T.C.
MANİSA CELAL BAYAR UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

MASTER OF ARTS THESIS
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN LEADERS IN THE MEDIA: CASES OF MARGARET THATCHER AND TANSU ÇİLLER

Ayşe Dilara AKMEŞE

Supervisor
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Feyda SAYAN CENGİZ

MANİSA – 2023

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YEMİN METNİ

Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak sunduğum "REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN LEADERS IN THE MEDIA: CASES OF MARGARET THATCHER AND TANSU ÇİLLER" adlı çalışmanın, tarafımdan bilimsel ahlak ve geleneklere aykırı düşecek bir yardıma başvurmaksızın yazıldığını ve yararlandığım eserlerin bibliyografyada gösterilen eserlerden oluştuğunu, bunlara atıf yapılarak yararlanmış olduğumu belirtir ve bunu onurumla doğrularım.

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Ayşe Dilara AKMEŞE

ÖZ

MEDYADA KADIN LİDER TEMSİLİ: MARGARET THATCHER VE TANSU ÇİLLER ÖRNEKLEMLERİ

Bu tez, kadın siyasi liderlerin kitle iletişim araçlarında nasıl temsil edildiğini incelemektedir. Bu çalışma, bu araştırma sorusunu, Türkiye ve Birleşik Krallık'taki kitle iletişim araçları örneklemleri ve pek çok ortak noktaları olan ilk kadın başbakanın, yani Tansu Çiller ve Margaret Thatcher'ın medyadaki temsilleri aracılığıyla yanıtlamaya çalışmaktadır. Bu çalışma, iki liderin gazete temsillerini, temsillerdeki toplumsal cinsiyet boyutu açısından karşılaştırmaktadır. Bu iki kadın liderin temsilleri iki dönem boyunca nitel içerik analizi yöntemiyle analiz edilmiştir. Bu dönemlerden ilki, iki liderin iktidara ilk yükseldikleri dönemleri kapsar; ikincisi, karşılaştıkları askeri krizler, yani Kardak Krizi ve Falkland Savaşıdır. Karşılaştırmalı bir bakış açısı sağlamak için analizde farklı siyasi eğilimlerden gazeteler kullanılmıştır. İngiltere'den *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph* ve *The Times*, Türkiye'den *Cumhuriyet* ve *Milliyet* seçilmiştir. 84 gazete makalesi ve köşe yazısı incelenmiştir. Tekrarlanan temalar ve kodlar belirlenerek literatürle karşılaştırılmıştır. Thatcher ve Çiller'in gazetelerdeki temsillerinin yetkinlikleri, liderlikleri, görünüşleri, kişilikleri ve özellikleri açısından toplumsal cinsiyetli boyutlar içerdiği, geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet normlarına referansla temsil edildikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Bu bulgular literatür ile uyumlu bulunmuştur. Ancak İngiliz medyası, profesyonel dilin kullanımı ve temsillerdeki ideolojik kutuplaşması açısından Türk medyasından ayrışmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Medya, Temsil, Kadın, Lider, Tansu Çiller, Margaret Thatcher.

ABSTRACT

REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN LEADERS IN THE MEDIA: CASES OF MARGARET THATCHER AND TANSU ÇİLLER

This thesis looks into how women political leaders are represented in the mass media. This study attempts to answer this research question through the cases of the mass media in Turkey and the United Kingdom and the media representations of their first woman prime ministers, who have a lot in common, namely Tansu Çiller and Margaret Thatcher. This study compares the gender dimension in the two leaders' newspaper representations. The representations of these two women leaders were analyzed with the method of qualitative content analysis during two periods. The former period includes their initial rise to power; the latter is the military crises they faced, namely the Kardak Crisis and the Falklands War. Newspapers from different political tendencies have been used for the analysis to provide a comparative outlook. *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, and *The Times* were selected from the United Kingdom, while *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* were selected from Turkey. 84 news articles and opinion columns have been analyzed. Repeated themes and codes have been determined and compared with the literature. It was observed that Thatcher and Çiller received gender-based media attention similarly for their competence, leadership, appearance, personality, and characteristics. These findings are in line with the literature. However, the representations in the British mass media entail differences from the Turkish mass media in terms of the usage of professional language and its the ideological polarization in the representations.

Key Words: Media, Representation, Woman, Leader, Tansu Çiller, Margaret Thatcher.

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Manisa, 2023

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INTRODUCTION

Media and politics have significant ties. The media is a bridge between people and politics. Political debates and politicians are introduced to the people through media representations. People's voting habits have been influenced by how the media represent them. Politicians try to present themselves to the media as they wish; the media show them to the people as it wishes. Research exists on representations, varying according to different themes such as gender. Women leaders and politicians are undervalued in comparison to male leaders and politicians. It is possible to investigate whether gender matters in political representation. There is ample research on the triangle of media representations, politics, and gender.

This thesis examines representation of women leaders in the media on the cases of the United Kingdom and Turkey, and their first woman prime ministers Margaret Thatcher, and Tansu Çiller. Foundations of this study aim to present answers to various research questions: (1) How were Turkey's and the UK's first female prime ministers represented on mass media? (2) Are there differences or similarities between Turkish and British media's representations of women and women political leaders? (3) How were Thatcher and Çiller represented in Turkey's and the UK's left-wing publications? Were there any contrasts or similarities? (4) Were there any distinctions or parallels in the representations of women leaders in liberal mainstream Turkish and British newspapers? (5) Were there any distinctions or resemblances between liberal mainstream media and left-centered media in Turkey? (6) Were there any distinctions or resemblances between liberal mainstream media and left-centered media in the UK?

a. Case Selection and Background Information

This study explores the media representations of women leaders in the framework of the triangular conceptual realm formed at the intersections of gender, politics and representation. The study focuses on the cases of United Kingdom and Turkey, and their first woman prime ministers; Margaret Thatcher and Tansu Çiller.

The history of the institution of Prime Minister in the UK goes back to 1720 and to Sir Robert Walpole as the first Prime Minister. Up until Margaret Thatcher's rise to the position of Prime Minister, there had been no woman leaders in this position. After Thatcher, Theresa May became the second woman prime minister in 2016, since David Cameron had resigned. Then, Liz Truss became the third woman prime minister because Boris Johnson the prime minister resigned in 2022. There is no woman prime

minister who came to power as a result of an election except Thatcher. She was globally known by the nickname "Iron Lady" and has to this day been a significant figure among woman political actors. Therefore, Thatcher is a unique case worth to select as a case study to search on woman leaders' representations in the media.

The first Prime Minister of Turkey was İsmet İnönü, who came to this position in 1923. Tansu Çiller came to power as the first and the only woman prime minister in Turkey's history. When she first came to power, there were initial positive responses both from Turkey and abroad, mainly in celebration of her being Turkey's first woman prime minister. There were also those who drew parallels between Çiller and Thatcher. There are many reasons why it is appropriate and useful to study the case of Çiller's media representation in comparison to that of Thatcher.

There are various common points between these two women leaders to utilize them as comparative case studies. There have not been many women prime ministers in the world (World Population Review, 2023). Both Thatcher and Çiller are the first woman prime ministers in their countries; the historical periods in which they were in power, are close to each other; and they were both from conservative parties.

Women underrepresented in politics (Welch and Studlar, 1986), and this is true for both the UK and Turkey. Patriarchy is one of the components of Turkish society. Political culture and other social structures involve and reproduce this component in Turkey (Coşkun, 2023: 1). Political masculinities reflect the predominant patriarchy in Turkish society (Akyüz, 2018). The position of masculinity in politics is established by relationships among institutions, structures, discourses, and regulations (Coşkun, 2023: 4). There are fewer woman political actors who participate to decision making process (Coşkun, 2023: 12). Similar to Turkey's political realm, British political sphere also has never been woman friendly. Before and after Thatcher came into office, men have been in a clear majority in UK's politics. Despite these structural barriers, Çiller took the position of Prime Minister as Turkey's first and only woman prime minister; and Thatcher was the first and only elected woman prime minister of the UK. Coming from conservative parties, both leaders resorted to neoliberal economic policies.

One of the most significant common points between Thatcher and Çiller is that they both faced military crises when they were in power. It was 1996 when the Kardak Crisis (also called Imia Crisis) erupted between Turkey and Greece. After this crisis

begun, Çiller performed a “firm stand”, and famously said: **“**This soldier going to depart and that this flag going to be lowered**”** (O bayrak inecek, o asker gidecek). However, upon close examination of the representation of the crisis in the news, we see that the US dominated the solution of the crisis, and this dominance negatively affected the image of Çiller. There were columnists in the media who represented the Kardak Crisis and Çiller’s role in it as ridiculous **(**Balbay, 1996: 5; Y. Doğan, 1996b: 13).

Falklands War (also called Falkland Islands War, Malvinas War, or South Atlantic War) erupted between the United Kingdom and Argentina. This event became a ticket for Thatcher to be prime minister for a second period. Whereas she was criticized because of especially her neoliberal economic policies, when Argentina surrounded Falkland Islands, Thatcher’s decision to go to war, and the victory that came afterwards, provided Thatcher with popular appraisal **(**Johnson, 1982: 24; The Guardian, 1982a). There were also people who opposed the war, emphasizing the number of dead soldiers, and underlining that the war was unnecessary.

However, there is also a major difference between the political careers of Thatcher and Çiller. Margaret Thatcher rose in politics step by step from a grassroots level. However, Çiller seemed to come to power thanks to her political network and did not emerge from a grassroots political engagement effort as much as Thatcher did.

The thesis is based on the analysis of the two leaders’ media representations in newspapers as primary sources. As they were the first woman prime ministers of their countries, there was a considerable media attention paid to both leaders. The media representations of the two leaders provide fertile ground for investigating how women political leaders are represented in the media from a gender-based perspective.

b. Conceptual Framework

The term “gender” as a distinct category from sex started to become popularized in 1970s. After this term was developed, the meanings of “gender” and “sex” were defined clearly. Scholars claimed that "sex" relates to physical characteristics and is influenced by anatomical and physiological factors (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). They viewed "gender" as a psychological transformation of the person, including the behavioral manifestations of one's internal conviction that they are either male or female (gender identity). While "gender" is concerned with societal pressures that lead to stereotypical behavior, "sex" is about the anatomy and physiological

processes of the body (Fausto-Sterling, 2000).The initial distinction between sex and gender in sociological literature dates to 1970. According to sociological definitions, gender refers to socially constructed distinctions between being feminine and masculine, whereas sex refers to biological differences between males and females (Holmes, 2007: 2).

Definitions of the concept of gender underline that it refers to “a social structure, not an expression of biology, nor a fixed dichotomy in human life or character. It is a pattern on our social arrangements, and the everyday activities shaped by those arrangements” (Connell and Pearse, 2015: 28-30). As gender is about social and cultural constructions, media representations are important in terms of constructing norms about gender or reproducing and normalizing gender norms.

According to Hall (1997: 17), “representation is the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language”. There are three kinds of representation; reflective, intentional, and constructionist (Hall, 1997: 15). The connection between concepts and language allows us to refer to both the 'real' world of things, people, or events as well as to imagined worlds of made-up things, people, and events (Hall, 1997). These approaches examine the relation between “reality” and “representation” (Orgad, 2012: 48).

According to the constructivist perspective, representations are necessarily constructed a selected and focused representation of some aspects of reality that always yields some particular meanings while excluding others (Orgad, 2012: 53).This study examines media representations based on this constructivist approach. Media representations’ fundamental job is to give signs meaning and a way to represent "reality". They are “active processes of meaning production” refers texts, photos, articles, advertisements, radio programmes, etc. which has symbolic meanings in the media (Orgad, 2012: 47-48). By representing, the media constantly creates divisions between “us” and “them,” “here” and “there”(Orgad, 2012: 55).

When “gender” and “media representations” combine with politics, the base of this study occurs. This study examines the media representations of women political leaders in general. There is a significant bond among politics, gender, and media representations because gender-based media representations of women and women politicians are very effective on their reputation. The first studies on newspaper coverage of women were made in 1978. Tuchman (1978) observed absence of women

in the media or existence with stereotypes such as victim, wives, eye candy etc. Ample research exists on the media representations of women politicians. According to analyses, women politicians receive attention on their looks, styles, bodies, hairdo, their responsibilities in private sphere rather than their political ideologies, and they represent as eye candy, victim, and mother (Banwart et al., 2003; Bystrom et al., 2001; Gidengil and Everitt, 2003; Heldman et al., 2005; Kahn, 1991; 1992; 1994; Kahn and Kenney, 1997; Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991; Ross, 2014; Ross and Carter, 2011). As a result, there are different views on whether these kinds of representations negatively (Kahn, 1992, 1994, 1996; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991; Norris, 1997; Scharrer, 2002; Serini, Powers and Johnson, 1998; Trimble 2007) or positively (Atkesonn and Krebs, 2008; Banwart et al., 2003; Devitt, 1999; Kittilson and Fridkin, 2008; Ross, 2014) affect the media visibility of a woman candidate. Apart from the visibility potential, this kind of representations show the woman candidate incompetent to be an effective political actor or a leader (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996; Sones et al., 2005; Stevens, 2007; Ward, 2000). When people want to emphasize incompetency of women leaders, they usually resort to gendered representations.

Besides, a direct relationship exists between power and media representations. The emphasis that every representation is essentially and inexorably enmeshed in power relations is perhaps the most important contribution of the extensive body of research on media representations. Media representations encode power relations, and by producing knowledge, values, conceptions, and beliefs, they establish and replicate power relations (Orgad, 2012: 61-62). That's why media representations matter in politics.

Various research focused on media representations examines power relations or inequalities in various contexts such as class, ethnicity, race, nationality, sexuality, age, and gender (Orgad, 2012: 61-62). Scholars who studied representations and power remarked that an ideology is prevailing via media representation and that the production of discourse and having knowledge equals more power, like in Foucault's theory (Hall, 1997; Orgad, 2012). Orgad exemplified the approach based on ideology with studies of Dorfman and Mattelart (1975) on US capitalism representation in Disney's comics (Orgad, 2012: 63). For the relation among power, representations, and knowledge, scholars (Hall, 1997; Orgad, 2012) mentioned Edward Said and his book *Orientalism.* The book is significant for understanding the effects of

representations. He describes the creation of the terms "us" and "them" in the framework of "east" and "west,"; how west represented east, and what the results of these representations are (Said, 1978).

In this thesis, I examine the gender-based representations of two women leaders in the media. Thus, politics, media representations, and gender are gathered under this title in harmony. Media produces knowledge about political actors and becomes powerful. While it represents politicians, it also produces or supports some stereotypes. Gender-based stereotypes are instances of these stereotypes and negatively affect the authority of female political actors (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996; Sones et al., 2005; Stevens, 2007; Ward, 2000). I studied two women leaders, Margaret Thatcher and Tansu Çiller, and analyzed whether they received gender-based representations by the media or not when they came to power and faced military crises.

c. Methodology

This thesis relies on a qualitative methodological approach and employs qualitative content analysis as its method. Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) is a method for systematically describing the meaning of qualitative material. Material is grouped into instances of a coding frame's categories to do this (Schreier, 2012: 1).

Various methods exist in social science to analyze the data qualitatively. For instance, Discourse Analysis (DA) and QCA seem to be similar to a considerable extent. However, there are significant differences and nuances between them.

Even though these two approaches have their roots in very distinct philosophical schools and serve very different purposes in social science research, some research supports the idea that they might be understood as complementary, if not even supportive of one another, in the investigation of social reality. The creation and maintenance of the world's socially produced ideas and objects are examined in DA (Hardy, Harley and Phillips, 2004: 19). DA examines not only the meaning of the qualitative material but also includes a set of presumptions about the constructive effects of language (Burman and Parker, 1993). Discourse analysis seeks to understand how that reality was generated, in contrast to other qualitative approaches that attempt to comprehend what social reality means to actors (Hardy, Harley and Philips, 2004: 19). Discourse analysis offers a deeper examination of the precarious condition of meaning, even though it shares a concern with the meaningfulness of social life. Discourse analysis seeks to understand how social reality is formed, as opposed to

other qualitative approaches that aim to comprehend or interpret social reality as it is (Hardy, 2001; Phillips and Hardy, 2002).

I analyzed the media representations of two women political leaders and looked into whether they received gender-based media representations or not. I have rarely been interested in the sociological production processes of the discourses about Thatcher and Çiller. Therefore, I selected Qualitative Content Analysis as the method for this thesis.

Content analysis has a long history, and many scholars write on this history (Krippendorff, 2004; Rosenthal, 2018; Schreier, 2014). The goal of QCA is to present a detailed description of the data being examined (Selvi, 2020: 442). Researchers can pick materials from various sources, including newspapers, documentaries, interviews, etc. Furthermore, it makes no difference if your content is verbal or visual (Schreier, 2012: 3; Selvi, 2020: 444). QCA is a solution if you need to interpret your data in some way to determine its meaning. Since data lacks a predetermined meaning, it never "speaks for itself." It is something we develop. QCA follows a set process. It is elastic and reduces the amount of data because your material is defined only by the specific angles that you must specify (Schreier, 2012: 3).

The QCA process includes the following steps: picking your content, making a decision on your research question, constructing the framework of code, splitting your material into coding units, testing your coding frame, analyzing and changing your coding frame, conducting the main analysis, and explaining and describing your findings (Schreier, 2012: 6).

This study intends to investigate how two women leaders are portrayed in the newspapers. The purpose is to examine the two leaders' representation in the mass media of their own national contexts. In the 1980s and 1990s, newspapers were very significant mass media tools, and they were like bridges between people and politics. That's why newspapers are chosen as the primary sources of this study. Then, the next question was which newspaper I should select. I selected left-centered and liberal mainstream newspapers from each national setting to see and show whether or not any differences exist between the representations of newspapers from different ideological backgrounds. The selected newspapers were *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet* in Turkey, and *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* in the United Kingdom. In order to get an in-depth understanding of the newspaper representations of the two leaders,

two important historical periods were selected for qualitative inquiry. The first period is the time of the leaders' coming to power, and the second period is the military crises they faced. As Tansu Çiller came to power on June 25th, 1993, the research focuses on the newspaper issues from June 12 to July 21, 1993. Margaret Thatcher came to power on the 4th of May, 1979, and the research convers from May 1 to May 28, 1979. With regard to the military crises, in Turkey, Kardak Crisis happened in between December 25 and January 30, 1996. The time frame I have studied is from December 25, 1995, to February 3, 1996. In the UK, Falkland Islads War happened in between April 2 and June 14, 1982. I examine newspaper's contents in between the 1st of April and the 15th of June in 1982. I emphasize significancy of these two periods because I examine gender-based representations of two women leaders. They came to power as the first woman prime ministers in their countries. Until they came to power, no women had come to power. This situation was found newsworthy by media and provide us a suitable research time zone to analyze whether they received gender-based representations or not.

For the military crisis period, the military issues have been seen as male dominated issues from past to the present (Enloe, 1993; Harrison and Laliberté, 1997). Men are typically perceived as being more "talented" in the military, the economy, and key aspects of politics (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993: 504). Women, on the other hand, are assumed to be capable of tackling "poverty, education, child-related, and health policy challenges" (Leeper, 1991; Rosenwasser and Seale, 1988; Sapiro, 1981). I selected military crisis period to examine two women leader's representations because I wanted to inquire into how newspapers covered a woman leader who dealt with a military crisis from a gender-based perspective.

Through these time periods, it is hardly possible to examine every single piece of coverage of the leaders. Therefore, I chose newspaper contents (news articles and opinion columns) based on a purposive sampling approach to explore the role that gender plays in the representation of the two women Prime Ministers by newspapers.

I intentionally selected five newspapers from different political tendencies. I reached the newspaper archives on the internet. A total of 84 (eighty-four) newspaper contents have been analyzed from five newspapers. I have selected these contents which could provide me an appropriate base to study whether the representations of the two women leaders were gender based or not during the two time periods I selected.

When I stress "gender-based" representations, I refer to those that place more emphasis on a political actor's gender than their line of a job. Gender-based portrayals are ones that place more emphasis on stereotypes or female issues than on their policies.

Some representations of the leaders in the time frames I looked at plainly highlighted their other traits, such their political positions, rather than their gender. I chose them in order to show how non-gender-based representations exist.

I used QCA as the method because I was interested in the meaning and narrative of these contents, rather than quantity. I could discover the gendered representations in the contents only when I use the qualitative content analysis. After the method selection, I determined the themes, and codes which are dominant in the representations of the two leaders.

It has been intentionally used comparative method in this thesis. The comparison provides the researcher with an appropriate base to make an analysis. It creates a more powerful area to define the subject because of its focus on the similarities and differences among the cases (Collier, 1993: 105). It is impossible to think and make scientific research without comparison (Ragin, 2014; Swanson, 1971). Comparison offers a basis for claiming empirical regularities and for assessing and interpreting examples in light of substantive and theoretical standards (Ragin, 2014: 1) According to Lieberson (1985: 44) social science is comparative research fatefully.

The advantages of the comparative method are suitable for the thesis. A methodology based on comparison is significant for the development of political science. Comparative analysis continues to be the major method in political science even though experimentation is the key method for testing theory in most fields. Only very infrequently, and nearly always under highly fabricated conditions, can political science be a field of experimentation. We can discuss and compare events in different countries. Also, we evaluate each event by the internal dynamics of the country, and thus we develop an alternative to experiments (Peters, 2013: 1).

Political scientists frequently utilize the approach of comparative analysis (CA) to examine political systems, institutions, or processes. This is possible on a local, regional, national, and global scale. Additionally, CA is based on empirical data acquired from the observation and coding of actual political processes. Comparative research strives to increase political understanding using a scientifically limited

methodology, in contrast to other political studies that generate policy through ideological and/or theoretical discourse (Lijhart, ND)

This thesis asks the main research question "How are the representations of women leaders in the media?", and I answered the question on the cases of the United Kingdom and Turkey, and their first woman prime ministers namely Margaret Thatcher and Tansu Çiller. I examined their representations for two periods in the five newspapers which are in the United Kingdom and Turkey from different ideological tendencies. Therefore I compared the two countries' mass media, the newspapers which had the same political tendencies from different countries, the newspapers which had different political tendencies from the same country, and the media representations of the two women political leaders. I answered all my research questions thanks to comparative methodology.

d. Selection of Newspapers

Schreier (2012: 4) says that when analyzing business brochures, it is reasonable to discuss the business in addition to the brochures. As this study focuses on five newspapers from two countries, it is necessary to explain how journalism is understood and performed in these two countries, and the missions of the five newspapers in order to provide a comprehensive outlook. This thesis involves many comparisons across various phenomena, most important of them being the difference between gendered representations of women leaders in the mass media of the UK and Turkey. In order to understand, I need to look into the background of the two countries' media systems. What are the fundamental characteristics of the United Kingdom's and Turkey's mass media? The answer provides insights to understand the relation between the countries' medias.

Hallin and Mancini (2004) have developed media system theories which paved us the way to compare different countries' media systems. Their theory suggests three main models of media: liberal model, democratic corporatist model, and polarized pluralist model. According to their book, the liberal model involves the United Kingdom. Although Turkey has been excluded from the book, Kaya and Çakmur wrote an article on politics and mass media in Turkey, and defined Turkey as in the polarized pluralist model (Kaya and Çakmur, 2010). Hallin and Mancini's categorization depends on four criteria: "(1) the development of media markets and particularly of

the mass circulation press, (2) political parallelism, (3) journalistic professionalism, and (4) the role of state (Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 87).

Hallin and Mancini located the United Kingdom within The North Atlantic/Liberal Model. North Atlanthic/Liberal Mode experiences:

- early achievements on press freedom and the mass circulation press
- that journalism has a fair amount of professionalization
- commercial newspapers are the majority, political parallelism is minimal, and internal plurality is predominant with the notable exception of the intensely partisan British press.
- commercial forces are more likely to restrict journalistic autonomy, even while political instrumentalization is more widespread in Britain.
- that the majority of journalism is informational, with a slightly stronger heritage of commentary in Britain.
- that the role of the state is less in the US rather than within Ireland and Canada. Although both public broadcasting and arrangement of commercial broadcasting are critically substantial, Britain considers significant the role of the state (Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 75).

The history of the British press goes back to the late eighteenth century. A small group of elites, and upper classes were the audience of newspapers in the eighteenth century. The interests of the elites determined the contents of the newspapers. After the literate working class increased, different newspapers were founded focused on urban proletariat and their interests. After the French Revolution, 'radical' press emerged in Britain to change the perspectives of the working class. These radical presses were closed or connected with Independent Labour Party, Trades Union Congress etc. by the end of the nineteenth century. Then "press barons" occurred. Rupert Murdoch and News International are significant instances in the late 1960s in the UK. Murdoch was owner of many media agencies, and other firms from different sectors. According to a source, he and his agencies supported Conservative Party and Thatcher; Thatcher advocated his monopoly (McNair, 2009: 86-88). United Kingdom has different debates than Turkey on professional and ethical issues in journalism. Political pressure existed in Turkish Journalism because of coup d'etat periods. It is not seen such environment has political pressure in the UK (Aldridge and Evetts, 2003).

Even when their relatively tiny numbers are taken into consideration, female politicians still receive considerably less media attention than their male counterparts (Gill, 2007: 117). Women are usually referred to just by their first name, photographed in household rather than in parliament, and have the physical appearance incessantly critiqued by journalists. Women's age and marital status are frequently brought up in news stories. In a comparative study of female parliamentarians in Australia, South Africa, and Britain, Karen Ross provides numerous instances of the media's preoccupation with how women look, as well as numerous heated responses from female politicians. The constant emphasis on women's gender roles, home duties, and childcare responsibilities was another major issue of the reportage on women in Parliament, in addition to attractiveness. Female politicians claimed that they were frequently questioned about who is watching their "children" Also, the undertone was almost always condemnatory, even when inquiries seemed supportive and were phrased in terms of how they managed to "juggle" family and work (Ross, 2002).

Two types of press exist in UK journalism: tabloid press, and quality press. Quality (broadsheet) presses more official than tabloid press in content, angle, headline, introduction, and language (BBC, 2022a). Therefore, I choose top three broadsheet presses in the United Kingdom as *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, and *The Times* to use in this study (BBC, 2022b).

The Guardian as an institution depends on Guardian Media Group with merely a shareholder The Scott Trust. The Scott Trust was established in 1936. The Scott Trust aims to secure the financial and editorial independence of *The Guardian*. *The Guardian* has a global reputation and aims “fearless investigative journalism” (The Guardian, 2022). The newspaper website defines *The Guardian* has an independent structure, and they can choose what news they cover courageously (The Guardian, 2022).

The Times was instituted as the oldest national daily newspaper by John Walter in 1785. It was named the Daily Universal Register but three years later it was renamed as *The Times* in 1788. John Walter both the editor and publisher likened newspaper to “a well-covered table, it should contain something suited to every palate”. Subjects were varied such as politics, foreign affairs, trade, etc. Walter explained that they argued those issues objectively (The Times, 2022).

The Daily Telegraph has been founded by Colonel Arthur B. Sleigh in 1855 with the name of "The Daily Telegraph and Courier". After 71 days, the name became *The Daily Telegraph*. The newspaper announces itself as "the largest circulation in the world". Their vision is "to pioneer new ways to serve 1 million subscriptions by 2023 through quality journalism and experiences, forging close connections and building communities of like-minded people" (The Telegraph, 2022).

In this study, whereas *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* are considered as liberal mainstream, *The Guardian* are considered as center left based on the literature (Brownlie, 2010: 35).

Kaya and Çakmur (2010) argue that Turkey is involved in the Mediterranean/Polarized Pluralist Model among the media systems models. The main characteristics of the Polarized Pluralist Model are as follows according to Hallin and Mancini (2004):

- that the media of the country pressed for elites, has a low print run, and a similar prominence of electronic media.
- that freedom of the press and the growth of the commercial media sectors lately happened; newspapers were frequently economically unviable and required financial support.
- Political parallelism is usually prevalent. Political parallelism relates to the strength and type of relationships between the media and political parties, or, more generally, to how well the media system captures the main societal political divisions.
- It is typical for the government, political parties, and businesspeople with political ties to manipulate the media. Public broadcasting frequently adopts a governmental or legislative structure.
- compared to the other models, the professionalization of journalism is not as advanced. Therefore, political action and journalism are not as clearly distinguished from one another, and journalism frequently has limited autonomy.
- the state has significant involvement in media ownership, regulation, and funding, albeit it frequently lacks the resources necessary to do so.

As Hallin and Mancini think that these tendencies are largely founded in the high level of ideological diversity and conflict that characterizes today, they have chosen to call this the Polarized Pluralist Model (Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 73).

The history of journalism for the period of Turkish Republic goes back to early times of Turkish Republic. It has many turning points. The government had dominance over the press until 1950. Corporatization has begun in between 1950-1970 (Köylü, 2006: 42). 1980 is one of the most significant turning points for the journalism in Turkey. The determinants of the Turkish journalism shifted from political and social factors to economic factors (Koloğlu, 1992: 86). Newspapers were closed, and journalists got arrested because of the 1980 coup d'etat in Turkey. An environment that foregrounds personal interests, business interests over collective interests flourished in the 80s. In such a political and social milieu, newspapers began to be advocates or voices of the power elite. This was followed by the monopolization of the media during the 90s. Small-scale newspapers and journals were closed, and others were bought by big corporations (Erdoğan, 2007: 39-40). Press companies used to maintain their survival through the income they earned from journalism until 1980's. After the big corporations became dominant in journalism sector, journalism became a part of investment groups (Erdoğan, 2007: 42). Because of these transformations, ethical problems occurred in Turkish Journalism. A business group usually owned more than one newspaper or mass media outlet. Aydın Doğan brought the first investment to media from out of the sector when he bought *Milliyet* the newspaper in 1980. In 1993, Aydın Doğan bought *Hürriyet*, which brought along concerns about monopolization in media. Doğan Media Group had also different companies from different sectors such as banking, textile, trade, insurance, etc. (Erdoğan, 2007: 43-44). The monopolized feature of Turkish Journalism caused a lack of different ideas in the media. The financial competition deprived editors of their freedom and professional autonomy because of the bosses' interests (Köylü, 2006: 78-79). As a result, we see political pressure in Turkey in journalism, despite certain efforts (Köylü, 2006: 35-45).

I have selected *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* among Turkish newspapers as the two primary sources to analyze the representation of Çiller. It is appropriate to inform about those newspapers' history and perspective to create better background for this thesis. After the Turkish Republic was established in 1923, the young Republic needed a communication medium in the face of the public challenges it faced. Yunus Nadi established Cumhuriyet the newspaper on 7th of May 1924 with the support of Nebizade Hamdi, Zekeriya Sertel, and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The mission of the newspaper was to promote the republican regime. *Cumhuriyet* is significant media

outlet in Turkey. Sometimes it affects politics as a media tool, sometimes it is affected by politics (Emre Kaya, 2010: 76). In the newspaper's past, there were periods in which it was banned from publication as the interests of governments contradicted with the mission of the newspaper. (Emre Kaya, 2010: 77-78). Center left ideologies began to dominate *Cumhuriyet* after the 1960s. The institution changed its position according to the ideology and politics of a government (Emre Kaya, 2010: 79). However, exception exists. Although Cumhuriyet positioned in center left ideology, it supported liberal economy in 80s (Emre Kaya, 2010: 84). This newspaper has been selected for inquiry in this thesis as it exemplifies a left-wing news outlet, with a well-established history.

The second newspaper selected from Turkey as our sample, *Milliyet,* was founded by Mahmut Soydan and published its first issue on 11th of February 1926. Atatürk encouraged this newspaper to publish. Like *Cumhuriyet*, *Milliyet* has been founded soon after Turkish Republic was founded, and it was one of the most liberal mainstream media sources of Turkey. *Milliyet* defines itself as "the newspaper of the public". The newspaper made innovations with different press models about foreign news, economy, and sport. *Milliyet* stated that the newspaper is Ataturkist. They believe revolutions, the western thought system, liberty, and democracy. After Abdi İpekçi was killed, Aydın Doğan bought the newspaper (Milliyet, 2007).

The literature on the representations of women in Turkish mass media, argue that in the early years of the Republic, news articles were very gendered to introduce "the new Republican woman" image to people. The media emphasized "national ideals and praised women as mothers and educators of the new nation" (Özcan, 2009: 58), and represented women as the "devoted mother", "faithful, good wife", or utilized women's sexuality to receive attention (Saktanber, 1991: 154). In forthcoming years, gender-based representations continued in the Turkish media. With their victim-blaming attitudes and denigration of sexual assaults, Turkish journalists have also failed to take a fair stance toward women when reporting on crimes against women (Alat, 2006). Only 9% of Turkish news stories regarding politics and government mention women (Özcan, 2009: 60).

When examining how two women leaders are portrayed in newspapers from a gender perspective, it is important to consider both the gender norms and preconceptions that exist in that culture and the representations themselves (Schreier,

2012: 2). Therefore, chapter one involves a literature review on the representations of women leaders in the media. The chapter began with women's participation in the public sphere. Even though women participated in the public sphere, there were barriers to women's participation in politics. I examined those barriers under the title "Barriers to Women's Participation" in politics. Media is one of these barriers and our focal point. I talked about how important the media is to politics and politicians. While I discuss the media and how it portrays politics and politicians, I do so from a gender perspective. Therefore, the effects of gender in women's media representations are discussed in the literature review of this thesis.

Chapter two includes a historical background for the lives of Margaret Thatcher and Tansu Çiller. I gathered essential information about two leaders' lives, focusing on their family and upbringing, education, entrance into politics, marriage and motherhood, political life, ideas and values, and relations with the media. The reason I alluded to those details is that they make it easier for us to comprehend their personal and professional lives, as well as to analyze their representations more effectively.

Chapter three presents the findings of this study. I grouped the data I discovered under the headings "Gendered Representations During the Initial Rise to Power" and "Gendered Representations During the Military Crisis." This chapter thematically explains the findings. After reviewing the data, I came up with the primary subtitles "Competence and Leadership", "Appearance and Personality", and "Relationship with the Media" for gendered representations during the initial rise to power. I have discussed their representations under the heading "Competence and Leadership" when they first took charge. "Appearance and Personality" involves the representations focused on the two leaders' appearance, gestures, mimics, emotions, motherhood, and being wife. Under the heading "Relationship with the Media," I outlined how the media affects their campaigning and ascension to power. I also chose two subtitles for "Gendered Representations During the Military Crisis": "Competency or Incompetency" and "Military Leadership and the Metaphors of Motherhood." I wrote about the representations of two leaders under the heading "Competency or Incompetency" in which the newspapers discussed their competence during a time of military crisis. Also, they were given attention for their motherhood and gender; this attention is included in the section titled "Military Leadership and the Metaphors of Motherhood."

CHAPTER ONE

REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMAN LEADERS IN THE MEDIA

1.1. WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC SPHERE

Women have come a long way in the struggle to gain their rights. They aimed for equality with men in public and private life, and they have been challenged for it. "A Vindication of the Rights of Women" (2019), written by Mary Wollstonecraft has been a milestone text for first wave of women's rights movement, which aimed to demolish the hierarchical relationship between women and men. The text was written in the aftermath of the French Revolution, and it emphasized that women should have equal rights as men. The first wave of women's movements gained prominence among the movements of the late 18th and early 19th century, as women struggled for liberty and equality, and this struggle has been an ongoing one (Çakır, 1994: 55).

The issue of "woman" has been discussed from the past to the present from the ways of either gender or in the line between the public and private sphere (Çiçekli, 2019: 2). After the publication of "A Vindication of the Rights of Women", one of the most important studies that criticized the suppression of women under male dominance and argued that it is necessary for women to have the same rights as men, was "The Subjection of Women" (1869) written by John Stuart Mill. Women's struggle is a long-term and gradual process and has continued with second and third wave feminist movements in the world. Through these "waves" of movement, women were able to get some of their legal and political rights. However, this process of gaining rights has not been in sync globally, as some parts of the world lagged behind in bringing women's rights to their agenda.

Although women have taken their rights legally, they have continued to face many problems in their public and private life. (Council of Europe, 2021). It is possible to define the private sphere as "in-home", while the public sphere is "out-home" (Tuncer, 2015: 34). Lines between the public and private sphere are not settled but rechanged and redefined according to usages of societal actors in daily life (Tuncer, 2015: 32). Accordingly, everywhere out the door, such as work, street, traffic, politics,

etc., are included in the scope of the public sphere. What is complained about is that although men are not kept responsible for the responsibilities in the private sphere, they keep their dominance both in the private and public spheres. One of the reasons for this is that, both private and public places have been regulated on some stereotypical norms accepted during history (Tuncer, 2015: 31). Therefore, while men are accepted as belonging to the public sphere, women's place has been considered in the private sphere. Women have been kept responsible for domestic labor like cooking, childcaring, cleaning, and for fulfilling sexual "duties" to men (Alkan, 1999: 14-17) according to the common prevailing perceptions. Henceforth, no matter how many rights were given to women, in practice there were obstacles that prevented them from fully enjoying these rights. This thesis focuses on the problematic relationship between women and politics, which is a subtitle of problems that women face in the public sphere.

1.2. BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

Although the number of women in politics have been increasing during the last decades, various factors still can prevent the progression of women in politics. When the place of women in the population is examined, it can be observed that women are underrepresented in politics. Thus, a democratic deficit happens because of the presence of a few women in administrations around the world, which has a %52 women population (Driedger, 2013: 14). The entry of women into politics means that they have a say in decisions that affect the fate of a region, perhaps the world, where they make up more than half of its population. Even if some theoretical barriers have been removed, this has not been sufficient, and a "glass ceiling", is still observed (Rosenbluth, Kalla and Teele, 2018: 4). It is possible to explain "the glass ceiling" as a kind of inequality in job progression. The Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995: iii) has defined the glass ceiling as "artificial barriers to the advancement of women and minorities".

Generally, all factors that prevent the entry of women to political power can be called "barriers". Shames (2015) has categorized three kinds of barriers to prevent women's entry into politics as a candidate, member, or leader. These are institutional

barriers, social/cultural barriers, and psychological/motivational barriers (Shames, 2015: 1).

First, institutional barriers literally cover the obstacles that institutions create to women's entry into politics. Primarily, the election system has a significant role in institutional barriers. Although some research, which compares the election systems, state that women have more advantage in multi-member districts with a proportional-representation rule (Norris and Lovenduski, 1995: 193), there are studies that state majoritarian electoral system is in favor of women candidates instead of the proportional electoral system, due to the absence of gender-based political representations (Van der Pas and Aaldering, 2020: 1). When the recruitment process is gendered, women lose from the beginning (Political Parity, 2014). Also, the party gatekeepers, primaries, and internal party selectors, who are senior party officials-members, mostly affect the presence or absence of women in politics.

Economic factors prevent women's entry into politics because women have limited access to funds and networks for electoral campaigns when compared to men. Women earn less money even when they are involved in paid work, because of various causes such as occupational segregation, and gender pay gap. Working conditions for candidacy are very compulsory because it costs a lot; on the other hand, the candidate cannot earn any money. It means that the candidacy is not a real job. Economic causes make heavy weather for women, who want to enter politics, as they are kept responsible for domestic labor (Shames, 2015: 3).

Institutional barriers involve educational problems. Some educational methods support the order of patriarchal society and male hegemony. Scholars believe education is significant to teach children gender roles. They advocate that people can internalize stereotypical gender roles thanks to educational institutions (Çiçekli, 2019: 3).

The second obstacle is “socio-cultural barriers”. In addition to the biological sex of the people, there are some responsibilities and roles that society they were born into encumbered those people (Powell and Greenhause, 2010: 1012). These roles and responsibilities cause several discriminations and barriers and are approved as much as biological qualities by society (Çiçekli, 2019: 2). Thus, it is possible to be note that these kinds of gender roles are socio-cultural structures.

All people's behaviors, physical appearances, and speeches are evaluated according to these prescriptive roles, whether men or women (Abrar and Ghouri, 2010: 28; Üner, 2008: 6). This socio-cultural construction process comprises parenting style then social environment, education, culture etc. A biased consensus associates the characteristics of masculinity with leadership, and femininity with feebleness in stereotypical gender roles. Although subjective thoughts have been decreased thanks to the "transformational leadership" theory, negative ideas which are still prevalent and tacit affects people's minds about the viability of women in politics (Shames, 2015: 3).

These sociocultural barriers generally influence the selection process and motivation of women who want to be candidates for politics. Therefore, this is one of the prominent barriers that dissuades and discourages women from entering into politics. As those women are seen responsible for their family order in common socio-cultural views, when a father leaves their children and goes into politics, nobody blames him for leaving their children to their mother. Still, unfortunately, it is not the same for mothers. Thus, always caring for children and household makes political career vexing for women according to common stereotypical norms. Consequently, it is usually possible to see older women who have raised their children or have a supportive partner in politics. As a matter of fact, there is a term called "motherhood penalty" in the literature, defining all problems that mothers face in actively entering the public sphere because of their pregnancy, birth, breastfeeding, etc. (Shames, 2015: 3).

Gender roles also negatively affects women who works for home cleaning, childcare, making food, etc in their home, and prefer less visibility in the public sphere. People regards those works apart from productive activities because of gender based stereotypes (Çiçekli, 2019: 3).

Scholars have examined the significance of political culture for women’s entry to politics. Norris and Inglehart (2004) basically focus on the process of democratization, and they revealed the cultural barriers for women’s leadership with a worldwide comparison. In the research, they used evidence from the World Values Surveys in 55 societies with data drawn from the most recent wave conducted in 1995-99, offering rich insights into cultural attitudes towards gender equality. The conclusion considers the implications of the analysis for strategies to advance gender

parity (Norris and Inglehart, 2004: 1). Norris and Inglehart have never observed certain direct proportion between higher level of socioeconomic and cultural progression, and more women representation in politics. According to the data obtained in 2000 as follows; Mozambique (9th), South Africa (10th), Venezuela (11th), USA (50th), France (59th), and Japan (94th). However, Mozambique, South Africa, Venezula have more women in their national parliaments than USA, France, and Japan (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2000; Norris and Inglehart, 2004: 3). The inequality between the level of democracy and socio-economy and women's participation in politics is not different from today's graphics (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2020).

Psychological and motivational barriers are the third kind of barriers. Before I get to how this obstacle affects women, it is necessary to say that the election process discourse is coarse and backbreaking for everyone, as scholars have noted (Mutz, 2007; Mutz and Reeves, 2005). However, it has been emphasized that women suffer from this situation more than men (Fletcher, 2001; Kathlene, 1994; Krook, 2009; Shames, 2014).

The threefold categorization of barriers to women's participation into politics, as institutional, socio-cultural and psychological, does not preclude the connections between such barriers. On the contrary, all obstacles are interconnected. It is fair to argue that psychological/motivational barriers are related to socio-cultural barriers, and then institutional barriers are solid foundation and propaganda areas for these two barriers.

Apart from the three sets of barriers reviewed in the previous pages, media also has the potential to be a significant barrier because of its negative, stereotypical, and sexist coverage. It is feasible to find traces of each barrier in the influence of the media on the representation of women leaders and politicians.

Basically, the media is an institution, and it has the potential to be the voice of all propaganda like prescriptive gender roles. Women can be pictured as sex objects or as "lacking femininity". Thus, it sheds doubt on female candidates in the minds of voters. This influence shows us that the media affects elections.

Additionally, the socially constructed gender roles such as women's "responsibility" in domestic labor, can be supported and reinforced by the media (Shames, 2015). It is possible to say that politicians' representations in the media mostly affect the thoughts of people. (Erbring, Goldenberg and Miller, 1980; Iyengar

and Kinder, 2010; MacKuen and Coombs, 1981). Shapiro and Mahajan (1986) argue media attributes female political candidates the duty to focus on "compassion issues"; a concept which they coined, to refer to issues such as social welfare, education, health, and family, whereas male leaders are seen as more capable of handling business, military, security, and law-and-order issues (Alexander and Andersen, 1993; Dolan, 2010: 78). Some journalists believe that women are more capable to be leader than men when the problems of a society depend on compassion issues (Eagly and Carli, 2003: 807). In this context, the representation of woman politicians in media is an important factor that needs to be investigated in relation to the barriers that women face in politics.

1.3. SIGNIFICANCE OF MEDIA FOR POLITICS AND POLITICIANS

Being a politician is a social pursuit about communicating, persuading people, organizing, and regulating balances of power. Media has a significant role as a tool of political communication in the relationship between politicians and the public. Today, along with developments in communication technology, internet and social media have emerged. Politicians use the power of social media and create their audience and discourse without traditional procedures these days; before the existence of social media, newspapers were performing this duty and laying a bridge between the public and politics. Now, the newspaper's significance has diminished, but not disappeared. Thus, politicians' capability of transmitting their agenda is administrated by media institutions (Ekman and Widholm, 2014: 2). Ordinary people generally can not access first-hand knowledge about candidates, politicians, or leaders. For this reason, the media is the primary source for the public to reach party leaders (Esser and Strömbäck, 2014: 38; Robinson 1976; Strömbäck 2008). Politicians became performers to express themselves in the way they wanted during these mass media changes, and they have worked many professional spin-doctors because of their representation's significance (Louw, 2005: 143).

Political communication research demonstrates that visibility campaigns in the media influence people's voting behavior. Parties and candidates that ensure sufficient visibility tend to increase their votes thanks to their higher public reputation and higher visibility (Kiousis and McCombs, 2004; Van der Meer and Van der Brug, 2018).

I can state that the article of Aaldering et al. (2018) about the significance of media coverage of party leaders on elections is crucial. They conducted the study by using 1Vandaag Opinion Panel, which between September 2006 and September 2012, includes 50.000 unique respondents and 110 waves of interviews, and widely automated content analysis of leadership images in the media with a panel data set. Consequently, they concluded that a party leader's characteristic influences the electorate. According to this study, "positive mediated leadership images" and "negative images" are two kinds of representations that have different consequences. Whereas positive mediated leadership images increase the support for the party, negative images reduce the support. Nevertheless, these effects are not constant in every way. Positive representations have much more importance in the campaign season, but negative representations influence future voting intentions.

However, these coverages' contents and tones are also significant for whether they lead to positive recognition among people or not (McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar and Rey, 1997; Soroka, Bodet, Young and Andrew, 2009). To give an example, Soroka et al. (2009) approached the tone of coverage within the election period and whether it can be influential on vote intentions prediction, and they reached an affirmative answer. Media-opinion relationships can be divided into two parts, according to their findings. Former, media reflect and summarize the atmosphere of the campaign in a measurable way; latter, media do not just reflect but also influence voter intentions. They examined the connection between news during the campaign period and vote intentions in two Canadian federal elections in 2004 and 2006. The content analysis focuses on tones of coverage rather than other news' substances. Consequently, they deduced that there is a strong bond between tones of coverage and public opinion. Having good or bad representations as politicians seem to have a powerful impact.

1.4. EFFECTS OF GENDER IN THE MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF POLITICIANS

Different approaches examine the visibility and representations of male and female politicians in media. In this context, visibility refers to the degree of attention the media gives politicians and concerns both quantity of coverage and frames in

covering them (Campus, 2013: 39). The analysis of visibility of woman political candidates can be based on quantity or quality: One could examine whether women take media attention less than men, or whether the content of the coverage of woman candidates is different from men (Van der Pas and Aaldering, 2020: 1). However, these questions have several nuanced answers.

Various scholars analyze the representation of women according to the quantity. First, the quantity of news is significant for the name recognition of the politicians (Goldenberg and Traugott, 1987; Jalalzai, 2006; Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991) and supporting by-polls (Kahn, 1996). The number of coverages for men and women nominees alters their success in an election. However, woman politicians and leaders have fewer media coverage than their male colleagues (Kahn, 1992, 1994, 1996; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991; Norris, 1997; Scharrer, 2002; Serini, Powers and Johnson, 1998; Trimble 2007). Norris (1997) accentuates that the press referred less to one of the most notable women leaders, namely Margaret Thatcher, than her male colleagues. Kahn and Goldenberg (1991) conducted research on the period of the U.S Senate candidates between 1983 and 1986, and they found out that male candidates had more press coverage than women. While they were doing this research, they investigated the paragraphs' length and determined that female candidates had less mention in quantity than male candidates.

Falk (2008) is one of the scholars who studied gender-based representations through quantity. In his study, which focused on the US Democratic Party's primary elections for a presidential candidate in 2008, Falk explained that Hillary Clinton had less media attention than Barrack Obama compared to previous woman candidates. Even if Clinton was leading the race, Obama received more media coverage than Clinton. Although some studies defend that coverages of Obama and Clinton were equal, others argue that Obama had more attention, and he was more visible, especially on television (Lawrence and Rose, 2010: 159). Despite the finding that male candidates received more attention than their female counterparts in these elections, research nevertheless demonstrates that the gender gap in media coverage decreased when compared with earlier decades (Campus, 2013: 40; Trimble, Treiberg, and Girard, 2007: 9).

While the studies based on quantity focuses on amounts, the studies based on quality examines the content of these coverages. The content is significant, because

the quantity of coverage is not enough to compare the visibilities of female and male politicians. The visibility of a leader is not only determined by many articles or stories there are about him/her, but also by how the leader's narrative is framed in the media stories (Campus, 2013: 39). What features are underlined in the representations of woman politicians and which issues are associated with them, are within the scope of qualitative analysis.

Remarkable studies on the contents of the news about women have been done by many scholars (Aday and Devitt 2001; Braden 1996; Bystrom et al., 2004; Heldman et al., 2005; Kahn, 1996; Tuchman, 1978). Tuchman (1978) emphasized that women are either referred to thorough stereotypes like victims, wives, and eye candy, or they are absent (which Tuchman calls "symbolic annihilation"). After that, Kim Fridkin Khan conducted detailed studies about the coverage of women political actors in the 1990s, in US (Kahn 1991,1992,1994; Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991; Kahn and Kenney, 1997). During the 1990s, studies investigating woman politicians' representation in the media showed that women politicians' representation either relies on their looks and styles rather than their political positions, or they face "symbolic annihilation" in the news agenda (Braden, 1996; Norris, 1997). For example, Bystrom, Robertson, Banwart, and Kaid (2004: 178-79) studied journalists who see women as newsworthy in the framework of gender, marital and parental status, and physical appearance (Fowler and Lawless, 2009; (Banwart, Bystrom and Robertson, 2003; Bystrom et al., 2001; Falk, 2008; Gidengil and Everitt, 2003; Heldman et al., 2005). The finding that woman politicians are represented as eye candy, victim, and mother, were verified as a result of a study in 2011 like Tuchman found in 1978 (Ross and Carter, 2011). News headlines and pictures focus on woman politicians' bodies, responsibilities in the private sphere, even their hairdo, rather than their approach to political issues (Ross, 2014: 292).

Devitt (2002) and Heldman et al. (2005) demonstrate that male political candidates are not as much under inspection for personality traits as women are because of stereotypes. Kahn (1994) emphasizes that media usually uses "female" stereotypes in its politician representations. Some tasks and abilities associated with women and men politicians include some traces of these traditional stereotypes. While being "impartial, competitive, powerful, compelling, clever, and avid" belongs to male stereotypes, traits of being "delicate, honorable, inactive, meek, and humane" are

included by female stereotypes (Van der Pas and Aaldering, 2020: 6). These associated things can be called "female" issues and "male" issues (Kahn 1991, 1994; Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991). Men are usually referred to in their positions about social and political issues. Thus, the personal appearance of women leaders or political candidates has been more referred to in the news than their political approaches on issues (Braden, 1996; Norris, 1997; Ross, 2000; Witt, Paget and Mattews, 1994). Women politicians are often defined as less powerful or influential politicians compared with a male (Van Zoonen, 2006). Also, it can be observed that women politicians are not included in the news with their professional backgrounds and experiences; therefore, they are reflected as having less experience (Falk, 2008). The problem is not only that personal and physical things are always referred to when it comes down to women politicians, but also the tone of the news is negatively, different from the media representations of male politicians (Adcock, 2010). Falk (2008) highlights that the media refers to women candidates as losers. It has been observed that harsh and manipulative language is used while covering the speeches of female politicians (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003).

Decreasing stereotypical representation of woman political leaders has been observed from time to time (Major and Coleman, 2008), and there are still findings for gender representations. Women usually are questioned for whether they have appropriate traits of a political leader. People think that masculine traits belong to leaders, but when woman leaders behave masculine, they are defined as “macho”, and criticized because of this. Focused points, which media uses like physical appearance, denigrates and sabotages women’s authority as politicians or candidates (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996; Ward, 2016; Sones et al., 2005; Stevens, 2007). Woman politicians are affected negatively by that kind of media representations, positive traits are ascribed to male politicians (Miller, Peake, and Boulton, 2010; 2013), and there are more references to the family relations and physical appearance of woman leaders, (how they look, what they wear), when compared with men (Bystrom, Robertson and Banwart, 2001; Falk, 2008).

The problem of double bind, which means women who behave in line with “appropriate" gendered attributes, are not associated with leadership roles. On the other hand, a woman leader, who behaves masculinely, is not associated with being feminine (Campus, 2013: 6; Jamieson, 1995). Thus, female leaders are regarded as

unsuccessful in every way because they are thought to underestimate either the stereotype of being a leader or the stereotype of being a woman (Van der Pas and Aaldering, 2020: 5).

Even in the cases in which female politicians have reached power positions like the president or prime minister, they could not entirely liberate themselves from negative gender representations. These gendered representations are possible to observe in the case of leaders like Angela Merkel. Semetko and Boomgaarden have examined on whether “gender" is an issue or not for the Bundestag election campaign in 2005. They found out that quantitatively Merkel received media attention as much as her male competitors. However, qualitatively gender-based language was very dominant in her representations during the electioneering (Semetko and Boomgaarden; 2007).

Electioneering is quite open to manipulation in the way of media representations for politicians. Media focuses on negativities for women candidates in the electioneering among their candidate competitors (Falk, 2008; Kahn, 1994, 1996; Lawrence and Rose, 2010). The way of addressing is also one of the most important things for the evaluation of representation. Some studies look into how women are addressed in the news. They are usually mentioned with their first names or as “Ms.” or “Mrs.” (Falk, 2008). Besides, mentioning a name of a woman leader under a male politician like “X's daughter” is often the case, to imply that the woman politician came to power thanks to a man politician. An instance of this has been observed in the 1997 British general election when 101 Labour women entered as members of the parliament. They have been mentioned as "Blair's Babes" because Tony Blair was the president at that time (Ross, 2014: 292). Variations of this way of addressing can be encountered in phrases such as "Cameron's cuties”, “Gordon's gals”, and "Nick's nymphets”, and women politicians have been reduced to being the helpers of a male politician, thanks to these addresses (Mavin et al., 2010; Ross, 2014: 293). It should be mentioned, however, that gender-based discrimination has decreased compared to the past (Campus, 2013: 40).

On the other hand, some scholars examine that women's gendered political coverage provides more media attention than men, or equal media attention with men (Atkesonn and Krebs, 2008; Banwart et al., 2003; Kittilson and Fridkin, 2008). Accordingly, women can become ahead of the game against male politicians. (Banwart

et al., 2003; Bystrom, Robertson and Banwart, 2001; Trimble, 2007). Some women politicians state that they can be a subject of news easier than men by wearing attractive shoes, speaking a little bit raunch, behaving masculine. Moreover, women are more likely to be "the first" for positions of power because in many cases, there will have been fewer women in senior levels in politics before. Such factors make woman politicians newsworthy, and the media get more press attention than males (Ross, 2002).

Particular studies support that woman politicians' physical features, clothing, etc. can also appear in positive effect on a woman candidate (Ross, 2014: 291). Researchers who approach the issue from this perspective interpret such gendered representations as "more representative power" in newspapers, and thus as having positive effect in terms of visibility. Being optimistic of gender-based representations can be illustrated with the first woman prime minister of Chile, Michele Bachelet. She had two different male counterparts and was exposed to gender-based representations which underlined her "difference" from her male competitors in a positive light (Valenzuela and Correa, 2009).

As it can be observed, women have been challenged to overcome lots of barriers in their effort to access the public sphere. Politics is one of the most important places where women struggle to enter. Media has a significant place among these barriers, and it plays an essential role in whether women enter into politics, especially its gender-based representations. Although several studies have been conducted on the representations of women leaders in the media generally, scholarship also focuses on specific regions, or on single cases of woman leaders, such as Margaret Thatcher (Aitken, 2013; Blundell, 2008; Bull and Mayer, 1988; Campbell, 2015; Dyson, 2009; Evans, 2010; Gamble 2015; Garnett, 2007; Jessop, 2015; Kaarbo and Hermann, 1998; King, 2002; Leung, 1997; Ponton, 2010; Williams, 2020) and Tansu Çiller (Demirkürek, 2011; Inal, 2015, Kesgin, 2012; Özer, 2000; Özden Fırat, 2002; Yılmaz, 2016;). This thesis aims to contribute to the literature by conducting a comparative study of media representations of Thatcher and Çiller. In this study, two eras will be examined for both leaders. (1) the early times immediately after they came to power, and (2) two military crises that they faced during their incumbency, namely the Kardak Crisis (between Turkey and Greece) and Falklands War (between Argentina and the UK). Newspaper representations of the two leaders within these time periods will be

comparatively analyzed through qualitative content analysis. The sample will consist of three mainstream and two left centered newspapers totally.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: MARGARET THATCHER AND TANSU ÇİLLER

2.1. MARGARET THATCHER

2.1.1. Family and Upbringing of Margaret H. Roberts

Margaret Hilda Roberts was born on 13 October 1925 in Grantham (Blundell, 2008: 17). Grantham was a market town that had a population of approximately 20.000 during the interwar years. There were not only opportunities for trade but means of transportation such as rails and roads also existed. These means made communication easier for the inhabitants of this city. However, geographically, culturally and socially Grantham was different from other big cities like London and Edinburgh. The place had a significant influence on the character and the life of Thatcher (Cannadine, 2017: 1-2).

Margaret was the daughter of Alfred Roberts who was a shopkeeper, lay preacher, and local politician (Aitken, 2013: 37). Roberts family engaged in trade for generations. Before establishing a grocery store, the Roberts remained in the business of shoemaking for four generations (Thatcher, 2013: 14). Moreover, in an interview with Miriam Stoppard, Thatcher explained that her father had been the chairman of the Finance Committee and, their town never got into debt, every penny was spent carefully, and nothing spent extravagantly (Perman, 2019: 12.35). However, commerce was not the first choice of Alfred. He tried to join the army four times but was refused because of his inadequate sight capability (Aitken, 2013: 38). He read too much from every profession (Aitken, 2013: 38).

There was a very strong relationship between Alfred Roberts and his daughter Margaret. Her father had the ambition to raise her as a politician and he provided all

educational opportunities for Margaret's achievements (Thatcher, 2013: 14). For instance, Nottingham University in Grantham used to organize "Extension Lectures" about current affairs. He used to bring Margaret to these lessons (Thatcher, 2013: 38-39).

Her father had a great influence on Margaret. She stated that "she owed 'almost everything' to her father" in her speeches (Young, 1989: 223). He was stern, radical and normative. His thoughts were based on Methodism, and he raised Margaret with Methodist practices. Methodism became one of the most important sects that emerged from Protestantism. In the beginning, the sect was the attempt of John Wesley to form a group as the "Holy Club" in Oxford. John Wesley believed that the Established Church had some selfish views at that time. Therefore, he established another group of saints. They were called "Methodists" because of their rule-based understandings. Methodism is different from some sects like Calvinism and Presbyterianism because it refuses predestination which means that some are elected and non-elected by God. Methodism supports free will and God's universal grace (Filby, 2015: 36). Therefore, we see that individual efforts are crucial for the relation with God in Methodism. There were several expressions of Margaret Thatcher to emphasize Methodism in their life. She said that they were Methodists, and this means method (Murray, 1978: 17) or their lives revolved around Methodism (Thatcher, 1995: 5).

The name of Margaret's mother was Beatrice Ethel Stephenson, and she was born on 24 August 1888 (Campbell, 2011: 14). She and her husband met at a Methodist church (Thatcher, 2013: 15). Beatrice was very strict and meticulous about housework, interested in dressmaking, a very good cook, thrifty like her husband (Aitken, 2013: 39). Before the marriage, she was engaged in trade like Alfred. She got involved in the business of dressmaking and managed it for a while (Thatcher, 2013: 19). Margaret Thatcher also had a sister named Muriel, who was described as "a pleasant and bright girl, but not nearly as serious or studious as Margaret" (Aitken, 2013: 41). There was not much harmony between two sisters, but they were united in their struggle to cope with their mother's strict rules and discipline (Aitken, 2013: 40).

Generally, we observe a workaholic father and house-proud mother in Thatcher's childhood. Margaret got on better with her father than her mother (Aitken, 2013: 40). Margaret's elder sister Muriel expressed the distance between the mother

and Margaret to Margaret's official biographer Charles Moore as follows: "Mother didn't exist in Margaret's mind" (Moore, 2013: 45).

It is possible to say that hard work and discipline existed in the Roberts family's genes. Margaret's grandmother Phoebe Stephenson saw entertainment as similar to sin. According to her grandmother, people must live to work (Aitken, 2013 : 52; Stoppard, 1985). For instance, "parties, dancing, cycling, card games, board games (even Snakes and Ladders), walks in the countryside and visits to the theatre" should be banned for children according to Mrs. Stephenson (Aitken, 2013: 52).

Mr. Roberts had two grocery stores and he was an active figure in local politics. For example, he served as a mayor between 1945 and 1946, and worked as the chairman of the Finance Rating Committee, for more than twenty years (Campbell, 2011: 18-19). According to Mr. Roberts, commercial, political and religious morals were interlinked; and keeping a "clean" soul, minding one's own business, and taking care of his own family were the main responsibilities of a man (Campbell, 2011: 19-20).

Even though Alfred Roberts was a middle-class man with a successful and secure business (Campbell, 2011: 22), Margaret Thatcher did not have an affluent childhood (Aitken, 2013: 35). Middle-class families could have vacuum cleaners, washing machines and cars in those days (Campbell, 2011: 22). However, in Mr. Roberts' house, there was no running water, general heating, bathroom, indoor toilet, or garden (Aitken, 2013: 34-37). They were bathing in an unplumbed iron tube and had a very simple life according to the standards of the day (Aitken, 2013: 35). Alfred Roberts believed that it was necessary while one shilling spent, one shilling should be saved (Stoppard, 1985). According to Campbell (2011: 25), the frugal lifestyle of the family was due to Mr. Roberts' puritanism and parsimony, rather than the actual material conditions they were in. We see such traces of austerity in some interviews of Margaret Thatcher. For example, once she told an interviewer that they had no "mod cons" in their house, and she had dreamed about living in a nicer house and having more things than they had (Stoppard, 1985).

2.1.2. Education and the Entrance into Politics

Margaret went to Huntingtower Road Country Elementary School in 1930 (Campbell, 2011: 28). The school had a great reputation. When Margaret began elementary school, she was a bit literate because her family had taught her. She loved to learn since she was a child (Thatcher, 2013: 35). She said in her autobiography that she read much more than her classmates thanks to her father's guidance (Thatcher, 2013: 36). Margaret's next school was the Kesteven and Grantham Girls' School, which also had a good reputation. Most of the students had middle-class backgrounds. Both of her parents were keenly involved in Margaret's school life (Thatcher, 2013: 36-39).

When the Second World War began, Thatcher was nearly fourteen. Despite her age, she was well-informed about the reasons of the war, and she closely followed the course of events for six years. According to her, the Depression years were the first but not the last crisis originating from the failure of monetary politics. However, Grantham was less influenced by the Depression than other agricultural and heavy industrial societies in Northern towns (Thatcher, 2013: 45). There was unemployment and several serious problems for many people, but the grocery stores of the Roberts family continued to do business (Thatcher, 2013: 48).

Margaret embodied many qualities such as being serious, clever, vying, energetic and industrious. She was able to concentrate and used to study with too little sleep in order to be a successful student. She got a scholarship (Cannadine, 2017: 5) and was able to enter Oxford University’s Sommerville College in 1942 to study chemistry, leaving behind the strict rules of her family and the English provincial life behind (Cannadine, 2017: 6).

Margaret had a tough time at Oxford as she had trouble with money, and also because she was homesick. However, she overcame these problems by working very hard (Cannadine, 2017: 6). Moreover, these were the years she introduced herself to politics, as she participated in the Oxford University Conservative Association, and even became the chair in her senior year, implementing reforms and increasing the number of members. She also started to join party meetings (Cannadine, 2017: 8). She also broadened her horizons socially, joining dinners and dances, even though in borrowed dresses due to her modest financial means (Cannadine, 2017: 9).

Upon her graduation, Thatcher worked as a research chemist between 1947 and 1959. She was also struggling for a parliamentary seat. She married Denis Thatcher and had two children (twins) named Mark and Carol. At the same time, she studied in the field of law and became a tax barrister. She gave speeches and wrote about her conservative ideas, pursuing her political ambitions, which would eventually carry her to the Parliament (Blundell, 2008: 35).

2.1.3. The Marriage and the Motherhood: Margaret Thatcher

Margaret Thatcher met her husband, Denis Thatcher, in 1948 and they married on 13 December 1951. Denis Thatcher was ten years older than Margaret and he was the executive of a family company. Even though Denis was in the Dartford Conservative Association, he did not have any political ambitions (Cannadine, 2017: 10).

Margaret Thatcher had anticipated that she would have to abandon her political aspirations after the marriage. However, she soon realized that this distance from politics had not been appropriate for her, as aimlessness was a "sin" for Thatcher. She did not think that it was a requirement for women to stay at home, rather she supported that women should pursue careers, in political and/or corporate life (Cannadine, 2017: 12; Aitken, 2013: 136). Her husband was very supportive of her political aspirations, and also shared her political ideas regarding the dissatisfaction with the Labour Party government and trade unions (Cannadine, 2017: 11). Thanks to her marriage, Margaret Thatcher now had a more comfortable life without financial worries. She threw herself to work, and also pursued a political career in London (Blundell, 2008: 40; Lewis, 1975: 18) searching for an opportunity to find a "safe seat", a seat in Parliament that is very unlikely to be lost to the opposition in an election (Britannica, 2023), among the ranks of Conservative Party.

At the beginning of 1953, Thatcher found out that she was pregnant. This pregnancy process was very difficult for Thatcher and caused a five-year gap in her political life (Aitken, 2013: 139). She had a cesarean delivery and became the mother to twins - Mark and Carol (Aitken, 2013: 139; Blundell, 2008: 40). It was a very difficult time but she managed to study for her bar exams, which she passed just four months after she gave birth. She managed her private and public life with the help of

a nanny (Aitken, 2013: 140; Blundell, 2008: 41). She became an expert in tax law in a short time (Cannadine, 2017: 11), which would be useful for her future life. She preferred not to be a candidate in the 1955 General Elections because she was a new mother. However, she did not like to be away from active politics (Blundell, 2008: 42).

Thatcher became a caring and a generous mother and was not as strict a parent as her mother and father. She loved knitting things and giving them as birthday presents to her children. She also baked cakes and pastries for their birthdays. Aitken mentioned Thatcher's family life in a documentary as follows: "They were good family, and they had lots of things that I liked about all of them… Margaret was a force in the home and the kitchen, just as she was in the House of Commons. She bossed everybody around. She was rather a good cook, I seem to remember (House, 2019: 28.12)."

Political life indeed reflected on Thatcher's family life. After she became the Member of Parliament, she would come home after her children had gone to bed. Every evening before six o'clock, she would call the children to ask whether everything was okay. She said that she had been grateful to Barbara who was the children's nanny. Therefore, she emphasized that all family must be sitting around the table at breakfast, and she preferred the same routine for weekends such as baking and doing housework, as she had observed in her childhood (Thatcher, 2013: 138-139).

2.1.4. Margaret's Political Life

Upon her graduation from Oxford University, Thatcher pursued her passion for politics and immediately participated in the local branch of the Conservative party in Essex, where she was working at a plastics company as a chemist (Aitken, 2013: 107; Blundell, 2008: 35). Her network in Oxford was useful for her path to go into politics.

Thatcher attended Conservative Party meetings and conferences regularly and made a good impression. In 1948, in one of such conferences, she gave a speech on economic affairs, which took the attention of Alfred Bossom, who was the Chairman of the county's Conservative Association. Therefore, he asked her whether he could write her name on the candidates' list. Mr. Bossom supported women's participation in politics. He is considered as the first person who realized Thatcher's potential. Hence, he became her mentor, and introducer to Tory (Aitken, 2013).

In 1948, the annual conference of the Conservative Party which took place in Llandudno was one of the most important meetings she attended. She was there as the representative of the Oxford University Graduate Conservative Association. This conference made her one step closer to her political targets. Although her name was not on the candidate's list confirmed by authorities, the Kent constituency was impressed by her (Blundell, 2008: 36).

Thatcher had a great chance of creating a vast network. She also met John Miller, the president of the Conservative Association at Dartford in Kent, in a meeting that she had gone to as a delegate of Oxford Graduates' Association. Afterwards, Mr. Miller convinced her to run for office in Dartford (Lewis, 1975: 17). Thus, she became the intended parliamentary candidate for the Dartford constituency in Kent (Cannadine, 2009: 9). She was selected from among 26 male candidates and officially became the youngest woman in the Conservative party to be elected to this position (Lewis, 1975: 17; Blundell, 2008: 36).

2.1.5. On the way to power: “Margaret Thatcher, milk snatcher"

Labor Party held the majority in Dartford when Thatcher was nominated for a parliamentary seat by the Conservative Party. It was highly unexpected for her to succeed in the election. But they wanted to take a chance by nominating her as their candidate. Also, they wanted to see what she could do as a dynamic, energetic and young candidate. They also wished to attract the attention of the media (Blundell, 2008: 36). The results satisfied these expectations. She received many speaking invitations and opportunities to face the media. She was asked to write an article on the theme of the role of women 'at the dawn of the new Elizabethan era’ which she gladly accepted. She could state herself bravely. Her article’s title was "Wake Up, Women". She rejected the idea that a woman should give herself up only for her family and husband in the article. Thatcher both wished women to engage in politics and rise their position such as being Chancellor or Foreign Secretary. Even though it was 1950s, there were only two women MPs in the cabinet. Those the MPs were at low levels in the party hierarchy. Thatcher’s behavior was revolutionary and bold, even she was not the prime minister yet (Aitken, 2013: 136-137).

Before television became popular, it was a requirement that an active candidate should give speeches at two or three public meetings every night. Participation was high in Thatcher's meetings. Sometimes the doors had to be closed fifteen minutes before the start time since the saloon had been full. Additionally, she had a remarkable amount of coverage from newspapers like the Daily Mail, the Daily Graphic, the Evening Standard, and the Illustrated London News. Being the youngest woman Conservative candidate, her intellect and appearance aroused interest in the country (Aitken, 2013: 121).

Margaret Thatcher conducted a great campaign and struggled to become a member of the parliament against Labour in Dartford between 1950 and 1951. However, she lost it because Labour Party was very dominant in Dartford. She impressed the authorities of the Conservative Party. Then, she started to think that safe seats or a place close to London would be appropriate for her. Despite the support of the Conservative Central Office (CCO), mid-1950s were disappointing years for Thatcher's political career as her demand for a seat in Parliament remained inconclusive. This was partially due to prejudices against ambitious women. Male competitors claimed that she was not capable of keeping balance between her domestic and political responsibilities as a mother of two children. Thatcher referred to her supportive husband, nanny and her organizing capacity as answers to these prejudices (Blundell, 2008: 43).

In 1958, Sir John Crowder who was a Member of the Parliament from Finchley was going to retire. Thatcher availed this opportunity and applied to become a parliamentary candidate from Finchley. She competed with two men – Captain John Litchfield and John Wells. In the way to candidacy, although John Wells had four children and Captain Litchfield had two, they were not scrutinized about their family responsibilities as Thatcher was (Aitken, 2013: 145-146). Even though Thatcher garnered enough support to be nominated as Conservative Party's candidate for Parliament, a minority group of Finchley Tories demanded a new ballot, as they were unwilling to nominate a woman MP. Nevertheless, she was announced as the new candidate for Conservative Party in Finchley and received considerable media attention. Her selection was highlighted in the newspapers as 'Tories Choose Beauty' (Aitken, 2013: 149).

The general election was conducted in September 1959. At the age of 34, Margaret Thatcher became a MP for Finchley, and the youngest woman of twelve women in all sixty-four new Conservative on 8 October 1959 (Aitken, 2013: 155, Blundell, 2008: 43-44; Campbell, 2009: 76; Cannadine, 2017: 13; Thatcher, 2013: 138).

It has been argued that Thatcher was marginalized during her candidacy because of her gender. It could be expected that the social origin and class of Margaret Thatcher would be the tools for being alienated because Tory was more aristocratic and snobbish than the present day, but according to Moore (2013: 247-250), her gender became the first reason which made Thatcher an outsider.

It was in 1960 that Thatcher would become the rising star of national politics. In a 27-minute, passionate speech she delivered to the Parliament. The speech was about the right of the press. She was able to impress the journalists, and titles appeared on newspapers such as 'A new star was born in Parliament' (Daily Express), 'Fame and Margaret Thatcher made friends yesterday' (Sunday Dispatch), 'A triumph' (Daily Telegraph). Articles about Margaret Thatcher and her family were written. She gave an interview on television (Campbell, 2009: 78-81; Thatcher, 2013: 147-49).

The then-Prime Minister Harold Macmillan gave Thatcher responsibility as a parliamentary secretary in the Ministry of Pensions. Although she was alien to the system, she easily managed to work things out due to her clear thinking and expertise in paperwork (Campbell, 2009: 87-88). Duties of this Ministry such as education were usually perceived to carry feminine features. She held the task at the Ministry of Pensions for three years (Campbell, 2009: 87). Thatcher maintained Conservative dominance in Finchley, even during the General Election which Labour Party won in 1964 (Campbell, 2009: 92; Cannadine, 2017: 14).

Between 1964 and 1970, the Labour party was in power, and Tories were in opposition (Cannadine, 2017: 15). At this opposition period, Margaret Thatcher took up six shadow positions: “She was a junior spokesman for pensions, then housing and land, then-Treasury affairs; on being promoted to the shadow cabinet in October 1967 she was successively responsible for fuel and power, transport, and finally education". She travelled with the aim of improving herself in 1967 and 1969 to Israel, Sweden, the Soviet Union, some important European countries, and - the most crucial one - the United States (Cannadine, 2017: 16).

After the victory of Tories in 1970, Edward Heath became the Prime Minister. Thatcher became Edward Heath's choice for the Secretary of State for Education thanks to her shadow past. She applied almost no change for substantial education policies (Cannadine, 2017: 17). She restricted the distribution of free milk to students. Therefore, she became notorious as "Mrs. Thatcher, the milk snatcher" (Cannadine, 2017: 18). Apart from this, Thatcher usually avoided contradictive issues like “expanding nursery education, funding more primary schools, raising the school leaving age from fifteen to sixteen, and establishing more polytechnics” (Cannadine, 2017: 19). Her counsellors advised her that she “should not just concentrate on the big issues like foreign affairs and finance, but also find one or two less popular topics on which she could make a mark” (Thatcher, 2013: 142).

In 1974, the The Conservative Party was defeated in the elections, and there was a vote within the party to replace Edward Heath as party leader (Cannadine, 2017: 22). Thatcher became a candidate. When an interviewer asked Thatcher why she wanted to be the head of Tories, she said she wanted to use the opportunity to demonstrate that she could do this job like anyone who would wish to do it. (House, 2019: 21.35). At 49 years old, Margaret Thatcher became the first woman leader of a political party in her country, by defeating Heath and also Willie Whitelaw, who was presented as his Heath's successor (Cannadine, 2017: 23).

She immediately arranged an excursion as the leader of the Tories to Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, and the Far East. Most importantly, she went to the United States twice and met Ronald Reagan who was a former Hollywood actor and governor of California in those days (Cannadine, 2017: 25). While Thatcher was busy with these duties, the Prime Minister, James Callaghan was having trouble especially in the realm of economic policies (Cannadine, 2017: 25), as a result of which Labor lost power in the 1979 elections to Conservative party. The Conservatives emphasized that "business and free enterprise would be encouraged, income tax cut, public borrowing reduced, and the Money supply more strictly controlled". When they won the election, Margaret Thatcher became the first woman Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (Cannadine, 2017: 27).

2.1.6. The First Woman Prime Minister

While Thatcher was the Secretary of State for Education and Science, an interviewer asked her whether she had any ambitions to play a more important role, perhaps that of prime minister. Thatcher answered as follows: "No, I don't think that in my life there will be a woman Prime Minister. I'm always a realist… I'm delighted to have someone in the audience who thinks that a woman could be Prime Minister or Chancellor of the Exchequer." (House, 2019: 05.04). Then the time had come, and she became the first woman prime minister in West Europe. However, she described herself as a politician, not a woman (Campbell, 2009: 246).

Thatcher was the Prime Minister for eleven years between 1979 and 1990. She won three elections. Her first period as Prime Minister was between 1979 and 1983. During this time, some of the primary policies of the Government were decreasing direct taxes, raising taxes on spending and readjustment of law. The Government aimed to uplift the economy and society of the United Kingdom by balancing inflation and reducing the power of trade unions. Economic changes and decreasing authorities of trade unions were her principal agendas because when she came to power, inflation in Britain was very high, unemployment and public borrowing were increasing (Blundell, 2008: 90-91; Campbell, 2009: 251). Nigel Lawson, the Financial Secretary of that time explained those eras as follows: "The trade unions had become a political force. Management had ceased to manage" (Condie, 2019: 08.28). Thatcher countenanced policies towards cuts on public spending and indirect taxation to fix these problems.

Her years as Prime Minister witnessed many problematic issues such as Miner's strikes, the Falklands War, the Brighton bomb. Her stability and calmness were remarkable at the end of these situations (Perman, 2019: 03.20). While she was trying to solve those problems, she used Methodist Protestant values of discipline and hard work (Condie, 2019: 09.42).

The outcomes of Thatcher’s economic policies were problematic in the short term. Especially, unemployment increased. It was expected that these economic policies would give their positive results in long term. In 1980, it had been a year since Conservative Party and Margaret Thatcher came to power. However, problematic issues were in full flood. She was seen as deaf and blind to a big portion of the

population (Condie, 2019: 28.46). Especially, after the public spending cuts, some protests were organized, and %68 of voters were displeased with Thatcher according to data of Internal Conservative Party polls (Condie, 2019: 48.32).

Thatcher appointed Peter Carrington as the Foreign Secretary and left foreign policy issues to him between 1979-1983 (Campbell, 2009: 296). The cornerstone which was her first radical decision and caused her beginning to take a close interest in foreign affairs was the Falklands War. Falklands War changed the view of the public towards Thatcher.

Falklands War is known as Falkland Islands War, Malvinas War, or South Atlantic War (Britannica, 2022). Argentina invaded the Falkland Islands on April 2, 1982. The region was under the power of the United Kingdom since 1960, and the community of the region was British. The subject of taking back the Falklands militarily was discussed at the cabinet. Thatcher's decisions at the beginning and during the war brought popularity to her worldwide (Blundell, 2008: 114). After she had been warned about the invasion, she convened Foreign Office and Defense ministers and officials. Thatcher directly spoke with Sir Henry Leach, the Chief of the Naval Staff, and supported military solutions. However, members of the Foreign Office had doubts about the effectiveness of a military solution. In any case, she decided, and the British public, the House of Commons, Caspar Weinberger, and US President Ronald Reagan supported her. Therewith, the House of Commons was convened. The meeting went on air for the public. Once the decisions taken at the meeting, the Task Force embarked on their implementation. The departure of the Task Force was witnessed by all British people. Media tools such as television, radio and newspaper were very active and were closely followed by the people. The government gathered a "War Cabinet", and the war cabinet met once a day at least. The United Kingdom government got different reactions from various regions in foreign affairs. While Ireland, Japan, and Italy reacted adversely, France, West Germany, Canada, Chile, and New Zealand behaved affirmatively. Argentina was promoted by the Soviet Union in the international arena (Blundell, 2008: 115-116). Eventually, the United Kingdom won the war. After the victory of Falkland, Thatcher received a high vote and was elected again as the Prime Minister in the 1983 election.

In her second term of being Prime Minister between 1983-1987, she put trade unions on the Government's agenda. Numerous companies were privatized such as

British Telecom, British Gas, British Airways, Rolls-Royce. Thatcher's Government got negative reactions from the public because of these denationalization movements (Blundell, 2008: 100). After the trade unions' limitations, miners' strikes happened. Miners' strikes (1984-85) were one of the most important events during her second term. It was a tough and year-long conflict. The strikes happened in the region from South Wales to Scotland. Violent conflicts happened between police and strikers (Archives Hub, 2022).

Thatcher usually held hard onto her ideas. The country was also challenged by terrorist groups at that time. When even the incident of the Brighton hotel bombing happened. Thatcher and many politicians were staying at Brighton's Grand Hotel, and there was a meeting the day after. However, a bomb went off that night. Thatcher attended the meeting on time. The dialogue on that day has been cited as follows:

"Mrs. Thatcher appeared at eight o'clock, and I said to her, 'It's much worse than we thought when we left the hotel, and I told her about the casualties. And she said, 'Well,' she said, the conference is due to start at 09.30 and it must start on time. I said to her, 'You can't be serious? I mean this terrible thing has happened. Some of your closest colleagues have been killed and badly injured. You're not going to just go on with the party conference as if nothing had happened, are you? And she said, 'This is our opportunity to show that terrorism can't defeat democracy', and of course she was right." (Finnigan, 2019: 48.16)

During the period between 1983 and 1987, Thatcher started to receive some criticisms for not being open to new ideas. It was thought that the "Iron Lady", who could take advantage of any label that the media or people put on her, could no longer show the same dedication. She drew criticisms for being too dominant (Perman, 2019). In 1989, Thatcher completed her tenure as Prime Minister in tandem.

2.1.7. Ideas and Values

When we look at Margaret Thatcher's political life, we see that conservatism and neoliberalism are central to the ideas that she pursued in political life. While Margaret was in Oxford, she participated in the University Conservative Association. She was inspired by Winston Churchill's ideas at those times. Like Churchill, Thatcher had strong ideas on Britain's stance as the ally of the USA against Communism

(Campbell, 2009: 295). She believed in the greatness of Britain and its empire. In the field of employment and social security, she promoted William Beveridge. She was influenced by the "Road to Serfdom", written by Friedrich von Hayek who was a winner of the Nobel Prize in economics (Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2000: 11). The book emphasized the free market's significance instead of an intervenor state structure. It was a critique of socialist planning and the socialist state (Cannadine, 2009: 8; Thatcher, 2013: 86). Even national socialism leans toward the social planning of Germany in the 19th century according to Hayek. He advocates that interference by the state to economy or society eventually reverberates to other areas. The ideal method is to minimize the government's control over the economy (Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2000: 11).

In the 1970s, her rising times in politics, Keith Joseph gave a reading list to Thatcher and promoted her to query the basis of Conservative politics which were the center ideology of Thatcher's political life. The "Road to Serfdom" was at the top of the list of Joseph. Thatcher re-read Hayek and stated the book "Road to Serfdom" as "an unanswerable criticism of socialism" (Thatcher, 2013: 86). She found Hayek's approaches appropriate enough to be applied in her party such as privatization, to minimize the government's control over the economy (Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2000: 11).

She also read different important people's ideas in this field such as Milton Friedman who is an American economist and Nobel Prize winner, as well as Ralph Harris and Arthur Seldon who helped shape her views on the free market (Cannadine, 2009: 21). Among them, Milton Friedman was a monetarist. Monetarists believed that controlling the supply of money within a nation's economy results in lower inflation (Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2000: 11).

Privatization and monetarism were the methods that Thatcher utilized to reach her targets. She put away collectivization and featured privatization. Over time, these procedures came to be known as "Thatcherism" (Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2000: 12), along with some famous -and also infamous- expressions of hers, such as "There is no such thing as society. There are only individuals and families", effectively exemplifying her mentality (Thatcher, 1987).

She privatized like no one else in the United Kingdom had ever seen before. She explains her views and ideas on capitalism and free enterprise with these words in a speech:

> *"With capitalism and free enterprise, there are no boundaries of class or creed or color. Everyone can climb the ladder as high as their talents will take them. Socialists often start by distributing wealth. They forget it has to be created. But the truth is… that the creation of wealth is the most fundamental of all social services. We are battling for a Britain free from class conflict." (Perman, 2019: 31.13)."*

Besides her ideas on political economy, strong nationalism and the use of military and police power were important paradigms of Margaret Thatcher's leadership. We can see traces of these paradigms in the Falkland Islands military crisis.

"Victorian virtues", which can be also encountered as "Victorian morality" or "Victorian values", were an important part of Margaret Thatcher's political and private life. Victorian values are the qualities considered to characterize the Victorian period, including various areas in the life and the importance of the family (Collins Dictionary, 2020). Margaret Thatcher believed that there was a bond between the character of an individual and the character of the state. Accordingly, family, school, church, work, etc. enable the creation of individual and collective characters. In Thatcher's view, "Victorian virtues" are traditional values that both individuals and states have to gain such as "thrift, self-discipline, responsibility, pride in and obligation to one's community" (Thatcher, 1995: 751). Thatcher claimed that the greatness of the United Kingdom came from "Victorian values" in the past. These values could be effective in her strong leadership identity according to her (Cannadine, 2017: 4).

2.1.8. How Thatcher Managed Her Representation in the Media

Her media visibility was important for Thatcher to be a leader. She cooperated with Gordon Reece for her visibility. He was a former television producer and became her publicity director. He carried out her election campaign and observed the reactions of the public and party members with private opinion polls. He created solutions to their reasons for rejecting Thatcher.

It was imminent that there had been some things that must be changed for accepting the idea of the first woman prime minister by the public, and party members. To start with, some people found her voice too shrill and harsh. Therefore, Gordon Reece provided Thatcher to take humming lessons at the National Theatre. While she was giving a speech to the public, her stress in every word was studiously practiced. It has been determined which words would be said with lowering or rising intonation (House, 2019: 46.24-47.53).

Moreover, her appearance was important for her representation in front of people. Gordon Reece created a style far away from fussy and patterned dresses for Thatcher. Thatcher has never had a problem with those changes. She was strict about her opinions and ideological stand. However, she was open minded when it comes to the alteration of hair, clothing, speech, etc. to look like a Prime Minister (House, 2019: 48.04).

Despite her victory, she was in a disadvantaged position because of her gender. Several grandees in the Conservative Party like Lord Carrington, Sir Ian Gilmour, Christopher Soames, and Whitelaw scorned Thatcher by calling her 'governessy' due to her gender and modest social roots.

Her globally known nickname "Iron Lady" was given to her by the Russian media, namely the Red Star newspaper, as a response to her speech in which she accused the Soviet Union. Although she was furious when she first saw it on the news, Mr. Reece calmed her. He said that the description was positive for them because the title "Iron Lady" included both strength and femininity (House, 2019: 49.00). Thus, she accepted this brand gladly (Cannadine, 2017: 25). Therewith, she used "Iron Lady" at the first opportunity when she went to an evening meeting:

"I stand before you tonight in my red star chiffon evening gown, my face softly made up, and my fair hair gently waved, the Iron Lady of the Western World… Yes, if that's how they wish to interpret my defense of values and freedoms fundamental to our way of life, yes I am an iron lady!"

2.2. TANSU PEMBE ÇİLLER

2.2.1. Family and Upbringing of Tansu Pembe Çiller

Tansu P. Çiller was born on 24 May 1943 to a middle-class family (Cizre, 2002: 200). Her father was Hüseyin Necati Çiller. He was ambitious but could not achieve much in his professional life. Therefore, he wanted his daughter to achieve what he could not and put pressure on her for her career. Hüseyin Necati went to Ankara University and studied Finance at the Department of Social Sciences (Mülkiye). His professional history includes journalism and governorship. As he could not achieve his aim to be a member of the Parliament, he always wanted Tansu to be a member of the Parliament (Bildirici, 1998: 34).

Being a father of a boy was his dream, but he had a daughter and exercised influence over Tansu. He believed that Tansu would be a strong woman and advised her to study economics so that she could become an important person. Thus, he raised her according to these wishes. For instance, he read his daughter the Iliad and Odyssey instead of fairy tales when she was a little girl (Bildirici, 1998: 45).

Hüseyin Necati met his wife Muazzez in the business office. She was born in Thessaloniki. Her family first migrated to İzmir, and then to İstanbul (Bildirici, 1998: 41). Tansu was the only child. Muazzez Çiller taught Tansu everything she had learned from her mother. She always disciplined Tansu according to her mother's ideas. Muazzez hated when Tansu cried. She forced her to sit properly and walk upright. Walking upright was very significant and symbolized nobility for Muazzez. She tied a piece of wood to Tansu's back to make her walk upright (Bildirici, 1998: 44-45).

Tansu exerted political influence due to her family background. Her father was an ardent follower of the Republican People's Party (RPP) which was in center-left party formed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1923. Her father was against the Democratic Party (DP) established by Celal Bayar in 1946, which was in opposition to the RPP. The DP was the main actor in the process of transferring from a single-party system to a multiparty system. DP was a center-right party that defended liberalism and opposed the economic policies of the RPP. After the 1960's coup d'état which ended the DP government, which had been in power since 1950, there was a

festive atmosphere in the Çiller house and the college that Tansu Çiller was attending (Bildirici, 1998: 59).

2.2.2. Education

Tansu Çiller started her education at İsmet İnönü Primary School in İstanbul. When her father became the governor, the family moved to Bilecik and she was admitted to Bilecik Edebali Primary School (Bildirici, 1998: 49). However, her parents wished Tansu to graduate from her previous school. Meanwhile, the name of the school was changed from İsmet İnönü Primary School to Namık Kemal Primary School. Halil Necati and Muazzez changed Tansu's primary school to Namık Kemal Primary School before her graduation (Bildirici, 1998: 49).

After primary school, Tansu attended middle school and high school at Arnavutköy Girls' College (Bildirici, 1998: 56). American College had two campuses: Arnavutköy Girls' School for girls, and Robert College for boys. Arnavutköy Girls' College was a turning point for Tansu. Her character was mostly shaped during her college years (Bildirici, 1998: 52). Wealthy people would usually bring their children to this school. Tansu's family was a middle-class family. Therefore, she aspired to be like her classmates (Bildirici, 1998: 55-56). According to Ümit Cizre, the ambition that Çiller gained during these periods had a great impact on her political life (Cizre, 2002: 200). The College had many cultural events. In her college years, Çiller attended both sports and cultural activities (Bildirici, 1998: 60).

Tansu Çiller had a fear of failure and this was caused by her parents. Tansu scored low grades in the first season of the sixth grade. This was Tansu's first failure and the reaction of her parents was very negative (Bildirici, 1998: 54). When she graduated in 1963, her college friends mentioned to her that she has grown mature and determined, and based on these qualities, they were quite sure that she could get everything she planned no matter how hard it was (Bildirici, 1998: 96).

After Arnavutköy Girls' College, she studied at Robert College (which formed the basis of Boğaziçi University established in 1971) at the Department of Economics. She was very hardworking (Bildirici, 1998: 70). Then, she found a scholarship for her master's in the USA. She began her master's degree at New Hampshire University. She obtained her PhD degree from Connecticut University and finished her thesis in 1972

with the title of "The Strategy of Economic Development: The Turkish Case". Her thesis included subjects such as the significance of the economy in the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and economic policies after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey (Bildirici, 1998: 73).

After she got her PhD, she worked for the World Bank for a while. Then, she started teaching as an assistant professor at Marshall College (Bildirici, 1998: 74). Tansu and her husband, Özer Çiller returned to Turkey in 1974 because Özer had got a job offer from Turkey. Tansu Çiller managed to get a job at Boğaziçi University after having served as a lecturer at the Adana Faculty of Administrative Science (Bildirici, 1998: 79). According to Bildirici, her students admired her fashionable style in these years. She was always competitive in her education life, career, and political life.

2.2.3. Marriage and Motherhood

Tansu Çiller met her husband Özer Uçuran Çiller at a common party of Brotherhood Sportsmanship Club (the sports club of Robert College) and Arnavutköy Girls' College (Bildirici, 1998: 64). He was the son of a grocer and was studying in Saint Joseph. He was working at the same time as he was studying (Bildirici, 1998: 66).

The couple married on 23 July 1963. After Çiller found a scholarship, he went with her to the USA. They were in financial difficulties in the early USA years. Çiller was getting insufficient money from the scholarship. Although Özer tried to work in a few businesses, this amount of money was inadequate for them (Bildirici, 1998: 72). At the end of two years master's program, Çiller became a mother on 23 March 1970. The name of the first child of Çiller is Mert. Therefore, expenses went higher than usual for the couple. Fortunately, Özer found a new job using his computer skills. They were making better money now. The US government not only extended their stay, but they were also granted work permits (Bildirici, 1998: 73).

After they returned to Turkey, Çiller had her second child, Berk. She went to the USA before the delivery and gave birth to him in the USA (Bildirici, 1998: 103). Özer was generally supportive of Çiller's political life. He introduced his wife as "prospective prime minister" after she became a minister. He was conducting surveys

and through them, he wanted to see the support of the public for Çiller (Bildirici: 1998: 198).

2.2.4. Political Life of Tansu Çiller

In 1980, a coup d'etat took place in Turkey, followed by the 1982 Constitution. In the aftermath of the 1980 coup d'etat, various political restrictions were imposed. Leaders of political parties were put in prison and their parties were banned. Restoration of banned parties was forbidden. Also, the founders of the banned parties were not allowed to be the founder, member, executive, or auditor of another party for five years. Süleyman Demirel was one of these banned politicians. However, on 6 September 1987, sanctions on political parties were lifted as a result of a referendum. New parties were forming. While retired General Turgut Sunalp was forming his party Nationalist Democracy Party (NDP), he wished for the presence of a woman among the founders. After that, the then-governor of Istanbul Nevzat Ayaz suggested Tansu Çiller. Sunalp said that Çiller had been his student and he decided to approach her. Therefore, he wanted him to talk to Çiller. During the meeting between Çiller and NDP, she said that she wanted to be the minister of the economy. They could not settle their discrepancies and the proposed plan was not materialized. Çiller failed to attend politics on the 6th of November elections (Bildirici, 1998: 125-126).

Meeting with Süleyman Demirel was the most important political step for Çiller. Samim Uygun, a close friend of Özer Çiller was meeting Demirel frequently, and Demirel was preparing for politics during the summer of 1984. It was Samim Uygun who introduced Çiller to Demirel (Bildirici, 1998: 128). In those days, Çiller was preparing reports for the Istanbul Chamber of Industry, Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, and Turkish Industry and Business Association. She became more popular as a result of these reports (Bildirici, 1996: 131; Cizre, 2002: 200).

After Hüsamettin Cindoruk, who was temporarily the chairman of True Path Party (TPP) left the duty, Demirel, whose ban was finished, became the chairman of TPP. Thus, he started the organization of the party. He reached out to Çiller through Samim Uygun and asked her to join the party. Çiller refused the proposal because Özer would not want her nomination for that period. However, according to Faruk Bildirici (1998: 134), her reason was different. She thought that TPP would not win the election.

She wanted to enter politics, but she wanted to wait for the right moment. Eventually, TPP did not win the 1987 election. Motherland Party (MP) won the election and Turgut Özal became the Prime Minister.

Although 1987 was not the year Çiller started her political career, she came into the limelight that year (Bildirici, 1998: 141). She opposed Turgut Özal on a report prepared by a group including Çiller and they parted ways. This act aroused criticism as well as an appreciation for her (Bildirici, 1998: 149).

Çiller was a consultant of Bedrettin Dalan, the Mayor of İstanbul, and a member of the Motherland Party. She became a part of Dalan's team in Saraçhane City Hall. She would sometimes accompany him on his travels. However, Dalan lost the 1989 municipal elections (Bildirici, 1998: 154-155). According to Bildirici, when Çiller realized that Dalan's chances of victory were quite thin, she began to develop close relations with Süleyman Demirel again. She would seize any opportunity to meet Demirel and give him economic reports (Bildirici: 1998: 157).

Demirel aimed to refresh the showcase of the party as a response to the criticisms highlighting how old the TPP was. For this reason, the party thought that Çiller would be appropriate as a new face for the TPP. Media attention to her was an admitted fact (Bildirici, 1998: 158). Thus, Yalım Erez tried to talk Çiller into joining the TPP. However, Çiller was fearing that Özer could be attacked because of his problems with business when Çiller was nominated. The reason was corruption allegations on Istanbul Bank and cooperative (Bizim Vadi Kooperatifi) (Bildirici, 1998: 160). Erez persuaded her saying that the media probably would not be interested in Özer, and she would rise to become a prime minister (Bildirici, 1998: 159).

She won a seat on the party ticket as a deputy from Istanbul in the general elections of 1991. She remained the minister of state in charge of the economy in the coalition government that the TPP and the Social Democratic People's Party formed on November 21, 1991, under the premiership of Süleyman Demirel (Cizre, 2002: 200). She was the minister of the economy between 20th November 1991 – 9th June 1993. Then in a party convention of TPP, Çiller was welcomed warmly and became the vice president of the party (Bildirici, 1998: 173).

The passing away of Turgut Özal in 1993 was one of the most important turning points in Çiller's political life because Demirel became the president of the republic. Then, the prime minister position was available. After his death, she talked with media

delegates to ask whether they would support her candidacy or not (Bildirici, 1998: 222). Then she resigned from the ministry and announced her candidacy for chairman of TPP on the 8th of June, and she became the prime minister (Bildirici, 1998: 238).

Generally, Çiller was very active in her early days. She had a strong advisory team including Volkan Vural, Yalım Eralp, Prof. İlber Ortaylı, Prof. Kenan Mortan, etc. New ideas were discussed consistently, and her ideas were initially warmly received by public opinion (Bildirici, 1998: 257). However, the practical implementation of those ideas was very little (Bildirici, 1998: 256).

Çiller's period as a prime minister witnessed various important and dramatic events in Turkish political life. Sivas Madımak Incident was a significant example of those events. On 2nd July 1993, when Çiller was yet to win a vote of confidence for her government, a gathering of mostly Alevi intellectuals and artists in Sivas was attacked by a violent crowd, as a result of which 37 intellectuals were burned to death and many people were injured. This incident was called Sivas Madımak Massacre by public (32. Gün, 2009).

Kardak Crisis between Greece and Turkey was another turning point during Çiller's premiership. Although there were ongoing problems between the two countries, the incident which began with the stranding of the Turkish ship "Figen Akad" on 25 December 1995 increased the tension seriously. The region that the ship stranded was called "Kardak" in Turkish and "Imia" in Greek. During the rescue efforts, discussions between the two states started as to which country had the right to rescue that ship and was entitled to possess the rocky place. Both Turkey and Greece were asserting that they had their documents as evidence and that the region belonged to them. Consequently, a new problem of sovereignty emerged between the two countries. In the beginning, Greece planted its flag in the region. Then, Turkey did the same thing. When tensions reached the point of risk of war, soldiers and ships receded with the mediation of Bill Clinton, the US president at that time (Fırat, 2002: 464-465).

Çiller's period in government also witnessed an economic crisis. 5th of April Decisions were prepared with the help of Prof. Emre Gönensay at that conjuncture (Bildirici, 1998: 287). Another important focusing point of hers was the terrorist activities of the Kurdistan Worker's Party (Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan – PKK). Her speeches were mostly about this issue. Lastly, a traffic accident in Susurluk on 6 November 1996 was a substantial incident and marked that era. "The identity of the

dead and injured passengers revealed the existence of a criminal triangle of politicians, mafia bosses, and security forces engaged in the war against the PKK" (Cizre, 2002: 205).

Çiller's discourse was mostly secular during her period as prime minister. However, she formed a coalition government with the Islamic Welfare Party (WP) under the presidency of Necmettin Erbakan in 1996. Although this coalition had pragmatic bases for two leaders, it started her decline in politics according to Ümit Cizre (2002: 203-204). Islamic motives entered Çiller's speeches after this coalition. However, her implementations kept away from Islam. The decision of the 28th of February was a significant example of this situation. The coalition of the TPP and the WP 28th of February decisions made under the military-dominated National Security Council (Milli Güvenlik Konseyi – MGK) was one of the most memorable issues. This decision list was including some limitations for Islamic activities consisting of dressing, broadcasting channels, Quran courses, and Islamic organizations (Cizre, 2002: 204).

2.2.5. Ideas and Values

Four themes were defining Çiller's political objectives at the beginning of her political life. These were, (1) an economic structure based on a free market, (2) a multiclass electoral strategy for expanding the electoral base of TPP, (3) participation in the Customs Union and reinforcing the effort to join the European Union, and (4) to overcome terrorist activities (Cizre, 2002: 210).

On one hand, her economic policies on privatization, liberalization, and stabilization were closer to Turgut Özal’s policies than Demirel's. On the other hand, her conservative populist ideas regarding civil society, women's rights, and the military were not well received by supporters of political liberalism (Cizre, 2002: 210).

In 1993, there was an environment that contained both ethnic and religious tensions. Therefore, a balance of the tension between liberal and conservative features was a requirement. This requirement surfaced in issues such as Turkish nationalism, culture, and religion in Çiller's speeches. Her discourse changed from the center to the right. One of the reasons for this shift was to protect the country from communist ideas.

She was gaining the chance to receive votes from conservative or religious communities (Cizre, 2022: 211).

Çiller was mostly a pro-western politician. She supported the participation of Turkey in the Customs Union for providing unity with Europe (Çiller, 1995: 57). She advocated a free market, pure competition, equality in opportunity, and privatization in the economy (Cizre, 2002: 202; Çiller, 1995: 81). Çiller thought that meeting these conditions were possible thanks to unity between the Customs Union and Europe (Çiller, 1995: 81). According to her, the Customs Union with Europe was not the only economic and political constitution. This process is a way that brings Turkey to the European Union (Çiller, 1995: 89).

2.2.6. Image and Relationship with Media

Nationalist and chauvinistic features predominated Çiller's political behaviors. For this reason, she proceeded fast and seemed to act relentlessly in foreign policy. She made use of the "mother" figure to convey the image that she was unselfish, humble, and a savior of the nation. She embarked on the title of "mother" (ana) as an equivalent image to Demirel's "father" (baba). It was thought that these kinds of titles and features were appropriate to Turkish culture and would receive consent (Cizre, 2002: 206-207). Besides, these characteristics separated her from negative stereotypes which were dedicated to male politicians' such as being partisan, belligerent, egocentric, selfish, contrary, unconscientious, etc. Additionally, Çiller described herself as a "sister" (bacı), implying that she was aligned with the traditional codes of "honor" expected from women in Turkey, and also conveying a sexually unavailable image. These two images "ana" (mother) and "bacı" (sister) enabled Çiller to receive votes from conservative people (Cizre, 2002: 207).

Although Çiller created an image different from male politicians, she tried to add the positive stereotypes of men which could provide an advantage to a leader such as resolution, fortitude, and militarism to her image. These characteristics were like a shield in the political place where men dominated, and where she had to prove herself (Cizre, 2002: 207).

Media was always an influential paradigm in the political life of Çiller. After she became the minister, Ertuğrul Özkök from Hürriyet newspaper and Zafer Mutlu

from Sabah newspaper visited Çiller. Çiller and Özkök had a close relationship. According to the biography of Bildirici, before Çiller's entrance into politics, Özkök was one of those whom Çiller received advice from. Mutlu gave support to Çiller during the election too (Bildirici, 1998: 201).

She was a minister with the ambition to become a prime minister, Tansu Çiller also invested in herself to develop her speech and image-making skills. When she flew to the USA to meet IMF and World Bank representatives, a journalist suggested she attend some leadership courses in the USA. Following this advice, Çiller found an educational program on "how to be a leader" and spent her time attending the courses except for the time she met IMF and World Bank. These classes aimed to learn how to deliver a speech, how to improvise a situation, and how to use her dressing style to inspire (Bildirici, 1998: 212-213). Politicians' attendance at these kinds of training illustrates the fact that media visibility is one of the most important elements for politicians.

The Verso team was preparing a political strategy for Çiller and conducted research in which they tried to understand what the public would expect from a female prime minister. It was thought that Çiller had to change her image. Recommendations were basically as follows: look steady, wear white because it is a sign of innocence and modernness, walk fast because it reflects the dynamism, when you give a speech put your hand on your waist because it looks powerful, your husband should stand your back and dress up formal, your style should be traditional and edgy (Bildirici, 1998: 228-229).

Although there were positive effects of holding close relations with the media, sometimes there were tensions in the relations between Çiller and media professionals. One of the most important examples of these was Çiller's photograph in a swimsuit in Hürriyet newspaper. Çiller alleged to Hüseyin Demir, a reporter for Hürriyet newspaper, that he would not be able to take her photo with a swimsuit. Demir followed Çiller closely and spotted her in her swimsuit in her villa in Antalya. Positioning himself on the upper floor of a construction site next to the villa, he took a photo of her while she was sunbathing in her garden. Although employees of the villa noticed Hüseyin Demir, they could not stop him. Even though Çiller was angry and called Ertuğrul Özkök (the editor-in-chief of Hürriyet) and asked him not to

publish the photo, Özkök avoided Çiller's calls and published the photo (Bildirici, 1998: 223-224).

After Çiller formed a coalition government with the Welfare Party, Çiller's modern and western image collapsed in the eyes of the secular media, and her relations with the secular media became tense. The news coverage of Çiller started to become much more negative, and criticism of her wealth, family, character, leadership style, and political aims started to surface frequently in the news media (Cizre, 2002: 204).

CHAPTER THREE

FINDINGS: GENDER IN REPRESENTATIONS OF THATCHER AND ÇİLLER IN MASS MEDIA

In this study, I examine how women leaders are represented in the media through an analysis of the mass media representations of the first woman prime ministers in the history of United Kingdom and Turkey, namely Margaret Thatcher and Tansu Çiller. During the Thatcher and Çiller eras, newspapers were the prominent mass media tools that provided a connection between the people and the government. The tone of the coverage changes according to the ideologies of the newspapers. Therefore, in order to have a comparative approach, the sample of the study includes newspapers of different ideological backgrounds. The study relies on an analysis of liberal mainstream and center-left newspapers for each country. There is one center-left newspaper from each country in the sample. Due to technical difficulties of accessing newspaper archives on the internet, two liberal mainstream newspapers were chosen from the United Kingdom, and one liberal mainstream newspaper from Turkey.

As it is impossible to analyze every piece of the news coverage that two leaders were given in five newspapers, certain time frames were selected. First, I examined the eras in which Thatcher and Çiller first came to power, and then the occasions in which they faced military crises: Kardak Crisis, and the Falklands War. I have fertile ground to search for representations of two women leaders who became the first woman prime ministers and experienced military crises. A total of eighty-four (84) pieces of news were analyzed from five newspapers. Those pieces involve news articles and opinion columns. In order to keep the focus on our research questions and

objectives that inquire the gendered aspects of woman politicians's media representations, the selection of news articles and columns was based on representations that allow analysis of whether language is gendered or not.

I chose a liberal mainstream newspaper, *Milliyet*, and a left-wing newspaper, *Cumhuriyet*, to investigate Tansu Çiller's representations in Turkish press media. On June 25th, 1993, Tansu Çiller came to power. I looked into the news articles and opinion columns regarding her rise to power from June 12 to July 21, 1993. Forty (40) items were picked up in total, twenty-seven (27) from *Milliyet,* and thirteen (13) from *Cumhuriyet*.

The Kardak Crisis, which is covered in the chapter of "Gendered representations during the military crisis", occurred between December 25 and January 30, 1996. The time frame I've studied is from December 25, 1995, to February 3, 1996. Eleven different pieces of news articles and opinion columns published within this time frame were selected for analysis. Eight (8) of them are from *Milliyet*, and three (3) are from *Cumhuriyet*.

To investigate Margaret Thatcher's representations in the British press media, two liberal mainstream newspapers, namely *The Times,* and *The Daily Telegraph*, and one left-wing newspaper, *The Guardian,* were chosen. Margaret Thatcher came to power on the 4th of May 1979. For the "Gendered Representations During the Initial Rise to Power", I conducted my search from May 1 to May 28, 1979. There have been seventeen (17) picks in all; six (6) from *The Daily Telegraph* and eleven (11) from *The Guardian*.

Table 1: Classification of the Sample During Their Initial Rise to Power

THEIR INITIAL RISE TO POWER		
	NEWS ARTICLE	OPINION COLUMN
CUMHURİYET	7	5
MİLLİYET	17	10
THE GUARDIAN	7	4
THE DAILY TELEGRAPH	2	4

Falkland Islands War happened between April 2 and June 14, 1982. For the "gendered representations during the military crisis" chapter, this study examines

fifteen (15) texts published between the 1st of April and the 15th of June in 1982. Ten (11) contents belong to *The Guardian*; four (4) contents belong to *The Times*.

In analyzing the news articles and opinion columns, the main themes and sub-themes that journalists used in the representation of the leaders, were defined. In the process of the leaders' initial rise to power, the common salient themes in the gendered representation of the two leaders were defined as competence and leadership, appearance, and personality, and the media-leader relationship. During the military crises of Kardak and Falkland Islands, the gendered representations in the newspapers represented Thatcher and Çiller under the themes of competence, motherhood, and military-leader relation.

Qualitative Content Analysis was selected as the method to analyze the selected news articles and columns. In the framework of QCA, newspapers which were the most significant component of mass media tools were analyzed to see how the gender identity reflected the representations of women political actors. Moreover, various themes have been reutilized during the two women leaders' gender-based representations in the news articles and opinion columns. Therefore, the codes were determined as parallel with those themes. It was understood that the leaders' gender identities have been reflected under the themes of "competence and leadership", "appearance and personality", "media-leader relationship", "motherhood", and "military-leader relation". In light of the QCA, these codes and themes have been analyzed to portray the two leaders' gendered media representations.

Table 2: Classification of the Sample During the Military Crises

	MILITARY CRISIS	
	NEWS ARTICLE	OPINION COLUMN
CUMHURİYET	1	1
MİLLİYET	4	4
THE GUARDIAN	8	3
THE TIMES	3	1

In the following titles, media representations of the two leaders' periods will be examined under themes. Generally, many features differ between media representations of Turkey and the United Kingdom. In the UK media, journalists criticize Thatcher with more gender-neutral language. They examine the policies of

Thatcher. They publish fewer gender-based articles than Turkish media. Turkish journalists have used mostly gender-based language to represent Çiller.

3.1. GENDERED REPRESENTATIONS DURING THE INITIAL RISE TO POWER

Margaret Thatcher came to power on the 4th of May in 1979 in the United Kingdom. Tansu Çiller came to power 25th of June in 1993 in Turkey. They became the first woman Prime Ministers, and they were both leaders of mainstream right-wing political parties of their countries. Both received attention from their domestic and international media. On the other hand, there were also differences between the two leaders, especially regarding the process of coming to power. Thatcher had been an active member of the Conservative party since her youth, whereas Tansu Çiller had been in politics for three years when she came to power.

In the gendered representations of the two leaders during the time they initially came to power, the salient themes are as follows: competence, leadership, appearance, personality, and their relationship with the media.

This chapter aims to examine how newspapers covered Thatcher and Çiller when they came to power, under the themes of competence, leadership, appearance, personality, and relationship with the media. The meticulous analysis of these representations will be conducted under the headings "Competence, and Leadership", "Appearance and Personality", and "Relationship with the Media."

3.1.1. Competence, and Leadership

Politicians' media representations impact how the public views them (Erbring, Goldenberg, and Miller, 1980; Iyengar and Kinder, 1987; MacKuen and Coombs, 1981). Parties and politicians who secure enough media coverage frequently see an increase in votes due to their higher public familiarity and enhanced visibility (Aaldering, Van der Meer and Van der Brug, 2018; Kiousis and McCombs, 2004).

Most often, women in politics are exposed to this gender-based representation. Various studies exist on how gender-based representations in terms of quantity and quality affect women politicians.

While one group of scholars found that the media mentioned women politicians less frequently than men (Kahn, 1992; 1994; 1996; Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991; Norris, 1997; Scharrer, 2022; Serini, Powers, and Johnson, 1998; Trimble, 2007), another group argued that women receive equal or more attention than men because of gender-based characteristics such as marital and parental status and physical appearance (Atkesonn and Krebs, 2008; Banwart et al., 2003; Bystrom, Robertson and Banwart, 2001; Devitt, 1999; Falk, 2008; Fowler and Lawless, 2009; Kittilson and Fridkin, 2008; Trimble, 2007).

Tuchman (1978) attributed "symbolic annihilation" to newspaper coverage of women, which either referred to them as victims, wives, or eye candy or didn't mention them at all. Researchers that examine the quality of woman politician's representations discovered that either women face "symbolic annihilation" in the news agenda or receive gender-based emphasis on their appearances and fashion choices rather than their political views (Braden, 1996; Norris, 1997). According to some academics, gender-based representations undermine the legitimacy of women politicians (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996; Sones et al., 2005; Stevens, 2007; Ward, 2000).

Nonetheless, specific research supports the notion that a female candidate's appearance, attire, and so on may have a positive influence on woman politicians (Ross, 2014: 291). Researchers who approach the topic from this angle believe that such gendered representations have "more representative power" in newspapers and, as a result, have a favorable impact on visibility.

A good example of being optimistic about gender-based representations is Chile's first female prime minister, Michele Bachelet as I have mentioned before. She was exposed to gender-based representations that highlighted her "difference" from her male competitors in a favorable light (Valenzuela and Correa, 2009). Marine Le Pen, the head of the Rassemblement National Party, is a populist radical right leader. Because of her appearance and femininity, she has moderated the party and increased its support (Sayan-Cengiz, 2021).

3.1.1.1. Margaret Thatcher

Margaret Thatcher was the United Kingdom's and the Western world's first woman prime minister. She received media attention about her gender, competency, and leadership when she came to power. She was praised and criticized by the media, because of her policies and gender. However, when I compare Çiller and Thatcher, Çiller got much more gender-based attention from the media.

Photo 1: Mrs Thatcher and her husband Denis give a victory wave

Reference: Martin, 1979: 1.

It is seen that liberal mainstream newspapers like *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* supported Thatcher through her gender, found her competent, and confirmed her leadership. The left-centered newspaper *The Guardian*'s news articles, opinion columns, and caricatures criticized Thatcher in many ways. They criticized her policies and, except for a few instances, used gender-neutral language when they mentioned her. *The Guardian* advocated that her policies were more significant than her gender. Although *The Daily Telegraph* have more gender-based language than *The Guardian*, there are some news that it praised critically Thatcher on her policies. For instance, Thatcher's economic and trade policies were mostly received negative criticisms by people. *The Daily Telegraph* reported a news emphasize that trade unions cheer Thatcher positively. Thus, the newspaper referred that the policies of Thatcher can be supported (Morrow, 1979a: 1).

When Thatcher even just came to the power, we can see the different stresses in the newspaper's headlines according to their political ideologies. *The Daily Telegraph* celebrated "her" victory in great numbers of columns. We can see sentences

like "Conservatives deserve it" and "She has done it" (Cosgrave, 1979: 12; The Daily Telegraph, 1979: 12). On the other hand, I read articles focused on problems the government will experience after the quick announcement she became the first woman prime minister in *The Guardian* (Aitken, 1979a: 1, 1979b: 1; McRAE, 1979: 20). Focal points change according to the ideologies of newspapers. An article has used probable problems of the government to praise Thatcher. *The Daily Telegraph* represents those problems as "daunting tasks". Journalist expresses labor policies were incompetent to make those tasks. Then the article continues following words:

> *"Thatcher's policies are not gamble: 'they are tried and tested. They worked elsewhere. Let's have them in Britain.' They will fail only if they are not consistently applied, with all the courage and patience needed to wait for results which cannot be immediate or if (as someone without evidence assert) the British really are quite different from other peoples. Today's result, for one thing, suggests they aren't." (The Daily Telegraph, 1979: 12).*

Many media representations of Thatcher focused on how she received votes. *The Guardian* reported a news article on how people think about Thatcher's candidacy. There were those who thought differently. While a group of people believed that giving a vote to Margaret Thatcher was the duty of every woman for women's sake, another group believed that giving a vote to Thatcher because she was a woman was politically incorrect (The Guardian, 1989a: 9).

After Thatcher became the prime minister as a woman, some journalists evaluated the situation as irrelevant with the benefit of women's movements. Thatcher came to power from the conservative party. Enid Lakeman in *The Guardian* criticized the conservative party and Thatcher as follows: "Does our nation welcome its first woman Prime Minister? If so, it can hardly be pleased that the number of MPs representing the female half of the population has fallen to 19—the lowest since 1951—or that Mrs Thatcher's party was a poor fourth in its number of female candidates" (Lakeman, 1979: 7). *The Guardian* also presented statistics showing that while the Tories had 31 women candidates, Labour had 52, and Liberals had 43 when Thatcher came to power (The Guardian, 1979a: 9). A woman became prime minister from the Conservative Party, but the party's manifesto had nothing on women except a reference to immigrants' wives (The Guardian, 1979a: 9).

Labor Party supporters compared frequently Shirley Williams and Margaret Thatcher. Shirley Williams was a woman political actor and member of the Labour

party. They advocated Williams would be a better woman prime minister with her policy plans. News in this subject involved by *The Guardian* (The Guardian, 1979b: 11; White, 1979: 28).

On the other hand, *The Daily Telegraph* emphasizes Thatcher's competency and reliability. The 1979 election was a national character test, and the nation passed the test according to the newspaper. As a result, it congratulates the nation and wishes her good luck and God's blessing (The Daily Telegraph, 1979).

In light of these contents of the newspapers, we can say that a polarization exists among the representations according to the political tendencies of the newspapers. In every respect, we can see the significance of the political stand of the newspaper. The newspapers find evidence about the events based on their ideological tendencies, and looking from that perspective, they praise or criticize the leader. Even though they may show the same circumstance both positive and negatively, this situation actually clarifies what does representing means. Consequently, when I examine these representations, I notice that they are polarized according to a leader's or candidate's political stance rather than their gender. The British press cannot be seen to be evaluating the leader's competence based on whether or not she is a woman.

3.1.1.2. Tansu Çiller

Tansu Çiller is the first woman prime minister of Turkey. She experienced various gender-based representations discussing her competence and incompetence by the media during her prime minister period. Newspapers' headlines and articles made references to Thatcher when they mentioned Tansu Çiller during the electioneering and after she became prime minister. Newspaper comics have used the attributed similarity between two women leaders. *Cumhuriyet* emphasized the similarities between Thatcher and Çiller in a comic and some news cynically as follows: "The era of woman prime minister began. It is the era of Çiller who received approval from the Iron Lady of the United Kingdom" (Gökhan, 1993: 5), and "Iron Lady in Europe, Tansu Lady in Turkey" (Cumhuriyet, 1993a: 5).

The era that she came into was quite problematic. Society expected solutions from the new woman prime minister. *Cumhuriyet* supported that Çiller had a more positive image than other candidates in the elections thanks to her gender (Cumhuriyet,

1993b: 5). *Milliyet* referred to the expectations. Everyone imagined her solutions according to their problems. Everyone saw their hope in Çiller's presidency. Nuray Orun reported a piece of news with the photograph of a market poster had the following words: "Tansu came, that's how it happened: %30 sales". "Mrs. Tansu" represented a new image in Turkey. Her power is equal to a cheap life for a group of people. Orun's article continued with people's expectations: (1) Çiller was important for women because womankind came to power, (2) civil servants were waiting for a wage increase from her, (3) workers wished that Tansu Çiller will cause the possibility of a wealthy life, (4) industrialists thought Çiller is a brave, strict, and iron lady who can solve all problems (Orun, 1993: 5).

Photo 2: A Showcase Writing After Çiller Became Prime Minister

Reference: Orun, 1993: 5.

Çiller changed the cabinet except for three people. She interpreted the new cabinet as a "reformist cabinet" and a "clean (white) slate". *Milliyet wrote* "the whiteness of Çiller" for the new cabinet. Çiller expressed that this cabinet list will realize reforms, be successful in foreign policy, and struggle with terrorism. She explained that they purposed being an administration having toleration, hardworking, and honest (Kuşçuoğlu and Gürel, 1993: 1; Milliyet, 1993a: 11; Milliyet, 1993b: 11; Sazak, 1993a: 12).

Çiller became the third Muslim woman prime minister in the world (Cumhuriyet, 1993b: 5). *Milliyet* asserted a group of people supported her because of her gender, and the power of feminism positively affected Çiller. Accordingly, solidarity among women existed, and society was partly pleased with her victory. She was a new image of Turkey in Europe. Turkey's national team of volleyball complimented Çiller because of feminist solidarity according to a journalist. Based on

the article, they said that she was the best since she was a woman, and they presented their possible medal to Çiller. The team captain stated that Çiller provided equality as she has been elected (Milliyet, 1993c: 27).

Çiller experienced negative media attention to her leadership because of both the transition of the cabinet and acceptance of the "jurisdiction law"[1] (yetki yasası). Therefore, *Milliyet* gave headlines such as “Fussilade to Çiller” (Çiller’e yaylım ateş) and wrote that she received less attention from True Path Party even while she made a speech (Milliyet, 1993d: 1; Milliyet, 1993e: 11). Çiller passed the jurisdiction law even before she became officially prime minister. Media relikened her to Thatcher and announced her as "iron hand", "Tansu lady", and "iron lady" after this situation (Cumhuriyet, 1993a: 5; Z. Doğan, 1993a: 1; 1993b: 11).

Çiller’s competency in leadership was disputed frequently. *Cumhuriyet* wrote that she created her cabinet with people who are not going to make trouble for her. Journalists in *Cumhuriyet* advocated that she changed the cabinet because she needed people who supported her. They criticized the absence of an economic expert in the cabinet, and a woman in True Path Party in the coalition, despite the first woman prime minister (Cumhuriyet, 1993c: 5). Donat in *Milliyet* wrote that some politicians stated that other people decided the cabinet list rather than Çiller. Those who in the list have deceived Çiller (Donat, 1993: 2).

We see a comparison about professionality between Çiller and other candidates in *Cumhuriyet* to discuss Çiller’s competency during the electioneering. *Cumhuriyet* emphasized that İsmet Sezgin, the minister of internal affairs had been in politics for over 40 years. Köksal Toptan had 30 years of experience in politics. Bedrettin Dalan had been in politics since 1982 when Turgut Özal had become the prime minister. Tansu Çiller has been in politics for only 3 years. *Cumhuriyet* focused on her inexperiency in politics (Cumhuriyet, 1993e: 14).

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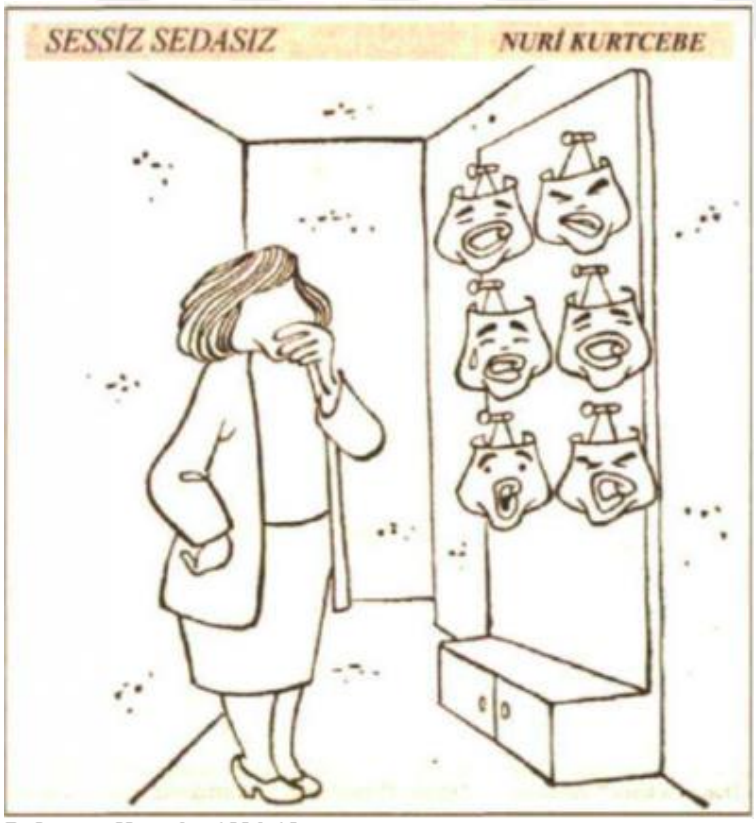
[1] Jurisdiction law permits the coalition government to make an executive order (kanun hükmünde kararname) on various subjects especially privatization for a year without consulting the council. Opposition parties challenged this law because Turgut Özal's government made this kind of law. Özal was a predecessor of Çiller. Opposition parties advocated that Özal's government used the jurisdiction law negatively. Although the Motherland Party, the Welfare Party, and the Republican People's Party" opposed the law, the coalition of True Path Party and Social Democratic Populist Party rushed the bill through the council (Aydoğan, 1993: 5; Cumhuriyet, 1993d: 5).

Various news from *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* emphasized Çiller as an affluent Western woman, and unqualified to represent Turkey. Although she claimed to love Anatolia, she only traveled as far as Ankara, they argued. Another criticism against her was that she pretended to be religious, yet no one had ever seen her at worship. She stated to be extremely familiar with people who belong to the True Path Party, however, she confused the Kahramanmaraş commission with the Balıkesir commission. It was argued that Çiller knew the IMF and the World Bank more than she knew Anatolian people. She was closer to the United States than Turkey (Gümüşbaş, 1993: 5). Turkey used administrators who take their powers from lands in feudal economic structures (İ. Selçuk, 1993: 2).

According to *Milliyet'*s news, Deniz Baykal has stated that Prime Minister doesn't need an adviser, Prime Minister needs another Prime Minister (Pulur, 1993a: 3). Çiller tried to address to the whole population and she had not a real ideology according to *Cumhuriyet*'s comics. In the comics, she had diverse masks which she could use in times of need (Kurtcebe, 1996: 13). Those masks represented her different manners for different issues.

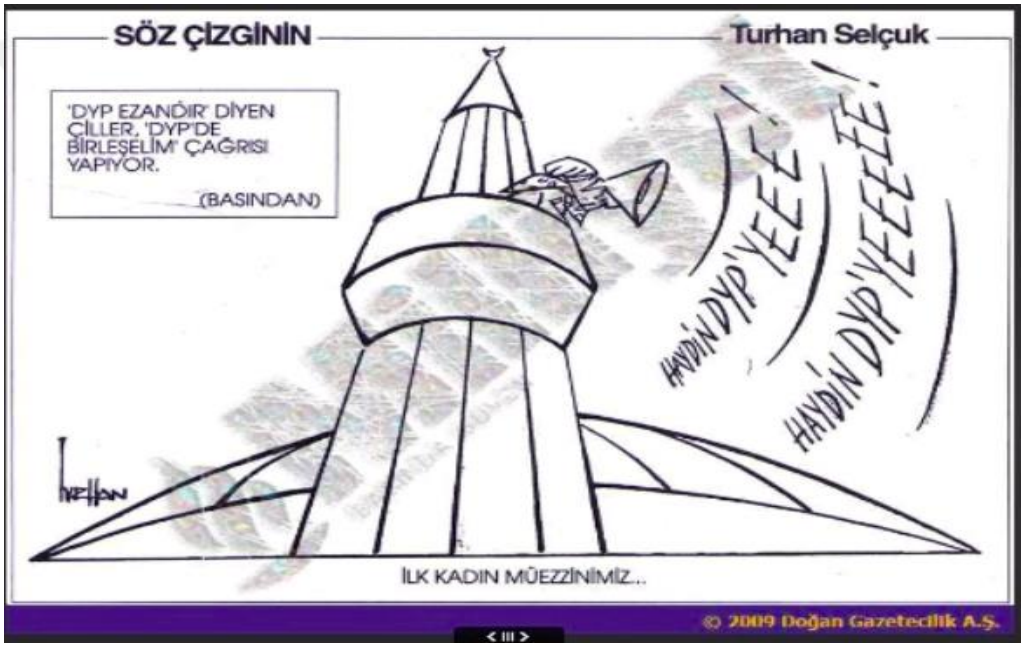
Figure 1: Caricature of Çiller with her "masks"



Reference: Kurtcebe, 1996: 13.

Milliyet reported that Çiller abused the religion. Cemal Özbey who was a lawyer sued Çiller because she exploited the religion for political purposes (Milliyet, 1993f: 11). When Çiller was a candidate for being prime minister, a man who was called “İnci Baba” told her that she was the candidate of Allah. Then Çiller didn’t refuse his discourse according to a news of *Cumhuriyet* (Cumhuriyet, 1993a: 5). Çiller summoned people to gather in TPP, and she expressed that the True Path Party was salah. A comic in *Milliyet* involved this subject too. A caricature depicted her as "the first woman muezzin" in a minaret's balcony while she was shouting "come in TPP, come in TPP" (T. Selçuk, 1993: 12).

Figure 2: Caricature of Çiller as “Muezzin”



Reference: T. Selçuk, 1993: 12.

Tokmakçıoğlu's ideas in *Milliyet* emphasized a different perspective from the other critisims. Tansu Çiller has studied at Robert College, Boğaziçi University, and the USA. She was the daughter of a governor. She knows how she should wear, behave, and speak. Her appearance looks European, Western European, or from USA more than from Turkey. However, her becoming Prime Minister was more important than how she came to power. Apart from reasons, she came to the power, and this was the most significant point. She was the first woman Prime Minister in the history of the Republic of Turkey. Çiller was the prime minister of people regardless of whether liked her or not her (Tokmakçıoğlu, 1993: 17).

When I look at these pieces of informations, it is possible to say that gender-based representations of Çiller were dominant among her representations despite some of her representations based on her academic incompetence being a political leader. Additionally, Çiller's media portrayals emphasized her "western" upbringing. Journalists criticized her "incompetence," highlighted her "western characteristics," and claimed that she lacked the qualifications to serve as Turkey's prime minister. In Turkish press media, on the contrary of the United Kingdom's press media, there was no polarization based on the ideological tendencies of the newspapers. Both liberal mainstream and center left newspapers praised or criticized Çiller based on her personal characteristics, and gender. She received criticism for her political decisions, such as passing the jurisdiction law and changing the cabinet. However, when the media criticize her political activities, it has utilized again gender-based language, and emphasis. Consequently, it is possible to say that the Turkish press media mostly questioned Çiller's leadership competence from a gender-based framework.

3.1.2. Appearance and Personality

3.1.2.1. Margaret Thatcher

Gender-based media representations of Thatcher focused on her appearance, gestures, mimics, emotions, motherhood, and being wife. Ian Aitken and Michael White in *The Guardian* focused on her emotions and wrote that "there were signs of anxiety in her speech", while they mentioned one of her speeches during 1979 electioneering (Aitken and White, 1979: 1). We can read in *The Daily Telegraph* what she wore and felt on election day in newspapers. She wore a "distinctive blue silk dress". She was generally calm except for her nervousness when Mr. Norman Stepsford read the results. Thatcher sat in a room during the waiting process. She ate sandwiches. Carol who is Thatcher's daughter sat with her. When the announcement of the results was delayed, Mr. Denis Thatcher "protectively took his wife's arm and guided her out of the room" (Morrow, 1979a: 1).

The Daily Telegraph has compared her characteristics in public and private life with the following words:

"Yet in truth, the nation does not know Mrs Thatcher. It has seen much of her on the box, but not so much of the real woman. Those who know her personally must have wondered how on earth a lady so spirited and warm, so vivacious, inspiring, and quick in riposte could be thus pasteurized and homogenized to seem so restrained and low in key, so out of character. Plainly she had taken advice, seemingly not all good." Then the section ends with good wishes such as "Good luck to her" or "God bless her" for Mrs Thatcher (The Daily Telegraph, 1979: 12)."

Cosgrave the author of *The Daily Telegraph* praised Thatcher by underlining the difference between her private persona from her television image. The journalist supports that people usually were surprised when they saw her in a personal meeting, she was kind, and supportive but not egoist to her colleagues. Cosgrave wrote as follows: "She will, I think, save the country; nobody else can" (Cosgrave, 1979: 12).

Margaret Thatcher defined herself as a "conviction politician". Cosgrave agreed with this definition. He defined her characteristics as "extraordinary passion of her nature"; "discipline, drive, and hard work dedication". Her order made her a "conviction politician" according to *The Daily Telegraph*. The author argues that her personal "are all important in the make-up of a woman who has come all the way from the corner shop at Grantham to being mistress of Downing Street" (Cosgrave, 1979: 12).

Gender-based representations can be received negatively or positively as it was discussed in the first title of this thesis. We can praise a woman leader with a gender-based representation or we can vilify her at the same time. For instance, people called Margaret Thatcher some nicknames such as "Maggie, Margaret, Mrs T, etc.". They used these nicknames both positively and negatively. *The Daily Telegraph* wrote that although trade unions mostly deprecated Thatcher's economic policies, some trade unionists supported Thatcher and cheered "Maggie", "Margaret", and "Hello Maggie" positively (Morrow, 1979b: 1). However, a journalist in *The Guardian* insulted, criticized, and advised Thatcher with nicknames "Maggie, Mrs T" (Hillmore, 1979: 12).

Thatcher's media representations, which emphasized her looks, covered topics related to her background and family. Aileen Ballantyne in *The Guardian* wrote an article titled "Painting the roots blue". This article focused on her family and

hometown "Grantham". The journalist went to Grantham and interviewed the people who live there. The news starts as follows: "'They'll never believe it if she becomes Prime Minister,' said a young American earnestly photographing the birthplace of Britain's most famous grocer's daughter". Then the article continues with how the grocery store was known by those who lived in Grantham, and "Margaret Hilda Roberts" served in the store after finishing her homework. It is possible to argue that regularly mentioning the father, childhood, and family's grocery store of a woman Prime Minister and debating her competency with reference her family life, and past is a gender-based approach. Often a reference to private life indicates gender-based representation. Useless details about Alfred Roberts have no dealings with the leadership. Even the former errand boy of the grocery store gave an interview about Margaret Thatcher in Grantham (Ballantyne, 1979: 1).

3.1.2.2. Tansu Çiller

During the electioneering and after she became prime minister, media representations referred to Çiller as a woman, mother, and daughter as well as the prime minister. Çiller's name was usually mentioned with Süleyman Demirel in the press when she came to the power. Their names came to the agenda as a father, and a daughter or a mother. After she changed the cabinet except for three people, Ersin Taranoğlu emphasized the new cabinet was similar to the last one according to a news of *Cumhuriyet*. He said: "The father gone, the daughter came; the hat has gone, the scarf came." (Cumhuriyet, 1993f: 4). Besides when this cabinet list asked Süleyman Demirel, he explained those new people were close him too and there was no vast change in the cabinet. When Süleyman Demirel approved the cabinet list of Çiller, *Milliyet* interpreted this as "the father didn't prevent his daughter" (Sazak, 1993a: 12).

She emphasized the TPP was a family in her speeches. Her idea was reflected in *Milliyet*. After she made the cabinet list, plenty of ministers resigned. Then Çiller clarified that they were a family, people who resigned were from family, and they could be able to talk and make a deal as a family (Milliyet, 1993g: 11). Her speeches also came to the agenda because of her dropping clangers (Y. Doğan, 1993c: 12; Tayyar, 1993: 11).

News focused on Çiller's appearance, gestures, and mimics. Çiller was incompetent for the position of Prime Minister as a college girl with her latest fashion dresses (İ. Selçuk, 1993: 2). *Milliyet* considered newsworthy what she wore at an engagement ceremony. They described her appearance as very detailed as she wore a black, long, low-necked, colorful squamous night dress. The news reported cost of the dress was 17 million Turkish liras in the Vakko store. The author wrote that she cried in the ceremony (Milliyet, 1993h: 11). On another day, when Çiller met with Gunnar Ericsson who was Swedish council president, the related news article in *Milliyet* emphasized that Çiller touched him as they spoke (Gökçe, 1993: 27).

Tansu Çiller has received attention from abroad. *Milliyet* stated that Thatcher had called to congratulate Tansu Çiller and proudly cited international media's coverage of Çiller. International media provided *Milliyet* a reason to proud of Çiller. The international attention focused on the fact that she was the first woman Prime Minister in Turkey. International media also -similar to Turkish media- drew parallels between "Iron Lady" and Çiller.

Representations were mostly gender-based in international media. International media emphasized her beauty. The international representation of Çiller was explained in detail in Turkish newspapers. *Milliyet* mainly referred the media representations of Çiller in the UK[2], France[3], Sweden[4], Iran[5], Germany[6], Belgium[7],

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[2] The Reuters Agency in London expressed that "the woman who had a steel smile" won the general presidency of the party and became the prime minister of the country. They saw Çiller as the daughter of Demirel but then they awarded Çiller as not meek as they thought (Milliyet, 1993ı: 13).

[3] Contents of Agence France-Presse (AFP) involved the promise of Çiller on she will further Turkey to the 21st century. The French media explained that the world needed mother's affection in the war order, so it was appropriate that a woman became prime minister in Turkey (Milliyet, 1993ı: 13).

[4] Sweden's television and radio identified Çiller as a woman highly educated in the USA (Cumhuriyet, 1993g: 6).

[5] Iran's vice president of the commission of foreign policy expressed that "Mrs. Tansu" was a successful woman, and he believed that the relationship between Iran and Turkey will have a better relationship during Çiller's period (Hazer, 1993: 13).

[6] German media has said that the violence and the patriarchy against women for 20-25 years have ended in Turkey (Milliyet, 1993ı: 13)

[7] The media of Belgium remarked that Çiller will be the richest prime minister ever in Turkey, and the Prime Minister who gave her surname to her husband will face vast problems such as the Kurdish issue and inflation. (Milliyet, 1993ı: 13).

Greek Cyprus[8], and Russia[9].

The representations were mainly about her being the first woman prime minister, education background, beauty, smile, nicknames, etc. (Cumhuriyet, 1993g: 6; Hazer, 1993: 13; Milliyet, 1993ı: 13).

Assets of Çiller appeared in the news frequently. Çiller was a young professor. She had money and estates equal to approximately a trillion or more. *Cumhuriyet* mentioned her assets, and how Çiller got these estates (Cumhuriyet, 1993h: 5). Selçuk in *Cumhuriyet* asked why a person who owns such things would try to reduce inflation (İ. Selçuk, 1993: 2). *Milliyet* considered newsworthy what she bought and how much were those pieces of stuff even before she became prime minister (Saulnier, 1993: 13).

Journalists in *Milliyet* paid attention to the age of Tansu Çiller (Bahçıvan, 1993: 13; Yavuz, 1993: 13). "If the Prime Minister is a woman, isn't her age curious?" was the opening line of an article. The article goes on to say that her age was a mystery. We see the gender-based approach. The article on her age was very detailed. News compared her statements and the Birth Registration Office's data. The content involved her and her husband's credentials, the story of how they met each other, how old she was when she got married, and why her husband took her surname. It was written the following words: "She is 47 according to lady prime minister…" but while we explain the age of a male prime minister, we don't emphasize his gender such as "male prime minister" (Bahçıvan, 1993: 13).

The emphasis on the appearance, clothing, and age are particularly the main aspects of gendered representations about Çiller in Turkey. However, Pulur in *Milliyet* considered it immoral to begin every sentence with "this woman". People should criticize the Prime Minister or government's activities, not whether they are male or female. He described it as immoral that people put forward her features of being a woman both positively and negatively. Before the 50th government, all prime ministers in all 49 governments were male, but people never start to speak as "this man", and no one focused on his gender, Pulur noted (Pulur, 1993b: 3).

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[8] Greek Cyprus media asserted that Çiller was a showcase of Turkey in Europe. (Milliyet, 1993ı: 13).

[9] Russian media states that Çiller was an elegant, charming, knowledgeable, and strong-willed woman prime minister, and had outstanding beauty as follows: "Perfume smells coming from the prime ministry. She captivated everyone with her grace, charming smile, and movements. The program of Çiller who has a fortune of 500 billion, is not clear" (Milliyet, 1993ı: 13).

3.1.3. Relationship with the Media

I mentioned that candidates' access to the polls is influenced by media visibility (Aaldering, Van der Meer, and Van der Brug, 2018; Kiousis and McCombs, 2004). Two perspectives exist on women politicians' media visibilities in the literature. First, women receive less attention than men (Kahn, 1992; 1994; 1996; Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991; Norris, 1997; Scharrer, 2022; Serini, Powers, and Johnson, 1998; Trimble, 2007). Second, women receive media attention as much as men, even sometimes more than men (Atkesonn and Krebs, 2008; Banwart et al., 2003; Bystrom, Robertson and Banwart, 2001; Devitt, 1999; Falk, 2008; Fowler and Lawless, 2009; Kittilson and Fridkin, 2008; Trimble, 2007). Thatcher and Çiller becoming the first prime ministers of their regions was a different event, and the media considered it newsworthy. Newspapers reported on how the media influenced the electioneerings of Thatcher and Çiller. This chapter aims to explain how the media affected their coming to power.

3.1.3.1. Margaret Thatcher

Before discussing the media effect on Thatcher's rise to power, it's important to note that Thatcher and her campaign team recognized the importance of her media visibility during her campaign. They cared about her appearance, gestures, mimics, and voice. They wished for positive representations of Margaret Thatcher. Their efforts were detailed in the previous chapter, but it is necessary to remind here that Thatcher coordinated with a television producer, Gordon Reece, to increase the quality of her media visibility. Reece served Thatcher as her PR director.

Television political campaigns began to appear while Thatcher was running for election. Thus, there was discussion over how the media influenced to Thatcher's triumph. According to *The Guardian*, television is an "electronic medium" and Thatcher successfully utilized it. "Camera stunts and careful timing of election events to make the early evening news, appearances on mass-appeal programs, and the filmed coverage of the hustings which has come with the development of TV journalism have all brought the election into the living room." (The Guardian, 1979c: 3).

Politicians were seen to be free to act however they pleased during a TV election campaign because the election had been moved into the living room. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Independent Television (ITV) had an impact on the campaigning for the 1979 elections, according to Peter Fiddick the journalist who worked for of *The Guardian*, and who published the article with the title "Broadcasters achieve a balance without weight." Fiddick defined it: "parties decide to playthings coolly or calmly, television cannot dictate otherwise".

Politicians could restrict their speech-making appearances, and Thatcher restricted her speech-making appearances. Then "news editors found they got more Thatcher than at first expected through her use of brief whistle-stop events, with shopping bags and such". TV journalism is a picture-hungry medium. Candidates can show themselves what they want (Fiddick, 1979: 15).

There is no dominant evidence of a gender-based editorial strategy or a gender-based relationship between Thatcher and the media when examining the media's portrayals of her throughout the election campaign. We may essentially see representations depending on how she uses popular and effective political tools like television during her campaigning. She concentrated on her leadership image and how the media portrayed her as a candidate of political leader. She made an effort to portray herself as she saw fit in the media, following the examples presented.

3.1.3.2. Tansu Çiller

Tansu Çiller was elected as Turkey's first woman prime minister. She had a close relationship with the media during her campaigning and when she was in power. Several people who had previously dismissed the power of the media have been shocked by Çiller's success according to *Milliyet*'s news (Tokmakçıoğlu, 1993: 17). Çetinkaya stated in *Cumhuriyet* that there were many more Çiller's posters existed at bus stations when compared with the posters of İsmet Sezgin, the other candidate. Those who look at the posters think that Çiller would be the prime minister (Çetinkaya, 1993: 5). There were sexist remarks, implying that Çiller received attention and came to power thanks to her gender. For example, a journalist in *Milliyet* even argued that "men are better" than women in almost every job. According to this journalist, a

woman could become the Prime Minister thanks to the media and the ability to pose nicely (Toker, 1993: 13).

Kılıç, a columnist for *Cumhuriyet* the newspaper, on the other hand, argued that the media attention to Çiller was related to her wealth. The media had outstanding power and supported Çiller thanks to her wealth because she was the richest candidate according to Kılıç (Kılıç, 1993: 2).

In some columns, the "prime minister of the media" definition was used negatively. According to Derya Sazak's article in *Milliyet*, the members of the True Path Party initially approved Tansu Çiller. However, they defined her as "the prime minister of the media" after conflicts happened between each other. According to Sazak, party members were happy to find a woman as prime minister. They could be closer to the population of women and young people. However, the scenario changed after the changing cabinet announcement. She became the Prime Minister of the Media, not of the Congress, the Group, or the Party (Sazak, 1993b: 12).

In conclusion, the journalists in both *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet* argued that the media positively influenced Çiller while she was running to be the prime minister. In the comments made about the media – Çiller relationship, there were gendered remarks, claiming that it was easier for Çiller to attract media attention due to her gender.

3.2. GENDERED REPRESENTATIONS DURING THE MILITARY CRISIS

Under the previous topic, I looked at how Thatcher and Çiller were represented in the media when they first rose to power. As they were the first female prime ministers of their countries, this was a newsworthy development. I can examine how the first female prime minister was represented from a gender-based perspective. That’s why I analyzed that period. In this section, I looked at how two female prime leaders were represented during the times of military crisis due to the close relationship between gender and the military.

The military is perhaps the most gendered institution of modern states. The military community's gendered identity is socially formed and maintained, just like the gendered identities of other groups. Men are portrayed in the military as “strong

warriors," but women are seen as "dependent" supporters. Enloe found that majority of male members are more than %90 in various countries, including the US, Canada, and South Africa (Enloe, 1993: 51). Therefore, women make up the vast majority of civilian globally (Harrison and Laliberté, 1997: 35-36)

Male politicians are generally perceived as more "talented" in "hard politics" issues such as military, security, and economics (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993: 504). However, women are believed as capable to deal with issues such as "poverty, education, child-related and health policy issues" (Leeper, 1991; Rosenwasser and Seale, 1988; Sapiro, 1981). According to previous research, while voters were convinced about female political candidates' perceived skill in the arts, education, and health, they were unwilling to support one because they believed she was less qualified to handle the military, war, and economy (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993: 520). According to Rosenwasser and Seale's research (1988: 592), a president's military and defense-related responsibilities were deemed to be more crucial than dealing with "compassion" issues.

In the framework of this literature, I considered it significance to seek the media representations of Thatcher and Çiller during their military crisis periods. First, Falkland Islands War is a crisis that happened between Argentina and the United Kingdom in the South Atlantic. Argentina was administrated by the junta in 1982, then attacked the Falkland Islands. The Islands have belonged to the United Kingdom since 1860. Both the United Kingdom and Argentina were persistent to take the Islands. The United Kingdom reasserted her authority over the Islands as a result of the war. Thatcher was elected a second time in the United Kingdom as Prime Minister after the Falkland Islands War (Blundell, 2008).

Second, Kardak Crisis happened between Greece and Turkey. A Turkish ship "Figen Akad" was stranded Kardak rocks on 25 December 1995. Then the debate started on which territory Kardak belonged to. The crisis escalated Greece landed its troops in Kardak rocks. Two countries were warned by the USA to avoid a possible war. Then Turkish troops were launched on different rocks near Kardak to solve the crisis. Afterward, both countries withdrew from the region (Fırat, 2002: 464-465).

In the analysis of the media representations of Thatcher and Çiller during their military crisis periods, two main themes proved salient in the journalistic discourses on the two leaders: their competence, and gendered metaphors of motherhood.

3.2.1. Competence or Incompetence

As I referred previously, women's competency is questioned in the military-based issues (Leeper, 1991; Rosenwasser and Seale, 1988; Sapiro, 1981). Expectedly, competency is a main theme among the representations of Thatcher and Çiller. We see firm and persistent speeches of Thatcher and Çiller in the press media during the crisis. Both Turkish and British media have debated whether the decision going to war was appropriate or not.

3.2.1.1. Margaret Thatcher

The Falklands War was a vast conflict between the United Kingdom and Argentina. Thatcher believed the Falkland Islands had been British territory since 1833 and would remain so in the future according to *The Guardian* (The Guardian, 1982b: 3). She decided to go to war, but her competency was criticizing in the dilemma of stability and obstinacy.

The Guardian reported that the opposition front urged her to "the idea of a tabling a British-drafted resolution for the UN Security Council" (Aitken, 1982a: 1), and Thatcher's allies secretly supported peace over the Falkland Islands crisis. Thatcher's speechwriter and Minister of State at the Treasury, Jock Bruce-Gardyne, opposed a war on Falkland Island (Aitken, 1982b: 28). *The Guardian* and *The Times* reported that many ministers resigned because of the war decision. Lord Carrington, the Foreign Secretary, and all the Foreign Office team resigned except a person (Aitken, 1982c: 1). Mr. John Nott offered to resign, but Thatcher rejected it. When people asked her whether she would resign if she failed, she answered like Queen Victoria said: "Failure? The possibilities do not exist" (Haviland, 1982: 1). "This was the time for resolution, not resignation," she said in response to resignation questions (The Times, 1982a: 6).

Thatcher remarked that the government showed its highest potential to negotiate with Argentina, but they rejected withdrawal by diplomatic negotiation. She stressed that Argentina should withdraw quickly in preparation for a possible cease-fire according to the news of *The Guardian*. (Aitken, 1982c: 1; Brown, 1982a: 19).

The anti-war movement provided five reasons. First were the domestic problems of the United Kingdom. This perspective supports the idea that domestic problems were more significant on an island close to Argentina. The complaints centered on the idea that the government should address domestic issues such as mass unemployment rather than go to war (Brown, 1982b: 17). *The Guardian*'s news mostly reflected on their losses and the prospects of a cease-fire and peace. They were upset about how the media portrayed the war. The news was reported as follows:

> *"In place of live pictures of burning flesh and mutilated limbs we have seen romantic line drawings of the kind I remember from the Boy's Own Paper. Such news as has been allowed from the front, much of it more inspirational than graphic, has been accompanied on the television screen by library film of peace-time exercises or weapon demonstrations. We hear of black mud and icy rain but what we see are coloured counters moving across a model island coloured brightest green."*

The Guardian drew attention that when Mr. David Winnick, the Labour MP, accused the government of intimidating the BBC, Thatcher answered that the media was free in the UK. She added as follows: "We do ask them when the lives of some of our people may be put at stake, that their information which could be of use to the enemy or discussion which could be used that they do take that into account…the media are totally free to discuss and publish what they wished. Equally as you have just demonstrated, we are free to say what we think about them." (Brown, 1982a: 19).

The second reason emphasized the country's losses. The third was the lack of a clear purpose for the war. Even after the victory of the United Kingdom in the war, lots of news focused on the unnecessity of the war (Jenkins, 1982a: 11). Peter Jenkins wrote in *The Guardian* the title, "A war will neither save nor serve the World". Jenkins stated that he has contested the war and that "the Falkland Islands were not worth fighting for..." He added, "If unnecessary blood is now shed, she too will bear the guilt of her miscalculation." He confirmed that war makes the world more dangerous, not safer (Jenkins, 1982b: 13).

The fourth reason was that Thatcher decided to go it alone, according to the news. Mr. Foot stated that Thatcher should decide on the war by consulting the House. Reported news of *The Times* explained Thatcher's answer as "the government must be free, and I believe the government is inherently free to make the best judgment it can

in the situation and finally to be accountable to the House for that judgment." Another news story explained Thatcher's stand as "the government would shoulder its responsibility and would stand before the House to defend its decision." Therefore, while one perspective represented Thatcher as responsible, the other perspective represented that she was independent (The Times, 1982b: 4).

The fifth reason was that Thatcher went to war to raise her reputation. *The Guardian* reported that the victory of the Falkland Islands benefited Thatcher in the next general election. The news lasted as follows: "For otherwise when we come to tell our children and our grandchildren how many died for a place called Port Stanley and they say, "Port Where?" and we explain as best we can. They will look at us in wonderment and ask "why, but why?" (Jenkins, 1982a: 11).

In response to these critisisms, she emphasized the significance of democracy, self-determination, and sovereignty, and they can be reasons for the war as we see in the news of *The Guardian*. She purposed to defend those islands with or without a war (Aitken, 1982d: 1; Brown, 1982b: 17). Quite considerable expenditures were needed for the war. The Prime Minister remarked that freedom was expensive. Thatcher vehemently claimed that the Falklands problem was more complex than just purely ideological concerns like democracy. She explained that to reach Alaska, several large oil tankers now had to round Cape Horn. They had "extremely" significant strategic worth (Aitken, 1982d: 1).

In the news of *The Guardian* Alexander Haig the Secretary of State used the word "magnanimity" to persuade Thatcher of a different peace term, she said that "If magnanimity meant giving something to the Argentines, then magnanimity meant 'treachery and betrayal of our own people'. Labors urged Thatcher to a resolution with the United Nations many times. Thatcher answered as follows:

> *"As the house knows, British forces in the Falklands are preparing to repossess Port Stanley. The Secretary-General of the United Nations and certain members of the Security Council have proposed various formulations for a ceasefire. None provides the unequivocal link between an immediate Argentine withdrawal and ceasefire which is the only basis on which we could agree to a ceasefire." (Aitken, 1982a: 1).*

According to *The Times*, despite her anti-war beliefs, Thatcher spoke the truth. Then we see her lonely images in the news. According to a news report, if she were to

succeed, the House and everyone else would applaud her. Everyone would declare it obvious that starting a war was a bad decision if she were to fail. (Johnson, 1982: 24).

3.2.1.2. Tansu Çiller

Kardak Crisis escalated because Greek soldiers positioned themselves on Kardak Rocks despite diplomatic efforts. Çiller defined Kardak as a Turkish territory, not just rocks. Çiller stated that they are willing to discuss the issue with NATO or the UN. However, she emphasized that Turkey will not sacrifice its right to sovereignty according to *Milliyet* (Milliyet, 1996a: 18). *Milliyet* reported that she said if negotiations don't work, Turkey will lay down its determination for diplomatic efforts (Milliyet, 1996b: 1).

Cumhuriyet stated that the government explained the activity of Greek soldiers as "border violations and an attack on the rights of dominance." The Turkish army had the right to attack without consulting the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT) (Cumhuriyet, 1996: 1). According to reports of *Milliyet*, officials in Ankara have begun to consider military solutions after the diplomatic efforts remained inconclusive. One of Çiller's memorable sentences in this period was "This soldier going to depart and that this flag going to be lowered." (Milliyet, 1996a: 18). *Milliyet* reflected that the Prime Minister spoke as follows: "A possible conflict between Greece and us would not continue for so long. We are better than Greeks on the air and the sea". Ministers, like Çiller, took a firm stance (Y. Doğan, 1996a: 13).

Çiller received four major criticisms for her competency as a leader during the crisis. First, she challenged with an international issue while there were many problems in the country. A caricaturist who worked for *Cumhuriyet* drew Çiller while she tried to solve the Kardak crisis, but her country had many problems like unemployment, torture, corruption, summary executions, inflation, and a police state (Kart, 1996: 5).

Secondly, the interference of the US in the Kardak Crisis was clear. This effect shows the prime minister' incompetency to solve the problem. According to *Milliyet*, the United States resolved the Kardak crisis. Bill Clinton, the President of the US, warned the two countries that both must avoid a possible military attack with phone calls. Then, the US threatened the two countries that if a country began a military crisis, the country would get into trouble with the USA. Apart from Bill Clinton, Richard

Holbrooke, the US deputy foreign minister, warned Nüzhet Kandemir, the ambassador that the US did not want a war. While Kandemir emphasized the legal status of the Kardak rocks, Holbrooke emphasized that the statue's determination was unhelpful for peace (Çongar, 1996: 17).

Figure 3: Caricature of Çiller about Kardak Crisis

Reference: Kart, 1996: 5.

Third, some perspectives promoted the notion that Çiller went to war to increase her legitimacy in Turkey, and that the crisis was unnecessary. *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* reported that two leaders needed an international problem to strengthen their leadership because domestic issues were problematic in both countries at that time. The agenda of Simitis, the governor of Greece, was to receive a vote of confidence. Çiller was afraid of losing power in Ankara. Simitis and Çiller were saved by the Kardak crisis, according to Yalçın Doğan and Mustafa Balbay. Apart from his criticisms of two leaders, Doğan emphasized the Kardak crisis as a territorially significant issue. However, Balbay emphasized how few square meters of Kardak rocks there were and stated that they turned a problem that could be solved at the table into a big one. He said that if rock problems were very significant, why were all rocks not numbered and not determined by their all-around status (Balbay, 1996: 5; Y. Doğan, 1996a: 13)?

After the Kardak crisis was resolved, Çiller gave a speech on she had kept her promise as we see on *Milliyet*. She uttered: "We stated that this soldier would depart and that this flag would be lowered. The soldier has left, and the flag has been lowered." In Çiller's opinion, the crisis' resolution prevented a Balkan War. She claimed that she had a reputation for being unflinching in international settings. She claimed that the situation could be resolved by her image (Bila, 1996: 14).

Çiller faced numerous criticisms in *Milliyet* following the crisis. Necmettin Erbakan the president of the Welfare Party stated Greece's activities as boundary violations, and he found it inadequate to go Turkish soldiers to a different rock. İmren Aykut the deputy president of the Motherland Party accused the government and the Prime Minister. She emphasized the absence of a serious government and a knowledgeable prime minister as reasons for the activities of Greece (Milliyet, 1996c: 14).

3.2.2. Military Leadership and the Metaphors of Motherhood

During the crisis periods, Thatcher and Çiller received media attention for their leadership abilities. Besides, they were considered mothers and women, and they were criticized for these roles. Regarding their motherhood and gender, they received specific gender attention.

First was that Mr. Leo Abse, the Labour Party deputy, asked Thatcher to "start behaving like a weeping mother again instead of a warrior queen." According to *The Guardian*, Abse stated her concern about killing people in the war and their mothers. He thought that the war happened because of Thatcher's "provocative and deliberate insistence." The deputy wanted Thatcher to "stop role-playing as a warrior queen." (The Guardian, 1982c: 2; White, 1982: 2).

Second, *Milliyet* deemed Çiller's statements and demeanor unsuitable for a leader. After the crisis, Çiller and Mesut Yılmaz discussed about the conflict. When reporting on certain instances of the meeting, the media made reference to her imitations, gestures, and voice tone of the prime minister. When Yılmaz questioned Çiller about how she knew Turkey owned the Kardak rocks, she reportedly responded with a childlike "But they are ours, but they are ours" while stamping her foot. She frequently cut off Yılmaz's sentences. She said, "I'm answering your questions," when he said, "Let me finish my words." Journalists viewed Çiller's street-jumping rope as

childish behavior. The journalist labeled Çiller as impudent and claimed that the Motherland Party thought Çiller was a liar and unreliable person (Y. Doğan, 1996b: 13). Cynically, a journalist in *Cumhuriyet* stated that he admires Çiller's tenacity. He compared Çiller to a long- or high-jumper because she concentrates on a single point on the wall. He stated that she made firm gestures and mimicked, then started to jump with her words. The journalist uses these words to illustrate how incapable she is (Balbay, 1996: 5).

Considering the Falkland issue between the UK and Argentina, Derya Sazak in *Milliyet* compared Çiller to Thatcher. He stressed that the Kardak conflict will increase Thatcher's "Iron Lady" status what Thatcher has (Sazak, 1996: 16). A gendered perspective is displayed when one woman leader reminds another woman leader.

According to the literature, women leaders are perceived as capable when it comes to compassion issues (Alexander and Andersen, 1993; Dolan, 2010; Eagly and Carli, 2003; Shapiro and Mahajan, 1986). Even after she was appointed prime minister of Turkey, Milliyet (1993ı: 13) quoted international media as saying that it was fitting for a woman to hold the position since the world needed "mother's affection" during the order of conflict. Because they were mothers, the media covered both Thatcher and Çiller. The Turkish press also emphasized Çiller's emotions, and behaviors as gender based. Due to these portrayals, she came out as childish and damaged her credibility. Thus, during the times of military crisis, it is possible to see gender-based representations of Thatcher and Çiller.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

An unbreakable linkage exists between politics and media. Nowadays, politicians define themselves via their social media in the way they wish, but the mass media still is considered a bridge between people and politics. Likewise, during the periods this research examines—1993–1996 in Turkey and 1979–1990 in the UK—newspapers were the essential mass media tools for politics. People recognized political actors through news articles and opinion columns. The characteristics that the newspaper coverages of politicians stressed were significant. In the literature, representations vary depending on the features of the candidates. Gender is one of the

most critical elements to making a difference in the language of the representations (Van der Pas and Aaldering, 2020).

The representations of women political actors show specific characteristics based on their gender (Banwart et al., 2003; Bystrom et al., 2001; Kahn, 1991; 1992; 1994; Gidengil and Everitt, 2003; Heldman et al., 2005; Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991; Kahn and Kenney, 1997; Tuchman, 1978). This study comparatively investigates the representations of women leaders in the mass media through the cases of Turkey and the United Kingdom and their first woman prime ministers, namely Tansu Çiller and Margaret Thatcher.

Liberal mainstream (Milliyet, The Times, The Daily Telegraph) and center left (Cumhuriyet, The Guardian) newspapers were selected to present an ideologically comprehensive outlook to readers. Two time periods were selected to investigate the absence and presence of gender-based representations of leaders in newspapers. The previous period refers to the period when they first came to power. This term has been considered appropriate since the two leaders' ascent to power provides fertile ground to analyze the representations through which the mass media introduced the new prime ministers to the public from a gender-based perspective. When women leaders first came to power, the mass media representations provided us with fertile ground to see how gender plays out in the relationship between mass media and women leaders.

Secondly, military crisis periods were considered functional for analyzing the mass media representations of the two women leaders from a gender-based perspective because military issues are perceived as "male issues." Male stereotypes involve military actions (Enloe, 1993; Harrison and Laliberte, 1997; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993). Therefore, it is reasonable to view if the two women leaders' representations as the heads of the two countries are gender-based or not throughout military crises.

The selection of newspaper articles and opinion columns was based on a purposive sampling method. The contents are valuable to study from gender-based perspectives. They were analyzed using the method of qualitative content analysis. The recurring themes journalists repeatedly used in newspaper articles and opinion columns were coded for the initial coming to power and the military crisis periods. Newspaper contents include repeated codes gathered under the themes. It is observed that the themes in this study's findings, in general, verified the literature on the representations of women leaders.

At the end of this study, the research questions and answers that emerge from the findings have been discussed. I discussed the commonalities and differences in the representations of women leaders in Turkish and British mass media. There are differences and parallels between these representations. The study explored how Thatcher and Çiller were represented in their respective liberal mainstream and left-centered media in terms of differences and similarities. This framework reveals any differences or affinities between the left in Turkey and the left in the UK and between the liberal mainstream in Turkey and the liberal mainstream in the UK. This chapter aims to explain these answers and debate them with the literature.

First, three themes stood out in the media representations of the two leaders for their initial rise to power. Newspapers represented the two women leaders as gender-based in the framework of the following themes: "competence and leadership," "appearance and personality," and "relationship with the media." In other words, newspaper content on the leaders' initial rise to power connected their political stances to their gender identity in these three themes.

The first theme regards the newspapers' representations of the two leaders concerning "competence and leadership." Representations revolve around the question of whether Thatcher and Çiller received votes thanks to their gender or whether they "actually deserved" their position. It has been claimed that women candidates have a greater chance of winning votes than men due to their gender in some cases (Ross, 2014; Valenzuela and Correa, 2009). The newspaper coverage of Thatcher and Çiller underlines this possibility. For example, we can see the explanations of the citizens who voted for Thatcher because of her gender: "I shall vote for Mrs Thatcher precisely because she is a woman." (The Guardian, 1979a). Another similar explanation is: "The Queen and Margaret Thatcher may be smug, middle-aged, coiffured, Tory representatives of the species, but they are women, and the two of them holding sway as the country's leaders. It will surely no longer be possible for even the most crassly ignorant and chauvinistic to claim that woman is fit only for the bedroom, the kitchen, and the nursery." (The Guardian, 1979a). These contents were cited from a news article that included citizens explaining how they would vote.

People likened Çiller to Thatcher in the electioneering period and her initial rise to power. A group of Turkish citizens saw the first woman prime minister as a brand-new profile who could solve domestic problems (Orun, 1993: 5). In Turkey, the

code determining whether Çiller received attention because of her gender existed like in the UK. The media occasionally argued that being a woman was one of the reasons why she received attention from citizens. *Milliyet* wrote in a column about the attention she received: "This is neither politics nor partisanship. It is certainly being feminist" (Milliyet, 1993c: 27).

Çiller was also scrutinized about her leadership and competency, hinting at her privileged socioeconomic and cultural background. It was implied that her personal history was "wrong" for Turkey and was an impediment to her leadership abilities and competency. She was a Western woman who did not see beyond Ankara in Anatolia, according to Gümüşbaş in Cumhuriyet (Gümüşbaş, 1993: 5). Another journalist wrote that she was seen to try being close to every area of society but could not quite manage it (Kurtcebe, 1996: 13).

Initially, people perceived Çiller as a fresh profile who would strengthen the party. After she changed the cabinet and passed the jurisdiction law, she received negative attention from politicians who voted for her to become prime minister. Some political actors thought that these radical changes were not Çiller's ideas, and the prime minister acted with other politicians' instructions, which was recurrently emphasized in newspaper columns (Donat, 1993: 2; Milliyet, 1993a: 1; Milliyet, 1993b: 11). Another disadvantage that mass media attributed to Çiller in terms of competency, was that she was inexperienced as she had only been in politics for three years. Therefore, she was seen as inadequate to be the prime minister of Turkey (Cumhuriyet, 1993e: 14).

There are contents in both countries' newspapers suggesting that the two leaders were incompetent because they received votes merely because of their genders and had inadequate political information. *The Guardian*, a left-leaning newspaper, criticized Thatcher and said that if a woman is a prime minister, that person must be a woman who has practical policy ideas for the country, like Shirley Williams, the woman political actor in Labor. Although a woman was elected prime minister, *The Guardian* noted that there were fewer women in parliament and that the conservative party's agenda contained no provisions for women (Lakeman, 1979: 7; The Guardian, 1979b: 11; White, 1979: 28). On the other hand, some newspaper pieces praised Thatcher's leadership and her policies. *The Daily Telegraph* advocated that Thatcher

could make the country more robust and the savior of the country with her planned policies (The Daily Telegraph, 1979: 12).

Concerning the first theme of "competence and leadership," the research results suggest that mass media representations portray the success story of the two women leaders' coming to power as -at least partially- related to the attention they get because of their gender. However, some representations emphasize the two women leaders' policies and professionalism. In the case of the UK, conservative newspapers, which stand closer to Thatcher ideologically, tend to emphasize her as a strong leader. The coverage in *The Guardian*, on the hand, generally underlines the argument that Thatcher's gender does not make her a better leader and that policies are more critical. Ironically, this coverage emphasizes her gender identity while claiming to draw attention to policy debates. The media coverage of Çiller's initial rise to power underlines her gender identity more clearly and less apologetically.

The second dominant theme in the newspapers' representation of the two leaders is "appearance and personality" during their initial rise to power. Both leaders received attention for their appearances, gestures, mimics, emotions, and characters. Reminiscent of the theory of "symbolic annihilation" in the literature, they were in the mass media with female stereotypes (Tuchman, 1978).

Thatcher's speeches received coverage by *The Guardian* for mentioning her emotions. The newspaper associated her emotions with anxiety when she gave a speech in the election campaign 1979 (Aitken and White, 1979: 1). When Çiller met with a male political actor, her moves and gestures received essential attention. They were considered newsworthy (Gökçe, 1993: 27).

Journalists cover women and women political actors in the context of gender, marital and parental status, and physical appearance (Banwart, Bystrom, and Robertson, 2003; Bystrom, Bystrom, et al., 2001; Robertson, Banwart, and Kaid, 2004: 178-179; Falk, 2008; Fowler and Lawless, 2009; Gidengil and Everitt, 2003; Heldman et al., 2005). Instead of highlighting how female politicians tackle political issues, news headlines and images focus on their bodies, private obligations, and even hairstyles (Ross, 2014: 292).

With their outfits, the two female leaders appeared in the media. For example, the press once described Thatcher as wearing a "distinctive blue silk dress" (Morrow, 1979: 1). The media also gave a detailed description of Çiller's look at an engagement

ceremony, stating that she was dressed in a long, low-necked, squamous nightdress in black. According to the reports, Çiller's dress cost 17 million Turkish liras to purchase at the Vakko store, and she cried in the ceremony (Milliyet, 1993h: 11). Additionally, the international media covered Çiller's presidency, and mostly considered newsworthy her gender and beauty. Turkish media praised the image of Çiller in international media, highlighting her beauty and smile (Milliyet, 1993h: 13).

In a news article, for example, a journalist describes Thatcher's different and soft character in her private life and her firm stand in her political life (Cosgrave, 1979: 12; The Daily Telegraph, 1979). In this way, the fact that Thatcher is softer in her private life than in politics points to a place far from leadership and politics. The mentioned soft temperament brings Thatcher closer to female stereotypes.

A crucial factor in the assessment of representation is the manner of addressing. Several studies examine how news stories about women are reported. Typically, they are addressed by their first names or as "Ms." or "Mrs." (Falk, 2008). In the literature, female political actors are disparaged using their first names. It was noted that despite referring to female politicians by their first names, men in politics are often referred to by their surnames. It is seen in the portrayals of the two leaders. Margaret Thatcher, for instance, was known as "Maggie," "Margaret," and "Mrs. T." They engaged these titles both favorably and unfavorably. For instance, Thatcher's economic policies mostly received opposition from the trade unions. However, *The Daily Telegraph* reported that some trade unionists supported Thatcher and cheered "Maggie," "Margaret," and "Hello Maggie" positively (Morrow, 1979a: 1). By this means, *The Daily Telegraph* highlighted the policies of Thatcher could be considered positively by trade unionists, and they could be implemented.

On the other hand, a journalist for *The Guardian* called Thatcher "Maggie, Mrs. T," ridiculed her and offered advice on her leadership (Hillmore, 1979: 12). It states that referring to a female leader by her nickname can be either favorable or harmful. However, despite its positive meaning, gender-based representation is still gender-based.

The name of a woman leader under a male politician, such as "X's daughter," is sometimes mentioned in addition to the woman leader's first name to suggest that the woman politician rose to power because of the male politician (Ross, 2014: 292). Süleyman Demirel, Çiller's predecessor as prime minister, was referred to as "father"

by the Turkish people. Following Demirel, Çiller received mentions from the TPP, the Turkish populace, and the media as a mother, sister, and daughter. She also spoke about being a member of the TPP family. (Cumhuriyet, 1993d: 4; Milliyet, 1993g: 11; Sazak, 1993: 12).

Additionally, women politicians' professional backgrounds and experiences are not reported on in the news, which gives the impression that they have less experience (Falk, 2008). For instance, a researcher visited Thatcher's hometown of Grantham and spoke with locals there about her memories of growing up and her family (Ballantyne, 1979: 1). Thatcher also received attention for her behavior with her family on election day. *The Daily Telegraph* draws attention to how she sat with her family and how her husband supported her by taking her his arm (Morrow, 1979: 1).

Women are frequently addressed only by their first name, frequently photographed in domestic rather than official settings, and frequently criticized by the media for their features. In news stories, women's age and marital status are regularly mentioned (Ross, 2002). The media considered Çiller's wealth and age to be newsworthy. There have been numerous news stories regarding that (Bahçıvan, 1993: 13). Particularly the media comments on her age, wealth, and also underlining her husband's choice to take Çiller's surname, point out gendered dimensions in media representations.

Overall, the research outcomes indicate that mass media representations give significant weight to the "appearance and personality," of the two leaders, in line with the arguments made in the literature on the media representations of women political leaders. The mass media considered their clothes, private lives, and emotions newsworthy. Some newspaper contents represented them with their first names and nicknames and mentioned the political leader as a woman or someone's mother, daughter, or wife. These usages refer to discretizing.

The third theme that stands out in the representations of the two women leaders was their relationship with the media during their initial rise to power. Under this theme, there is a standard main code. This code is that the two leaders utilized media very effectively in their electioneering. When Thatcher started to work on the election campaign, television had just begun to become popular. Newspapers noted Thatcher's effective use of the TV campaign (Fiddick, 1979: 15; The Guardian, 1979b: 3).

In Turkey, the media frequently stressed how well Çiller and the media got along and how this relationship made Çiller the prime minister (Çetinkaya, 1993: 5; Kılıç, 1993: 2; Toker, 1993: 13). I noted in the literature review that media coverage of the candidates had a favorable impact on the voting rate (Aaldering, van der Meer, and Van der Brug, 2018; Kiousis and McCombs, 2004). As a result, the literature was confirmed by the code I discovered in the newspapers.

Consequently, according to the mass media representations of Çiller and Thatcher, these women leaders used the media effectively, and they conducted their media visibility in such a way that they could successfully run an election campaign and receive votes.

The second term analyzed is the military crisis periods for the two leaders: the Kardak Crisis for Turkey and the Falkland Islands War for the United Kingdom. The representations that the leaders received gathered under two themes: "competence and incompetence" and "military leadership and metaphors of motherhood." The media portrayals of Thatcher and Çiller shared many similarities during this investigation. Except for a few alternative codes, these two themes represent the standard codes used during the military crisis.

For the first theme, "competence and incompetence," three dominant codes recur in the media representations of Thatcher and Çiller concerning military crisis: (1) the criticism that the leaders are focusing on a global problem despite domestic problems a lot; (2) the absence of an adequate reason for the crisis and the war; and (3) the perspective that the leaders entered crisis and war to raise their legitimacy domestically. Newspapers with center-left tendencies in Turkey and the United Kingdom usually supported the idea that the two military crises, namely Kardak Crisis and the Falkland Islands War, were unnecessary, and the leaders entered the wars to increase their legitimacy and run away from domestic problems. Differently, Thatcher received negative attention and was found incompetent because she entered a war despite officials who were against the war and who resigned (Aitken, 1982b: 1). People who died because of the Falklands War were referred by *The Guardian* (Jenkins, 1982: 11). Despite the opposition in the UK for the Falklands War, Britain won the war, and Thatcher's legitimacy raised, she was elected for the second time.

According to the media, despite Çiller standing firm and speaking decisively, the US intervention in the Kardak Crisis was critical. Moreover, various

representations occurred, suggesting that Çiller was incompetent in overcoming the conflict in Turkey. In the representations, it was seen that the US government solved the Kardak crisis, not Çiller (Çongar, 1996).

In light of these findings that refer to the theme of "competence and incompetence," the mass media highlighted the domestic problems of the two countries, the causes of the two military crises, and the effect of the two military crises on the leadership of both Thatcher and Çiller during a military crisis. Therefore, they received attention for their general political stance and competency in these crises.

The second central theme is "military leadership and metaphors of motherhood." The media focused on the presidents' motherhood and gender identity when they were in office. For instance, Balbay reported in Cumhuriyet that Kardak was not such a significant place and could only serve as Mert's (the son of Çiller) house (Balbay, 1996). Çiller has been represented as childish while she debated this crisis with Mesut Yılmaz, according to an opinion column in Milliyet (Y. Doğan, 1996a: 13).

In the Falkland Islands War, a left-wing official advised Thatcher to "start behaving like a weeping mother again instead of a warrior queen" due to her firm stance (White, 1982: 2). The word "again" in this sentence shows us that typically Thatcher's behaviors were seen as weeping mother for a group of people.

Apart from the findings that emphasize the two women leaders' political stances during the military crises, some representations that mention their motherhood exist. Additionally, Çiller has been represented as "childish" by some columnists. These types of coverages rarely portray a woman leader as competent.

If I make a general comparison of the representations, it is seen that the newspapers in the United Kindom used more professional language when they praised and criticized. Turkish journalists used rude language not limited by professional journalistic standards when writing about Çiller. These behaviors match the media system theories of the two countries in the literature (Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Kaya and Çakmur, 2010). Hallin and Mancini (2004) stated that countries with the North Atlantic Liberal Model, such as the United Kingdom, have a fair amount of professionalization in journalism. On the other hand, Kaya and Çakmur (2010) stated that Turkey belongs to the Mediterranean/Polarized Pluralist Model category among the models Hallin and Mancini developed. According to Hallin and Mancini (2004),

countries with the Mediterreanean/Polarized Pluralist Model, such as Turkey (Kaya and Çakmur, 2010), have rarely advanced the professionalization of journalism.

Ideological wings are apparent in the UK. Thatcher was a prime minister from the conservative party. *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* are liberal mainstream mass media tools, and they have praised Thatcher because she was the first woman prime minister and of her policies. These two newspapers have always advocated Thatcher's ideas. However, *The Guardian*, the center-left newspaper, criticized as much as possible. While *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* emphasized the victory of the war, *The Guardian* emphasized the losses. Therefore, we can see ideological boundaries. Additionally, it had been observed that the liberal mainstream newspapers (The Times, The Daily Telegraph) were more gender-based than the center-left newspaper (The Guardian).

On the other hand, I have never seen two distinct ideological categories in Turkey. Even Çiller was conservative; we cannot say that *Milliyet*, the liberal mainstream newspaper, supported Çiller, and *Cumhuriyet*, the left center, did not. Gender-based representations are dominant in both newspapers, and both newspapers usually have underlined Çiller's incompetence in a framework of gender stereotypes and gendered representations.

The literature which looks into the media representations of women political leaders points out that gender plays a significant role in those representations. The cases of Margaret Thatcher and Tansu Çiller were used in this study to evaluate this perception, and I have found that this thesis's findings confirm this argument.

I discovered recurrent themes in the two countries' mass media. The Turkish and the British mass media concentrated on the themes of competence, appearance, and the media during Çiller and Thatcher's initial coming to power. Along with these themes, they emphasized the themes of competence and motherhood throughout the military crises.

Thatcher and Çiller's representations support a significant amount of the literature. When Çiller and Thatcher first came to power, there were many commentaries and news reports in the media focusing on how the leaders looked and whether their (and to what extent) their gender played a role in the votes they received. An argument about whether a political figure gained influence as a result of her gender or not makes the representation ironically gender based.

According to Turkish media representations, Çiller wanted to work with those who could fill in for her weaknesses because her political decisions were the ideas of other male politicians. Because of her "Western-style" outlook and education, “elite past," and alleged detachment from Anatolia, several journalists disagreed that it was proper for Çiller to serve as prime minister of the Turkish Republic.

Regarding the leaders' interactions with the media during electioneering, the media's portrayals of Çiller were predominantly gendered. Conversely, Thatcher's media portrayals focused on how she utilized the media to further her political goals during the election season. The results of this thesis show that Thatcher's media portrayals of her interactions with the British mass media throughout the election campaign were less gendered than those of Çiller.

Our findings are broader than those that support the body of literature. As a result, while it is accurate that Thatcher and Çiller’s representations were gendered in the mass media during their early years in office and throughout the military crises, we cannot generalize that to be true of all depictions.

The gender-based portrayals of the two leaders are far more prevalent when they first came to power than during the military crises. While the depictions of the two leaders claimed that their gender was a significant factor in their ascent to power, their mass media representations during the military crises showed that their political stances and choices were the essential factors that received media attention. Despite widespread gender bias in all military issues, portrayals of both leaders during military crises have rarely been focused on gender. Their political positions garnered criticism in general. Both newspapers in Turkey had criticism regarding Çiller. In the British mass media, a newspaper's ideological alignment with Thatcher was a criterion for whether it would validate or criticize Thatcher. While *The Times* praised Thatcher, *The Guardian* mentioned the war casualties.

Nevertheless, throughout the military crises, the two countries' media referred to the leaders through their motherhood roles in their representations. While both leaders garnered media attention for being mothers, the media also portrayed Çiller as "childish."

As all studies have, this thesis has some limitations. This thesis examines a limited sample size. I have selected five newspapers. I reached newspapers archives on the internet. I experienced the obligatory pay walling for some newspaper archives.

As a result, I chose the newspapers that would allow me to access the archive and collect the necessary data for this thesis.

I was able to access *The Daily Telegraph*'s archive for the UK during the time Thatcher first came to power, but I was unable to access the news stories and opinion columns from that newspaper during the Falklands War. Therefore, I utilized The Times, another liberal mainstream newspaper to examine the media representations of Thatcher during the Falklands War.

In my analysis of newspaper articles, I employed a gender-based perspective. It has never been possible to study every single news article and opinion column regarding Thatcher and Çiller, not even from a particular point of view.

Considering these constraints, it is conceivable to carry out this investigation and create broader literature. Beyond this thesis, researchers may design other studies with a wider or different perspective and sample. Academics can compare various newspapers and come up with diverse results. They have the opportunity to analyze their sample from various angles. A male and a female political leader, or various female leaders, can be contrasted. In conclusion, there is potential for a larger body of literature on media representations of woman political leaders.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX: 1 (The List of the Sample)

	NEWSPAPER	TYPE	TITLE	DATE / PAGE
1	Cumhuriyet	News Article	Tansu Çiller, Müslüman üçüncü kadın başbakan	14.06.1993 p.5
2	Cumhuriyet	News Article	Çiller Hodri Meydan Dedi	13.06.1993 p.5
3	Cumhuriyet	News Article	Çiller'in seçim hükümeti	26.06.1993 p.4
4	Cumhuriyet	News Article	Çiller, Demirel ekibini silip attı	26.06.1993 p.5
5	Cumhuriyet	News Article	Çelik tebessümlü Lady Türkiye'nin başbakanı	16.06.1993 p.6
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