simply drawing stereotypical ideas. But as he added the illuminati fruits on the trees, other members of the groups started to come up with other out of the box ideas. It almost turned into a who will come up with the craziest idea challenge. Observations also indicate that, after this, the group started to enjoy the activity more.

Boy 2: I'll draw a dead boy, lying on the ground, covered in blood. He killed him.

Girl 1: The teacher will conclude that we are all psychopaths!

(Laughter)

Girl 2: You will not conclude we are psychopaths, right teacher?

Teacher: This isn't a psychological test.

Girl 2: Great! She won't. Let's draw another boy, here. Like he is taking a video of him killing the boy.

Girl 1: Good idea. Like he is taking a video instead of helping the boy.

Boy 1: I'm drawing a kite. A badness kite. Illuminati kite.

Boy 2: (Laughs.) Look! This is a zombie bird. We still have time. I'll draw a zombie octopus.

Group: (Laughter)

Girl 1: What are you drawing?

Boy 1: A goat. Animals are killing one another.

Girl 1: Oh! I see. Like wild nature.

It is interesting that students', before starting to draw some ideas that aren't stereotypical, felt a necessity to be assured that they will not be evaluated as psychopaths. This is an important finding and it can indicate an oppression of creativity and imagination caused by the fear of a social judgement. Simply drawing angels and demons seems to be a secure path while drawing murder, animals killing one another, zombie animals, illuminati kites and such can bring the risk of being judged and criticized by the authorities. This fear can be an important factor that effects student's creativity.

Illuminati is explained as 'Illuminati was founded to oppose religious influence over daily life more than 200 years ago. It is now one of the world's greatest conspiracy theories.' (Vickery, 2017)

It was on 1 May 1776 that Adam Weishaupt, a professor of law at the University of Ingolstadt, founded the Order of the Illuminati, a secret organisation formed to oppose religious influence on society and the abuse of power by the state by fostering a safe space for critique, debate and free speech. Inspired by the Freemasons and French Enlightenment philosophers, Weishaupt believed that society should no longer be dictated by religious virtues; instead he wanted to create a state of liberty and moral equality where knowledge was not restricted by religious prejudices. (Vickery, 2017)

The popular conspiracy theory is explained below.

‘it is a powerful and savagely guarded organisation that secretly controls the entire modern world, probably while wearing cloaks. It has done this mainly through infiltrating the media and brainwashing everybody. It could be doing it right now. ... It wants nothing less than to establish a new world order – over which an authoritarian gang of elites would rule, and under which nation states would be banished... The Eye of Providence on the US \$1 bill has interpreted as being associated with Freemasonry and the Illuminati.’ (Gill, 2017)

The eye of providence is a triangle with an eye on the inside. The students drew triangular chapes to indicate illuminati. However, there wasn't a debate about the term's deep meanings. It may be pointing at a media effect that involves the conspiracy side of the issue. However, students didn't make any direct references to any media product.

Illuminati seems to be a term that conflicts with religious beliefs. Student's choice of drawing angels for goodness and demons for badness also has historical links with religion. These images, when read with these historical meanings can refer to a religious perspective. However, it is clear that religion wasn't a term that came up during the focus group session, not even once. It may show that students just drew these images, without thinking a lot about the deeper meanings they bear. They were simply imitating. The boy explaining his decision to draw trees as he wasn't thinking also strengthens this argument. Illuminati seems to be a ready-made symbol that turns good things into evil. For example, a kite which can normally indicate freedom or children's innocence, when added an illuminati symbol, turns into evil. It's the same with trees.

They are thought to be symbols related to goodness by the group members but they all agree that if an illuminati symbol is added, they turn evil.

It is also seen that, the group depicted domestic animals in the goodness picture and wild animals in the depiction of badness. They explain it as the wildness of nature. Animals killing one another is seen to be a violent act, like the demon killing the boy. This violent side of nature is associated with badness by the focus group.

Another interesting drawing is the boy that takes a video instead of helping the boy on the ground. It is associated with ignorance. The boy's facial expression seems to be shocked and in it's speech bubble he says 'There is demon.' He is more interested in seeing the demon and sharing it with other people, than stopping his evil actions or helping the victim. The demon however is depicted with an evil laughter effect, even though its facial expression shows no sign of laughing. It is probably because they added the laughter effect after they depicted the demon. The evil laughter can be an indicator of victory against the dead boy, superiority and mocking his tragic state.

The gender of the demon wasn't debated in the focus group. However, in the depiction of goodness it is seen that the group sticks with the stereotypically attributed genders without a discussion. When this and the clothing of the figure is taken into consideration, it can be evaluated as male.

Goodness and badness drawings of focus group 2 in an İstanbul state school are as follows: (See Figure 8 and 9):

Figure 8

Depiction of goodness in a state school of İstanbul



Sign: Goodness in human form

Signifier: Heart, smiling face

Signified: love, happiness

Interpretant: The group depicted goodness as a heart shape with a smily face, with arms and legs. The colour choices are seen to be lighter than the colour choices of the same group's badness depiction. A red heart can be interpreted as the symbol of love. Smiling facial expression can be the symbol of happiness. Gender wasn't an issue that came up in this group's focus group debate. Also, the picture itself doesn't give a clear sign to relate the character with a gender. Wings halo or such categories that can be related with angels are not drawn. These weren't a matter of debate either.

The focus group was a very silent one. In the first couple of minutes after they read the instructions, no one in the group said a word or drew anything. They silently looked around. Finally, as the silence lasted very long, one of them asked the researcher a question.

Boy 1: What do you want us to draw?

Researcher: You have the instructions on the page.

Boy 1: Yes, but what should we draw?

Researcher: It's up to you.

Silence.

It seemed like they were looking for some step by step instructions which tell them exactly what kind of a figure to draw. It can be caused by the fear of being judged if they come up with new ideas themselves. Finally, a girl in the group with a very low voice started speaking. The rest of the group also used a low tone of voice like they were embarrassed or fearing something.

Girl 1: Let's just draw something.

Boy 1: What?

Girl 1: Something. How would goodness look like if it was human?

Silence.

Girl 2: Let's draw a heart shape.

Girl 1: But it says human.

Silence...

Boy 2: Let's just draw a heart. We can draw a face, legs and arms to it. To turn it into a person, I mean.

And together, they drew the picture.

They didn't refer to any character from media. Even though, categorically, it doesn't fit the angel categories, the group's fear and embarrassment to come up with ideas, their insistent demand to get some step by step instructions is notable. This data can be an indicator that children's imagination and creativity are oppressed by the fear of being judged and instead of solving a problem using their own creativity, they require an outer authority telling them exactly what they should do.

Figure 9

Depiction of badness in a state school of İstanbul



Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: Black broken heart

Signified: Cruelty of the world, loss of innocence

Interpretant: The group depicted a black broken heart in this picture. They didn't refer to any media character, they didn't attribute it a gender. They used dark colours in this picture. There are no demonic iconological elements observed. The group didn't seem to enjoy the activity much. They seemed to feel under pressure even though they attended voluntarily and there was no factor in the environment causing an oppression. Because they insistently for step by step instructions about what to draw, their feeling seemed to be caused due to the nature of the activity that requires them to come up with their own ideas and ways. This can be caused by the fear of being judged if they communicate their ideas. Even though the group seemed to bear a creative potential, this feeling seemed to cause them to get a bit limited.

Boy 1: Badness. What do we draw for badness?

Girl 1: A black heart?

Girl 2: A black broken heart! Like it's broken and darkened so much that it's now evil.

The idea this depiction conveys is that a heart is good by its nature but when it's broken so much, probably because of some outer factors, it gets darkened and becomes evil. So, the group seems to handle the concept of badness not occurring naturally by itself, but caused by the loss of love due to the cruelty of the outer factors. It's like loss of innocence.

Goodness and badness drawings of focus group 3 in an İstanbul state school are as follows: (See Figure 10 and 11):

Figure 10

Depiction of goodness in a state school of İstanbul



Sign: Goodness in human form

Signifier: A blonde woman, white wings, a heart patterned pink dress, heart necklace

Signified: Angel

Interpretant: The group depicted goodness as female. This was the first thing the group discussed.

Boy 1: Ok! First, let's agree on it's gender. Would goodness be male or female?

Boy 2: I think it would be female.

Girl 1: Oh! Let's draw an angel!

Girl 2: A blonde angel like Selena! I can draw it!

The group then, all agreed on depicting a character like Selena from the popular Turkish series by Gani Müjde. There wasn't a deep debate about the concept of goodness and what it means to them. They simply recreated a character from media. This addresses a direct media affection and imitative imagination.

The group used light colour tones in the picture especially when compared to their own badness picture. They intended to draw a white dress but decided that the dress and wings both being white caused the picture to look pale and bring. So, the decided to paint the dress pink. It was a last minute decision and two girls took two different tones of pink and coloured the dress together. Without talking one of the girls also added the heart symbol on the dress and drew a heart shaped necklace. This can be related to love but there wasn't a direct reference to love in the focus group debate.

Figure 11

Depiction of badness in a state school of İstanbul



Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: A man, black and red horns, red eyes, cane, evil laughter

Signified: demon, victory, superiority over someone else, mocking

Interpretant: The group depicted the picture getting inspired by Hades, the villain in the serial by Gani Müjde. Seen in the instructions they came up with the idea very excited.

Girl 1: The other one was Selena. This one should be like Hades!

Like Hades, the character they draw is a male and wear a black top. On Hades's shield, there are horn like patterns. This group depicted their character with horns. They also depicted a cane and red eyes which are all iconological properties attributed to demons.

Also, the character is depicted with an evil laughter.

In comic books, where supervillains utter such laughs, they are variously rendered as mahahaha, muwhahaha, muahahaha, bwahahaha, etc. These words are also commonly used on internet blogs, bulletin board systems, and games. There, they are generally used when some form of victory is attained, or to indicate superiority over someone else (ownage), or also mockingly at a statement one finds hard to believe was uttered in earnestness. (Jens, 2018, pp. 1214-1233)

In light of this information, evil laughter can be interpreted as victory, superiority over someone else and mocking.

The group seemed to approach the concept of goodness without much thinking of the meaning and they preferred to recreate characters from the serial Selena. However, because they depicted the heroine and the villain it can still indicate dualism.

In summary: In the state school of İstanbul there are 2 female, 1 male and 1 genderless goodness depictions. 3 of the badness depictions are male and 1 of them is genderless. About the issue of colour tones, 3 of the goodness depictions are depicted in light colours and 3 of the badness depictions are depicted in dark colours. In 1 group's goodness and badness depictions the difference of the colour tones isn't very obvious but it can still be said that the goodness depiction uses light colours like yellow more than the badness depiction. About the angel and demon iconology, two goodness depictions are observed to be in stereotypical angel form and 2 of them do not have iconological elements of angels. In badness depictions the numbers are the same. 2 pictures are depicted as stereotypical demons while 2 of them are depicted without

horns, tails, rake, fire, or such elements that refer to demons. (See Table 9 , Table 10 and Table 11)

Table 9

Gender of characters in the state school of Istanbul

Ist.State	Goodness	Badness
Male	1	3
Female	2	0
Genderless	1	1

Table 10

The colour tones of pictures in the state school of Istanbul

Ist.State	Goodness	Badness
light	3	0
vague	1	1
dark	0	3

Table 11

The rate of drawing angel-demon and other characters in the state school of Istanbul

Ist.State	Goodness	Badness
angel	2	0
other	2	2
demon	0	2

Goodness and badness drawings in an İstanbul private school are as follows:
(See Figure 12 and 13):

Figure 12

Depiction of goodness in a private school of İstanbul



Sign: Goodness in human form

Signifier: A little boy with four hands doing a good action with each of his hand, smiling face, feeding a cat, feeding a fish, collecting an old woman's oranges, hugging mother

Signified: Childhood innocence, caring for animals, helping old people, loving parents, happiness

Interpretant: The group depicted the first idea that came up in the discussion.

Boy 1: Let's draw a child. He can have 8 arms. He can feed a cat with his one arm. He can ...

Girl 1& Boy 2: Yes!

As they draw other ideas for other arms of the boy appeared. An old woman's oranges spilled on the ground. She says 'My oranges!' The boy runs to help her. He kindly says 'Here they are madame.' Here it is seen that helping old people is associated with goodness. The boy hugs his mother with another arm. Loving parents is another idea the group tried to express in this picture. He feeds the fish and cat with his other arms. Loving and helping animals is also an act of goodness according to this focus group. Here, it can be noted the depicted animals are all domestic animals that can be

fed at home. It is noticeable that, the expectations from a good child to be good are in fact small and easy acts. For example, the child isn't expected to fly and catch a woman falling down a skyscraper or catching armed robbers and putting them into jail. The depicted acts are easy, achievable ones in the daily life of children. These acts do not require a huge wealth or superpowers, just love and a desire to help others.

There was no reference to any media character. Drawing an angel wasn't an idea that came up during the activity. The group's depiction doesn't fit into the stereotypical categories of goodness other than the colour selections. There is no wing or halo, gender choice is also contradictory. The chosen colour tones are lighter than the group's badness picture's colour tones.

Gender wasn't a matter of discussion at the beginning. However, as they were drawing the child hugging his mother, they talked about genders.

Girl 1: Should the boy hug a man or a woman here?

Girl 2: Doesn't really matter.

Here, it is understood that the depicted character is a boy. The result was drawing him hugging his mother but focus group discussion shows that it could also be a father and it wouldn't matter. In this case, the signifier can be interpreted as parent's love rather than just mother's love.

The boy is depicted smiling which indicates happiness.

Figure 13

Depiction of badness in a private school of İstanbul



Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: Vertical hair style, crowning facial expression, fist hands, insulting hand move, hitting babies and animals, skull

Signified: Punk, violence, anger, death, insulting

Interpretant: The focus group in this picture, decided to depict badness in human form as a punk. Beliefs such as anti-authoritarianism, non-conformity, anti-corporatism anti-consumerist, anti-corporate greed, a do-it-yourself ethic, direct action and not "selling out" create the punk ethos (Brockmeier, 2009, pp.1-91). The group's fast decision to draw a punk doesn't involve any discussion about why do they associate it with badness. It gives a sense that this is a stereotypical attribution and they don't think deeply about what is punk, what is it's philosophy, why is it associated with badness. They use this signifier without a deep thought and without noticing the hidden meanings. This way, they are creating a picture that associates ideas such as anti-authoritarianism, anti-corporatism, anti-consumerism with badness. However, it is very clear that this isn't what they intend to. It doesn't seem to be likely that they are aware of these hidden meanings. Maybe, they aren't recreating the angel or demon stereotype but drawing a punk is another stereotype. The categorical analysis only focuses on angel and demon iconology and no reference to angels nor demons nor any media character was observed in this session of this focus group. It is a limitation of the categorical analysis so it is important to be noted here.

Like their goodness picture, in this one again they drew the character's actions near his arms. The same idea is adjusted to badness. The bad actions of the figure are hitting innocent babies and animals which can be interpreted as an act of violence and making insulting moves with his hand to babies. It can be noted that the animals are a chick and a cat which are domestic animals. The skull on the character's t-shirt can be associated with violence and death. The character has a crowning expression which indicates his anger. Some other ideas observed in the focus group yet wasn't drawn were, stealing candy from a child, a dead fish and a dead bird.

Gender of the character is chosen to be male by the focus group. There wasn't a discussion about the gender, they just called it 'a man'.

Goodness and badness drawings of focus group 2 in an İstanbul private school are as follows: (See Figure 14 and 15):

Figure 14

Depiction of goodness in a private school of İstanbul



Sign: Goodness in human form

Signifier: A child with wings and halo, a candy, flower patterned top, smiling face, light colour tones

Signified: Angel, innocence of childhood, happiness and peace, nature

Interpretant: It is seen that drawing an angel is the first idea that appears in the focus group session. However, this idea was challenged by a girl in the focus group for being too classical. Later, an idea about drawing a cute monster like a mixture of pieces of a butterfly was brought forward by the other girl but it was denied by the boys. Another idea that came up was drawing a child because children are pure and they don't do any harm. Eventually, the group members decided to mix the ideas of drawing an angel and a child and they drew a child angel.

Boy 1: We can draw something like... You know there are angels of goodness... Like with wings they fly...

Girl 1: I think it's too classical.

Girl 2: Maybe we can draw something like a monster but a very cute one.

Boy 1: A monster!?

Girl 2: A monster but not like a monster. Like a butterfly in different pieces. Something cute.

Boy 2: A monster makes me feel something like fear...

Girl 2: Not a monster, not a monster, something cute... For example, it's eyes are butterflies...

Boy 1: Butterfly eyes?! Oh! You are saying we should mix all the animals and make one...

Girl 2: No, No! Not all the animals. Cute things.

Boy 1&2: I think this is ridiculous.

Girl 1: I think goodness is a baby. They are pure and they don't do any harm.

Boy 1: What I'm saying is let's draw a human with wings behind its back.

Girl 1: Is that human?

Boy 1: Is that an animal? Angel Angel! We will draw an angel!

Boy 2: Angel usually do good things.

Girl 1: An angel will be too classical.

Boy 2: I think we should use light colours. It refers to goodness. For example, if we use black like this, it will look ugly.

Girl 2: (Eliminates black and brown crayons and shows the light colours.) I think these are really cute.

Girl 1: I have an idea! It should be like an angel, but it should be a child!

Boy 2: Oh! Good idea! For example, my brother still comes and says you are still an angel to me.

Boy 1: Should I draw wings?

Girl 1: Oh! There should be this round thing on his head!

Girl 2: Yes! You know the thing on angel's heads! Raf had it remember?

As they started drawing, one of the group members referred to Eros saying:

Boy 1: Don't draw it like that. Draw it like Eros. You know Eros, right?

Girl 1: Ok... ok... A baby angel, yes.

Eros wasn't the first sparkle of their ideas, it came up later but it can be claimed that they referred to it as they see a link in between their ideas and Eros and used it as a modal. So, Eros is noted as a character that shapes their imagination. As it is explained in the historical background of angels and demons section, angel and demon's first origins are seen in ancient Greek mythology such as Nike. Eros is also a figure from Greek mythology and most of the contemporary angel depictions are inspired by it. Another character they referred to is Raf. The group also referred to a cartoon called Angel's Friends in their badness depiction. When the cartoon is researched it is seen that Raf is the name of the good character of it. Hence the group can be said to be inspired by both good and bad characters in this cartoon in their depictions of goodness and badness. Raf is observed to inspire the group to draw the character with a halo that is an element of angel's iconology. The character also has light coloured wings that might be affective in this depiction as well.

There wasn't a debate about the character's gender but the long hair and skirt indicates that it's a girl. The end picture fits all categories of angels with wings, halo,

light colour tones and gender. However, it should also be noted here that, Girl 1 thought the idea was too classical a couple of times. Also, girl 2 had the idea of drawing a cute butterfly like monster but it wasn't accepted by any of the other members of the group. So, there were other opinions in the group but they all eventually came to a consensus on drawing a child angel which will be taken into consideration in the categorical analysis.

The situation of Girl 2 trying to convince the other members of the group to draw a cute monster which could be an out of the box idea is an interesting data found in the study. While drawing a stereotype is easily understood and agreed by others, it was hard to convince the members of the group on an out of the box idea. It took much more resistance even though Girl 2 really tried to explain it, the other members refused it. This difficulty can be an obstacle in coming up with out of the box ideas. These ideas require their thinkers to convince other people and it can take resistance or maybe in some conditions it may turn into judgement. When compared to the resistance against the idea of drawing an angel which didn't effect the result, drawing a monster took a much strict resistance which affected the result. Under the circumstances, even though a person is capable of coming up with out of the box ideas, they can choose to oppress it and go for a stereotypical one.

Drawing the angel as a child, as also seen in the focus group debate refers to the innocence of childhood. Boy 2 seemed to be affected by his big brother to agree on that.

The flower patterns were drawn by Girl 1 simply as they are cute patterns. However, they can be thought to refer to nature.

The character is drawn with a smiling expression which suggests her happiness and peace.

Figure 15

Depiction of badness in a private school of İstanbul



Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: A little boy, T-shirt that writes BAD BOY on it, rake, horns, red eyes, golden teeth, bloody knife, chains, angry facial expression, scar, skull

Signified: Demon, violence, death, murder, going against the law, victory, mocking, superiority over someone else, greed

Interpretant: The session starts with these words:

Boy 1: I will draw Chucky!

Boy 2: Don't draw it completely. It would be like we looked at it and draw that.

Girl 2: How about drawing something like a demon? What do demons have? Horns!

Another media product that was referred to was referred to was Sulphur from the cartoon Angel's Friends.

Girl 2: Oh! That character from Angel's friends. Do you understand? That character from Angel's friends?

It can be seen that the figure the student's draw bears lots of similarities with the character Sulphur.

Eventually, focus group combined the ideas of Chucky, Sulphur and demons together and created this figure. It can be claimed that there is a strong media influence observed here. Not a single media character but a combination of a couple of characters.

Another finding is that even though it wasn't shown with a writing on the picture, the angry facial expression was in fact drawn as an evil laughter by the group members.

Girl 2: Draw his mouth a bit like that. Like he is saying Ha Ha Ha Ha! The facial expression can be related with mocking, victory and superiority over someone else.

The golden teeth being seen is also associated with the evil laughter.

Girl 2: Oh! Why are you drawing golden teeth?

Boy 1: No! No! Because it is evil. Look at him. He is laughing like that: Ha Ha Ha Ha! And his golden teeth can be seen.

Golden teeth can possibly be associated with pirates from media. Gold can be related to greed. The scar, bloody rake and knife points at a possible fight and violence the demon just got out of and the evil laughter indicates his victory and mocking of his victim. The skull on his t-shirt is a symbol he shares with the popular character Sulphur. It may also indicate death and murder. Group members also drew a chain holding his foot. They explained in focus group that it signifies the character's unlawful actions and he is being jailed. So, badness is associated with going against law.

Another interesting finding is that this group also preferred to write BAD BOY on the character's t-shirt. Their language choice wasn't their native language but English. There wasn't a discussion about it. When the idea of writing BAD BOY on the t-shirt emerged it was directly accepted by all members and language choice was not an issue. It can be claimed that t-shirt writing being English instead of Turkish is not thought of another alternative by any of the four members.

The character is a bad boy, which shows that he is male. It also fits the categorical expectations.

Goodness and badness drawings of focus group 3 in an İstanbul private school are as follows: (See Figure 16 and 17):

Figure 16

Depiction of goodness in a private school of İstanbul



Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: A golden heart visible from the chest, wings, heart shape, dove, owl, round shape with a plus and an arrow, pluses, stickman

Signified: Angel, being good on the inside, love, peace, gender not being an issue, wisdom, glowing, sharing food

Interpretant: This group made references to media but they also made discussions about what goodness meant to them and how they wanted to express these ideas. Some dialogues from the focus group are below:

Girl 1: What is the first thing that comes to everyone's mind when the word angel is said?

Boy 1: Angel!

Boy 2: Everyone thinks of that. Goodness doesn't have to look pretty.

Girl 1: Can be ugly.

Boy 1: Would be pretty on the inside.

Girl 1: Oh! Let's draw a human and show the heart inside. Eventually, it's good on the inside. That's what matters.

Girl 2: Isn't it too simple?

Boy 1: Think originally. I think drawing wings is a good idea.

Girl 1: We can draw it in the end. What does goodness pop up in your mind?

Boy 1: Angel's wings, helpfulness, generosity.

Girl 1: But we still end up with the heart!

Boy 2: Does it have to be flawless?

Girl 1: A good person is a person who understands nobody is perfect.

Boy 1: There is goodness in all badness and there is badness in all goodness.

Girl 1: An unhappy face... I think we should draw a happy face. If somebody does good things, they feel happy. Don't they say, the beauty on the inside appears on the outside. Because people do good things to feel happy, to make people happy.

Boy 2: I think it should be a child.

Boy 1: Will it have wings? Look! I'm obsessed about it!

Laughter.

Boy 1: How about it glows?

Girl 1: It has wings, it glows, it has a heart... Not enough to explain goodness, I think...

Boy 1: I don't think we should colour the heart on the inside to red. I think we should colour it yellow.

Girl 1: What?

Girl 2: Like a golden heart.

Girl 1: Oh! Good idea.

Boy 1: Look, when you think rationally, you don't feel goodness in your heart. You think it in your brain.

Girl 1: Let's take some things out from his/her brain, then.

Boy 1: Sweet puppy eyes!

Girl 1: No! What is that? Ha! Ha!

Boy 2: Think about it! It looks innocent!

Boy 2: And puffy cheeks.

Girl 1: Ok! So let's list what we have. Wings, sweet puppy eyes, happy face, glowing, puffy cheeks and...

Boy 2: A modest posture. I mean it shouldn't stand too tight. A bit down.

Girl 1: We will colour the heart in the colour of gold.

Boy 2: You know they say, moon face.

Girl 1: Shall we draw a crescent on his/her face? Or a full moon?

Boy 2: No.

Boy 1: It will sound weird but... You know... when we do a good thing to one person, we do a bad thing to another person.

Girl 1: Like what? Oh! For example, some will make robbery because he/she needs it. You save the victim's money. As you do good to somebody, you do bad to another. Is it like that?

Boy 2: You know when you think very deeply... actually...

Girl 1: What shall I draw?

Girl 2: What do you do when people say you do a good thing?

Boy 1: Instead of blood, goodness flows in his veins!

Laughter.

It can be seen that the group is actually thinking very deeply about the concept of goodness. They have a huge potential and high levels of creativity. However, it is interesting that the end result fits most of the expected categories of an angel stereotype. It is white skinned, blonde, it has wings. This can be an interesting finding to show how affective the stereotypes are on children's imagination. Even though, the group makes

a very deep discussion and comes up with interesting ideas, they end up drawing an angel stereotype. Angels seems to be the starting point of the discussions.

Gender issue was discussed in the focus group.

Boy 1: Heart doesn't really symbolize manhood, though.

Girl 2: It's not supposed to symbolize manhood! Actually, let's draw gender symbols mixed together to show goodness cannot be associated with a specific gender.

It can be interpreted as the group achieved an idea that doesn't fit the angel iconology in terms of gender.

Media seems to be an important factor here because the group also refers to some characters in some parts of the discussion.

Boy 1: It would look like an angel of love, like Eros.

Girl 2: Like in Deathnote! Light!

Boy 1: Remember Hawkman?

The group came up with lot's of different and unique ideas. However, they depicted only a couple of them. Other ideas the group drew on the final paper are dove as a sign of peace, owl as a sign of wisdom, stickman giving others some food. Heart being depicted on the inside was made to mean the person is good on the inside.

Figure 17

Depiction of badness in a private school of İstanbul



Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: Horns, tail, black wings, fire, gold, sapphire and golden ornaments, a throne, dollar sign, stickman, pipe, smiling face, half of the face dark, starving people

Signified: Demon, wealth, stingy, greed, not being the same on the inside as he looks on the outside.

Interpretant: The first idea appeared in the focus group session was drawing a demon.

Girl 2: How would goodness look like if it was human?

Boy 1: Horns!

Girl 1: Demon's horns, right?

Boy 1: Burning eyes.

Girl 1: It appeared in my mind when you said demon. It can also be the thing... They hold in their hands.

Boy 1: A cane?

Boy 2: A trident.

Boy 1: Two faces.

Boy 2: If we start from the properties of a bad person for example...

Girl 1: They are greedy! Oh! We can draw a crown on top of it! It can be rich. Sitting on a throne. You know, like greeding.

Girl 2: But a person sits on the throne can also be good...

Girl 1: But he is stingy!

Boy 1: There are dollar signs. One side is full of gold, there are hungry people on the other side. It shouldn't be a child.

Boy 2: With a beard! Oh! Do you rememeber, the character was sitting in Deathnote.

Boy 1: Burning wings.

Girl 1: I think instead of burning wings, we should draw black wings. Would look better.

Boy 1: Black and burning wings!

Girl 1: Like Malefisent! Who played that character? Angelina Jolie? If it's beautiful, it's a girl. If it's handsome, it's a boy.

Boy 1: Then draw Brad Pitt!

Laughter.

Girl 1: Brad Pitt with long hair.

Girl 2: I didn't see Brad Pitt's face so...

Silence.

Boy 1: She doesn't know Brad Pitt! No way!

Girl 2: I mean, I didn't see his appearance.

Boy 1: Draw David Beckham, then. Tom Cruise or Leonardo di Caprio!

Girl 2: I think it should rain on the top.

Boy 1: Why?

Girl 2: (Like she is acting in a movie) It was a dark and rainy night. I was very scared.

Laughter.

Girl 2: Okay. I'm saying the ideas, again. 1. black wings, 2. burning eyes, 3. a tail, 4. two faces, 5. nice face, 6. lots of money around, 7. starving people

The group was able to make a discussion about badness and its meanings. Eventually, they ended up drawing a figure that fits all demon categories in the categorical analysis. The painting uses red, black and the colour tones are darker than the goodness picture. There are tail, horns, fire and black wings. The gender is male, too.

It can be seen that the media effect is more obvious on this focus group session. They referred to Deathnote and Malefisent. Here, an interesting fact is, Malefisent to be a good character by context. It is a counter stereotype. It bears demon's iconological properties such as horns, black colour and black wings. However, it is a good character. The character's name coming up as an inspiration for a badness picture can show that, the effect of counter stereotypes aren't very strong. As people make a creation, they take the figure's appearance more than its context. Malefisent, instead of inspiring goodness, inspires badness. Also, Girl 2, trying to explain her idea of drawing rain with an act of movie, even though this doesn't refer to a specific movie, is a hint that these ideas are actually all take their roots from media cliches.

While the focus group shows a very unique thinking about the issue of gender by putting a genderlessness sign there, didn't do the same in their badness picture. They talked about drawing a beard and they used male actor's names as examples. (It is also an interesting note that not seeing Brad Pitt's face is considered a very weird thing as the three members of the group.) While goodness's gender wasn't set, badness's gender was set as male.

Greed had a very strong emphasis on the picture. The dollar signs, pipe, throne, gold and starving people all seems to be indicators of greed. The character is wealthy

but he is also stingy and he doesn't share his wealth with other people. Having two faces, one looks nice and smily while the other one is dark and has a burning eye refers to the character's not being the same on the inside as he looks on the outside. He, in the middle of all the wealth and ornaments looks nice but on the inside he is a demon. He has more money than he needs but he refuses to share it.

Figure 18

Depiction of goodness in a private school of İstanbul



Sign: Goodness in human form

Signifier: A blonde woman, white dress, white wings, halo

Signified: Angel, filling one's heart with peace

Interpretant: The focus group depicted goodness simply as a female angel.

Important dialogues from the focus group session are below.

Boy 1: I think it should wear a suit.

Boy 2: I think we should decide on the gender first.

Girl 1: I think so. I think it should be a girl so her hair can look good. Look, goodness is white, glowing, filling one's heart with peace.

Boy 1: With a white hat. I want to make it wear a suit.

Boy 2: We will draw the badness as male, goodness as female.

Boy 1: Ok then, let's draw badness.

Girl 1: Badness can be a girl, too because sometimes women can think really demonic.

Girl 2: (makes a move with her hands like a witch)

(laughter)

Boy 2: One should be male and one should be female.

Girl 1: White, with a dress like a bridal gown but not a bridal gown, not crinoline, showing her body posture, in a dress, a woman. But like an angel. (draws a wing shape on air with her hands)

Boy 1: Wings? Ok, I can draw wings but I can't draw the rest of the things you said.

Girl 1: Ok. I'll draw it.

Boy 2: You know in some, something like a circle turns on their heads.

Girl 1&Girl 2: Oh! Let's do it!

The group didn't make a deep discussion about the meaning of goodness. They focused on the style of the clothes mostly. It can be seen that Boy 1 insisted about making the character wear a suit. This decision was not because he related it with goodness. He was simply interested in drawing a suit. This can be inferred because he didn't mind drawing it to goodness or badness picture as long as he drew it somewhere. He wasn't making a deep brainstorming about the concepts.

No media character was referred to being related to goodness in the focus group. The focus group discussed the gender issue but eventually, decided on drawing goodness as female, badness as male which fit the stereotypical categories. The drawing fits all the other categories in the categorical analysis, too. The colour tones are light, there is a wing and a halo. No other symbol or drawing was included.

Figure 19

Depiction of badness in a private school of İstanbul



Goodness and badness drawings of focus group 1 in a Mardin state school are as follows: (See Figure 20 and 21):

Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: Burning head, suit, burning hands, skeletons

Signified: Vampire, death, dead souls, being cool

Interpretant: The focus group was observed to be under the affect of media. They didn't have a discussion about the meaning of goodness. Instead, they thought about the properties of pirates, vampires, monsters and skeletons which cannot be learned by real life experiences but through observational learning as Bandura explains. Some media characters were directly referred to as well.

Boy 1: Ok bad! I'll try to draw a skull. Boy! It will look so cool! Black, with a suit, burning skeleton. Like Ghost Rider.

Boy 2: Let's not draw a skeleton. Drawing it will be too hard.

Girl 2: The head can be a simple head but the body can be a skeleton.

Girl 1: A scarred head. Can it have wings? But very dark black wings as it represents badness.

Boy 2: Let's directly draw a vampire, then.

Girl 1: (Laughs) I think, it's ok but vampires don't have wings.

Boy 2: They do. They have something like a cloak.

Girl 1: Let's draw a demon's wings. Should we add a hook in his one hand? It would look like a pirate.

Boy 1: (Makes pirate sound) Grrrrrr.

Girl 2: Skeleton, vampire, monster, pirate.

Boy 1: Dead souls... It sucks souls. Like Voldemort.

Girl 1: Wow! It looks so cool that even if it wore a swimsuit it wouldn't matter.

Being cool had an emphasis on this group's drawing. They put so much attention to the clothing and they tried to make it look cool. The skeletons, sucking souls can refer to death and fire refers to demons. The character's gender is told to be male. The colour choices are black, red and dark tones. The idea of drawing black wings was talked about but wasn't drawn. It is obvious that they are familiar with the angel and demon stereotypes and it is clear that it had a very big impact on their imagination and creativity. The group can be claimed to make an imitative imagination by recreating the properties of media characters they see in media.

In summary: In the private school of Istanbul there are two female, 1 genderless and 1 male goodness depictions. In badness depictions, all of the depictions are male hence there are 4 male characters. All 4 of the goodness pictures are depicted with lighter colour tones than all 4 of the badness depictions. About the angel and demon iconology, it is observed that 3 of the goodness pictures bear angel's iconological properties and 1 picture doesn't. In badness depictions, again there are 3 pictures using the demon's iconology like horns, tail, rake, fire and 1 picture doesn't use such iconological elements. (See Table 12, Table 13 and Table 14)

Table 12*Gender of characters in the private school of Istanbul*

Ist. Private	Goodness	Badness
Male	1	4
Female	2	0
Genderless	1	0

Table 13*The colour tones of pictures in the private school of Istanbul*

Ist. Private	Goodness	Badness
light	4	0
vague	0	0
dark	0	4

Table 14*The rate of drawing angel-demon and other characters in the private school of Istanbul*

Ist. Private	Goodness	Badness
angel	3	0
other	1	1
demon	0	3

Figure 20

Depiction of goodness in a state school of Mardin



Sign: Goodness in human form

Signifier: Blonde woman, white wings, white clothes, glowing, tear

Signified: Angel, being sad because of all the badness happening in the world, being pure

Interpretant: The group depicted goodness as a blonde woman wearing white clothes and crying because of all the badness happening in the world. Some important parts of the focus group's discussion is explained below.

Boy 1: I think it would be something so pure.

Girl 1: There would be something round on it's head.

Girl 2: It would probably wear white.

Boy 1: I think something pure, like a ghost but it says human.

Girl 2: I think it would have long white dress.

Boy 2: Both tangible and intangible.

Boy 1: Something you can see but can't touch.

Boy 2: Like a goodness fairy that walks around people.

Boy 1: How about the gender?

Girl 2: Let it be a girl.

Girl 1: Or maybe genders together. We can draw short hair for both male and female.

Girl 2: I think we should draw just one. I think we should draw a girl.

Boy 1: I think we shouldn't use too many colours.

Girl 1: Let's draw wings.

Boy 2: But it says human.

Boy 1: It says human, I think we shouldn't draw wings, too.

Girl 1: She is crying.

Boy 1: It is pure, obviously.

Boy 2: She is crying because of all the badness in the world.

As it can be understood from the discussion, the group associates goodness with being pure and crying because of all the badness in the world. It is something people can see but can't touch. An interesting finding is that the group's drawing fits into all categories of angels, the group in the discussion doesn't use the term angel. Instead, they use terms like ghost or goodness fairy. It can be seen that they think about the iconological properties of angels not as a whole but as different elements but eventually, one iconological element probably reminds another and they end up drawing an angel. Another finding is that the group is actually in consensus that goodness fairies and ghosts are not to be drawn because the instructions say human. They seem to oppose the idea of drawing wings but they end up drawing wings. All the ideas that appear in their mind refer to supernatural beings like ghosts, goodness fairies but they seem to intend drawing a human being. It is clear that the students' creativity is being shaped and affected by something, they don't necessarily refer to many media characters (Other than Elsa, which the group refers to as they set the hair colour) but it isn't very likely for them to see ghosts, goodness fairies or angels in real life. Under the circumstances it can be said that this is learned via observational learning as Bandura explains from Media.

Gender also fits the expected categories in the categorical analysis. However, in the debate the idea to draw it with short hair to fit both genders came up. Eventually, this idea was ignored by the rest of the members of the group. It can be said that, stereotypical ideas are easier to be accepted but out of the box ideas get more resistance and student's usually need to defend their ideas harder to make their ideas emerge in the final picture. Bringing up stereotypical ideas, much appreciation, little or no resistance, and when they do get resistance, this resistance is usually easier to be broken when compared to out of the box ideas.

Figure 21

Depiction of badness in a state school of Mardin



Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: Fangs, red eyes, brown cloak, red clothes, trident,

Signified: Male, demon vampire, unflinching

Interpretant: The group depicted a vampire as badness in human form. Some important parts from the discussion are as follows.

Boy 2: I think badness would be male.

Girl 1&2: I think so.

Boy 2: Because men... unflinching.

Boy 1: Really? Is that so?

Girl 2: And red and black...

Girl 1: Black, black...

Boy 1: Devil's horns...

Boy 2: but it says human...

Girl 2: In his hand, you know this thing like triangle...

Girl 1: It should be ugly. Let's draw it ugly. There should be a pimple on his nose. Like he is a teenager.

Girl 2: How should his hair look like.

Girl 1: Like this. (Puts her fingers on her head like vertical hair.)

Boy 2: Hair... I think his hair should be red.

Girl 2: Triangle.

Boy 1: Red and vertical.

Boy 2: I think we should use dark colour tones. Black...

Boy 1: Look! We are drawing the demon!

Girl 2: How will his mouth be like?

Boy 2: I think we should draw a smiling mouth but you know these...

Girl 1: Yes, fangs!

Boy 2: Like a vampire.

Boy 1: Yes.

The painting fits all the stereotypical categories expected in badness. It is male and colours are mostly red and black. The character has fangs like a vampire. It is interesting because the same as in the group's goodness depiction, in this one they didn't intend to draw a demon. However, at some point they looked at what they were drawing and one group member said 'Look! We are drawing the demon!' in a surprised manner. They think of the categories unrelated from one another but eventually, they

end up drawing a demon vampire. This can be interpreted as the effect of media since the student's aren't expected to see a demon vampire in real life. However, no character from media was directly referred to during this session. This shows that the affection isn't exactly a conscious one.

An interesting finding is that one member of the group explained his decision to draw badness in male form as men are more unflinching than woman. This can be seen as a stereotypical attribution. Even though there was an opposition from one member of the group, all the other members were all in a strict consensus about drawing the badness as male. This strengthens the argument that making a stereotypical idea accepted in a social group is easier than making an out of the box idea to be accepted.

Goodness and badness drawings of focus group 2 in a Mardin state school are as follows: (See Figure 22 and 23):

Figure 22

Depiction of goodness in a state school of Mardin



Sign: Goodness in human form

Signifier: A blonde girl, sunny weather, smiling face, sporty clothes

Signified: having less tendency to be violent, being bright, being happy, being comfortable

Interpretant: The group depicted goodness in human form as a blonde girl standing outside under the Sun. Important parts of the debate of the group are as follows:

Boy 1: I think goodness would be bright.

Boy 2: It would shine.

Boy 1: It would wear clothes in light colours. ... Would be smily.

Boy 2: Smily, for sure.

Girl 1: Would always be happy.

Boy 2: Would have good relations with his/her friends.

Boy 2: Can't be like everybody. Should be unique.

Girl 2: What will be the gender?

Boy 1: It doesn't matter. Let's draw two characters.

Boy 2: I think it can be a woman.

Boy 1: Can be woman. Because woman are more... this thing...

Boy 2: They have less tendency to be violent.

Girl 2: Yes.

Boy 2: Also, I don't think she would wear black.

Girl 1: Let's use bright colours.

Boy 1: Would love music.

Girl 2: She would love everything.

Boy 2: Not everything, not bad things.

Girl 1: We didn't mean that.

Boy 1: Would be kind to bad people, too.

Boy 2: But wouldn't like the badness itself.

Boy 1: What will be the hair colour?

Boy 2: Should be a light colour. A bit brownish. Oh! No! Not brownish. Yellow.

Girl 2: I think more like light brown.

Girl 1: Let's use light brown and yellow both for the hair.

Boy 2: We can draw sporty clothes to make it feel comfortable.

It can be seen that the group comes up with many ideas about goodness. They don't refer to angels or any character from media. The result doesn't bear many properties of angels as well. However, having light colour tones, an emphasis on shining and the gender still fits the criteria. The group explains their decision to draw goodness as female as they have less tendency to be violent. This can be seen as a stereotypical approach. The Sun, stands for being bright, glowing and shining. The group also emphasized that goodness would be smily because she would always be happy. The colour choices are also interesting because even though they do not make

an explain why, they seem to be in consensus that they shouldn't use black in the goodness picture. This seems to be related with the idea of shining/glowing, th idea of shining/glowing is yet related to angel iconology. Even though the group makes no references to angels, the effect can still be felt in the discussion and in the picture.

Goodness to wear sporty clothes as a sign of comfort seems to be a unique idea that doesn't appear in all groups. The group also had ideas about enjoying music and good things but they didn't add an element to refer to it in the final picture.

Figure 23

Depiction of badness in a state school of Mardin



Goodness and badness drawings of focus group 3 in a Mardin state school are as follows: (See Figure 24 and 25):

Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: A man with a hat, bottles of wine, cigarette, dead flower, A rectangle that writes KUL HAKKI (rightful share) on it, rainy, stormy weather with thunder, dry soil, money in his pockets, evil laughter, black gloves

Signified: dead nature, not knowing where to spend the money, being obsessed with money, not paying tax, having harmful addictions, looking down on people, mocking, agent

Interpretant:

Boy 1: Let's make this one black.

Boy 2: Also, its skin shouldn't be skin colour. Black? No. Skin colour mixed with black.

Girl 2: Which gender it should be this time?

Boy 2: It should be a man this time.

All group members agree.

Boy 2: We will only draw a brown soil.

Boy 1: Like a desert. Dry soil. We can draw dead flowers nearby.

Girl 1: Where there isn't happiness, the society is also bad.

Boy 2: A bit well-built. You know strong people do bad things.

Girl 2: Yes, yes.

Boy 1: Let's draw a strong man. With muscles like this. (Shows his muscles.)

Boy 2: Strong looks down on weak.

Girl 2: Everyone sees himself as a giant on the mirror. Shall we draw a mirror.

Boy 2: Mirror? No. How can we draw a mirror?

Girl 2: Yes, we can't.

Boy 2: I think mirror would be exaggerating.

Boy 1: We could draw a lake on which he could see himself. ... Let's draw thunder.

Boy 2: There should be money coming out of his pockets.

Boy 1: It can have scars on his arms.

Boy 2: No, not necessary.

Boy 1: should it have an evil smile or... I think he should have an evil smile. He is so obsessed with money that we should draw golden teeth.

Boy 2: He doesn't know where to spend his money.

Girl 1: Throwing the money away. Not knowing where to spend it.

Boy 2: Let's draw a cup in his hand. Like he gives too much tax. (Ironic tone of voice)

Boy 1: It can be wine!

Boy 2: Smoke coming out of the wine.

Boy 1: Because he has harmful addictions.

Boy 2: He should have an evil smile. Like mocking. Looking down on people.

Boy 2: It should have a knife in his hand.

Boy 1: Too much.

Boy 2: Oh! I have an idea to show how serious this is.

(Draws the rectangle that writes KUL HAKKI (rightful share) on it.)

Boy 2: His hair fell of...

Boy 1: Lets make him bald.

Boy 2: You know there are hats like rich people wear. Like an agent. He should have black gloves.

Boy 1: And let's draw empty chocolate coverings on the floor.

The group didn't refer to angels in this session as well. However, the colour tones they preferred and their gender choice fit the categories. Drawing a black glove, and explaining it as he is an agent can be the effect of agent movies but a specific media character wasn't referred to.

Another issue they emphasized was being obsessed with money, being rich, not knowing where to spend money. Paying too much tax was also emphasized. However, the tone of voice sounded ironic so it can be interpreted as it actually refers to not paying tax. The money that comes out of the man's pockets and his hat are drawn to emphasize that.

Evil laughter was drawn in this picture and the meaning was explained by the group as 'Like mocking. Looking down on people.'

While the group's goodness picture has a background with sunny weather and grass, the badness picture's background shows barren and dead nature elements such as dry soil, dead flower. Even though they draw a dry soil, they draw the weather rainy and stormy. There is a contradiction here. It shows that they do not think about the relation of rain and soil. It is possible that unconsciously, they are imitating setting elements they possibly observed from media products. However, there isn't a direct reference to media.

The group emphasized, having unhealthy bad habits like drinking alcohol, smoking or eating too much chocolate. Also, they related badness with the rightful share which is a term used in Islam. A person's rightful share can be taken by stealing. Also, doing something to another person that he/she doesn't want, mocking or insulting a person are also ways to take someone's rightful share (Hürriyet, 2020). This can be the effect of local culture and religion.

The group didn't explain the reason of choosing the male gender for badness. However, there was a very strict consensus on the idea.

The group didn't draw the idea of mirror but it was debated. The debate on the issue came up as everyone sees himself as a giant on the mirror and they could draw a lake on which he could see himself. The mirror idea seems to have a similarity with the story of Narcissus. 'Narcissus, in Greek mythology, the son of the river god Cephissus and the nymph Liriope. He fell in love with his own reflection in the waters of a spring and pined away (or killed himself)' (Augustyn, 2022). The group seems to come up with ideas that has roots in Islam and Greek mythology both. This remind the cultural flows. While the local culture's effect is present, the global images and ideas are also affective. However, the mirror idea was denied and wasn't depicted because it was too hard to draw and because it was exaggerated. So, the end picture wasn't a hybrid one. It should also be noted that Narcissus wasn't directly referred to by the group members. This assumption is just based on the similarity of the thought.

Also, they spoke about drawing a strong man with muscles but the end picture doesn't show muscles. They explained this idea as strong man do bad things and strong looking down on weak.

Figure 24

Depiction of goodness in a state school of Mardin



Sign: Goodness in human form

Signifier: A man with eye glasses. Another man with a speech bubble that writes 'What can I do for you?', smiling faces

Signified: Blindness, Hızır, helpfulness, helping disabled people, happiness

Interpretant: The group depicted goodness as a man helping another man who is blind. When the debate is observed, it is seen that they related the character with a local belief: Hızır.

Girl 1: Like a good person, right?

Boy 1: I think that's what it talks about. Draw this thing. A person but has more than two arms. Helps everywhere. Here collects trash. Here helps a man carry his bags...

Boy 2: So, let's divide the paper into four.

Boy 1: Let's start drawing. We'll see.

Boy 1: One eye human eye, one eye animal eye. Draw a white beard or something.

Boy 2: You had to say it before. I can't draw it now. Oh! I have just thought of something. It can think about something. Like in a thinking bubble. In the bubble these helpful actions and stuff.

Girl 2: If it is a thinking bubble he wouldn't be actually doing a good thing. He would be just thinking about it.

Boy 2: I'll draw high hill shoes. (ironic tone of voice)

Boy 1: Oh! Boy! Is this a girl? Oh! Actually... We can draw a girl. You know. Girls are usually more compassionate.

Girl 1: Teacher, boys finally confessed the reality!

Laughter.

Boy 2: Look my friend. Draw a blind man. Draw a blind man. Oh! If goodness would be a man would it look like this? My God!

Boy 1: Ok! Ok! Let's draw a man who helps him.

Boy 2: The instructions ask how would goodness look like!

Boy 1: Covered with light.

Girl 2: Oh! Yes!

Girl 1: For example, if there is a blind person, that's a good person, right?

Boy 2: Like Hızır.

Boy 1: Oh! I found it! Selena! We would draw five children and one Selena! Oh! I wish we thought of it before! White and invisible!

In local belief, Hızır is an immortal person believed to come in time of need. It appears in different forms. Çelebi (1998, pp. 411-412) states that muslims have different opinions about Hızır. Some claims that he is an angel, some states that he is not. The group's depiction, even though doesn't fit any category of angels, refers to an angel (according to some opinions). This angel reference is unique because the group is depicting a local character that has roots in Islam instead of the stereotypical angel depictions that can be seen on media. The focus group debate shows that the group is familiar with the stereotypical angel form. They refer to Selena which is a popular

character from a Turkish serial by Gani Müjde. However, they end up drawing a local angel. In this group specifically, the name of God is more frequently used when compared to the other groups. It can be said that this group was affected by the Islamic religious belief. It is an important note that thinking about Selena, they expressed their remorse for not thinking about the idea of drawing Selena with five children before. So even in this group, the effect of media –even though didn't effect the result- was strong. It can also be noted that the group talked about stereotypical angels and a local one but the end picture doesn't bear hybrid properties.

There are also interesting findings on the gender issue in this focus group session. The group drawn goodness in male gender. Albert (2010, p. 39) states that the idea that angels are pure intellects have been replaced with idea that they are representatives of the imagination. They got detached from the Christian ideology. These female angels formed the contemporary angel depictions in popular culture in which a person is directly assumed to be female if referred to as 'an angel' This focus group which handles the concept of angel as Hızır, thinking about the true religious background preferred depicting it as male. The idea of drawing high hill shoes was offered ironically. It should also be noted that the group said they could have draw a woman because women are more compassionate than men.

Hızır is depicted as helping a disabled, blind man. Blind people are told to be good people by the group. This can be related with helpfulness and helping the disabled people and being disabled. The ideas that were spoken in the debate but wasn't drawn were collecting garbage and helping a man carrying his bags.

Figure 25

Depiction of badness in a state school of Mardin



Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: A man, wearing red and black clothes, smoking, carrying a bag full of alcoholic drinks, carrying a knife, dirty clothes

Signified: Djinn, being drunk, having unhealthy addictions, violence

Interpretant: The group depicted badness as a man with eyes like a djinn, carrying a bloody knife and a bag full of alcohol and smoking.

Boy 1: Draw a human head, ok! Look! There will be a cigarette in his mouth!

Girl 1: Let's draw money. People who do bad things are rich. He steals money.

Boy 1: You will draw alcohol! Let's draw some red on him. Like dirty with blood.

Boy 2: Excuse me? How will blood come on him?

Boy 1: The man is badness! Doing all sorts of evil. He comes and stabs your eye with a pencil. Blood comes out of your eye.

Girl 1: Oh! My God!

Girl 2: His eyes will be like a djinn!

Boy 2: Shall I draw a knife?

Girl 1: Yes.

Boy 2: He is drunk. He is drinking alcohol.

Boy 1: Oh! Let's draw a demon. Devil's horns!

Girl 1: It says human! Human! If it was human!

Boy 2: I'm scared of drawing it.

The Devil's name is mentioned in Quran as well however, quite differently than other religions. Quran does not describe the Devil as an angel or a human being but a Djinn (Albert 2010, p. 23). The focus group draws the man's eyes like a djinn which can be interpreted as an Islamic perspective of drawing Satan. The picture's gender and colour tones fit the demon categories however the iconological elements like tail, rake, fire or horn do not exist. It is replaced with djinn like eyes which indicates the group's islamic perspective. The group associated badness with acts such as stealing money, drinking alcohol, smoking, stabbing someone in the eye with a pencil and making it bleed. It should be noted that these are all considered as sins in Islam.

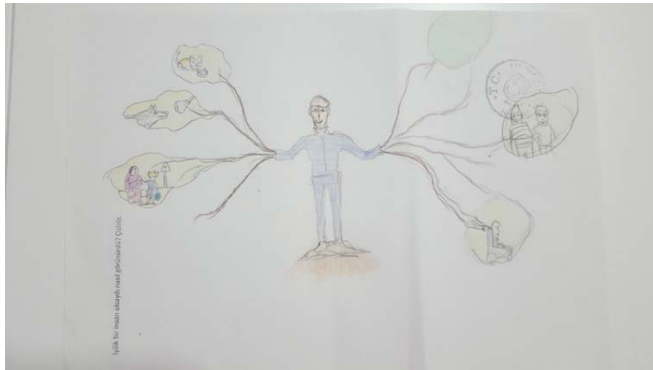
Even though they weren't drawn, the idea was discussed in the focus group. However, one boy expressed reluctance to draw it as he is scared. It reminds Islam's traditional reluctance to paint pictures as Albert (2010, p. 45) explains. Drawing demon's horns, seems to cause a fear in the group due to their religious beliefs which affected their decision not to draw them. This can be seen as the local culture's resistance to global images because they have drawn djinn eyes and Hızır.

Gender issue wasn't debated in the group. However, there was a silent consensus about drawing it as a man and they called him *the man* during the focus group.

Goodness and badness drawings of focus group 4 in a Mardin state school are as follows: (See Figure 26 and 27):

Figure 26

Depiction of goodness in a state school of Mardin



Sign: Goodness in human form

Signifier: Tree, person wearing a cap, on the branches: a cat, a dog, an old woman, kid, traffic light, man with eye glasses, man on a wheel chair, smiling face

Signified: Spirit, love of nature, helping the elderly and the disabled, helping the animals, happiness

Interpretant: The group depicted goodness as a man. His hands look like tree branches and his body is like the trunk of the tree. These branches each connect to a bubble in which the group depicted a different act of goodness which are helping the elderly, helping the disabled and helping animals. Some parts of the group's discussion are given below:

Girl 1: I think it would be white.

Boy 1: We will draw a human in the middle of the paper. There will be branches in his hand. For example, one brach will give water to a cat, another will give food to a dog. We will do stuff like that.

Girl 1: When you draw his hair like that, it looks like a man.

Boy 1: Should it be a woman?

Girl 1: I don't know. It's goodness. It can be man or a woman. The instructions say draw a human, not man or woman. Let's draw a cap. It can be a man or a woman.

Boy 2: I think we should draw disabled people here. And I think we shouldn't leave this one blank. The character looks like a spirit rather than a human. The goodness acts should be emphasized.

Girl 2: An old woman crossing the street and a boy helping her.

It is observed that the idea was brought forward by one member of the group right at the beginning of the session. Without much debate or discussion, the rest of the group accepted the idea. The idea was also depicted by the boy who came up with the idea himself. The rest of the group contributed by filling in the bubbles and giving him some ideas.

One of the few discussions is seen to be made on the gender issue. One girl in the group interfered as he drew and she expressed her opinion about the hair of the character. She said it looked like a man. Because instructions says 'human' and goodness can be both man and woman she offers to give the character a cap so it can be interpreted as both genders. Her idea was approved and the character was drawn with a cap. It can be said that the idea is not stereotypical because the expected character gender of goodness is female as that's how angels are usually depicted after the 19th Century (Albert, 2010, p. 60).

Another idea was drawing it white which is a property the end picture does not bear. The character seems to wear blue clothes. However, it should be noted that the picture's colour tones are still lighter than their own badness picture. Also, red and black colours were observed to be avoided in the goodness picture.

The group didn't refer to any character from media. However, a similar idea was depicted in another focus group in a private school in İstanbul. Also, another group didn't depict but discussed the idea of drawing actions of goodness to the hands (which are more than two) of the main character. The idea of depicting goodness this way seems to be quite common yet no media character was directly referred in any of the focus groups discussing or picturing the idea. Another interesting fact is the other group's picture also depicts the goodness acts a bit similarly. As it can be seen, the end picture's bubbles show an old woman trying to cross the street and a child helping him which can be interpreted as helping the elderly. Feeding dog and giving water to cat can be associated with helping animals. The blind person and the person on the

wheelchair can be the signifier of helping the disabled. The main idea of drawing the character like a tree can be associated with the love of nature.

In the discussion, it can be seen that the group thinks the character is like a spirit more than a human. This idea may be a reminder of angels which are spirits more than human as well. Also, it can be said that the appearance of the branches creates a shape like wings which are common in stereotypical angel depictions. Another important note here is that in the badness drawing the group depicted a demon as the central element saying they want to draw the bad version of the goodness picture they had drawn. Because the group didn't refer to wings but they clearly stated these are branches, wing will not be considered as an element that came out in this picture. However, because stereotype formation doesn't always happen in a conscious level (Bigler, 1998, p. 22) it is good to note this similarities here as a note.

Figure 27

Depiction of badness in a state school of Mardin



Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: Red and black, horns, cane, fire, burning tree, burning house, fire coming out of eyes, bloody moon, lightning, skull

Signified: Demon, conscious violence, harming the nature, manipulation, death

Interpretant: The group depicted badness as a demon burning the environment with his eyes. The important parts of the discussion are below.

Girl 1: Red and black! Blue maybe... But no. Red and black.

Girl 2: Let's draw the bad version of the goodness picture.

Girl 1: It shouldn't be branches this time.

Boy 1: Let's draw pipes instead of branches. (ironically)

Boy 2: Let's draw an environment. There is trash and fire everywhere.

Boy 1: Let's draw a face with smoke coming out of the mouth everywhere.

Girl 1: Someone is consciously burning it. Let's draw the badness. There is a man. He is reflecting his bad ideas to another and the other man is burning the house.

Girl 2: For example, I think of something bad and when I reflect it to my friend...

Boy 1: Who says we should draw my idea?

(No one raises hand)

Girl 2: Who says we should draw my idea?

(The two group members raises their hands.)

Boy 1: How will we do that? You explained us a movie!

Girl 2: Just draw badness as a normal person. He should have a cane on his hand, too. Like a demon. Oh! God save me! God save me! And horns...

Girl 1: Ok. (makes a voice like shivering in fear)

Girl 2: Let's draw a sun!

Boy 1: The moon can burn!

Boy 2: Let's draw a lightning!

Girl 2: Don't exaggerate!

Boy 2: Fire is coming out of the man's eyes and you are saying I'm exaggerating because I simply offer drawing a lightning!

The group's goodness picture was a tree like spirit and in this picture they talk about drawing the opposite of it and they draw a demon burning a tree. Nature seems to have a central point in this group's understanding of goodness and badness. In this session the burning tree can be the sign of the violation and harm of nature.

While Boy 1 was a bit dominant in the creation of the idea in goodness picture, in badness picture the focus group made an election and chooses to draw the idea of Girl 2. This seemed to result with a shift in ideas. While the tree was the central element in the first picture, in badness picture the central element became a demon and the burning tree became a secondary element. It can be explained by the change in the focus group dynamics after the election.

The group's main character is clearly a demon. Firstly, it can be observed in the focus group discussion. They clearly state their intention is to draw a character like demon. Secondly, the iconological properties are also observable in the final depiction. The clothes and cloak are red and black, the character has horns, it has a cane and fire is coming out of his eyes. The gender also fits the demon categories. The group didn't discuss the gender issue in the badness session. However, they all kept referring the demon as a man. So, it is categorized as male. An interesting finding is that drawing a demon seems to cause a religious fear in the members of the group. It is their decision to draw it and they seem to like the idea of drawing it. However, they also say things like 'Oh! God save me! God save me!' or make a voice like shivering with fear. It reminds Islam's traditional reluctance to paint pictures as Albert (2010, p. 45) explains. When it comes to drawing demon's this fear can be observed in this group and in some other group's as well. Here it should be emphasized again that the students decide on drawing badness in demon form themselves. Here, a clash of local culture and belief and global image can be causing these reactions.

By saying these: 'Someone is consciously burning it. Let's draw the badness. There is a man. He is reflecting his bad ideas to another and the other man is burning the house.' the girl is putting an emphasis on being conscious when committing a violent act to call it badness. Also, these lines show that badness is being perceived as something that is reflected from one person to another. There is a complexity in this

idea. One person has bad ideas and these ideas effect another and turns that person into evil, makes him burn houses and trees. This explanation reminds brain washing or manuplation which is described as ‘manipulation is the use of means to exploit, control, or otherwise influence others to one’s advantage.’ (Brennan, 2020) It can also be a reference to observational learning itself. According to Bandura (1977, p. 52), especially the youth are more apt to learn by observational learning. Also, studies about this theory has shown that children are tend to imitate what they observe. Here, the idea of the group members can be an example of observing a friend’s bad actions and thoughts, modeling and imitating it.

In summary: There are 2 female, 1 genderless and 1 male goodness depictions and all 4 of the badness depictions are male in the state school of Mardin. All 4 of the goodness depictions are depicted with lighter colour tones than all 4 of the badness depictions. Only 1 of the goodness depictions use the angel’s iconological elements like white wings or halo. 3 of the goodness depictions do not use the related iconology. In badness depictions 2 of the pictures are seen to use the demon’s iconology while 2 of them do not. (See Table 15, 16 and 17)

Table 15

Gender of characters in the state school of Mardin

MardinState	Goodness	Badness
Male	1	4
Female	2	0
Genderless	1	0

Table 16

The colour tones of pictures in the state school of Mardin

MardinState	Goodness	Badness
light	4	0
vague	0	0
dark	0	4

Table 17

The rate of drawing angel-demon and other characters in the state school of Mardin

MardinState	Goodness	Badness
angel	1	0
other	3	2
demon	0	2

Goodness and badness drawings of focus group 1 in a Mardin private school are as follows: (See Figure 28 and 29):

Figure 28

Depiction of goodness in a private school of Mardin



Sign: Goodness in human form

Signifier: House, skinny people with old clothes, heart shaped door, stair legs, heart shaped smoke, long arms, bald, no eyes, bird, butterfly, dog, smily face,

Signified: doing so much sacrifice even causing a self harm, being poor, doing so much good that it's hair fell off, love, loving animals, happiness

Interpretant: The group depicted goodness as a character with a house tummy, stair legs and a roof head. Some important parts of the discussion is given below.

Girl 1: Other than an angel, I can think of lots of hands. There is a goodness in each of its arms.

Girl 2: Maybe a good person who looks ugly could look better.

Boy 1: There should be a house first and inside there should be poor people.

Girl 1: I know I'm obsessed with arms but I think it should have long arms like it can bring goodness everywhere.

Girl 2: And there should be different symbols.

Girl 1: Yes, for example, health.

Boy 1: I think it should be a house.

Girl 1: I think house can be inside its body and we can make the arms long.

Girl 2: Should we draw hair?

Girl 1: I think it should be bald. It did so much goodness that its hair fell off. ... In my opinion, we can draw its tummy like a round shape and the house can be inside the tummy. Its face can be white like it shines. ... Will you draw the poor people inside?... Okay. It should have a huge door.

Boy 1: Like a heart shape.

Girl 2: Heart shape looks very good.

Girl 1: The people should wear old clothes with patches and stuff. You draw them my friend.

Boy 2: Draw what?

Girl 2: Let them hold hands.

Girl 1: No, not holding hands but... I see some things in movies a lot. People waiting in lines to buy bread. They all have black faces and stuff. Like coal things. I saw it in a movie. Anyway... You draw however you imagine these people. We don't want to guide you. ... We can draw a hat, maybe.

Boy 2: Make its legs like stairs so they can pass the door one after another.

Girl 2: Draw one girl and one boy.

Girl 1: You are too inspired by the bulletain board in our class.

Girl 2: It is identified with the bulletain board. You draw the hat and the mouth. It should smile a lot. I want to draw them skinny. You know poor people have nutrition problems. Our friend can draw the animals and the dog.

Girl 1: What about eyes?

Girl 2: No eyes! No eyes! We shouldn't draw eyes on purpose! Like the good version of Slenderman.

Girl 1: Actually, we should draw a cat and a bird, too.

Boy 1: Butterfly?

Girl 2: I think it would be more meaningful if it doesn't have eyes. Goodness shouldn't be seen. For example, I did a good thing to you. If I make this seen by everyone it wouldn't mean anything. It shouldn't have eyes. It shouldn't see.

When the focus group discussion is observed, it can be seen that while three members of the group seem a bit shy, one girl is dominating the discussion.

An interesting finding is that while drawing goodness blind has been done or discussed in other focus groups as well, in this group, the reason and meaning behind this idea is clearly explained. 'Goodness shouldn't be seen. For example, I did a good thing to you. If I make this seen by everyone it wouldn't mean anything. It shouldn't have eyes. It shouldn't see.' Hence, blindness of goodness may be interpreted accordingly. Good acts aren't really good if they are done to show off. This is why goodness is depicted blind.

The depiction doesn't seem to be a classical angel. However, it is seen that in the discussion, drawing an angel was the first idea that was expressed. Also, the butterfly and bird have wings which is an iconological property of angels. Angels are seen to be drawn like butterflies in other focus groups as well. The group's depiction in the badness session being a butterfly being burned by a demon also strengthens the argument that the butterfly stands for the wings of an angel here. However, this group didn't seem to refer the butterfly's wings as an angel and the butterfly wasn't the central element of the depiction. Hence, it is accepted as a simple butterfly in the categorical

analysis. Yet, it should be noted that of all the animals, the choice of drawing a butterfly can be a reminder of angel iconology.

Another interesting finding is that the group discussion clearly stated that the depiction is inspired by a bulletin board in school. It shows that like television and cinema, school bulletin boards can also be important elements that affect children's creativity and imagination. Other than the bulletin board, the group also referred to two characters. The first one's name is not expressed but the member explained that there were poor people in that movie and they were waiting in the line to buy bread. This movie inspired the group to draw the people in their depiction with old clothes to express that they are poor. From this explanation, the movie that inspired this idea doesn't seem to be about angels. The other character is Slenderman. Slenderman is a character without a specific face. This was associated with drawing the character without eyes. Slenderman is referred to but referred as a bad character because they said they want to draw the good version of it. So, it is taken as a bad character in the categorical analysis section of the study. As a result, it can be said that media affect can be observed in this group but it didn't bring out the classical angel iconology. However, it can be argued that, poor people are good which is the message the group is inspired to express under the effect of this unknown movie can be considered as a stereotypical message because it attributes a quality to a social group and over generalizes it. Because the attributed property is a good one, it can be seen as a positive stereotype.

It is also important to note that the group expressed the reason of drawing goodness as bald as it did lots of good things and eventually it lost its hair. It looks like it is pointing at too much self-sacrifice that consumes the person itself. The explained goodness level is a self-consuming, self-harming one. Goodness is also associated with being poor. The group's perception of goodness doesn't involve much self-love and self-care. It is about not getting anything back like money, not showing off but giving a lot to others that one loses his-her own hair. The only outcome is seen to be happiness which is expressed by the smily mouth the group drawn to the character.

Also, house is an emphasised signifier and a central element in this picture. House has a heart shaped door and heart shaped smoke is coming out of it's chimney. It can be a representative of love and peace in house and in family. It can be said that the group sees happiness and peace in family as the central requirement for goodness.

The group is seen to pay a special effort to express the idea that gender doesn't matter in a depiction of goodness. They drew one girl and one boy to express this message. It can be categorized as an out of the box idea.

Also, the group chose to use light colour tones when compared to their own badness depiction.

Another interesting finding is that they preferred drawing animals like cat and dog which are domestic animals. No animal with horns was depicted but two of the animals they choose have wings. They didn't depict angels but it is clear that they are familiar with the iconology.

Figure 29

Depiction of badness in a private school of Mardin



Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: horns, fire, burning butterfly, sharp teeth, red and black, knife, evil laughter, obesity

Signified: demon, violence, death, victory, looking down on people, mocking, fast food

Interpretant: The group depicted badness as a demon burning a butterfly. The discussion is explained below.

Girl 2: Definitely red and black.

Girl 1: Horns.

Girl 2: It should have red eyes and blood should come out of its mouth.

Boy 1: A knife in his hand.

Boy 2: Knife in its one hand and fire in its other hand and there should be a person burning in the fire.

Girl 1: Makes sense! There was a house in the goodness depiction. In this depiction there should be a house again but fire should come out of it.

Girl 2: Should it have a big smile?

Girl 1: Evil laughter!

Girl 2: I think it should be fat.

Girl 1: I agree. Should it hold a hamburger in its one hand? I'm against fast food. Draw it big. Obese! Oh! This became the Satan, obviously!

Girl 2: Ok. It means badness means Satan to us.

Boy 2: Should I draw a butterfly?

Girl 2: Skeleton butterfly?

Girl 1: Yes! In it's hand.

The group didn't refer to any character from media. However, the depiction bears the iconological properties of demons and group clearly states in the discussion that badness means Satan to them. The character has horns, it is depicted with red and black colours and it brings out fire from its hand. Since the group isn't expected to see a demon in real life, this depiction can be assumed to be affected by media.

The group depicted a butterfly in their goodness depiction and in the badness depiction, the Satan is burning a butterfly. Butterfly is an animal with wings and some other focus groups are observed to depict it in relation with angels. Here, Satan's burning a butterfly can be related to angels as well. Evil laughter is observed in many focus groups. In this group, the badness is again depicted with an evil laughter which was explained to be an indicator of victory, mocking and looking down on others. Here,

the character is burning a butterfly which may be representing an angel. Hence it can be interpreted as a demon's victory and mocking of an angel. These are characters with religious roots. However, the group isn't observed to use these images thinking about their religious context. Also, they didn't start the painting calling the character Satan. They just started drawing the images they thought and they were surprised to see eventually it became Satan. This shows that there is an unintentional, subconscious process that affects their imagination. Because they aren't expected to see real angels or demons in life, this can be associated with media.

Being obese is a different idea the group put forward in their badness depiction. They explained that this is related to eating fast food. They referred to eating hamburger. It wasn't clear if they were simply against eating unhealthy food or if it can be generalized to the issue of Mcdonaldization.

The bloody knife is a common element in badness depictions and it is associated with violence, murder and death.

Gender issue wasn't debated in this group. The final depiction also doesn't bear any signifier of a specific gender. Considering that the group was careful about not relating goodness with a specific gender in their goodness picture, the character can be accepted as genderless.

In this session, the group shows signs of boredom. The two boys in the group didn't contribute much and their boredom slowly affected the girls in the group as well. Eventually, girls tried to complete the picture fast so the boys wouldn't be bored any longer. It is an interesting finding that in groups that there is a dominant member that makes all the decisions, the other members usually shows signs of boredom and they lose their interest in the activity. This eventually affects the dominant member and they gradually lose their interest as well. It is also interesting that dominant group members don't always become dominant because they oppress the other members. One or two members start standing out and becoming more dominant because of the shyness of the other members. However, this finding isn't related to the study's research area hence it is just explained here as a note.

Goodness and badness drawings of focus group 2 in a Mardin private school are as follows: (See Figure 30 and 31):

Figure 30

Depiction of goodness in a private school of Mardin



Sign: Goodness in human form

Signifier: halo, smiling face

Signified: angel, happiness

Interpretant: Group depicted goodness as a male angel with a halo. The discussion is given below.

Girl 1: Let's draw an angel. She can be blonde, like Princess Aurora.

...

Boy 1: It's just the picture of a blonde boy. How will people know he is good?

Girl 1: Oh! Yes. He looks so normal.

Girl 2: Wings?

Boy 2: I can't draw wings.

Girl 1: You know... This round thing over the head.

Boy 2: Oh! Ok! That's easier to draw.

The picture can be seen to be mostly yellow. The discussion shows that the group is referring to the blonde hair of princess Aurora which is a character from media. This yellow dominant depiction can be the effect of this character from media.

About the gender there seems to be conflicting ideas. At the beginning of the discussion, they talked about drawing a blonde angel like princess Aurora. However, the member of the group who drew the picture drew it with short hair and later, they started referring it as a boy. Because the final discussion considers it a boy, it is accepted as a boy and male.

It is an interesting finding that after drawing the picture, they realized it was just a normal blonde boy and there was no signifier of his goodness. Eventually, they considered drawing wings and a halo to mention that the character is good. The group, instead of having a discussion about what does goodness mean to them, coming up with ideas about what do good people do and finding creative ways to express these ideas, take the short cut of drawing a halo and referring to angels. It can be noted here that they didn't draw wings because they were hard to draw.

The character seems to have a smiling facial expression which indicates his happiness.

Figure 31

Depiction of badness in a private school of Mardin



Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: horns, red eyes, black, red and purple, skull, angry facial expression, hair like a bush

Signified: Witch, death, anger, neglecting personal hygiene and beauty

Interpretant: The group depicted badness as an witch. The important parts of the discussion is given below.

Girl 1: It should have horns.

Girl 2: And red eyes.

Girl 1: It it a demon or a witch?

Girl 2: A witch. Like Harry Potter.

Girl 1: What colour do we use for badness?

Girl 2: Dark ones. Like this. (Shows black and brown)

Girl 1: No, no, not brown. Black and red and purple. Witches are purple.

Boy 1: I'll draw a skull on her belt and you can draw it purple.

Girl 2: She wears black clothes and a purple belt.

Girl 1: No! Don't draw the hair like this. Draw it like this. Like a bush. She is a witch. She neglects her personal hygiene and beauty.

Boy 1: Ok. Ok. Like this?

Girl 1: Yes, like that.

The picture bears the iconological properties of demons such as horns. Colour choices are red, black and purple which are told to be the colours of badness by the group. Purple especially, is told to stand for witches. Harry Potter seems to be triggering the idea of drawing a witch. Even though there are good and bad witches in Harry Potter, the group takes the concept as badness, not goodness. Also, in Harry Potter the female are called witches and males are called wizards. Harry Potter is a wizard and he is depicted as a good character. However, wizards don't seem to affect the group's imagination in badness like witches. This group is one of the few that depicted badness as female. While male depictions are usually depicted as demons, this female depiction of badness is seen to be a witch. It can be said that badness is generally depicted as a male demon however, if it's a female, it becomes a witch.

As a woman, she is seen to neglect her personal hygiene and beauty. Women who do not accept the angelic qualities are usually demonized. They are portrayed as

monstrous deviations from *real* womanhood. Female demons do not nurture men and children. Instead, they suck the energy from men through sexual intercourse as a vampire or kill children like Lilith, Lamia and Lilu. For example, Christian myths explain the original sin as being brought to the people by Eve, when she disobeys her husband Adam. Just like these examples, women who transgress the patriarchal codes seen as a threat to the social order and demonized (Ferraro, 2006, pp. 2-3) Neglecting her beauty and personal hygiene doesn't seem to fit the angelic female standards.

The group used an angry facial expression to express the character's anger and skull on the belt can be seen as a signifier of death.

Goodness and badness drawings of focus group 3 in a Mardin private school are as follows: (See Figure 32 and 33):

Figure 32

Depiction of goodness in a private school of Mardin



Sign: Goodness in human form

Signifier: Wing, halo, heart, smiling face

Signified: Angel, love, happiness

Interpretant: The group depicted goodness as an angel. The focus group draw this picture in a very short time without much discussion about it. The important parts of the discussion are below:

Boy 1 : An angel.

Girl 1: Would look like an angel. Would have wings. There would be a thing on its head. This round thing. Really. Would be white.

Girl 1 drew it herself and they called it finished. They didn't even spend time to paint it or talk about it or add some details. They spoke with a low tone of voice which indicated they felt a bit shy. The end painting can be observed to have wings and a halo. These are angel's iconological properties. The character wears a dress but it also has short hair. Stereotypically pink is usually associated with women and blue is associated with men. The picture can be seen to use both of these colours. Since the group didn't make a debate about the character's gender and the end picture doesn't give enough clues to refer it to one gender it is thought to be genderless. However, it isn't clear if it was a thoughtful decision or not. The colour tones of the picture are seen to be lighter than the group's own badness picture. The character has a smiling face which can be associated with happiness. The heart on its dress can be a signifier of love. The character also seemed to wear eye glasses. It can be a sign of reading a lot which may cause the need of using eyeglasses. However, the group didn't make a clear explanation about the reasons to make the character wear them. So, the meaning of eyeglasses is a bit vague.

It can be noted that, the group that didn't want to spend much time thinking or coming up with new ideas ended up drawing an angel. It can be said that recreating a well-known familiar image in other words imitative imagination is the easy and fast way of completing a creative task.

Figure 33

Depiction of badness in a private school of Mardin



Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: horns, red wings, black, purple and red, red eye, sulking

Signified: demon, unhappiness

Interpretant: The group depicted badness as a demon. The important parts of the discussion are below.

Girl 1: If badness was human, it would definitely be a human.

Boy 2: Black cloak, burning.

Girl 1: Demon! A demon with red ears.

Boy 1: Not ears, though.

Girl 1: No, not ears. Like this. (Puts her hands on her head like horns.)

Boy 1: One of his eyes can be red.

Girl 1: Should sulk. Oh! Why did you draw it smiling? Let's draw its face to purple.

Boy 1: This man was beaten and thrown stones at. So, it's face is purple.

Girl 1: No, not because of that! Because demon's faces are actually purple.

Boy 2: Yes, purple, black and red.

Girl 1: Let's colour one wing red, one wing purple and the middle can be black.

The group completed the task in four minutes. They seemed a bit bored of the task and they didn't give it much of a thought. The discussion part was short. It can be seen that they agreed on drawing a demon very fast. They thought of drawing a black cloak but later they forget that those lines were supposed to be a cloak and they started referring it as wings and they drew them red and purple. They didn't think about the facial expression, too. As they were drawing fast, they drew the character smiling and when they noticed it they drew another line to make it sulk. So, the character is thoughtfully made to sulk which can be associated with unhappiness. The line that looks like a moustache is actually the incorrect drawing. However, the group kept referring the character as a man in their discussion so it is accepted as a man.

Another interesting finding is that they associated badness with red, black and purple. As they were colouring the character's head purple, one boy tried to explain its reason as associating it with being beaten. However, the other members of the group strictly denied this idea. They clearly stated that this wasn't why they were colouring the head purple. They were drawing it because red, black and purple is the actual colour of demons. Since the group isn't expected to see a demon in real life, this is an important finding that shows how affective media can be on children. The group refusing a possible real life cause offered to them, agrees that this is the actual colour of demons. They perceive it as an unchangeable reality and they don't seem to question it or think about what it means, how can they change it, do they really want to draw it this way... They just recreate an image they have in their mind and they aren't open to question this image. Adorno (2007, p.56) states that cultural commodities which are the characteristic products of cultural industry, by nature paralyzes the imagination and critical thinking talents of its audience. As technology penetrates in the lives of everyone since 20th Century, cultural products are designed to be understood fast by observation yet for the events that pass through so fast to be caught they do not let the audience to stop and think about it. This focus group, trying to finish the task as fast as possible (in four minutes), not making any deep thinking or debate about the topic, ends up drawing a picture that fits into all categories of demons. This observation is parallel with Adorno's explanations and can be a proof of his point that cultural commodities

by nature paralyzes the imagination and critical thinking of the audience because they are designed to be understood fast and without giving much thought.

Goodness and badness drawings of focus group 4 in a Mardin private school are as follows: (See Figure 34 and 35):

Figure 34

Depiction of goodness in a private school of Mardin



Sign: Goodness in human form

Signifier: Girl, wings, halo, clouds, Sun, trees, bird, duck, points under the character's hand, smiling face

Signified: Angel, love of nature, love of animals, helping animals, happiness

Interpretant: The group depicted goodness as an angel. The important parts of the discussion is noted below.

Girl 1: I think it would be a normal person.

Boy 1: Withing animals.

Girl 1: For example, it can give food to animals.

Boy 2: It would be pretty.

Girl 1: Shall we draw it like an angel? But it says human...

Boy 1: You can draw the bird. You can draw trees and you draw the sky.

Girl 2: I can draw a duck. Oh! The angel can hold a wand, like Harry Potter.

Girl 1: It wouldn't be an angel, then. It would be a witch. Let's draw her hand like this. Like she is throwing food to birds.

Girl: 2: Good idea.

The group quickly agreed on drawing an angel. They drew wings and a halo. Also, the colour tones are lighter than the group's own badness depiction.

The weather is depicted cloudy with Sun. They didn't explain the reason of this choice but this weather condition is commonly seen in other focus group's angel depictions. Cloudy weather with Sun is a mild weather condition. Sun can refer to the shining of angels in general and clouds fit the colour choice generally seen in angels: white. It can also refer to flying over the clouds which is a phrase used to express happiness. Clouds may also set an edge between what is worldly and what is divine. This weather condition can be said to be mild and harmless for people, too. However, the group didn't express any of these in the debate. They simply came up with the ideas of drawing the signifiers without much thought on their meanings. Clouds being an edge between the worldly and the divine could be interpreted as a religious attribution. However, the group's debate doesn't bear any discussion about religion or divinity. It looks more like they are simply recreating angel stereotypes they see on media without doing much thought on its hidden attributions. Because angels themselves have religious roots and attributions, they end up depicting these attributions in their picture uncsciously and unintentionally. In this case, it can be considered an effect of media, rather than religion.

The group's reference to Harry Potter also strengthens this view. In Harry Potter, male characters are called wizards and females are called witches. The group's saying if they draw a wand on their character's hand like Harry Potter it would be a witch, shows that they drew goodness as female. This gender choice also fits the angel stereotype categories. In Islam, there is a consensus on the idea that angels are not male or female and, they do not get married as well. In Quran, the idea of female angels is condemned (Albert, 2010, 60). It can be understood that, religious perspective doesn't

explain the group's gender choice as they draw an angel. Since they aren't expected to see an angel that looks like this in real life, it strengthens the idea that they are under the effect of media as they draw these images.

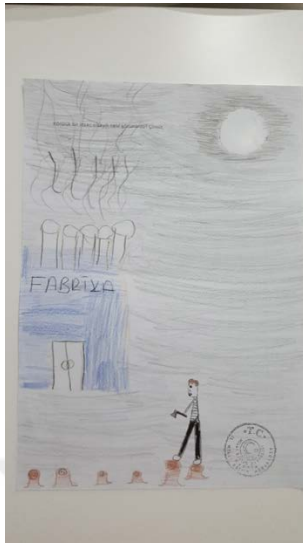
Even though witches such as Hermione Granger are shown as good characters in Harry Potter, the group didn't want to draw badness as a witch but an angel. However, women who do not accept the angelic qualities are usually demonized. They are portrayed as monstrous deviations from real womanhood (Ferraro, 2006, pp. 2-3). Even though Harry Potter doesn't portray them this way, witches can be a form of these monstrous deviations in general. It is seen that the group, rather than the context of Harry Potter, focuses on the general idea about witches and refuses to draw goodness as a witch but an angel which fits the stereotypical categories.

The group's discussion shows that they associate goodness with actions such as giving food to animals. They depicted birds and a duck which are animals people can see in their daily lives a bird and a duck. None of the animals they depict have horns. The angel is seen to throw food to the bird and the duck from the sky. This act is associated with the character's goodness. The character is depicted next to two trees and in nature which may be a sign the group associates goodness with the love of nature.

The character seems to have a smiling facial expression. It can be associated with peace and happiness.

Figure 35

Depiction of badness in a private school of Mardin



Sign: Badness in human form

Signifier: trees that are cut, man with an axe, a factory with black gases, dark background, moon

Signified: harming nature (individuals and companies), night

Interpretant: The group depicted badness as a man cutting down trees and a factory that brings out harmful gasses. Important points in the discussion are given below.

Girl 1: Goodness was day, badness can be night.

Girl 2: Oh! I have an idea. Let's draw trees but this time there will be a man cutting them down.

Girl 1: He can be cutting them under the moonlight. Moon is the only light and it's misty.

Boy 1: How are we going to draw mist?

Boy 2: And a big factory!

Girl 1: What's bad about a factory?

Boy 2: Not just a factory! A big factory. It gives out black gasses. Poisoning the air.

Girl 2: And people die because they breathe this air.

Girl 1: Which colours do we use?

Girl 2: Dark colours I think. It will be night.

Girl 1: Draw an axe. He is cutting the trees with an axe.

The group's goodness painting was explained to have signs that are associated with the love of nature. In the badness painting, the group again seems to put nature as the central point of their message. A man cutting down trees, a factory with poisonous smoke that kills people who breathe them, causing air pollution are all about harming nature. It shows that the focus group while relating goodness with the love of nature, associated badness with harming it.

The painting doesn't bear demon's iconological properties. No horns, rake, tail or fire is observed. The group also didn't discuss the idea of depicting a demon in their discussion. There is smoke coming out of the factory and the axe in the man's hand but in the focus group it is clear that, the group's intention wasn't drawing a demon. Axe is to show he is cutting down the trees and smoke is about air pollution. Because of this, these aren't accepted as demon's iconological properties in the categorical analysis section. There wasn't any reference to any character from media.

The group used dark colours in this painting. They explained it as because it is night and the only light comes from the moon. Darkness is associated with badness.

The issue of gender fits the stereotypical category of badness because it is male. The group didn't discuss the gender issue but the character is understood to be male because they call him 'a man' during the focus group discussion.

In summary: In the private school of Mardin there are two genderless, 1 male and 1 female goodness depiction. 2 of the badness depictions are male while 1 of them is genderless and 1 of them is female. All four of the goodness depictions are observed to be in lighter colour tones than the badness depictions. 3 of the goodness depictions use the iconological elements of angels like halo or white wings. 1 of the goodness depictions do not. In badness depictions the number of the pictures that use the demon's

iconology such as horns, tail, rake, fire etc. is 3. There is 1 picture noted that does not prefer using the related iconology. (See Table 18, 19 and 20)

Table 18

Gender of characters in the private school of Mardin

MardinPrivate	Goodness	Badness
Male	1	2
Female	1	1
Genderless	2	1

Table 19

The colour tones of pictures in the private school of Mardin

MardinPrivate	Goodness	Badness
light	4	0
vague	0	0
dark	0	4

Table 20

The rate of drawing angel-demon and other characters in the private school of Mardin

MardinPrivate	Goodness	Badness
angel	3	0
other	1	1
demon	0	3

During the sessions, the characters that students referred to are noted and their visuals are also listed below.

One of the good characters that is referred to is Yagasami Light. It is the protagonist of a manga called Death Note series by Tsugumi Oba and Takeshi Obata. The picture of the character is below. (See Figure 33)

4.2. The analysis of the referred characters

Figure 36

Yagami Light



Note. retrieved from <https://besthqwallpapers.com/tr/anime/yagami-light-kahraman%C4%B1-death-note-serisi-manga-death-note-90595>

Yagami Light is male and it is depicted with light colour tones wearing light coloured shirts. Yagami Light, is a character from a manga series by Tsugumi Ooba. It originates in Japan. In this series, Yagami Light is an ordinary student but he finds the deathnote which is a magical notebook fell from an angel of death. When he write someone's name on this notebook, that person dies. Yagami Light turns himself an angel of death by killing the criminals using this notebook. The character doesn't have wings naturally but wings are used in his depictions to show his divinity. It is interesting because this manga series originates in Japan and the death angels are in fact called shinigami's which depend on the local beliefs of Japan. 'In Japanese folklore, the Shinigami are death gods who play an essential role in the afterlife. People believed them to be spirits who guided the dead to the next world.' (History Defined, 2022) However, the character still uses the western iconology of white wings. As Kanoğlu (2009, pp.401-402) explains: 'anime' refers to Japanese cartoons. Their context involves the Japanese cultural properties. However, because they are exported by people from other cultures, they also contain the consumer culture's norms and expectations. This creates a culturally hybrid form. According to Kanoğlu (2009, p.402), cultural flow occurs though the distribution of animes and a hybrid culture is being created. Yagami Light's depictions with wings can be seen as this hybridity. Interestingly, the character is seen to be referred to by a group in Turkey, İstanbul. The group depicted a character with white wings like the depictions shows. It shows that this hybrid character that has Japanese and European touches seem to have an effect on a whole different Turkish culture and inspire the children's imagination.

Another good character that was referred to is Eros from Greek mythology (See Figure 37)

Figure 37

Eros



Note. retrieved from <http://robbie-thegoddessstouch.blogspot.com/2011/02/cupid-eros.html>

Eros is not a character from media. However, it is still included because the group referred to it and in the theoretical framework it is seen that Greek gods are the very first inspirations of the Christian iconology of angels which provide the baseline of the angel and demon characters in media (Albert, 2010).

This character is referred to by a focus group that depicted goodness as a child with white wings. Eros is a male, child angel. It has white wings and it has a bow. However, the focus group's gender choice was female. The dominant effeminization of angels occurred in 19th Century with the romantic movements and the industrial revolution (Albert, 2010, p. 60). Since Eros is an ancient character and angel iconology has changed in terms of gender after 19th Century, it is possible that the group who depicted this picture after the 19th Century depicted it under the influence of the angel depictions in their era as well.

And one other good character that was referred to is Princess Aurora from Maleficent (See Figure 38)

Figure 38*Princess Aurora*

Note. retrieved from <https://wallpaperaccess.com/aurora-maleficent>

Princess Aurora is a character from the movie *Maleficent*. She is a princess and she doesn't have wings. However, she is sometimes seen with a halo-like crown and she always wears clothes with light colours. Princess Aurora is a female character. She isn't an angel but a princess yet she seems to have some elements of angel iconology as well. In the focus group princess Aurora was referred to, her hair colour was mentioned. The group's depiction is dominantly yellow and and this character's hair is also yellow. The group didn't depict their character as a female but as male. However, their first decision was drawing it a female and this is where Princess Aurora's name came up. So, it can still be said that Aurora's gender was still a bit affective on the group.

Selena from the famous Turkish series by Gani Müjde is also referred to during the goodness drawings (See Figure 39)

Figure 39*Selena*

Note. retrieved from <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2008/07/12/>

Selena is an angel and she helps three young girls in the Turkish serial called 'Selena'. The three girls hold hands and summon Selena when they need something. Selena comes and helps them using her magical powers. She is a female angel, she is blonde and she wears white clothes. She bears most of the angel's iconology. This character seems to be a very important one that inspires the children in this study. Her name came out in more than one focus group. This character seems to inspire children to depict their own characters as blonde, with light colour tones and as a female. This character can be effective because it bears globally well-known stereotypical elements yet it is a local production.

Elsa from Frozen by Disney is also referred to during the goodness drawings (See Figure 40)

Figure 40*Elsa*

Note. retrieved from <https://www.eonline.com/ca/news/917083/will-elsa-get-a-girlfriend-in-frozen-2-director-jennifer-lee-says>

Elsa is a princess with magical powers. She is a female character. She can freeze things and create snow and ice crystals. She isn't an angel but she is blonde, she is depicted with light colour tones, she doesn't have wings but she has a light blue cloak. This character is referred to in a focus group to set the hair colour as blonde.

Participants also referred to Harry Potter by J.K. Rowling in their goodness drawings. (See Figure 41)

Figure 41*Harry Potter*

Note. retrieved from <https://fr.dhgate.com/product/harry-potter-magic-robe-harry-cloak-gryffindor/438007898.html>

Harry Potter is a wizard from a novel and movie written by J.K. Rowling. The character is seemed to be referred by more than one focus group. One focus group referred to it in the badness drawing and called it a witch. However, according to the context of the book and movie, Harry Potter is not a witch but a wizard. The group, later depicted a witch. It can be said that they were actually inspired by Bellatrix Lestrange which is a bad female witch from the movie because their depiction shows similarities with that character more than Harry Potter. Yet, they didn't call her name but Harry Potter's. Another group discussed the idea of depicting goodness with a wand like Harry Potter. They didn't depict the wand but it can be said that Harry Potter's wand inspired goodness. It is confusing because the character is referred to in both goodness and badness depictions. In this case, it is categorized as a character that inspires goodness rather than badness for two reasons in this study. First, he is a good character according to the original book's context. Second, the group that referred to in the the badness depiction was probably referring to another character from the movie but they couldn't recall that character's name and used his name instead. It should be noted here that because the group didn't use Bellatrix Lestrange's name, it is just an assumption and the character isn't included in the study.

Harry Potter doesn't have wings or halo and he wears a dark coloured uniform. He is male and he doesn't seem to fit the angel's iconological categories.

Hawkmn from DC comics is also referred to during the sessions as a role modal of goodness (See Figure 42).

Figure 42*Hawkman*

Note. retrieved from <https://injustice.fandom.com/wiki/Hawkman>

Hawkman is a character from DC comics. It is seen to have white wings and it is seen to bear light colours. It is a male character. The character's name came out in a focus group that depicted goodness with white wings like him. Hence, the character can be said to have an influence on children's decision to depict their own good character with white wings.

Raf is a character from Angel's Friends by Simona Ferri and it is referred to during the goddess drawing sessions. (See Figure 43)

Figure 43*Raf*

Note. retrieved from http://e-wiki.org/tr/images/Melekler_Okulu_1._sezon

Raf is a female angel character from the cartoon named *Angel's Friends*. She is seen to have light blue wings and a white halo. She is a female and she is blonde. She is depicted mostly in light colour tones. She fits all iconological categories of angels. The group referred to it as they draw a halo to their depiction. Hence, it can be said that this character inspired them to draw a character that bears angel's iconological properties.

During the sessions of drawing badness again some popular character's names were referred to by the participants. These characters were noted and the pictures of the characters are added below to compare with the general results.

Ryuk from *Death Note* by Tsugumi Oba and Takeshi Obata is referred to as a bad character in the sessions. (See Figure 44)

Figure 44

Ryuk



Note. retrieved from <https://villains.fandom.com/wiki/Ryuk>

Ryuk is a character from *Death Note* manga series by Ooba. Ryuk is a male character with small, black wing-like thorns and red eyes. Ryuk is a Shinigami. 'In Japanese folklore, the Shinigami are death gods who play an essential role in the afterlife. People believed them to be spirits who guided the dead to the next world.' (History Defined, 2022) The group that referred to this character, also referred to Malefiscant which is another character with black wings and drew black wings in their own badness depictions. This character's wing-like thorns can also be effective on this decision of the focus group. They also drew eyes with fire, which resembles Ryuk's red eyes. Interestingly, in the group's depiction there are green valuable stones and in this character's depiction, there are green valuable stones on his rings, too.

Malefisent by Disney is also referred to during the drawings of badness (See Figure 45)

Figure 45

Malefisent



Note. retrieved from <https://www.theyoungfolks.com/review/33714/movie-review-maleficent-angelina-jolie/>

Malefisent is a good female character but it has horns and it has black clothes and wings. It is a popular charater that contradicts with the angel iconology. Malefisent's name is seen to referred to as the group's make the decision of colouring the badness depictions black. It is interesting because the character is a good one in its own context but the groups seem to refer to it in badness drawings. It shows that children, instead of being affected by one single character from media, are being affected by a collection of them bearing similar qualities and delivering similar messages in general. Malefisent's context as one single character doesn't matter a lot. It isn't enough to change or break the angel and demon iconology that has been recreated by many different media products by itself. Children can be thought to perceive many of these characters in general and create one image in their minds that is inspired by the general rather than one. Malefisent's name to come out, instead of many other characters that have black wings can show that this character's contradiction takes the children's attention. However, they still refer to it in badness drawing because what they intend to do is more than recreating Malefisent herself, recreating the general iconology of angels and demons and in this iconology this character's black horns and black wings stand for badness rather than goodness.

Hades from Selenia by Gani Mijde is referred to during the badness drawings (See Figure 46)

Figure 46*Hades*

Note. retrieved from http://www.incisozluk.com.tr/w/hades-mi-selena-m%C4%B1/&list_type=solframe&altinci_yok=3

Hades is the villain of the Turkish serial called Selena. The character doesn't have horns but there is a horn-like tattoo on its forehead. Moreover, it has horn like patterns on his shield. It has black clothes and black hair. It is male. It can be said to fit the demon's iconological properties. The group that referred to it seemed to depict their character as a man, wearing a black top with horns. It can be said that Hades affected their decision of drawing it this way.

During the badness drawing sessions Harry Potter series by J.K. Rowling's popular antagonist Voldemort's name also came up. (See Figure 47)

Figure 47*Voldemort*

Note. retrieved from <https://www.wizardingworld.com/features/web-voldemort-and-grindelwalds-timeline>

Voldemort is the villain of Harry Potter. It is male and it wears black clothes. It doesn't have horns. The group referred to it as they were talking about sucking souls. In the context of the book, Voldemort doesn't seem to suck souls but he kills people and he puts his own soul into objects or people. Also, he controls the dementors which are creatures that sucks souls. The group depicted their own character having dead souls coming out of his hands. In the movie, Voldemort is associated with some scenes with dead souls like that. This character, along with the dementors he controls, can be said to have an affect on the badness depictions.

The figure below is the character Slenderman from the computer game called Slender by Mark J. Hadley. During the drawings of badness, his name came up as well. (See Figure 48)

Figure 48*Slenderman*

Note. retrieved from <https://www.pinterest.nz/pin/650277633675200678/>

Slenderman is a male character. He doesn't have face. He wears black clothes. He doesn't have horns, tale, rake or fire. In the computer game the players walk in a dark forest. They try to escape but Slenderman follows them. The character was referred to in a group's goodness session however, they talked about drawing a good version of Slenderman. Hence, they in fact referred to it as a bad character hence the character is accepted as a bad one in this study. Slenderman affected the group's decision of not drawing their character with eyes.

Ghost Rider by Marvel Comics' name was also referred to during the badness drawings. (See Figure 49)

Figure 49

Ghost Rider



Note. retrieved from <https://www.wattpad.com/story/125596620-ghost-rider-hayalet-s%C3%BCr%C3%BCc%C3%BC>

Ghost Rider is a character that makes a deal with the demon in its original context. He seems to bear demon's iconological properties. He is male, wearing black clothes, there is the element of fire and red eyes. However, Ghost Rider is using his powers to help people and defeat the demon. It is a hero rather than a villain. Like Malefisent, this character is also isn't referred to based on its context but simply based on its iconology. The group drew a man with black clothes that has a burning skeleton head like this character in their badness depiction and referred to Ghost Rider.

Chucky by Don Mancini is another character that was referred to during the badness drawing sessions. (See Figure 50)

Figure 50*Chucky*

Note. retrieved from <https://www.vulture.com/2017/10/the-strangely-linear-reasonable-30-year-history-of-chucky.html>

Chucky is a toy villain that looks like a child. He uses sharp knives and he has an evil laughter. He is a male character but it doesn't have horns, tail fire or such demon's iconological properties. He wears colourful clothes. His clothes are mostly dark blue and red. It is dirty. The group that referred to this character drew their badness depiction as a child, with dirty clothes, holding a knife with an evil laughter. It can be said that the group was under the influence of this character during their badness depiction.

Participants called Sulphur from Angel's Friends by Simona Ferri as a character representing badness. (See Figure 51)

Figure 51*Sulphur*

Note. retrieved from <https://www.pinterest.nz/pin/513621532497373460/>

Sulphur is the villain of the cartoon named Angel's Friends. He is male, he has horns. He hold fire. He also has red wings and he wears black clothes. There is a scar on his eye. The group that referred to this character also drew their character with horns, with a scar on his eye. Also, Sulphur is seen to have a belt with a skull on his belt. Similarly, the group depicted a skull on their character's t-shirt. In some other groups that didn't directly refer to this character's name are seen to depict skull shaped belts. It can be said that this character has influence in badness depictions of children.

In summary: There are 4 male and 4 female characters that were referred to in the goodness depiction sessions. 7 of them are depicted in light colour tones. Only 1 of them uses dark colours. 5 of them uses angel's iconology and 3 of them do not. In badness depictions there are 7 male and 1 female characters observed in a selection of characters that were referred to by the focus groups during the badness sessions. 7 of the characters are depicted in dark colour tones and 1 character is depicted in various colour tones. 5 of the characters are seen to use demon's iconology while 3 of them do not. (See Table 21, 22 and 23)

Table 21*Genders of referred characters*

	Good	Bad
Male	4	7
Female	4	1

Table 22*Colour tones of referred characters*

	Good	Bad
light	7	0
vague	1	1
dark	0	7

Table 23*The rates of characters in angel demon and other forms in referred characters*

	Good	Bad
angel	5	0
other	3	3
demon	0	5

4.3. The chi-square test results

Gender

The contingency table shows the frequency of drawing goodness and badness in female and male forms in İstanbul and Mardin (See Table 24). The drawings are accepted as *stereotypical* when goodness picture is depicted as female and when badness picture is depicted in male form. If goodness is depicted as male or genderless or if badness is depicted as female or genderless it is categorized as *other*.

Table 24

The frequency of children's personification of goodness and badness in female and male forms in two different cities

	Istanbul	Mardin
Stereotypical	11	10
Other	5	6

The chi-square statistic is 0.1385. The p-value is 0.7098. The result is not significant at $p < 0.05$. This means that children both in İstanbul and Mardin have similar propensity to personify goodness and badness in stereotypical gender forms. They are apt to personify goodness as female and badness as male.

The contingency table shows the frequency of drawing goodness and badness in female and male forms in state and private schools (See Table 25). The drawings are accepted as *stereotypical* when goodness picture is depicted as female and when badness picture is depicted in male form. If goodness is depicted as male or genderless or if badness is depicted as female or genderless it is categorized as *other*.

Table 25

The frequency of children's personification of goodness and badness in female and male forms in two different school types

	State	Private
Stereotypical	11	10
Other	5	6

The chi-square statistic is 0.1385. The p-value is 0.7098. The result is not significant at $p < 0.05$. This means that children both in private and state schools have similar propensity to personify goodness and badness in stereotypical gender forms. They are apt to personify goodness as female and badness as male.

The contingency table shows the frequency of drawing goodness and badness in female and male forms in this study and in the referred characters from media (See Table 26). The drawings are accepted as *stereotypical* when goodness picture is depicted as female

and when badness picture is depicted in male form. If goodness is depicted as male or genderless or if badness is depicted as female or genderless it is categorized as *other*.

Table 26

The frequency of stereotypical gender choices in this study and in the media

	This Study	Referred Characters
Stereotypical	21 (0.656%)	11 (0.688%)
Other	11 (0.344%)	5 (0.312%)

The chi-square statistic is 0.0469. The p-value is .828593. The result is not significant at $p < .05$. This shows that in terms of depicting good and bad characters in stereotypical genders, the children's choices show a paralelism with the referred characters from the media. They both tend to depict goodness as female and badness as male.

Colour Tone

Table 27 shows the frequency of personifying goodness and badness in light and dark colours in İstanbul and Mardin. The colour tones are accepted as stereotypical if goodness is depicted in light and badness is depicted in dark colour tones.

Table 27

The frequency of children's perfonification of goodness and badness in light or dark colour tones in two different cities

	Istanbul	Mardin
Stereotypical	14	16
Other	2	0

The p-value is 0.484. The result is not significant at $p < 0.05$. (Fisher's exact test applied) This result shows that in terms of colour tones, children living in İstanbul and Mardin have similar choices in their goodness and badness depictions. They are apt to depict goodness in light and badness in dark colour tones.

The table below shows the frequency of state and private school student's choice of depicting good and bad characters in stereotypical colour tones. The colour tones are accepted as stereotypical if goodness is depicted in light and badness is depicted in dark colour tones (See Table 28)

Table 28

The frequency of children's personification of goodness and badness in light and dark colour tones in two different school types

	State	Private
Stereotypical	14	16
Other	2	0

The p-value is 0.484. The result is not significant at $p < 0.05$. (Fisher's exact test applied) This means in terms of colour tones, the children in both state and private schools have similar choices. They tend to depict goodness in light and badness in dark colour tones.

The table below shows the frequencies and rates of colour tone choices in this study and in the referred characters. The colour tones are accepted as stereotypical if goodness is depicted in light and badness is depicted in dark colour tones. (See Table 29)

Table 29

The frequency of stereotypical colour tone choices in this study and in the media

	This Study	Referred Characters
Stereotypical	30 (0.937%)	14 (0.875%)
Other	2 (0.063%)	2 (0.125%)

The chi-square statistic is 0.5455. The p-value is 0.460181. The result is not significant at $p < 0.05$. This shows that there is not a significant difference in terms of colour tone choices in this study and in the referred character's. Both in media and in this study, good characters are depicted in light colours while bad characters are depicted in dark colours.

Angel-Demon Iconology

The table below shows the usage of angel-demon iconology in goodness and badness depictions in İstanbul and in Mardin. In good characters the depiction of white wings and halo, in bad characters the depiction of red or black wings, rake, tail, horns are accepted as angel or demon iconology. If such elements aren't observed, the character is categorized as other (See Table 30).

Table 30

The frequency of children's personification of goodness and badness in angel-demon or other forms in two different cities

	Istanbul	Mardin
Angel-demon	10	9
Other	6	7

The chi-square statistic is 0.1296. The p-value is .718894. The result is not significant at $p < 0.05$. This means there is not a significant difference in the choices of children in İstanbul and Mardin in terms of using angel-demon iconology. Both in İstanbul and Mardin they tend to depict goodness with angel, badness with demon iconological elements and the number of groups not using any of these iconological elements is lower than the groups using them.

Table 31 below shows in how many groups children are observed to depict good and bad characters with angel or demon iconology regarding school types. In good characters the depiction of white wings and halo, in bad characters the depiction of red or black wings, rake, tail, horns are accepted as angel or demon iconology. If such elements aren't observed, the character is categorized as other.

Table 31

The frequency of children's personification of goodness and badness in angel-demon or other forms in two different school types

	State	Private
Angel-demon	7	12
Other	9	4

The chi-square statistic is 3.2389. The p-value is 0.07191. The result is not significant at $p < 0.05$. In private schools students are more apt to personify goodness and badness with angel or demon iconology than those of the state schools. However, this difference is not statistically significant. It can be noted that this is a tight result. For example, if *angel-demon* frequency in state school's would be 6 and *other* would be 10 the result would be judged as significant at the same significance level.

The table below shows the frequency of using angel and demon iconology in good and bad characters in media and in this study. In good characters the depiction of white wings and halo, in bad characters the depiction of red or black wings, rake, tail, horns are accepted as angel or demon iconology. If such elements are not observed, the character is categorized as other (See Table 32)

Table 32

The frequency of stereotypical angel demon iconology choices in this study and in the media

	This Study	Referred Characters
Angel-demon	17 (0.531%)	10 (0.625%)
Other	15 (0.469%)	6 (0.375%)

The chi-square statistic is 0.381. The p-value is 0.537094. The result is not significant at $p < 0.05$. This means both in this study and in the referred character's, the frequency of using angel-demon iconology is similar. They both choose to use angel-demon

iconological elements like halo, wing, fire, tail, horn, rake etc. more than not using them.



5.DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

This study aims to understand the elements that shape these images through individual stereotypes (Pettigrew, 1979, pp. 461-476), the ways they travel and touch people's minds through cultural flows (Tzanelli, 2011, p. 2) and their effects on children's identity development in the context of cultural industry (Adorno, 2005) and observational learning (Albert Bandura, 1977, p. 22) and their creative imagination (MacBeth, 1996, p. 10). It mainly puts forward the effects of stereotypes in media on the creativity of children during the early puberty. It also aims to see if children in the early puberty are familiar with stereotypes and to see if they are apt to recreate stereotypes or come up with their own unique ideas. Also, the differences geographical location and socio-economical status causes on the results is tried to be understood.

The theoretical framework of the study starts with understanding stereotypes and their attributions especially in light of individual stereotypes (Pettigrew, 1979, pp. 461-476). Globalism and cultural flows (Tzanelli, 2011, p. 2) is also explained to elaborate how stereotypes travel between different geographical areas and social groups. Next, Adorno's (2005) point of view which is about cultural imperialism is mentioned to understand how and why media takes place in the distribution of these stereotypes and how it affects societies and social identities of children in the early puberty. Bandura's (1977, 22) social learning theory and observational learning is used to explain how students learn about these stereotypes seeing them in media and cultural goods. The differences between imitative and creative imagination (MacBeth, 1996, p. 10) and television's affects on them (Bettelheim, 1987, p. 87) are also explained in detail. A historical framework is also provided about angels and demons which are popular personifications of goodness and badness based on Albert (2010) and Russell's (1999) approaches.

To gather the results, focus group sessions were run in schools in Mardin and İstanbul among children in the early puberty and the data collected during these sessions were analyzed via categorical analysis with the chi-square testing technique. The data of the study is collected via focus group sessions both in state and private schools. The participants were all selected from volunteers between the ages of 12-13. During the focus group sessions students were asked to depict and personify goodness and badness. The drawings of the participants were analyzed via semiological analysis and categorical analysis. The drawings are first analyzed by semiological analysis and the

signs, signifiers and interpretant is explained in detail. The focus group conversations were used to understand the meanings of the signifiers used in the drawings. Statistically, chi-square testing method is used to evaluate the data which is gathered by the semiological analysis. The selection of the popular characters were done considering the characters students refer to during the sessions and these popular characters were also tested and the results were compared to the drawings of children. The results of İstanbul and Mardin and the results of state and private schools were also compared in terms of gender, colour tones and the usage of angel and demon iconology.

The results show that they are highly familiar with the given stereotypical attributions on angels and demons and they are more apt to recreate these instead of coming up with something unique. Statistically, the rates of using the expected stereotypical genders, colour tones and iconologies are higher in different contingency tables. Also, focus group discussions show that these are discussed in most focus groups even if they weren't depicted in the end picture. According to the results of this study, there is no doubt that children are familiar with them.

It is also seen that these results do not vary according to their cities or school types. The chi square test results showed that in terms of gender, colour tones and using angel and demon iconology, Mardin and İstanbul, private and state schools don't show a statistically significant difference. It means, socio-economical status and different ethnic backgrounds don't cause a notable difference in their choices during a creative production process. Only, in private schools, the number of groups using angel-demon iconology is higher than the number of groups using it in state schools. However, the numbers tightly isn't enough to state that there is a statistically significant and meaningful difference between them. The results not to vary in different cities and school types mean that the main trigger of the creativity of the children is a mutual one and it doesn't change based on their different cultural and economical backgrounds. It is explained that the angel and demon iconology is generated by the Christian artists and inspired by ancient Greek mythological characters. In Turkey, both in İstanbul and Mardin, these images can be observed to be internalized and recreated by children in very high rates. This shows that these images has been culturally travelling as explained in the section of Cultural Flows. The semiological analysis shows that some groups are actually inspired by Japanese anime characters like Yagami Light or Ryuk. However, these characters themselves have hybrid features and they unite Japanese cultural

elements with the christian angel and demon iconology as they are sold globally. These hybrid Japanese-Christian images affect the Turkish students and they recreate them in their own creative work. This is a good example of hybridization.

As the students illustrate they refer to some popular characters from media. When the frequencies of categories from the illustrations and from the pictures of popular characters from the media are compared the results are always paralel in terms of having angel or demon iconological qualities, stereotypical genders or colour tones. Since the children ar not expected to see angels or demons in real life, it is understood that they learn these stereotypes via observational learning and they recreate them in their own illustrations. From the perspective of Frankfurt School thinkers, this exposure can be said to have been specifically designed to shape the society's minds for the benefit of the dominant groups and people. It can be concluded that the negative aspects of these stereotypes can affect the children and the exposure to such stereotypes too much can limit their imagination and may cause the next generation to lose their imagination, creativity and potentially unique ideas. As explained in the literature review, Adorno (2007, p. 55) states that cultural commodities which are the characteristic products of cultural industry, by nature paralyzes the imagination and critical thinking talents of its audience. As technology penetrates in the lives of everyone since 20th Century, cultural products are designed to be understood fast by observation yet for the events that pass through so fast to be caught they do not let the audience to stop and think about it. This way they do not question the system and they become easier to be guided (Adorno, 2007, p. 56). Hence, it is understood that teens are guided to embrace the dominant system by media products, they start losing their ability to think critically and they start losing their imagination. The rates of popular characters and the drawings of children showing very high rates of paralelism is a proof of that. It is true that some groups did not use angel and demon iconology in the study however, not all characters in media that seem to be affecting them uses angel and demon iconology as well. What matters is that the rate of children who didn't use the angel and demon iconology is also paralel with the media character's not using the angel and demon iconology. It shows that media is a very strong and mostly the dominant inspiration of the groups and it has a huge impact which shapes the children's imagination.

It can be noted here that not all groups directly referred to popular characters. Many groups didn't refer to any popular character. However, their pictures use similar iconology with the ones that directly referred to characters. It shows that, the effect isn't entirely a conscious one. Also, focus groups may discuss recreating features of more than one media character. It shows that the affection does not come from one single character. In other words, children do not watch one single movie, learn the angel and demon iconology from it and recreate it in their own depictions. They read, watch and see many comics, movies, serials, advertisements, books, school bulletin boards, sport clubs, sport uniforms, mythological and religious paintings and many other channels. Angel and demon iconology being used from Japanese anime's to Hollywood movies, they consciously and subconsciously learn these images and during the study, by directly referring to them or simply putting forward them, believing these are their own original ideas, recreate them. In literature review it is explained that Frankfurt school thinkers believe all cultural commodities such as movies, radio, magazines and so on, unite and work together to form a similarity. All of these speak with a single voice as a whole and within the each part. For example, it is seen that children refer to Maleficent and Ghost Rider in badness depiction even though in the context of their own stories they are good characters. The emphasis here is that these characters are both good characters using demon's iconological features. For example, Maleficent has black wings and horns and Ghost Rider wears black leather clothes and his head is on fire. These examples show that children do not refer to the character's considering their context. They are just using these characters as examples of angel and demon iconology. They focus on the iconology rather than the context which shows that they are not really affected by one single character but they have an image in their mind that is put there by lots of different channels and they just use these referred characters as examples to express and describe these images to the group members. As a limitation of this study, this study cannot expose all these affections to the point. It just focuses on the characters the children directly refer to. It can be assumed that there are many other characters affecting them but they did not directly refer to during the studies. The study gives an idea about what affects the children's creativity yet doesn't provide to the point, clear answers. This is because the effect of media and the formation of stereotypes doesn't always happen on a conscious level. Asking the students what affects them and expecting to get direct, to the point and clear answers can be misleading. Instead, the study tries to come up with an idea by observing the natural

process of creativity. It can be said that the factors that affect the children can be wider than observed. It is hard to assume that children are only affected by the selected media characters in this study. These characters are only selected because the groups referred to them during the focus group discussions. However, some characters that weren't specifically referred to can be affective on the background. It can be said that these stereotypes are recreated by so many different agents in society and the affects observed in this study is actually a combination of all these affects. The study tries to explain these factors via theories and observations as much as possible.

The subconsciousness of the affection can be observed in focus group discussions more clearly. In some groups, even though the group's drawing fits into all categories of angels, the group in the discussion doesn't use the term *angel*. It can be seen that they think about the iconological properties of angels not as a whole but as different elements but eventually, one iconological element probably reminds another and they end up drawing an angel. Another finding is that some groups are observed to be in consensus that supernatural characters are not to be drawn because the instructions says human in their debate but they end up drawing angels and demons. They seem to oppose the idea of drawing wings in the debate but they end up drawing wings. In one group, at some point they looked at what they were drawing and one group member said 'Look! We are drawing the demon!' in a surprised manner. They think of the categories unrelated from one another but eventually, they end up drawing a stereotypical angel or demon that fits into all expected categories. This shows that the affection and the recreation is not always a conscious one.

The study also exposes the features, children relate with goodness and badness. The gender of goodness is seen to be female more frequently than male. However, there is a notable number of groups depicting goodness as genderless or male as well. As explained in the history of angels and demons section, angels are told to be genderless in religious books. The first Christian depictions of angels were male and the idea of female angels were rejected by religions. They became female after the industrial revolution as they lose their religious meaning and become simply imaginary characters. Since the study is run after the industrial revolution the expected category is set as female in statistics. However, the number of male and genderless characters coming up in high numbers as well shows that this historical context is still affective. In some groups which are observed to be having a religious perspective when the focus

group discussion is analyzed, the end picture of goodness are seen to be male instead of female. Also, in most groups depicting goodness as a female angel, the focus group discussion does not point at an obvious religious perspective that is tried to be applied. Here it should be also emphasized that while the group's have different opinions about angel's gender, demon's gender is almost always male. The only female bad character in this study is a witch and it is explained in the literature review section that witches are female characters that are demonized because of refusing their patriarchal responsibilities. Historically (as explained in the literature review), while angel's gender has changed in different perspectives and eras, demon's gender has always been dominantly male as well.

Women being stereotyped as angels and men being stereotyped as demons can be analyzed in light of intergroup stereotype model (Eagly&Mladinic, 1989, p. 543). It fits in the status irrelevant for both groups section because men are the higher status group in patriarchal societies and they are attributed a negative quality-irrelevant to their status-. However, women which are the low status group are attributed a positive one –again irrelevant to their status-. This brings justification of the existing system by providing both groups a positive and a negative quality. Women have a lower status but they are angels, men have a higher status but they are demons. It points at a fair world order no matter what the reality is. In addition, when angels and demons are considered in light of the individual stereotypes approach, because they are considered to be good and bad by their inner nature and out of their control, it can be said that they fit into the internal/uncontrolled category. From this perspective, social group attributions to them such as, angels are female or demons are male can be interpreted as 'women are good by their nature and it's out of their control.' or 'men are bad by their nature and it's out of their control.' Here, it should be noted that being an angel is an irrational and vague expectation. The values it represents is not clear, can change from person to person, moreover it requires a high degree of these vague qualifications. Weiner (1985, pp. 548-573) states that when a person fails in a situation which implies internal/uncontrollable attributions, the results can be psychologically and motivationally weakening. The individual may feel ashamed or incompetent. Thus, with such stereotypes the society would have highly increased moral expectations from women. They would get less sympathy from others, if they cannot be as good as angels. However, men would receive more tolerance for their bad actions because they gain a withdrawal from the task of

being angelic. On the downside, the society would have less confidence for them to be moral and they might have to work harder than women to prove their innocence (Weiner, 1985, pp.548-573). Situations such as a women who is a victim of a sexual crime to be considered guilty so easily and the criminal men to be considered a victim of his inner instincts can be an example of this. Hence, even though it might seem positive for women to be related with angels, due to the nature of this task which requires the unachivable ultimate perfection in vague terms, it has got negative consequences. In this study, some focus groups are observed to make discussions about the gender choices. It is seen that they are tend to depict badness male because they think men are more unfliching and apt to crime than women. Also, it is seen that badness depictions are frequently attributed superiority and superiority is associated with men rather than women.

It is seen in the focus group discussions that angel's most frequently being white isn't consciously associated with race by the children. The groups usually explain that they do it to express that the character glows or shines. However, this results in drawing white skinned characters only in goodness depictions and it can cause a racial prejudice in the society. As a limitation of this study, it should be noted that none of the participants of this study are African Americans. In the literature review section it can be seen that African Americans have a critical approach to angels being white for this stereotype associates them with badness. Hence, the study to be able to provide more solid data on the issue, it is adviced to be repeated in African American groups. It should also be noted that African American subgroups are not common in the Turkish population and this is why participants do not include any African American member. However, it can be said that black hair is a commonly seen physical feature in Turkey and most of the members in this study are dark haired. However, black hair is seen to be a feature depicted in badness drawings mostl of the time. This can be an example of self-stereotypification. However, no groups are observed to do this choice consciously via a debate such as 'Let's draw badness with black hair because black haired people are bad.' This decision seems to arise from the general colours used in angel and demon iconology. While angels are mostly depicted in white and yellow dominant light colour tones, demonsa are depicted mostly in red and black and sometimes purple with dark colour tones. This colour association seems to be internalized by almost all groups. They do not handle the issue from a racial perspective yet many groups are observed to

state that the colour of goodness is light, white and yellow and the colour of badness is dark, mostly black, red and purple. Black being associated with badness as a colour, is used in badness depictions. This is the reason why bad characters are mostly dark haired, not because the groups intend to show dark haired people as bad. Here the main point to be discussed is that, groups do not show enough critical thinking and enthusiasm to question and change this iconology that self-stereotype them. For example, in one group as they depict a bad character's head purple, one group member said it was because the character was beaten a lot and his skin became purple. He tried to fit this colour decision into a real life experience. However, the rest of the group members strongly disapproved this. They clearly stated that this wasn't why they were colouring the character's head purple. This was because purple is one of the colours of badness. They approached red, black and purple being the colour of badness as an unchangeable, unquestionable fact and they showed a resistance to the need of justification of this idea. The member of the group bringing up the idea eventually stepped down. This shows that the group is not really open to make critical thinking and they simply imitate what they are presented in the media. Furthermore, they seem to oppress the one group member who tries to think about the reasons of using these colours specifically for badness and succeed in silencing him. They do not have racist intentions but they mostly recreate these icons as they are frequently presented in media and as a result of their reluctance in critical thinking they unintentionally end up stereotyping their own physical features negatively.

This study also provided some interesting data about children's creativity. The first observation is that focus groups that end up drawing characters that fully fit the expected categories -which means they are using imitative imagination- are observed to show signs of boredom more frequently. In some of these groups, the end paintings are delivered in a very short time and called to be completed. However, the groups that come up with out of the box ideas are observed to have more fun. Especially in one focus group there has been an incident that is noteworthy here. The group started discussing and depicting stereotypical ideas and they showed signs of boredom. At some point one member of the group brought forward an out of the box idea and this idea was appreciated by the rest of the group members. After that, the other members started bringing up out of the box ideas as well. The group after this point seemed to start having fun and enjoying the task. It is seen that children do not make imitative

imagination because they are bored but they are bored because of doing imitative imagination. Hence, it can be said that, imitative imagination is not fun for children while creative imagination is.

Another interesting point is that, children are tend to use imitative imagination even though this is observed to be the boring choice and the reason of this tendency lies in a couple of factors. The first factor is fear. One group was observed to be bringing up stereotypical ideas as the beginning and getting bored. At that point they were using a low tone of voice as they discuss stereotypical ideas. When they started bringing up out of the box ideas they wanted the researcher to assure them that they will not be concluded to be psychopaths if they draw their unique ideas. It is a very important data because once they are retold that the research is not about their psychology, it is about media, the children's attitudes changed very fast and they started using a normal and high tone of voice and bringing up out of the box ideas. The turning point required the assurance of not being seen as psychopaths. It points that the children are in fact afraid of using their own creative imagination and bringing up their own unique ideas. They fear it may cause them to be seen negatively. However, recreating a stereotype is a safe way. Drawing a female angel or a male demon character, protects the group members from exposing their own inner world and personal approach and ideas. Drawing a common image, they cannot be concluded to be psychopaths or such negative ways. It reminds Adorno and Horkheimer's opinions about culture industry and society where individuals lose their ability to think freely. They cannot be against the system or critical about it. This is not done by open threatenings. This is done by making people believe that there is no other way and this kind of an adaptation is simply a necessity. It should be noted that the participants were informed beforehand that it is a research about media, not psychology. However, a second guarantee was required in this group for them to break their wall of fear of being judged. Once the wall is broken, the group started to be creative and they were also observed to have so much fun.

The fear of being judged by the researcher is not the only fear observed to oppress creativity in the study. In groups, it is also observed that children's creativity can be oppressed by the fear of being judged by the other group members as well. For example in one group debate, the idea to draw the character with short hair to fit both genders came up which was an out of the box idea. Eventually, this idea was ignored by the rest of the members of the group and the group member seemed to feel embarrassed. Also,

in one group, a group member put forward the idea of drawing a monster as a personification of goodness. The peers seemed judgy and they strongly disapproved this idea and the group member eventually stepped back and explained that she meant a cute monster with white wings like a butterfly which resembles angel iconology. Such situations are observed in many debates and it can be said that, stereotypical ideas are easier to be accepted but out of the box ideas get more resistance and student's usually need to defend their ideas harder to make their ideas emerge in the final picture. Bringing up stereotypical ideas get little or no resistance, and when they do get resistance, this resistance is usually easier to be broken when compared to out of the box ideas.

Another observation is that in groups obtaining a religious perspective in their discussions, the idea of drawing demon iconology is considered but found fearful. In other words, children with religious point of view seem to show signs of fear considering the idea of depicting a demon. In the literature review it is seen that in all religions but especially in Islam and Judaism there is a reluctance in painting pictures. The children are ok with depicting in general but when it comes to depicting demons, this ideology seems to affect them and stop them from using angel or demon iconology. This may be the reason why the groups in Turkey do not show much local-global hybrid qualities. While Japanese anime characters are drawn with white wings, the group depicted Hızır did not consider drawing angel wings to emphasize it is an angel. They simply drew it a man, helping a blind man and avoided all Christian angel iconology in terms of colour tone, gender, halo or wings. This can be an example of the clashing of the local culture and the global one. While children themselves brought up the idea of depicting angels or demons, referring to media characters using angel iconology such as Selena, they also show signs of fear against this idea. In Turkey, if a group adjusts a religious perspective, the fear of depiction comes with the religious context and causes them to avoid including angel or demon iconology and creating a character with hybrid features. However, if a group approaches angels and demons as imaginary characters disregarding their religious historical background, they are apt to use the angel demon iconology.

Another finding of this study is that, for a creative picture to bear some elements that can be related to some ideologies, the children does not have to consciously intend to recreate them. For example, in one focus group session, it is seen that students refer

to illuminati in badness. However, all they knew about illuminati was that it related to badness. The focus group interview showed that they did not debate about the historical background, they did not debate the ideology behind illuminati. In the focus group debate, it is observed that, they just thought that illuminati is a symbol that turns things into bad when inserted on them and they used the symbol in their badness illustration to relate trees with badness. It is explained in the semiological analysis of the focus group's depiction that illuminati is an ideology that opposes religion. Eventually, this group's goodness depiction is an angel which refers to religion and badness depiction is a demon and there are illuminati trees around him. The end pictures of the group can be interpreted as relating goodness with being religious and badness with opposing religion at the first sight. It can be thought that the group is conveying a religious message. However, the focus group is observed to have no such conscious desire. No religious arguments were made, no religion was mentioned. They were simply putting forwards some image ideas without doing much thinking about the deeper meanings. Because the visual language they are exposed to via media used these images and symbols, they recreated them. Eventually, even though they showed no sign of intention to make a religious statement, the end picture ended up bearing these messages. It shows that even if creators do not consciously intend to recreate dominant ideologies, because the visual language they are exposed to via media is built on these ideologies, they may end up recreating them. The groups as a whole require to do high levels of creative and critical thinking and have conscious ambition to avoid conveying these messages.

An interesting finding is that children in are observed to use English language rather than their native language Turkish on t-shirt writings. In groups, writing Turkish was not even a matter of debate. They all had a consensus and the groups approached it like a fact that has no alternative. This can be a sign of cultural hegemony of the West on East. However, the research does not focus on this matter directly and stating this as a fact requires more data and reserach on the matter. This observation is noted here to inspire further research.

The research shed light on the signs, symbols and ideas of children about goodness and badness. It is observed in many groups that many children think people are innocent when they are children but they become bad as they grow up, as bad things happen to them. Children's innocence was a very common theme discussed in focus

groups and depicted in end pictures. Also, nature is associated with goodness. Trees, sunny weather and domestic animals are common signs being depicted in goodness pictures. They also depicted children helping the elderly and disabled in their goodness depictions. Furthermore, harming people, nature and animals is a common theme in badness discussions. Children are also observed to depict bad characters with unhealthy habits such as smoking or alcohol. Bad characters are seen as rich people not sharing their valuable possessions with needy people. Also, while goodness is depicted with a simple smile, badness is depicted with an evil laughter which relates to victory, superiority and mocking. Hence, it can be said that helping other people especially the elderly and the disabled, helping animals, living in harmony with nature and being a child are general actions children relate with goodness. Harming other people, animals and nature, having unhealthy addictions are actions, mocking others, boasting about superiority, not sharing are actions children generally relate with badness.

This study provides new qualitative, quantitative and dependable information to understand how stereotypes travel all around the world, perceived by children in early puberty and affect their imagination. It shows that, children are all very well familiar with stereotypes regardless of their different cities or socio-economical statuses. It also shows that student's imagination is strongly affected and shaped by popular media. Based on these results, it can be said that children should be educated on media literacy and stereotypes and their media exposure should be limited by being taught that boredom can be a great trigger of creative imagination, different activities that enhance creative and critical thinking should be encouraged. Thanks to these changes, it is hoped that the next generation's imagination will spring and bloom to offer the tasty fruits of new and original ideas.

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APPENDIX A


T.C.
İSTANBUL VALİLİĞİ
İl Millî Eğitim Müdürlüğü

Sayı : 59090411-44-E-8894374
Konu: Anket Araştırma İzni

04.05.2018

YEDİTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ REKTÖRLÜĞÜNE
(Eğitim Bilimleri Enstitüsü)

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b) Valilik Makamının 30.04.2018 tarih ve 8510094 sayılı oluru.

Üniversiteniz Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü doktora programı öğrencisi Saim ÖZGE KESKİN'in "Egemen İdeolojinin Medya Aracıyla Streotiplemeyi Sürekli Yeniden Üretmesi: Erken Ergenlik Döneminde İyilik ve Kötülük Kavramlarının Üzerine Bir Odak Çalışması" konulu araştırma çalışması hakkındaki ilgi (a) yazınız ilgi (b) valilik onayı ile uygun görülmüştür.

Bilgilerinizi ve araştırmacının söz konusu talebi; bilimsel amaç dışında kullanmaması, uygulama sırasında bir örneği müdürlüğümüzde muhafaza edilen mühürlü ve imzalı veri toplama araçlarının kurumlarınıza araştırmacı tarafından ulaştırılarak uygulanması, katılımcıların gönüllülük esasına göre seçilmesi, araştırma sonuç raporunun müdürlüğümüzden izin alınmadan kamuoyuyla paylaşılmanasa koşuluyla, gerekli duyarının araştırmacı tarafından yapılması, okul idarecilerinin denetim, gözetim ve sorumluluğunda, eğitim-öğretimi aksatmayacak şekilde ilgi (b) Valilik Onayı doğrultusunda uygulanması ve işlem bittikten sonra 2 (iki) hafta içinde sonuçtan Müdürlüğümüz Strateji Geliştirme Bölümüne rapor halinde bilgi verilmesini arz ederim.

M. Nurettin ARAS
Müdür a.
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EK:1- Valilik Onayı
2- Ölçekler

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T.C.
MARDİN VALİLİĞİ
İl Millî Eğitim Müdürlüğü

Sayı : 39896782-51.01-E-4672879
Konu : Saim ÖZGE KESKİN(KELES)

05.03.2018

ARTUKLU KAYMAKAMLIĞINA
(İlçe Millî Eğitim Müdürlüğü)

İlgi :a)19.02.2018 tarih ve 3488682 sayılı yazınız.
b)Valilik Makamının 05.03.2018 tarih ve 4647886 sayılı Onayı.

İstanbul Yeditepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Medya Çalışmaları Doktora Programı 20144028004 numaralı öğrencisi Saim ÖZGE KESKİN(KELES)' in yürütmekte olduğu "Egemen İdeolojinin Medya Aracıyla Streotiplemeyi Sürekli Yeniden Üretmesi, Erken Ergenlik Döneminde İyilik ve Kötülük Kavramlarının" bir odak saha tez çalışmasını 19-23 Mart 2018 tarihleri arasında ilimiz Artuklu İlçesine bağlı Kasımiye Ortaokulunda yapması ile ilgili Valilik Onayı ekte gönderilmiştir.

İstanbul Yeditepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Medya Çalışmaları Doktora Programı 20144028004 numaralı öğrencisi Saim ÖZGE KESKİN(KELES)' in yürütmekte olduğu "Egemen İdeolojinin Medya Aracıyla Streotiplemeyi Sürekli Yeniden Üretmesi, Erken Ergenlik Döneminde İyilik ve Kötülük Kavramlarının" bir odak saha tez çalışmasını 19-23 Mart 2018 tarihleri arasında ilimiz Artuklu İlçesine bağlı Kasımiye Ortaokulunda eğitim-öğretimi aksatmayacak şekilde okul müdürlerinin sorumluluğunda gönüllülük esas çerçevesinde, mühürlü anket örnekleriyle çalışmanın yapılmasını rica ederim.

Hüseyin AKDAĞ
Vali a.
Müdür Yardımcısı

Ek : 1 Adet Onay ve
Tez Çalışması

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APPENDIX B

MATLAB code to compute and plot the chi-square probability distribution function.

```
%chi2pdf1.m
% computes and plots the chi-square pdf at each X using the
% corresponding degrees of freedom in df. X and df can be
% vectors of the same size, which is also the size of Y.
% df>0 , X = [0 Inf].
clc;clear;
for df=1:6
m=10;dx=0.25;
x = 0:dx:m;
y = chi2pdf(x,df);
plot(x,y,'linewidth',2);hold on;
end
xlabel('x');ylabel ('pdf');ylim([0 0.5]);
legend('df=1','df=2','df=3','df=4','df=5','df=6');
```

MATLAB code to compute the probability values for $\alpha = 0.05$, 0.01 and 0.001.

```
%chi2 table
clc;clear;
for df = 1:10
C(df,:) = chi2inv(1-[ 0.05 0.01 0.001],df);
end
disp(C)
```