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**THE IMAGE OF ANGELA MERKEL IN TURKISH
MEDIA DURING REFUGEE CRISIS**

MASTER THESIS

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ABBREVIATIONS

CDU: Christian Democratic Union of Germany

CSU: Christian Social Union

EU: European Union

SPD: Social Democratic Party of Germany

PEGIDA: Patriotic Europeans against the Islamisation of the Occident

UK: United Kingdom

USA: Unites States of America



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RÉSUMÉ

La chancelière allemande Angela Merkel est devenue un modèle pour toutes les femmes du monde. Après la réunification de l'Allemagne, elle a ouvert une nouvelle ère en devenant la première femme chancelière allemande. Cependant, nous pouvons dire que Merkel est un dirigeant puissant qui a laissé sa marque dans l'histoire comme les modèles de dirigeants les plus réussis tels que la reine Elizabeth I, la reine géorgienne Tamar et la souveraine massagétienne, la reine Tomyris. Le Premier Ministre de Merkel a été un bond en avant qui a ouvert de nouveaux horizons aux femmes allemandes à l'époque moderne, l'Allemagne n'étant pas un pays où la femme dirigeante était normale. Être une femme dirigeante n'était pas une habitude chez les Allemands, car l'Allemagne et l'Est avaient des cultures différentes qui décrivaient la position de la femme de différentes manières. Tandis qu'en Allemagne de l'Est, la politique de l'État visait à aider les mères qui travaillaient, en Allemagne de l'Ouest, la carrière idéale des femmes consistait à être femme au foyer et à élever des enfants. Avant Merkel, de nombreuses petites filles allemandes n'avaient pas encore rêvé d'être une coiffeuse. Cependant, lorsque Merkel est devenue chancelière, de nombreuses Allemandes ont commencé à rêver d'être une femme dirigeante. Tout en gagnant plus de pouvoir, elle est devenue une idole non seulement pour les femmes allemandes, mais aussi pour les autres femmes qui souhaitaient devenir des dirigeantes pour leur pays. Merkel a été comparée à Margaret Thatcher, mais elle a un profil de direction très original, même s'il existe de nombreuses caractéristiques similaires entre la chancelière allemande et Thatcher. Elle sait bien gérer les crises et elle a le don de sauver l'Allemagne et l'Europe des crises économiques. Cependant, les périodes de crise sont également devenues importantes pour tester le pouvoir de Merkel. Merkel est particulièrement touché par ces crises, surtout lorsque les médias parlent de sa performance au cours de ces crises. Les médias attribuent toujours plus de stéréotypes aux femmes dirigeantes qu'aux dirigeants masculins. Les stéréotypes parmi beaucoup d'entre eux, qui incluent une approche sexiste qui vise à nuire à l'image de Merkel aux yeux de l'opinion publique, étant donné que chaque entreprise médiatique a une position politique différente face à la crise des réfugiés et que cette position est devenue plus claire et nette, de sorte que l'image de Merkel se différencie chaque

journal. La crise des réfugiés est la crise la plus importante qui ait désavantagé Merkel alors que le mouvement d'extrême droite était en hausse. La crise des réfugiés a attisé le feu du mouvement d'extrême droite à la hausse ces dernières années.

Au cours de cette période, des préjugés sexistes racistes à propos de Merkel sont apparus alors qu'elle luttait pour persuader l'Allemagne et l'Europe de bien accueillir le flux de réfugiés dans une période d'extrême droite en augmentation sur tout le continent. Ce fut la période où Merkel fut acclamée et sévèrement critiquée. Dans notre étude, nous voulions savoir comment les médias turcs reflétaient l'image d'Angela Merkel pendant cette période de crise. Notre objectif était de déterminer quels stéréotypes étaient les premiers à décrire Angela Merkel dans trois journaux turcs, *Sabah*, *Hürriyet* et *Cumhuriyet*. Tout d'abord, nous avons défini ce qu'est un stéréotype et un stéréotype de genre. Nous avons constaté que les stéréotypes sexistes ont des effets considérables sur la carrière des femmes dirigeantes et leur perception par les médias. Nous avons déterminé les stéréotypes qui avaient été utilisés pour Merkel et les autres femmes dirigeantes dans les médias occidentaux et turcs: Iron Lady, puissante, mère, femme au foyer, Trümmerfrau, masculine, sexy et faible. Ces stéréotypes ont également été utilisés par d'autres femmes dirigeantes. Par exemple, «Iron Lady» est un stéréotype qui a été identifié avec Margaret Thatcher ou sexy est utilisé pour l'ancienne Sénatrice d'Alaska, Sarah Palin, et le masculin pour l'ancienne Première Dame des États-Unis et ancienne Secrétaire aux Affaires étrangères, Hillary Clinton. Par conséquent, nous avons discuté des fonctions des stéréotypes chez les porteurs d'autres femmes dirigeantes. Nous avons ensuite analysé les articles publiés dans trois grands journaux turcs, *Sabah*, *Hürriyet* et *Cumhuriyet*. Nous avons choisi la période au cours de laquelle les médias internationaux ont attiré l'attention sur la crise des réfugiés, la mort d'Aylan Kurdi en septembre 2015 et le compromis sur l'accord entre la Turquie et l'UE en matière de réfugiés, en novembre 2015.

Dans notre thèse, nous avons trouvé ces résultats:

1. Au cours de cette période de trois mois, de septembre 2015 à novembre 2015, les journaux turcs ont montré à Merkel certains filtres construits à partir de leurs réactions face au gouvernement de l'AKP. Ainsi, les journaux turcs ont mis en avant des stéréotypes pour construire une perception de Merkel.

2. Depuis que *Sabah* a tenté de construire une image de Merkel pour renforcer le gouvernement de l'AKP, *Sabah* ne voulait pas utiliser de stéréotypes qui renforcent l'image de Merkel. Cependant, la réflexion de Merkel est puissante parce que *Sabah* veut persuader l'opinion publique turque de l'accord entre le migrant et la puissante position de Merkel. On peut donc dire que *Sabah* avait besoin d'une image puissante de Merkel.

3. Pour *Hürriyet*, Merkel a une image puissante. *Hürriyet* est le journal qui a utilisé le plus de stéréotypes pour Merkel pour décrire le leadership de la chancelière allemande. Nous avons vu que *Hürriyet* accordait une importance particulière au leadership de Merkel. Nous pouvons voir l'effet de la relation entre Doğan Media Company et Axel Springer puisque Axel Springer qui soutient Merkel en Allemagne avait une plus grande part dans Doğan Media Company.

4. Pour *Cumhuriyet*, l'accord sur les migrants était essentiellement un sale accord. Ainsi, l'image de «chercheur d'eux-mêmes» de Merkel était puissante au cours de cette période de trois mois. Pour *Cumhuriyet*, Angela Merkel n'avait pas d'objection à conclure un accord avec le gouvernement de l'AKP qui, selon le journal, "ignore la démocratie".

5. Tandis que *Hürriyet* et *Cumhuriyet* ont décrit le pouvoir de Merkel avec des stéréotypes tels que puissant et Dame de Fer, *Sabah* n'a pas utilisé ces stéréotypes. En effet, *Sabah* a préféré construire une image de Merkel plus puissante que celle d'Erdoğan et du gouvernement AKP.

6. *Hürriyet* et *Cumhuriyet* ont utilisé une image sexiste pour montrer la faiblesse de Merkel dans sa politique d'immigration et ses réalisations dans la politique intérieure de l'Allemagne. Cependant, *Sabah* n'a pas utilisé de méthode pour déshonorer Merkel.

7. Alors que, pour *Hürriyet* et *Cumhuriyet*, Merkel est un modèle pour les dirigeants turcs, *Sabah* ne la présente pas comme telle.

8. Même si les trois journaux décrivent Merkel de manière différente, ils construisent tous une perception différente de Merkel qui est plus ou moins différente de la vraie

Merkel. Notre étude prouve que les périodes de crise sont les périodes les plus fertiles qui entraînent une détérioration de la perception des femmes dirigeantes.

9. Si *Cumhuriyet* a une attitude claire à l'encontre du gouvernement de l'AKP, la position du journal, qui était amicale avant la crise des migrants, a quelque peu changé. Pour *Cumhuriyet*, avant même la crise des migrants, Merkel était une dirigeante puissante.

Les Mots Clés: Angela Merkel, Image d'Angela Merkel, Femmes Politiques, Femmes Leaders, Femmes Dirigeant, Image des Femmes Politique, Image des Femmes Politiques dans le Média, Représentation des Femmes Politiques dans le Média, Crise de Réfugiés, Crise Migratoire, Média Turc

ABSTRACT

German Chancellor Angela Merkel has become a role model for all the women in the world. After the reunification of Germany, she opened a new era by becoming the first female Chancellor of Germany. However, we can say that Merkel is a powerful leader who left her mark in history like the most successful leader models like Queen Elizabeth I., Georgian Queen Tamar and Massagetean ruler Queen Tomyris. Merkel's prime ministry was a quantum leap that opened new horizons for German women in modern times since Germany was not a country where being a woman leader was normal. Being a woman leader was not something accustomed by German people as West and East Germanies had different cultures that described the position of women in different ways. While in East Germany it was a state policy to support working mothers, in Western Germany ideal career for women was to be a housewife and to raise children. Before Merkel, many little German girls' dream was not going beyond being a coiffeur. However, when Merkel became a chancellor, many German girls started to dream about being a woman leader. While gaining more power, she became an idol for not only German women but also for other women who aimed to be a leader for their country. Merkel has been likened to Margaret Thatcher but she has a very original leadership profile even though there are many similar characteristics between German Chancellor and Thatcher. She knows how to manage crises well and she has a great talent to save Germany and Europe from economic crises. However, crisis periods also became important to test the power of Merkel. These crises put Merkel into corner especially when media writes about her performance during these crises. Media attributes always more stereotypes to women leaders than male leaders. The stereotypes among many which include sexist approach that aims to disgrace the image of Merkel in the eyes of public opinion since each media company has different political stance about refugee crisis and the political stance became more clear and sharp, so the image of Merkel differentiated in each newspaper. The refugee crisis has been the most important crisis that served to disfavor Merkel while the far-right movement was on the rise. The refugee crisis fanned the fire of the far-right movement that has been on the rise in recent years.

During this period, some sexist racist prejudgments about Merkel came out when she was struggling to persuade Germany and while Europe to welcome the refugee flow in a period where far-right is on the rise in the entire continent. That was the period when Merkel was acclaimed and harshly criticized. In our study we aimed to find out how Turkish media reflected the image of Angela Merkel during this period of crisis. Our aim was to find out which stereotypes came first to describe Angela Merkel in three Turkish newspapers, *Sabah*, *Hürriyet* and *Cumhuriyet*. Firstly, we have defined what a stereotype and a gender stereotype is. We have found that gender stereotypes have immense effects on women leaders' careers and their perception in media. We have determined stereotypes that were first used for Merkel in Western and Turkish media, Iron Lady, powerful, mother, housewife, Trümmerfrau, masculine, sexy and weak. These stereotypes were used also for other women leaders. For example, "Iron Lady" is a stereotype that was identified with Margaret Thatcher or sexy is used for Alaska's former Senator Sarah Palin, masculine was used for former First Lady of USA and former Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Hillary Clinton. Therefore, we discussed the functions of stereotypes in carriers of other women leaders too. Then, we analyzed the articles published in three major Turkish newspapers, *Sabah*, *Hürriyet* and *Cumhuriyet*. We chose the period when the refugee crises hit the fan in international media, the death of Aylan Kurdi, September 2015 and the compromise about the refugee deal between Turkey and EU, November 2015.

In our thesis we have found these findings:

1. In this three-month period, September 2015-November 2015, Turkish newspapers have shown Merkel through some filters constructed by their reactions to AKP government. So, Turkish newspapers brought forward stereotypes to construct a perception about Merkel.
2. Since *Sabah* tried to construct a Merkel image to reinforce AKP government, *Sabah* did not want to use stereotypes that empowers Merkel's image. However, the reflection of Merkel is powerful because *Sabah* wants to persuade the Turkish opinion public about the migrant agreement with the powerful stance of Merkel. So we can say that *Sabah* needed a powerful Merkel image.

3. For *Hürriyet*, Merkel has a powerful image. *Hürriyet* is the newspaper which used the most stereotypes for Merkel to describe the leadership of German Chancellor. We saw that *Hürriyet* gave a special importance about Merkel's leadership. We can see the effect of relationship between Doğan Media Company and Axel Springer since Axel Springer that supports Merkel in Germany had a big share in Doğan Media Company.

4. For *Cumhuriyet*, the migrant deal was mostly a dirty deal. So, Merkel's "self-seeker" image was powerful in this three-month period. For *Cumhuriyet*, Merkel did not mind make a deal with AKP government that, according to newspaper, "ignores democracy."

5. While *Hürriyet* and *Cumhuriyet* described the power of Merkel with stereotypes like powerful and Iron Lady, *Sabah* did not use these stereotypes. This is because *Sabah* preferred to construct a Merkel image that is more powerful than Erdoğan and AKP government.

6. *Hürriyet* and *Cumhuriyet* used sexist image to show the weakness of Merkel in her migrant policy and her achievements in the domestic politics of Germany. However, *Sabah* did not use a method to disgrace Merkel.

7. While for *Hürriyet* and *Cumhuriyet*, Merkel is a role model for Turkish leaders, *Sabah* does not display Merkel as a role model.

8. Even though the ways that three newspapers describe Merkel are different, they all construct different perceptions about Merkel that are more or less different than real Merkel. Our study proves that the periods of crisis are the most fertile times that cause deteriorated perceptions about women leaders.

9. While *Cumhuriyet* has a clear attitude against AKP government, the newspaper's stance which was friendly before migrant crisis changed a little. For *Cumhuriyet*, even before the migrant crisis Merkel was a powerful leader.

Keywords: Angela Merkel, Image of Angela Merkel, Woman Leader, Image of Woman Political Leader, Image of Woman Leader, Image of Woman Politician, Image of Woman Political Leader in the Media Representation of Woman Political Leader in the Media, Refugee Crisis, Migrant Crisis, Turkish Media



ÖZET

Alman Şansölyesi Angela Merkel dünyadaki tüm kadınlara örnek oldu. Doğu ve Batı Almanya'nın birleşmesinden sonra Merkel ülkenin ilk kadın başbakanı olarak yeni bir dönemi başlattı. Merkel'in dünya tarihinin önemli kadın liderlerinden olan Kraliçe Elizabeth I., Gürcü Kraliçesi Tamar ve İskit hükümdarı Kraliçe Tomris gibi önemli bir kadın lider olduğunu söylememiz mümkün. Merkel'in başbakanlığı, kadınların lider olmasının o dönemde alışlagelmiş bir durum olmadığı dönemde, modern zamanın Alman kadınları için yeni ufuklar açmıştı. Doğu ve Batı Almanya'lar birbirinden farklı kültürlerle sahip olduğundan ve kadının toplumdaki yerini farklı şekillerde tarif edildiğinden kadın lider kavramının her iki Almanya'daki durumu da farklıydı. Doğu Almanya'da çalışan anneleri desteklemek bir devlet politikasıyken Batı Almanya'da ev hanımlığı ve çocuk yetiştirmek kadınlara sunulan ideal rollerdi. Merkel şansölye olunca daha önce sadece kuaför olmayı düşleyen Alman kız çocukları kadın lider olmayı hedeflemeye başlamıştı. Merkel güçlendikçe, sadece Alman kadınlarının gözünde değil aynı zamanda ülkelerinin lideri olmak isteyen dünyanın dört bir yanından kadınlara da ilham oldu. Merkel liderliği boyunca Demir Lady unvanıyla ünlenen Margaret Thatcher'e benzetildi. Her iki lider arasında benzer karakteristikler olsa da Merkel'in kendine özgü bir liderlik profiline sahip olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Krizler özellikle medya Merkel'in performansı hakkında haberler yayımladığında Alman Şansölyesi'ni köşeye sıkıştırdı. Medya her zaman kadın liderlere erkekte liderlere nazaran daha fazla stereotip baskısına maruz bıraktığı bilinen bir gerçek. Birçoğu cinsiyetçi özelliğe sahip olan bu stereotiplerin bazıları medya kuruluşlarının farklı siyasi eğilimlere ve göçmen krizine olan farklı tutumlara sahip olması nedeniyle Merkel'in imajını kamuoyunun gözünde düşürmeye yönelik kullanılabiliyor. Stereotiplerin Merkel'in imajına hizmet ettiği durumlar da söz konusu. Medya kuruluşlarının siyasi eğilimleri kriz zamanlarında daha keskin bir niteliğe büründüğünden Türk gazetelerinde Merkel imajının bu dönemde farklılaştığını görüyoruz.

Göçmen krizi son yıllarda büyük hız kazanarak aşırı sağın ateşini harlamıştı. Almanya'da aşırı sağ yükselişteyken göçmen krizi aşırı sağcıların elinde Merkel'in imajını aşağıya çekmeye hizmet eden en önemli bir bahane oldu.

Aşırı sağın yükselişte olduğu bu dönem boyunca Almanya ve diğer Avrupa ülkelerini göçmenleri kabul etmek konusunda ikna etmeye çalışan Merkel hakkında Avrupa medyasında cinsiyetçi ve ırkçı önyargıların çıktığını görüyoruz. Bu dönemde Merkel'in hem alkışlandığı hem de hunharca eleştirildiği bir zaman dilimi olarak birçok zıtlık barındırıyor.

Çalışmamızda Türk medyasının Angela Merkel'in imajını nasıl yansıttığını bulmayı hedefledik. Amacımız öncelikle Türkiye'nin başlıca gazeteleri olan *Sabah*, *Hürriyet* ve *Cumhuriyet*'te Angela Merkel'in hangi stereotipler ve cinsiyetçi önyargılarla tanımlandığını bulmaktır. Öncelikle stereotip ve cinsiyetçi stereotipin ne anlama geldiğini tanımladık. Cinsiyetçi stereotiplerin kadın liderlerin kariyerlerinde ve medya tarafından algılanmalarında büyük bir etkisi olduğunu gördük. Merkel ve başka kadın liderler için Batı ve Türk medyasında Demir Lady, güçlü, anne, ev hanımı, zayıf, Trümmerfrau, seksi ve erkeksi gibi stereotipler kullanıldığını tespit ettik. Bu stereotiplerin başka kadın liderler için kullanıldığını tespit ettik. Alaska'nın eski Senatörü Sarah Palin için seksi, ABD eski Dışişleri bakanı ve eski First Lady Hillary Clinton için erkeksi gibi stereotiplerin kullanıldığını belirledik. Bu stereotiplerin kadın liderlerin kariyerlerine olan etkisini karşılaştırmalı olarak tartıştık. Ardından *Sabah*, *Cumhuriyet* ve *Hürriyet*'te göçmen krizi sırasında Merkel hakkında çıkan haberleri analiz ettik. Bunun için ise göçmen krizinin medyada en çok konuşulduğu Aylan Kürdi'nin öldüğü Eylül 2015 ile Türkiye ile AB'nin anlaşamaya vardığı Kasım 2015 dönemini seçtik.

Tezimizde aşağıdaki bulgulara ulaştık:

1. Eylül 2015-Kasım 2015 arasındaki üç aylık dönemde, *Sabah*, *Hürriyet* ve *Cumhuriyet* AKP hükümetine karşı refleksi neticesinde oluşmuş filtreler ışığında Merkel imajları çizdi. Bu nedenle Türk gazeteleri, Merkel hakkında algılar oluşturmak için bir takım stereotipler kullandı.

2. *Hürriyet* ve *Cumhuriyet* Merkel'in gücünü güçlü ve Demir Lady gibi stereotiplerle tasvir ederken, *Sabah* bu stereotipleri kullanmadı. *Sabah* AKP hükümetinin imajını güçlendirmek için bir Merkel imajı oluşturmak istediği için Merkel'i Erdoğan'dan

daha güçlü gösterecek stereotipleri kullanmadı. Ancak bu dönemde yine de gerek Merkel'e saygıdeğer bir şekilde haberlerinde yer vermesi, gerekse kullandığı fotoğraflarla güçlü bir Merkel imajı çizmeyi yeğledi. Çünkü *Sabah* Türk kamuoyunu göçmen krizi konusunda ikna etmek için güçlü bir Merkel imajına ihtiyaç duymuştu.

3. *Hürriyet* için Merkel de güçlü bir imaja sahip. Bu dönemde *Hürriyet* diğer gazetelere nazaran, Merkel'in liderliğini tasvir etmek için en fazla stereotipi kullanan gazete olarak karşımıza çıkıyor. *Hürriyet*'in Merkel'in liderliğine özel bir önem verdiğini görüyoruz. Bu durumda *Hürriyet*'in dahil olduğu Doğan Medyada Grup ile Merkel'e destek veren ve Doğan Medya'da hissesi olan Alman medya grubu Axel Springer arasındaki ilişkinin etkisini görüyoruz.

4. *Cumhuriyet* için Türkiye ve AB'nin imzaladığı göçmen anlaşması daha çok kirli bir anlaşma. Bu nedenle Merkel, *Cumhuriyet* tarafından bu dönemde çıkarıcı bir kimlikle resmediliyor. *Cumhuriyet*'e göre Merkel, "demokrasiyi umursamadığını" düşündüğü AKP hükümeti ile kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda anlaşma yapmaktan çekinmiyor.

6. *Hürriyet* ve *Cumhuriyet* Merkel'in göçmen politikasında güçsüzlüğünü göstermek için Batı medyasının kullandığı cinsiyetçi ve ırkçı imajlar yayımladı. Ancak *Sabah* Merkel'i güçsüz göstermek için böyle bir yöntemle başvurmadı.

7. *Hürriyet* ve *Cumhuriyet* için Merkel, Türk liderler için bir rol model eşkil ederken, *Sabah* Merkel'i bir rol model olarak göstermedi.

8. Her üç gazetenin de Merkel'i tasvir etme yöntemleri farklı olsa da, bu gazetelerin hepsi gerek Merkel'e az ya da çok uzak başka Merkel imajları üretti. Çalışmamız kriz zamanlarının kadın liderler hakkında çarpıtılmış algılar oluşturmak için en elverişli dönemlerden biri olduğunu kanıtladı.

9. Göçmen krizi sırasında *Cumhuriyet*, AKP hükümetine karşı net bir tavra sahipken, gazetenin Merkel'e karşı olsun dostane tavrının biraz değiştiğini görüyoruz. *Cumhuriyet* için Merkel göçmen krizi öncesi demokrasiyi korumadaki çabalarıyla ön plandayken, göçmen krizi sırasında *Cumhuriyet* daha çıkarıcı bir Merkel portresi çiziyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Angela Merkel, Angela Merkel’in İmajı, Kadın Lider, Kadın Liderin İmajı, Kadın Liderin Medyadaki İmajı, Kadın Liderin Medyadaki Temsili, Mülteci Krizi, Göçmen Krizi, Türk Medyası



INTRODUCTION

German Chancellor Angela Merkel is one of the most powerful woman leaders of the modern times in the political history. In a world where the leadership is identified with male leaders, Merkel had a long way through leaderships. There have been important women leaders before the modern era like Queen Elizabeth 1, Tzarina Katherina II. of Russia, Georgian Queen Tamar or The Ruler of Scythian pastoral-nomadic confederation Massagetae, Tomyris. These women leaders left their mark in national and global history and prove themselves as women leaders. However, they were more advantageous, specially the Queen Tamar and Queen Tomyris as they were born into a society where it was very normal for a woman to become the only ruler of its own society even without having a king husband. If their husband or father were the ruler, their opinion was always taken into consideration. However, in a modern policy leaders need media to express themselves and persuade national and global public opinion. Woman leaders have always difficulties because of stereotypes in media reflected through societies. However, there is another thing more difficult than this: The fact that media focuses on the stereotypes and prejudgements to create images about women leaders. We can call this effect as a “distorting mirror effect” that causes altered representations of women leaders. Therefore, within this conceptual frame, we can say that woman leaders are represented in media apart from who they are. Distorting mirror effect makes a serious filtration so that readers become unaware of real particularities that provide Merkel to advance in her career. For example, being an important physician or coming from an immigrant family has often been pushed into the background about Merkel.

In the times of crisis, the distorting mirror effects of media increases. The migrant crisis that shook the whole world with the death of Aylan Kürdi, was a great opportunity to observe the distorting effect of media on the image of leaders. German Chancellor Angela Merkel is the focus of our thesis since she has played an important role on the resolution of migrant crisis. Angela Merkel who is now in her last term of office and has declared that she would never be a candidate again, has been shown as the most powerful woman and one of the most powerful leaders many times. However, the process starting with Aylan Kürdi during Merkel’s leadership was more actively

interrogated like in Euro crisis during which Merkel achieved an important success that strengthened her authority. However, the refugee crisis had more risks and danger for Merkel's political career as it concerns the domestic German policy more than the Euro crisis. Hence, on one hand, Merkel had to struggle to maintain the balance between left and right movements and to follow a policy that would persuade all while carrying out the process for the refugees. On the other hand, Merkel had to persuade the public opinion of other countries like Turkey and other European countries that were not so eager to welcome refugees like Turkey. In a socio-political ambiance that has many variants, many different leader perceptions may come out and media can double these perceptions which may cause false stereotypes and misperceptions.

Merkel, who confessed that she was influenced very deeply by this death, began to change her migrant policy and a new process started between Turkey and European countries for which Angela Merkel is like a spokesperson and one of the most important European leaders. So, in this period, the migrant crisis influenced both Turkey and Europe and there is a strong negotiation between Turkish leaders and Angela Merkel who represents Europe. So, our work focuses on the perceptions about Merkel in Turkish media in this period.

Personally, my interest to study the image of Merkel in Turkish media started while I was writing articles about the role of women leaders and women in business life during my post as a world news editor in *Sabah* and *Daily Sabah* newspapers. As I follow up my studies in Caucasus and Georgian history as a part of my post, Queen Tamar who ruled over the Georgian Golden Age attracted my attention so much as well. So when it comes to my master thesis, I would like to study a woman leader that had a deep effect in modern political history. Therefore, I wanted to study the image of Merkel as an opportunity to look closer to the powerful woman leader that has a big effect not only on her own country but on all Europe and the entire world.

Female and male leaders are perceived and described differently by media. Each candidate has some capabilities for leadership. However, when they are presented in the media, we see some sexist filters or traditional stereotypes that handicap us to see real capabilities of these leaders. Women leaders usually are unequally represented by

media. According to Deal and Stevenson¹ that a number of studies have noted a generally held negative perception of women as leaders. Stereotypes are used to portray women as less capable leaders than men.

If the leader is a woman, media uses a manipulative effect more than they use for male leaders. In this process, we see that media uses stereotypes. What is a stereotype? Stereotypes constitute a person's set of expectations about a social group's characteristics, including traits, behaviors and roles. Zsuzsanna Ajtony brings light the very first definition of stereotype while making a brief summary of the recent literature on stereotype according to social identity theory: "The term 'stereotype' initially referred to a printing stamp used to make multiple copies from a single model or mould. However, the journalist Walter Lippman adopted the term in his celebrated 1922 book entitled *Public Opinion* as a means of describing the way society set about categorizing people, "*stamping human beings with a set of characteristics – as well.*"² American Economist and Historian Robert Heilbroner says that actually, "*stereotypes are one way in which we 'define' the world in order to see it.*"³

Gordon B. Moskowitz takes the definition of stereotype of Hamilton & Trolier⁴ as starting his article called "On the Control Over Stereotype Activation and Stereotype Inhibition": "*A stereotype is a mental representation, "a cognitive structure that contains the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs, and expectations about a human group"*"⁵ Devine proposed that "*stereotypes become over-learned due to their societal prevalence, and are automatically activated upon encounters with individual members of stereotyped groups.*"⁶

¹ Deal and Stevenson, 1998; Powell and Butterfield, 1979, 1989; Schein, 1973, 1975; Schein and Davidson, 1993 cited in Pounder and Coleman, 2002).

² Zsuzsanna Ajtony, "Ethnic Stereotypes – Impediments or Enhancers of Social Cognition?" <http://www.acta.sapientia.ro/acta-philo/C3-2/Philo32-2.pdf>, p. 137

³ Heilbroner, Robert L. "Don't Let Stereotypes Warp Your Judgement." *We Are America: A Thematic Reader and Guide To Writing*. 6th ed. Ed. Anna Joy. Boston: Wadsworth, 2008. 372-375. Print. http://www.novamil.org/sites/novamil.org/files/dont-let-stereotypes-warp-your_1pg.pdf

⁴ D.L. Hamilton, ., & T.K. Trolier Stereotypes and stereotyping: An overview of the cognitive approach. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism*, 1986 Orlando, FL: Academic Press., p. 133

⁵ Gordon B. Moskowitz, "On the Control Over Stereotype Activation and Stereotype Inhibition", *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, Lehigh University, Pennsylvania, p. 140

⁶ Gabriel A. Radvansky, David E. Copeland, and William von Hippel, "Stereotype Activation, Inhibition, and Aging", <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2805127/#!po=3.06122>, For more information please see: Devine PG, "Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 1989;56:5–18.

Moskowitz says that stereotypes serve some psychological goals on which psychologists focus:

- “1. *The desire to feel superior to others;*
2. *The wish to attain and maintain social, physical, political, and economic power over others*
3. *Protect oneself and one’s loved ones from what seems alien, strange, and threatening.”*⁷

Moskowitz tells that even there are these goals, psychologists focus on a less nefarious goal that makes stereotyping so frequent and common even for people who do not fear others, or wish to dominate others, or use others to boost one’s self-esteem via social comparison. He says that this goal is for making meaning /sense of the vast information in social life. Moskowitz attracts our attention to the definition of stereotype of Lipmann⁸ which first introduced the definition of stereotype. Lipmann says that it has been associated with a goal of making sense of the world in a manner that is efficient and economical with one’s mental energy and time. Personal goals are used to activate stereotypes activation. According to John Norcross, goal is "a mental representation of a desired outcome that a person is committed to". Moskowitz says that “*many goals which stimulates interpersonal interactions use stereotypes activations as a responsible compatible with the goal.*”⁹ So, it facilitates the goal of foreign impressions of others quickly and efficiently. According to him, “*goals govern if a person is categorized, as well as how a person is categorized*”¹⁰. He says that the categories that are used control or stop stereotype activation associated with competing categories. If social category was not used, the stereotype activation would be prevented as a result.

In social psychology, a stereotype is an over-generalized belief about a particular category of people.¹¹ Stereotypes are generalized because one assumes that the

⁷ Moskowitz, **Op.cit.**

⁸ W. Lippmann, Public Opinion. New York: Macmillan, 1922

⁹ Moskowitz, **Ibid.**

¹⁰ Moskowitz, **op.cit.**, p. 147

¹¹ Cardwell, Mike, **Dictionary of Psychology**. Fitzroy Dearborn, Chicago, 1999

stereotype is true for each individual person in the category.¹² So, in this perspective, stereotypes can be defined also as the categorical associations that perceivers make for group members based on their membership. Therefore, stereotypes seem to be the ways people justify and simplify the society. Despite being cognitive in form, stereotypes are interlocked with affect and behavior.

Z. Kunda, Paul G. Davies, Barbara D. Adams, and Steven J. Spencer tell that even very minimal exposure to members of a stereotyped group can automatically bring to mind the stereotype and attitude associated with that group and can prompt stereotype-consistent behavior. Even very brief exposure (315 ms) to photographs of Black faces is enough for many White participants to automatically activate negative affect about Blacks.¹³

Such generalizations may be useful when making quick decisions as in stereotyping process we also see prejudice and discrimination together. This is because stereotypes are usually based on appearance, race, and gender that are used for labeling people. So, they may be erroneous when applied to particular individuals.

So, we have to talk about different aspects of stereotypes which are used to categorize people in order to be able to see how stereotypes cause prejudice and discrimination. According to Lippman, there are four aspects of stereotypes¹⁴:

1. Simple: simpler than reality, but also often capable of being summarized in only two or three sentences;
2. Acquired second hand: people acquire (and absorb) stereotypes from cultural mediators rather than from their own experience.

¹² Z. Kunda, Paul G. Davies, Barbara D. Adams, and Steven J. Spencer, "The Dynamic Time Course of Stereotype Activation: Activation, Dissipation, and Resurrection" https://www.researchgate.net/publication/11460652_The_Dynamic_Time_Course_of_Stereotype_Activation_Activation_Dissipation_and_Resurrection?enrichId=rgreq-d2161a8f1db7f613147a6df851d3fdd7-XXX&enrichSource=Y292ZXJQYWdlOzExNDYwNjUyO0FTOjMwNDU2MDY2NzU5NDc1MkAxNDQ5NjI0MzI5NDQ2&el=1_x_3&_esc=publicationCoverPdf

¹³ **Ibid.**

¹⁴ W. Lippmann, W., *Public Opinion*. New York: Macmillan. And Zsuzsanna AJTONY, "Ethnic Stereotypes – Impediments or Enhancers of Social Cognition?", 1922, <http://www.acta.sapientia.ro/acta-philo/C3-2/Philo32-2.pdf>

3. Erroneous: all stereotypes are false. Some are less false than others, and some are less harmful than others. There are attempts to claim that each individual in a certain group shares a set of common qualities. Since an individual is different from all other individuals by definition, stereotypes are a logical impossibility.

4. Resistant to change: even after several decades, old stereotypes still color our perception.

If we consider all these aspects in social psychological context, we can understand better the ways how stereotypes appear and integrate into perception processes. Ruth Amossy focuses on the function of a stereotype in social psychology. She sees the stereotype as an element mediating the relationship of the members of a group to the reality. She says that "*preconceived and preconstructed, itself rooted in the collective (group, society, culture)*"¹⁵.

According to Amossy, three features characterize this conception of "stereotypes". In the first place, they are collective and trivialized images specific to a particular social category or culture. The second character concerns the mode of appearance and conservation of the units in question. They are presented as entities reduced to one or two words ("the American senator", p.38, "the grisette", p.59 sv, in R. Amossy), frozen by an enunciative practice - that of the subjects individual or collective.

Stereotyping is like a mechanism that begins to work when we see an object belonging to a certain category. In their article "What Does It Take to Activate Stereotypes? Simple Primes Don't Seem Enough" Florian Müller and Klaus Rothermund, tell how stereotypes are activated, that is to say how stereotyping process starts: "*The idea that stereotypes are activated automatically upon encountering a member of a social category is taken for granted by many researchers and has also found its way into standard Social Psychology textbooks.*"¹⁶

Müller and Rothermund took a citation from Gilbert and Hixon (1991) pointing out: "*Many theorists have assumed that the activation of a stereotype is an automatic and inevitable consequence of encountering the object of that stereotype. For instance,*

¹⁵ Jean- Jacques Vincensini, **D'une Distinction Préalable à la Définition des Stéréotypes Anthropologiques**, Presses Universitaires de France, p.2

¹⁶ Florian Müller and Klaus Rothermund, "What Does It Take to Activate Stereotypes? Simple Primes Don't Seem Enough", A Replication of Stereotype Activation (Banaji & Hardin, 1996; Blair & Banaji, 1996

Allport (1954, p. 21) argued that 'Every event has certain marks that serve as a cue to bring the category of prejudgment into action....' A person with dark brown skin will activate whatever concept of Negro is dominant in our mind.''¹⁷

Müller and Rothermund give the details of encountering an object or person that leads us to produce stereotypes. They say there are three steps in activation of a stereotype and their impact on judgment and behavior. They say activation of stereotypes and their subsequent impact on judgment and behavior can be conceptualized as a three-step process: "First, a person is categorized as a member of a social group. Second, traits associated with this category are activated. And, third, judgment of and behavior toward the target person are influenced by these activated traits."¹⁸

Moskowitz says once a person has categorized another person as belonging to a particular social group, stereotype activation is one specific type of response that is elicited when pursuing one type of goal relating to that person."¹⁹

In media we can see that stereotypes can be even more powerful than in daily life to describe women politicians. "Female leaders will likely be refused by persons with traditional gender role attitudes, preferring women to be housewives and mothers. Because traditional people endorse traditional role allocation between women and men, one could assume that these persons feel uncomfortable about women in high-status position."²⁰ According to Gaye Tuchman and her colleagues, "These traditional gender stereotypes when applied to work settings, affect subordinates' perceptions of female leaders."²¹ They published their studies about women's media representation in popular media. They concluded that there is a gender difference in media coverage and construction.²²

According to Made (2008), women in politics are in the news, when:

a) They are involved in a controversy or scandal;

¹⁷ Ibid. For more information please: Gilbert, D. T., & Hixon, J. (1991). The trouble of thinking: Activation and application of stereotypic beliefs. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 60, pp.509–517.

¹⁸ Florian Müller and Klaus Rothermund, **op.cit.**, p.87

¹⁹ Moskowitz, **op.cit.**, p. 147

²⁰ Steven H. Appelbaum, Lynda Audet, Joanne C. Miller, (2003) "Gender and leadership? Leadership and gender? A journey through the landscape of theories", *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, Vol. 24 Issue: 1, pp.43-51, <https://doi.org/10.1108/01437730310457320>

²¹ **Ibid.**

²² Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: "A Study in the Construction of Reality"*. The Free Press, New York, 1978

- b) Fighting with each other;
- c) They are identified with a 'man of power'; and
- d) They do something that is 'extraordinary' often interpreted by the media as 'being tough' like men instead of 'soft.'

All these stereotypes serve to deconstruct an objectivity that helps us to consider the real value of professional capacities of leaders. For example, the objectivity is necessary to compare male and female leaders in the same election. The objectivity is also necessary to consider the failures of leaders as sexist stereotypes can lead us to think that failure of a leader depends on his/her gender. Since being a male is accepted like a precondition for being a successful leader, male leaders are taken in many times as a reference for women leaders. Eagly, Karau, and Makhijani (1995) find that "*men were more effective than women in leadership roles that were defined in more masculine terms.*"²³ Competitiveness is also considered like a leadership trait depending on sex in media. "*It has been suggested that female politicians are less competent than their male counterparts*"²⁴. Many leadership characteristics are shown as innate in men as Serini, Powers and Johnson shows us: "*In contrast to male politicians who are often portrayed as dynamic, female politicians are often represented as passive*"²⁵. Gidendilll and Everith say the coverage of male and female politicians is quite different using stereotypes: "*Gendered conventions are reflected in the media and in return media reports are shaped by such conventions. Research has showed that the media have tended to strongly differentiate the coverage of male and female politicians, using and reinforcing gender stereotypes.*"²⁶ In the next part of our work, we will give expanded place to gender stereotypes.

²³ Madison Schramm and Alexandra Stark, **Peacemakers or Iron Ladies? A Cross National Study of Gender and International Conflict**, Harvard, Massachusetts, 2017, http://people.fas.harvard.edu/~jkertzer/HISC2017/schedule/papers/Schramm_Stark.pdf

²⁴ Elisabeth Gidengil, Joanna Everitt, "Metaphors and Misrepresentation Gendered Mediation in News Coverage of the 1993 Canadian Leaders' Debates", New York, 1999 <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1081180X99004001005>

²⁵ Shirley a Serini, Angela Powers and Susan Johnson, "Of Horse Race and Policy Issues: A Study of Gender in Coverage of a Gubernatorial Election by two Major Metropolitan Newspapers", Journalism and Mass Communicaitons, London, 1998

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254120153_Of_Horse_Race_and_Policy_Issues_A_Study_of_Gender_in_Coverage_of_a_Gubernatorial_Election_by_two_Major_Metropolitan_Newspapers

²⁶ Sylvia Jaworska and Pierre Iarrivée, "Women, power and the media: Assessing the bias", Journal of Pragmatics, Amsterdam, 2011

https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Sylvia_Jaworska/publication/251586642_Women_power_and_t he_media_Assessing_the_bias/links/5a12f94fa6fdcc717b5228f4/Women-power-and-the-media-Assessing-the-bias.pdf?origin=publication_detail

When analyzing the perception of Merkel by Turkish media, we should also focus on the objectivity of the coverage. This is because some factors such as relations between Germany and Turkey, crisis periods, conflicts and disagreements about migrant crisis between the two countries can have a large effect on the perception of Merkel. Women leaders and male leaders are considered and perceived differently in these critical periods among countries. According to a study led by Rockefeller Foundation in 2016, women leaders are more likely to be blamed in the time of crisis²⁷. According to a Pew research study, American voters want female candidates to be not only “qualified” but also “likable”. However, they don’t look for this trait for male candidates. So, as Merkel is a woman leader, in a crisis period like migrant crisis that concerns Turkey considerably, there may be perceptions that may be not true for Merkel’s real leadership traits, her achievements and failures in the times of crisis. Another point is that traditional stereotypes can be used to describe Merkel’s leadership. We will investigate whether these stereotypes are used in a negative or positive way in our thesis. For example, motherhood is an adjective that can be used in negative or positive ways. The vice president candidate Sarah Palin was a mother of a down syndrome child and we see that some radio presenters interrogate if Palin can be successful in her vice presidency because of her child in media. She was facing severe criticism about parenting 5 children and being a candidate for vice presidency at the same time. This is because some was thinking that she would not able to be a good mother if she was elected vice president: *“With five children, including a 5-month-old infant with Down syndrome, the Republican vice presidential nominee faces enormous challenges as the ultimate working mother. And with her unmarried daughter now pregnant, she will have the additional task of being a grandparent.”*²⁸

However, we can say that if a woman leader is qualified as the “mother of a nation” even if she is not a mother, this can be a sign which shows that this woman is a successful leader as shown in an article published in *The Guardian*. “Mutti” (mother in German) Merkel is shown like an “iron lady” for her protective stance for Germany

²⁷Busiess Insider, “When Companies are in crisis, Female CEOs are More Likely to be Blamed than Male CEOs”, 2016, <http://www.businessinsider.com/female-ceos-blamed-company-scandals-2016-11>

²⁸ Susan Donaldson James, “Sarah Palin's Parenting Choices Under Fire”, ABC, 03.09.2008 <https://abcnews.go.com/Business/story?id=5710888&page=1>

during the Brexit process.²⁹ However, the adjective "mutti" can be used in a situation that emphasizes the failure of Merkel in politics of multiculturalism³⁰

Negative criticisms about being a mother while being a leader can be listed as follows:

A. Saying that motherhood is the real talk of women so she cannot be a successful leader.

B. Saying a mother cannot be a good leader because she will not have enough time to do good jobs for her leadership.

Positive ways:

A. Saying a good woman leader is embracing her nation or migrants like a mother even though she is not a mother.

Traditional gender stereotypes are derived from some patriarchal values. Societies where patriarchal values are dominant try to accommodate seeing women as women leaders. Even if we cannot say all Turkey is under the effect of a strong patriarchy, as patriarchy may not have the same power in every part of Turkey, we can see that some patriarchal acceptations exist like gender roles but with some changes. According to Ceylan Engin and Heili Pars, the patriarchal attitudes of Turkey is stronger than that is in 1990s. However, the effect of religion has diminished on politics while the effect of political conservatism has remained stable.³¹ So, women leaders are often seen by some filters which are determined by traditional female roles like being a mother or some feminine traits like being seductive while men are described often by their professional aspects. Even men are described with their personal traits originated from social construction that has been already identified by archetype leadership models. And these models are used for female leaders, which causes problems in the perception of female leaders or their representation in media. In our research, we are investigating whether Merkel is perceived through these traditional stereotypes. This is because when women leaders try to achieve their task, they can be assessed based on the criteria

²⁹ The Celebrate, "Inside the World of Ruthless Mutti Merkel Europe's Iron Lady", 05.05.2017, <http://www.thecerebrate.com/inside-the-world-of-ruthless-mutti-merkel-europes-iron-lady/>

³⁰ Voxeurope, "GERMANY: Mutti Merkel Handbags Multikulti", 18.10.2010 <https://voxeurope.eu/en/content/article/364091-mutti-merkel-handbags-multikulti>

³¹ Ceylan Engin and Heili Pars, "Patriarchal Attitudes in Turkey 1990–2011: The Influence of Religion and Political Conservatism", Oxford, London, 2018, <https://academic.oup.com/sp/advance-article-abstract/doi/10.1093/sp/jxx021/4823414>

described by patriarchal culture or in comparison with male leaders. This is because public space is determined by male dominance and male rules which can be translated as a patriarchal system. According to Walby, *“patriarchy is defined by as a system of attitudes and structures which men hold power over women or patriarchy can be defined as males holding power over women, and subsequently creating structures that prevent women from accessing power or resources.”*³²

There are many traits that are attributed to both women and men political leaders. While women leaders are aligned with peace, the leaders who declared war were mostly men. Professor of Psychology Steven Pinker (2011) writes, *“over the long sweep of history, women have been and will be a pacifying force. Traditional war is a man’s game: tribal women never band together to raid neighboring villages.”*³³ We see that such way of thinking serves to the emergence of stereotypes.

In the perception of leaders which constitutes the main theme of our thesis, a woman leader can be perceived with particularities that are attributed to male leaders. So, some successful women leaders can be peeled of their femininity in the eyes of people because they try to seem “successful”. Madison Schramm and Alexandra Stark say that women leaders tend to have masculine behaviors to prove their success in the eyes of the political elite: *“In typical social contexts, post-structural feminist theory suggests that women tend to perform stereotypically feminine gendered traits while men tend to perform masculine ones.”*³⁴

We see a lot of photos in which Merkel³⁵ and Tansu Çiller³⁶ wear soldier uniforms and they are together with soldiers. As there are more male leaders than female leaders in the history, the concept of a leader can be identified mostly with men than women. Women can be seen less potent to be a successful leader when they are much feminine. However, when they seem to have masculine traits and appearance, they are criticized.

³² Sylvia Walby, "Theorizing Patriarchy", Oxford, London, 1990,
<https://libcom.org/files/Theorizing%20Patriarchy%20-%20Sylvia%20Walby.pdf>

³³ Pinker, Steven. "The Better Angels of our Nature: The Decline of Violence in History and its Causes" Penguin UK, 2011, p. 527

³⁴ Madison Schramm and Alexandra Stark, "Peacemakers or Iron Ladies? A Cross National Study of Gender and International Conflict", Harvard, Massachusetts, 2017,
http://people.fas.harvard.edu/~jkertzer/HISC2017/schedule/papers/Schramm_Stark.pdf

³⁵ <https://www.bundestkanzlerin.de/ContentArchiv/EN/Archiv17/Reiseberichte/af-bk-in-afghanistan.html>

³⁶ <https://www.ilkehaber.com/Tansu-Çiller-haberleri.htm>

Whether women leaders are successful or unsuccessful, they face different qualifications made by media or by people. For example, when she is successful, she can be as powerful as men, but when unsuccessful, it is because “she is a woman in men's world”.

There are some perceptions attributed to female leaders, like being mother, calm, weak or seductive. “Being eager to succeed, competent, clear and straight forward” are the qualifications used to describe men leaders. Civara and Fisk tell that these kinds of perceptions derive from gender based stereotypes: *“Two of the major dimensions that people use in evaluating others are competency and like ability/warmth. Gender stereotypes are directly related to these dimensions, with men in general being viewed as more competent than women and women in general being viewed as more warm and like able than men.”*³⁷

Sudan Basow says that because of stereotypes women are not seen effective leaders and so they are underrepresented: *“Women are underrepresented in leadership positions in all professions, including politics, despite evidence that they can be effective leaders (Eagly, 2007).”*³⁸ Due to gender stereotypes, however, women leaders are often not thought of or perceived as effective. *“Cultural expectations of women (to be nurturing, sensitive, kind) only partially overlap with cultural expectations of leaders (to be assertive, dominant, competent); in contrast, cultural expectations of men overlap nearly completely with expectations of leaders.”*³⁹

There are some perceptions attributed to male leaders like strong, successful, hard etc. but that are not valid in every case. There can be some cases like Margaret Thatcher or Theresa May who are in contradiction with “traditional and stereotypes perception of women leaders. This is because Margaret Thatcher was the pioneer of the “Iron Lady” concept. This adjective is used for Merkel as well:

³⁷ (Cikara&:Fiske,2009;Fiske,Cuddy,Glick,&: Xu, 2002)

³⁸ Alice Eagly and Linda Carli, " Through the Labyrinth: The Truth About How Women Become Leaders", Harvard Business Press, Massachusetts, 2007

³⁹ Susan A. Basow, "Evolution of Female Leaders: Stereotypes, Prejudice and Discrimination", Lafayette, <https://dspace.lafayette.edu/bitstream/handle/10385/2199/Basow-WhyCongressNeedsWomen-2016.pdf?sequence=1>

“Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the UK, the original ‘iron lady,’ is commonly understood as the militaristic exception to the rule of peaceful women leaders.”⁴⁰

Our research focuses on the image of Angela Merkel in Turkish media and we are trying to find the answers of this question: “Does Turkish media describe Merkel like a strong leader or weak leader during migrant crisis? What kinds of stereotypes are used by Turkish Media to construct perceptions about Merkel during this crisis?”

We will advance on our way to find answers through the following hypothesis:

1. Merkel is perceived in ambivalence that is constituted by her power derived from her leadership statue and her femininity that patriarchal culture interpreted as a source of weakness in the Turkish media.
2. I created the hypothesis that the way Merkel is shown in Turkish media derives from main sexist stereotypes at the time of crisis like refugee crisis. Therefore, there can be perceptions that may be not true for Merkel's real leadership traits, her achievements and failures in the time of crisis.
3. I created the hypothesis that Turkish media describes Merkel as a powerful leader when she positions herself as a friend of Turkey or she becomes closer with Turkey. However, when she tries to defend German or European interests, Turkish media tries to accentuate adverse developments like the loss of support in German politics.
4. I created the hypothesis that as Merkel is a European leader, all Turkish media including opposition or pro-government media can stand against Merkel about some issues that touch on nationalism and national issue like being a member of the EU.

For our study, we analyzed articles including brief news and columns that were published in *Sabah*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Hürriyet* during the period from September to November 2015, starting with the death of Aylan Kürdi and ending with the compromise between Turkey and the EU about migrant deal.

⁴⁰ Madison Schramm and Alexandra Stark, “Peacemakers or Iron Ladies? A Cross National Study of Gender and International Conflict”, Harvard, Massachusetts, 2017, http://people.fas.harvard.edu/~jkertzer/HISC2017/schedule/papers/Schramm_Stark.pdf

1. Short Biography of Angela Merkel

Angela Dorothea Kasner, better known as Angela Merkel, was born in Hamburg, West Germany, on July 17, 1954. She was the daughter of a pastor, but raised in Eastern Germany as her father wanted to move to Eastern to pursue his theology studies. Her mother was an English Teacher. She was accepted to Leipzig School where Leibniz, Nietzsche and Wagner trained physics.

1.1. From Science to Politics

For her higher education, she chose to live in Berlin apart from her family as she wanted to live a big life. To the questions why she chose to learn theoretical physics, she replied, *“Theoretical physics attracted me so much. I wanted to understand the relativity theory of Einstein and comprehend what the inventor of atomic bomb, Robert Oppenheimer and the people around him thought”*⁴¹

She earned her doctorate degree in 1978 in physics. She began to work as a chemist at the Central Institute for Physical Chemistry, Academy of Sciences from 1978 to 1990. When the Berlin Wall collapsed on November 9, 1989, Dr. Angela Merkel was working at the Academy of Sciences.

After proving her talent in physics, Merkel entered politics after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The collapse of the wall was the first turning point for Merkel’s career. She began to search for a political party with her chief Klaus Ulbricht in the Academy of Science. First, she went to an event organized by Social Democratic Party (SPD). However she did not become a member, she just wanted to make an observation. She declared why she did not become a member of SPD afterwards: The people whom Angela Merkel had never met before used the informal pronoun “du” to call each other and not the formal ‘sie.’⁴² “They started singing “Brothers, to the Sun, to Freedom”

⁴¹ Gerd Langguth, **“Angela Merkel”**, Elips, Ankara, 2006, p. 72

⁴² Wolfgang Streeck, “Scenario for a Wonderful Tomorrow”, **London Review of Books**, Vol. 38, No. 7, 31.03.2016, p. 8, <https://www.lrb.co.uk/v38/n07/wolfgang-streeck/scenario-for-a-wonderful-tomorrow>

she remembered with some disdain. This was a Russian song that became popular during the October Revolution in 1917, though it had been sung during the Leibzig Monday demonstrations in 1989. “That was not for me”, Merkel Said in an interview.⁴³ So, she became a member of Democratic Awakening (DA). Merkel showed her talents in DA and she won the favor of the party’s administration. She became the media spokesperson of the party in a very short time. However, her membership would not last so long. The outbreak of a scandal about the President of DA, Wolfgang Schnur opened a new way for Merkel. Schnur, who was a lawyer, was working for the East German secret service Stasi and he was informing against people, even his own clients, to Stasi. When Spiegel wrote about it, Schnur resigned from his post. Rainer Eppelmann took his post but in the elections they became the weakest party with 0.92 of the votes and Christian Democratic Party formed the government. Therefore, Merkel decided to change her party and she went to the CDU in the night of the elections. She met with Thomas de Maiziere that she knew before and requested him to persuade his uncle, Lothar de Maiziere, who would be the prime minister, to give her a post in the party. Thomas de Maiziere persuaded his uncle and later Merkel would not forget this favor. So, when she became the Chancellor of Germany, she gave him important positions in major ministries. After Merkel participated DA, she played an important role in the participation of DA to the East CDU.

1.2. She Witnessed the Unification of Germany

Merkel made plans to escape from East Germany to West Germany. As she never saw herself as from East German. She passed her holidays in her aunt’s house in Berlin. In an interview with Herlinde Koelb she said, *“I never an attachment for East Germany. I never watched East German television programs except sports programs. I never wore East German dress. I never saw East Germany as my country. There has been nothing that attached me to this country.”*⁴⁴

For this reason, the unification of Germany was like a turning point for Merkel. Being the deputy government spokeswoman of East Germany CDU at that time, she attended

⁴³ Özcan, **op.cit.** p. 41

⁴⁴ Matthew Qvurtrop, “Angela Merkel: Europe's Most Influential Leader: Revised Edition”, Abrams, 2017, p. For More Information Please See: Herlinde Koelbl, **“Spruren der Macht”**, Knesebeck, München, s. 49.

the summit of the unification of East and West Germanies alongside with East Germany Prime Minister Lothar de Maziere. However, when the two Germanies unified on October 3, 1990, Merkel lost her position. She was given an unimportant task in Federal Media Office. However, she did not consent to that job and decided to go into politics. She talked to Günther Krause who was then the Land chairman of the CDU in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania. Krause had good relationships with Kohl. Krause introduced Merkel to Kohl and Merkel won Helmut Kohl's favor. Soon after, she was appointed to Helmut Kohl's cabinet as the minister of women and youth in 1991, and later she served as the minister of the environment and nuclear safety in 1994. When she entered politics, she was mentioned as the protégée of Helmut Kohl who was nicknamed as "black giant" and she was named as Kohl's Madchen (girl). However, the first turning points of Merkel always coincided with the political failures of Kohl. Firstly, Following Kohl's defeat in the general elections in 1998, she was named the secretary-general of the CDU.

In 2000, Merkel was chosen the party leader, but she lost the CDU candidacy for chancellor to Edmund Stoiber in 2002. After that chaos, Kohl left his post over the acceptance of cash donation over DM 100,000 contributed by the arms dealer and lobbyist Karlheinz Schreiber back in 1994. The CDU's Chairman Wolfgang Schäuble also left his position.⁴⁵ Schäuble's resignation initiated a generational change among the Christian Democrats: Angela Merkel taking over as the CDU leader and Friedrich Merz as the woman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group.

1.3. Personal Characteristics

She said the French physician and chemist Marie Curie was her idol: *"Marie Curie was an incredible big role model for me as a child. There are only few people who received more than one Nobel Prize, and she is the only woman among them."*⁴⁶ One of the most interesting things is that Curie is from Poland and Merkel is of Polish origin too. Merkel also did her PhD on quantum chemistry. So, she wanted to combine chemistry and physics as Curie did in her career. She was so interested in learning new

⁴⁵ DW, "The scandal that rocked the government of Helmut Kohl", 18.01.2010, <https://www.dw.com/cda/en/the-scandal-that-rocked-the-government-of-helmut-kohl/a-5137950>

⁴⁶ DW, "Who is Angela Merkel's role model", 17.09.2017, <https://www.dw.com/en/who-is-angela-merkels-role-model/av-40490976>

things so she went to a conference on her 60th birthday, in which the famous German historian Jürgen Osterhammel would make a speech. . One of her bedside book was “*Die Verwandlung der Welt*” (The Transformation of the World.)⁴⁷ Even she is 60 years old, she is very prodnose.⁴⁸ She preferred to go to a history conference on her 60th birthday. This is because she always pays attention to learning new things. She always prefers listening to speaking. She pays attention to modesty and personal development: “*Always be more than you appear and never appear to be more than you are.*”⁴⁹

1.4. “Mother” without Children

She took her surname from her first husband, Ulrich Merkel, who is a physician and to whom she got married when she was 23 years old. However, she was divorced in 8 years. Years after, Merkel said that her relationship with Ulrich Merkel was not a big love story. These words made Ulrich Merkel sad. But, she did not give up her surname because she was renowned for this surname. She was married the worldwide famous chemistry scientist Joachim Sauer, who was Angela Merkel’s teacher at Academy of Science where she did her doctorate. He was never seen with her, even in the parliament during the oath-taking ceremonies, except holidays. Even if she got married twice, she never had children. In spite of having no children, Germany called her “mutti” (mother) because of her powerful stance in her leadership. However, she has always some contradictions. Even if she is the face of the women who have bigger goals in their careers, she does not give up her housewife side. Merkel is very famous for her cooking abilities, especially with her potato soup and her plum cake. Even she has the nickname “mother”, she is also famous for her emotionless stance. Jamie Fox sums up these contradictions: “*Despite her “Mutti” (“Mummy”) nickname, Merkel is known in Germany for being private, emotionless and playing with cards close to her chest. Last month centre-left rival candidate Martin Schulz even called her aloof and out of touch.*”⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Celal Özcan, “**Savaş Sabreden Kazanır**”, (The One who is patient wins the war), Doğan Kitap, 2018, p. 19

⁴⁸ **Ibid.**

⁴⁹ <https://www.azquotes.com/quote/652170>

⁵⁰ Jamie Fox, “Angela Merkel is the world’s most powerful woman – so she better start calling herself a feminist”, Independent, 19.09.2017, <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/angela-merkel-chancellor-germany-powerful-feminism-gender-roles-a7955526.html>

She is not only the mother of German nation but also the mother of migrants. Being a daughter of an immigrant family may be a motive for her “open doors” policy for migrants. Matt Fitzpatrick from “The Conversation” says that her migrant policy elevated Germany’s reputation in the eyes of international community: *“Internationally, she is renowned as the leader of Europe who seemingly single-handedly rehabilitated Germany’s international reputation by welcoming refugees with the catchphrase “we can do it”. With electoral pressure building, however, she publicly distanced herself from this stance as the CDU/CSU party faithful sent back the message that they were not so sure.”*⁵¹



Figure 1.1. Helmut Kohl and Merkel attended a CDU ceremony in Oct. 1. 2000.⁵²

1.5. First Female Chancellor in German History

Following the 2005 national elections, Merkel became Germany's first female chancellor in Germany’s history and one of the leading figures of the Europe.

In the 2005 elections, Merkel narrowly defeated Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, winning by just three seats, and after that the CDU agreed a coalition deal with the Social Democrats (SPD). As a chancellor, Merkel brought many novelties to Germany. Merkel also became the first woman to lead Germany since it became a modern nation-state in 1871. She was the first former citizen of the German Democratic Republic to

⁵¹ Matt Fitzpatrick, “How Angela Merkel has become – and remains – one of the world’s most successful political leaders”, 05.07.2017, <http://theconversation.com/how-angela-merkel-has-become-and-remains-one-of-the-worlds-most-successful-political-leaders-80389>

⁵² Time, “How Angela Merkel Went From Ignored to Person of the Year”, 09.12.2015, <http://time.com/4141619/time-person-of-the-year-angela-merkel-helmut-kohl/>

lead the reunited Germany. She was elected to a second term in 2009 and CDU obtained the largest share of the votes. Merkel founded a coalition government with the Free Democratic Party (FDP). Merkel shocked the media in October 2013 when she accused U.S. National Security Agency of tapping her cell phone. At a summit with European leaders, she rebuked the United States for this privacy breach, saying that *"Spying among friends is never acceptable."*⁵³ Right after from this tapping scandal at the 2013 federal elections, Merkel's party CDU gained a landslide victory by taking 41,5 percent of the votes and FDP lost all of its representation in Bundestag. At the 2017 federal elections, CDU gained a big victory and Merkel was re-elected to her fourth term on March 14, 2018. However, this election opened a new period in Bundestag because even CDU won the majority, the far right political party Alternative for Germany (AfD) won 13 percent of the votes, becoming the third largest party in the parliament after CDU/CSU and SPD. This was the first time a far-right party entered the Bundestag since 1961.

1.6. Chosen as the Most Powerful Woman for 12 Times

Despite there is a loss of support in the September 2017 elections, Merkel was elected as the most powerful woman in the world by Forbes again in 2017. Merkel was considered worthy for this title twelve times in total. Merkel stepped down as CDU's leader and she declared that she would be no longer a candidate for the elections. Nevertheless, her popularity went on as usual.

Angela Merkel became a very important role model not only for German women but also for the whole world. Firstly, Merkel was a turning point for western German women who could not work freely. Merkel brought the freedom of working for western women. *"During the Nazi era, a woman's highest calling was thought to be motherhood."*⁵⁴ Without having a child, Merkel proved that a real woman could realize herself outside the accepted norms. However, by loving cooking meal for her husband Joachim Sauert in her spare time, Merkel showed also being a good housewife does not prove the stupidity, weakness or slavery of women, but proving all women can be

⁵³ Stephanie Butnick, "Merkel says friends don't spy on friends", Tabletmag, 24.10.2013, <https://www.tabletmag.com/scroll/150332/merkel-says-friends-dont-spy-on-friends>

⁵⁴ Jamie Fox, "Angela Merkel is the world's most powerful woman – so she better start calling herself a feminist", Independent, 19.09.2017, <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/angela-merkel-chancellor-germany-powerful-feminism-gender-roles-a7955526.html>

in all sides of life without exporting any of them from their life and there is no need to try to fit into stereotypes. Secondly, she became a milestone for the women all over the world with her leadership that became very important for the entire Europe.

After being the first German chancellor, she became maybe the most important for little German girls saying, *“Yes, now little girls in Germany know they can become a hairdresser, or chancellor. Let’s see,”*⁵⁵ setting the bar high for women to find new goals as being a chancellor. She always promoted ambition in professional success: *“You could certainly say that I’ve never underestimated myself, there’s nothing wrong with being ambitious.”*⁵⁶ However, she always underlines that politics is not to gain money but to serve people: *“Whoever decides to dedicate their life to politics knows that earning money isn’t the top priority.”*⁵⁷

1.7. Migrant Policy was the Big Examination for Merkel

Migrant policy of Merkel always was a big obstacle in her political life. In the latest elections that she was elected for her fourth term, the Free Democratic Party (FDP) suddenly pulled out of talks with the CDU/CSU and the Greens due to the differences regarding immigration and other policies. However, Merkel was always taking a firm stand over her policy by saying that her party would "continue to take responsibility for this country, even in such a difficult situation." *“In March 2018, the SPD voted to renew its coalition with the CDU, clearing the path for Merkel to finally move forward with her fourth term.”*⁵⁸ Talks had stalled between the parties, though the gridlock was eased after SPD leader Martin Schulz stepped down in February. Merkel lived many difficulties in her party because of her migrant policy. In summer 2018, Merkel faced an ultimatum from her Interior Minister Horst Seehofer and the leader of Bavaria's Christian Social Union.

⁵⁵ New York Times, “A Pioneering German Feminist Looks Back in Anguish”, 31.03.2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/31/world/europe/a-pioneering-german-feminist-looks-back-in-anguish.html>

⁵⁶ Harriet Minter, “‘There's nothing wrong with being ambitious' and four other times Angela Merkel was absolutely right”, The Guardian, 07.01.2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/women-in-leadership/2015/jan/07/nothing-wrong-with-being-ambitious-angela-merkel-quotes>

⁵⁷ Angela Merkel Quotes, <https://quotecatalog.com/quote/angela-merkel-you-could-certa-b7K8MXp/>

⁵⁸ Angela Merkel Biography, <https://www.biography.com/political-figure/angela-merkel>

They announced they had agreed to a compromise in early June in which transit centers would be established on the border with Austria to route asylum seekers to their countries.

He threatened to quit over Merkel's insistence for her migrant policy. She always believed her migrant policy: *"We had done too little in the past that is why we took in refugees – because it was the right thing to do."* However, she makes efforts for the integration of migrants and European values: *"We expect the people who come to us to stick to our laws."*⁵⁹ Merkel also encouraged all Germany about migrant crisis: *"If Europe fails on the question of refugees, then it won't be the Europe we wished for. If we now have to start apologizing for showing a friendly face in response to emergency situations, then that's not my country. We will cope."*⁶⁰

In August 2015, when the refugee flow began at the doors of Europe, European countries closed their doors, while Merkel opened the doors to the migrants waiting in Hungary. Many Germans welcomed refugees with warm messages and foods. After this attempt of Merkel, Germany gained a big respect in the eyes of the global public opinion. In the same year, Austria decided to open its borders with Germany to the refugees. Merkel put forward a slogan that succeeded to create a warm atmosphere in German public opinion and even far right Germans expressed their outrage against migrants: *"We can do it"* (Wir schaffen das). However, the pressure on Merkel's refugee policy increased. Even her coalition partner from Social Democrat Party is against her migrant policy.

Merkel became "the most merciful and courageous woman leader" by opening the doors for migrants in one night.⁶¹ Migrants began to give the name of Angela Merkel to their daughters. Migrants gave many "Danke Mama" messages on social media to Merkel who is known with the nickname "Mutti" (mother). Many refugees were racing with each other to take a selfie with Merkel. Merkel thanked Germany to support her

⁵⁹ Zoi O'Brian, "Stick to our laws' Merkel demands tolerance and respect from migrant community", Express, 03.04.2017, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/787035/Chancellor-Angela-Merkel-demands-tolerance-migrant-community-German-elections>

⁶⁰ Telegraph, "Angela Merkel: The most powerful quotes from TIME's person of the year", 10.12.2015, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/politics/angela-merkel-the-most-powerful-quotes-from-times-person-of-the/>

⁶¹ Cellal Özcan, **op.cit.**, p. 46

migrant policy and for their welcoming behavior for refugees: *"It is part of my political work, because I am convinced that we are a strong country that will come out from this phase and become stronger."*⁶²

The German Chancellor said the slogan for the first time in August 2015. Surveys show that many Germans do not understand the meaning of the statement and even reject it, the newspaper wrote.

1.8. Main Chapters of Turkey-Germany Relations in History and Merkel's Period

1. Turkey and Germany has a long history of partnership since the First World War. Two countries, also the members of the Central Powers, were the losers of this war. Two countries are the NATO members and have strong economic ties between each other. Even when the political ties between Germany and Turkey are in crisis, the trade between two countries never stops. However, *"The bilateral relationship has been influenced by the unsolved problems of integration of some of the Turkish and Kurdish immigrants living in Germany and the overall state of human rights and democracy in Turkey."*⁶³

2. During the Cold War, West Germany saw Turkey as a key NATO ally. Kramer says that Germany became "a mentor for Turkey in Europe" as Germany gave Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) aid to Turkey during the late 1970s and early 1980s. With this mentor role, Germany also began to criticize the state of democracy in Turkey and the role of the military in Turkish politics in the 1980s and 1990s.⁶⁴

3. The economic cooperation still remains to be one of the strongest areas in bilateral relations. In fact, there are over 7,000 German companies in Turkey and more than 80,000 Turkish enterprises with a \$50 billion turnover in Germany. As of November 2017, the trade volume between Germany and Turkey stands at \$32,933 billion. Even

⁶² "Merkel Ditches Her 'We Can Do It' Slogan on Refugee Crisis Amid Election", <https://sputniknews.com/europe/201609181045432072-merkel-slogan-election/>

⁶³ Stephen F. Szabo, "Germany and Turkey: The Unavoidable Partnership", *Foreign Policy*, 2018, p.1.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

during the crisis period, German companies did not pay attention to the propaganda against Turkey and continued their pragmatist and interest-oriented relations with Turkey. *“The Turkish side attached a great deal of importance to trust building by seeking ways of dialogue with German firms maintaining economic cooperation with Turkey even when all political channels were deadlocked. This was the case during the meeting then Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım held with German companies.”*⁶⁵

4. The SPD-Green coalition of Gerhard Schröder and Joschka Fischer in the first years of the 21st century coincided with the early, promising years of Turkey’s Justice and Development Party (AKP) government. This short period has been characterized as a “golden age of the Europeanization of Turkey.” During this period, “Germany proactively promoted Turkey’s membership to the EU and opened German citizenship to Germans of Turkish origin.”⁶⁶ However, with the return of the CDU to power in 2005 under the leadership of Angela Merkel, the relations between Germany and Turkey changed. Merkel called for a *“privileged partnership” with Turkey which was viewed in Turkey as second-class membership.*⁶⁷ In 2015, Sabah published an article titled *“Merkel: I am against the membership of European Union of Turkey, Erdoğan knows it too.”*⁶⁸ From time to time, we see that Turkish newspapers publish Merkel’s stance about European Union that does not change.

5. The relationship between Berlin and Ankara had strained following the failed coup in 2016 and the detention of tens of thousands of people including Germans by Turkish authorities in 2017. Relations between Germany and Turkey hit rock bottom in 2017. This was because a German activist was detained in Prince Islands and Merkel blamed the detentions in Turkey.⁶⁹ Mutual mistrust and conflicts arising after the failed coup attempt in Turkey in previous years created a fertile ground for new crises. In February, the Turkish-German journalist Deniz Yücel was arrested in Turkey. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan called Yücel, a correspondent for German newspaper Die Welt, a

⁶⁵ Zeliha Eliaçık, “Turkish-German Relations From Conjunctural Cooperation to the Solution of Structural Issues”, Seta, 2018, <https://setav.org/en/assets/uploads/2018/09/46.-TURKISH-GERMAN-RELATIONS-2.pdf>

⁶⁶ Szabo, *p.cit.*, p.1

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Sabah, “Merkel: Türkiye'nin AB üyeliğine karşıyım, Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan da biliyor”, 08.10.2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/merkel-turkiyenin-ab-uyeligine-karsiyim-cumhurbaskani-erdogan-da-biliyor-30262088>

⁶⁹ BBC Türkçe, “Merkel'den 'Büyükada' açıklaması: Alman hükümeti olarak tutuklama kararını kınıyoruz”, 19.07.2017, <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-dunya-40652004>

"terrorist" and a "spy." Berlin criticized Yücel's detainment as a "political hostage-taking." ⁷⁰

6. In 2016, German parliament recognized officially the allegations of The Armenian genocide in 1915-1916 as a reality, and tension between Turkey and Germany ran high. When Angela Merkel went to Yerevan she said “*German Chancellor Angela Merkel on Friday addressed the massacre of as many as 1.5 million Armenians in 1915 after meeting with the country’s prime minister, saying the atrocities committed against Armenians should not and would not be forgotten.*”⁷¹ But as she did not qualify these events of 1915-16 as genocide, Turkish media saw Merkel’s statement in a “good way” showing that Merkel takes side with Turkey and interpreted that Merkel did not recognize the atrocities as a genocide, as *Hürriyet* and many Turkish newspaper used the headline “Merkel did not say genocide”.⁷² Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan blamed Merkel for not keeping her promise.

7. Turkey has 2.5 million citizens living in Germany as the biggest minority. So, Turkish people are important for political parties in Germany to win the elections. Merkel always tried to find a balance between German opinion public and Germans and other Muslims of Turkish origin. In early 1960, Germany went through a rapid industrialization and needed migrants to work in positions that German people did not want to work. Therefore, Germany made several agreements with countries like, Spain, Turkey, Portugal, Tunisia and Morocco. Turkish migrants started to arrive Germany after an agreement between Germany and Turkey was made in 1961. They were living isolated from German communities and lived under bad conditions but they stayed silent because all they wish was to save money only for two years. At first, the employment of Turkish workers was planned for two years like Greek, Italians and Spaniards but in 1964, the recruitment treaty was changed to allow Turkish workers to stay for longer than two years. After that, Turkish workers were allowed to bring their families too. Following this change, Turkish families began to live in ghettos like

⁷⁰ DW, “Germany and Turkey in 2017: a rollercoaster relationship”, 25.12.2017,

<https://www.dw.com/en/germany-and-turkey-in-2017-a-rollercoaster-relationship/a-41897041>

⁷¹ Reuters, “Germany's Merkel: Atrocities against Armenians must not be forgotten”, 24.08.2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-germany-armenia/germanys-merkel-atrocities-against-armenians-must-not-be-forgotten-idUSKCN1L91O6>

⁷² *Hürriyet*, “Merkel Erivan’da soykırım demedi” (Merkel didn’t say genocide in Yerevan), 25.08.2018, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/merkel-erivanda-soykirim-demedi-40936589>

Jewish people. So, their integration into German society was hard. Some German doctors said they had some health problems because of the psychological problems that immigrant people experience in general.

In 1964, the recruitment treaty was changed to allow the Turkish workers to stay for longer than two years. But after that, Turkish people underwent a troublesome period. They faced with xenophobia following the unification of two Germanies, the xenophobia movement started by Nazi groups in 1990's turned towards Turkish migrants. In every election campaign, the banners of xenophobic political parties were hung. In 1992, in Möln and in 1993 in Solingen, the houses of Turkish migrants were set on fire and 8 Turkish people died in these incidents. One of the biggest racist crimes was the NSU case. The members of NSU 2000-2006, killed 9 Turkish migrants and 1 Greek migrant. Beate Zschäpe was found guilty of 10 racially-motivated murders and was given life sentence last year.



Figure 1.2. Muslims, mostly Turkish people, also organized a meeting in Berlin against Ismalophobia and attacks in France. Merkel and German politicians are arm in arm with Muslims. ⁷³

However, Merkel's attitude for Turkish migrants was democratic. When she participated in a TV show called "Elections Arena" (Wahlarena), Merkel gave a response to the question of one of the spectators about Germany's politics about Turkey and German people of Turkish origin. The question was "*Some Turks here supported Erdoğan. Was any mistake made in integration policy?*" Merkel said there was freedom of expression in Germany. She said that this kind of political tendency may cause Turkish people not to feel sense of belonging to Germany. She addressed Turkish people saying, "*You are at your home here. We salute you.*" Merkel's reply

⁷³ Sputnik Turkey, "Alman liderler Müslümlarla kol kola yürüdü" (German leader walked arm in arm wit Muslims), 13.01.2015, <https://tr.sputniknews.com/avrupa/201501131013431659/>

also became an important response to the far-right Alternative for Germany's (AfD) prime minister candidate Alexander Gauland. He criticized using harsh words the Minister of State for Migration, Refugees and Integration Aydan Özoğuz, who said *"there is no specific German culture except the language"* Gauland said in August 2017, *"We will get rid of him (State Minister Responsible for Integration Aydan Özoğuz) in Anatolia."* Turkish newspapers showed reaction to the words of Gauland. Sabah used the headline *"Germany continues its arrogance!"*⁷⁴

8. A German football player of Turkish origin, Mesut Özil, left German National Football Team. He was taken a photo with the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. After the photo was published in the media, the German Football Federation and German politicians harshly criticized him. After the outbreak of such crises, he decided to leave the German National Team. He asserted that the racism was the main reason that caused him to leave the team. The case became one of the main topics of Turkish and Western media. He mentioned the reason why he left the team saying *"I don't want to wear the uniform of German National Team because of the behaviors of many people... They behaved in a selfish way and played politics with me. When I win, I became German, when I lost I became migrant. I never heard my team-mates Lukas Podolski and Miroslav Klose to be called German-Polish. So why am I identified as German-Turkish. Is it because I am Turkish or Muslim? This was the last straw."*⁷⁵

Merkel showed her reaction for Mesut Özil and she gave a statement made by her spokesperson Ulrike Demmer to inform world opinion public that she is against racism in Germany: *"The chancellor values Mesut Ozil highly. He is a footballer who has contributed a great deal to the national team, he has "now made a decision that must be respected."*⁷⁶ Merkel's spokeswoman added that the majority of the roughly three million people with Turkish roots who live in Germany are well integrated. Dimmer said that Merkel thinks Turkish people enrich Germany. Therefore, we see that Merkel tried to protect the democracy and humanism and blamed racism even there were

⁷⁴ Sabah, "Almanya küstahlıklarına devam ediyor", 28.08.2017

<https://www.sabah.com.tr/avrupa/2017/08/28/almanya-kustahliklarina-devam-ediyor>

⁷⁵ TRT, "Mesut Özil Almanya milli takımını bıraktı" (Mesut Özil left German National Team), 22.07.2018, <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/mesut-ozil-almanya-milli-takimini-birakti-376552.html>

⁷⁶ Tom Bryant, "Mesut Özil walks away from Germany team citing 'racism and disrespect'", The Guardian, 23.07.2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2018/jul/22/mesut-ozil-retires-german-national-team-discrimination>

voices against Mesut Özil. Even Özil is blamed by some German politicians for supporting the election campaign of President Erdoğan, Merkel did not mention the relation between Özil and Erdoğan. She only focused on the fact that Özil is a German citizen.”

9. With the initiative of Angela Merkel, the European Union and Turkey signed a deal to stop the migrant crisis on 18 March 2016. *“Under this deal, Turkey agreed to take back migrants who enter Greece, and send legal refugees to EU.”*⁷⁷ In exchange, EU agreed to give Turkey six billion euros, and to allow visa-free travel for Turkish citizens by the end of June 2016 if Turkey meets 72 conditions.” At the refugee crisis summit, *“EU leaders agree to give political support to draft deal which includes offering Ankara visa-free travel to Europe for Turks from 2016.”*⁷⁸

The European Union told Turkey *“it would not ease travel requirements for its citizens unless Ankara softens counter-terrorism laws that the bloc says are excessive.”*⁷⁹ Merkel made the same warnings to Turkey. However, as visa-free travel for Turkey was not approved yet, Turkish media made a lot of criticism saying that “EU didn’t keep his promise of free-visa.”⁸⁰

1.9. Merkel’s Last Period

In October 2018, Merkel declared that she would not put her candidacy for the next elections in 2021. She has been governing the country for a long period. As she got closer to say goodbye to politics, the far right has gained power.

The pressure on German Chancellor Angela Merkel to change her refugee policy has been increased. Recently, Merkel stated that she is planning to give up her main slogan

⁷⁷Wikipedia, “European Union–Turkey relations”

<http://www.wikizero.biz/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9lbi5tLndpa2lwZWRpYS5vcmcvd2lraS9FdXJvcGVhbl9VbmlvbiVFMiU4MCU5M1R1cmtleV9yZWxhdGlvbnM>

⁷⁸ The Guardian, “Angela Merkel backs deal offering Turkey up to €3bn to tighten its borders”, 16.10.2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/16/angela-merkel-eu-backs-aid-deal-turkey-tighten-borders>

⁷⁹ Euractiv, “EU will not lift visas unless Turkey eases terrorism laws”, 12.02.2018, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/eu-will-not-lift-visas-unless-turkey-eases-terrorism-laws/>

⁸⁰ Sabah, “AB vize serbestisi sözünü tutmadı”, 28.10.2018, <https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2017/10/28/ab-vize-serbestisi-sozunu-tutmadı>

"we can do it," which she frequently used to evoke a more positive stance among German citizens towards the refugee issue.

In an interview with WirtschaftsWoche, German Chancellor Angela Merkel stated that she would no longer say the phrase "We can do it" (Wir schaffen das), which became her main slogan associated with the migration crisis.⁸¹

Merkel was always in partial or complete contradiction with her coalition partners about migrant policy. The CSU's former leader Martin Schulz was against Merkel's migrant policy and used migrant card as a means to beat. Even her rivals tried to drive her into the corner, she became the Chancellor of Germany four times. Thanks to her, German political life gained many women leader like former State Minister for Migration and Integration Aydan Özoğuz and Social Democratic Party's new leader Andrea Nahles. With Merkel image of woman in politics, she won a big trust and success in the eyes of public. For the period after Merkel, one of the biggest questions to ask will be "Will the trust in women political leaders continue?" She lost support with every past election as she insisted on her migrant policy, we saw that the far rights in Germany grew substantially. In 2010, Merkel said, *"has courted growing anti-immigrant opinion in Germany by claiming the country's attempts to create a multicultural society have 'utterly failed'".* Speaking in a meeting of young members of her Christian Democratic Union party, Merkel said the idea of people from different cultural backgrounds living happily "side by side" did not work. However, in 2015 as German welcomed the migrants with a big hug with the initiative of Merkel, new hopes burgeoned but politic life in Germany, especially far right movements undermined this hopeful process.⁸²

⁸¹ Angela Merkel, "Angela Merkel drops the 'we can do it' slogan", Politico, 17.09.2016, <https://www.politico.eu/article/angela-merkel-drops-the-we-can-do-it-slogan-catchphrase-migration-refugees/>

⁸² Matthew Weaver, "Angela Merkel: German multiculturalism has 'utterly failed'", The Guardian, 17.10.2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/17/angela-merkel-german-multiculturalism-failed>

2. Definition of gender stereotype

2.1. What is Gender Stereotype?

We will define what gender stereotype is after we define stereotype first. In daily life, we see that there can be some adjectives attributed to women and men. According to Encyclopedia.com, "A gender stereotype is a predetermined set of attitudes and behaviors that is believed to be typical of all men or women."⁸³ Eagly says, "gender stereotypes are generalized beliefs about the characteristics and qualities attributed to men and women in society."⁸⁴ Thus, there are some preconceived ideas about the roles of both genders.

2.2. The Roots of Gender Stereotype: Social Role, Gender Role and Gender Identity

Before talking about gender stereotypes, we have to put gender roles, social role and gender identity on the table. "Many theorists believe that perceived gender roles form the basis for the development of gender identity."⁸⁵ Deaux and LaFrance say, "our gender belief system includes stereotypes and gender-role attitude."⁸⁶ American anthropologist Margaret Mead says that gender roles are cultural production: "Standardized personality differences between the sexes are...cultural creations to which each generation, male and female are trained to conform".⁸⁷ So she means that femininity and masculinity are learned through generation that follows certain cultural models. The idea of masculinity and femininity are learned within cultures is supported by Haslett, Geis, and Carter. They postulate that gender stereotypes are "common, culture wide beliefs about how men and women differ in personal qualities and characteristics."⁸⁸ Gender stereotypes are consisted of "preconceived ideas whereby

⁸³ Encyclopedi.com, "Gender Stereotype", Birdie Media, <https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/gender-stereotype>

⁸⁴ Arijit Sikdar and Sumit Mitra, "An Exploration of Gender Stereotypes in Perception and Practice of Leadership", University of Wollongong, Dubai, 2008, p.3., <https://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com.tr/&httpsredir=1&article=1004&context=dubaiwp>, For More Information Please See: Eagly, A. H. Sex differences in social behavior: A social-role interpretation, Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum., 1987

⁸⁵ Kimberly Deanna Gill, "What you know or where you go: Political cultural analysis of gender stereotyping and leadership positions", p.31 [https://etd.auburn.edu/bitstream/handle/10415/1693/deanna_dissertation\(2009.04.30\).pdf?sequence=2](https://etd.auburn.edu/bitstream/handle/10415/1693/deanna_dissertation(2009.04.30).pdf?sequence=2)

⁸⁷ Margaret Mead, **Sex and Temperament in There primitive soceities**, p.39, <https://personalwebs.coloradocollege.edu/~mduncombe/WS%20110/Mead,%20Sex%20and%20Temperament.pdf>

⁸⁸ Gill, **op.cit.**, p.29.

females and males are arbitrarily assigned characteristics and roles determined and limited by their gender."⁸⁹ Deaux and Kite says "gender roles are both descriptive, consisting of beliefs about the psychological traits that are characteristic of each sex, named as 'gender stereotypes.'"⁹⁰ So what we can assume from these ideas is that culture reinforces social norms by emphasizing roles consistent with social expectations.⁹¹

2.3. The Function and Functioning of Gender Stereotyping:

Gender stereotypes are used to make the perception about what we see easier so as to make the division of work easier. Jonsen, Maznevski and Schneider say, "*when we use stereotyping because it makes our life easier, we stereotype based on familiar women's roles (mothers, wives, nurses, etc.) and the characteristics they embody, which are currently inconsistent with those that traditionally define a good business leader.*"⁹² So stereotypes are constructed in sociality. Cockburn says, "*Gender is considered a major organizing principle in our perception of the world and everything in it.*"⁹³ That is why societal gender roles can have deep effects on organizational roles.

So here, we have to talk about Talcott Parsons. This is because he says that gender stereotyping is used to describe the functioning of American family style that has become a model for countries that have been trying to be westernized after 1950s. In American family style, traditional stereotypes feature being a housewife for women and working outside for men. We see the same family model was supported in Western Germany that took United States as a model country. Therefore, Parsons is important for us to understand the challenges that German Chancellor Angela Merkel has faced during her leadership.

⁸⁹ Council of Europe, "Combating Gender Stereotypes and Sexism", <https://www.coe.int/en/web/genderequality/gender-stereotypes-and-sexism>

⁹⁰ Sharon Mavin, "Gender Stereotypes and Assumptions: Popular Culture Constructions of Women Leaders", Northumbria University, 2009, p.2, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228536538_Gender_Stereotypes_and_Assumptions_Popular_Culture_Constructions_of_Women_Leaders, For More Information Please See: Deux, K. And Kite, M. (1993) "Gender Stereotypes" in F.L. Denmark, and M.A. Paludi, (Eds) *Psychology of Women: A Handbook of Issues and Theories*, Greenwood, Westport, CT, pp.107-39.

⁹¹ **Ibid.**

⁹² Karsten Jonsen and Martha L. Maznevski and Susan C. Schneider, *Gender differences in leadership-believing is seeing: implications for managing diversity*, Emerald, UK, 2010, p. 551.

⁹³ **Ibid..**

German sociologist Beate Kraiss who quotes in her article the studies of some researchers like Mariuani/Nicole Drancourt, and Wetterer says, “*Gender is embedded in social structures in diverse ways.*”⁹⁴ She says, “*The concept of the social role goes back to Talcott Parsons, who spoke of ‘sex roles’ early in his work.*”⁹⁵ Kraiss tells that concept of social role goes back to Parsons who says that within a family gender roles are defined as paternally dominant with a housewife who is responsible with household, a husband who works for the economy of the family and children who play with their gender specific toys. He assumes that a family is held together by gender socialization and complementary roles between men and women.⁹⁶ According to this understanding, gender roles are acquired by performance, but ascribed through biology. What we see today is that these beliefs about women still exist. Fullager says that despite economic and social changes in the role of women, certain beliefs regarding women in leadership roles seem to persist and these beliefs apparently continue to flourish across cultures.⁹⁷ We also have to talk about masculine dominance that gives rise to some perceptions about women that resist changing. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu put forward his views about gender in relation with “masculine dominance”. To understand gender stereotype better, we have to look Pierre Bourdieu’s gender concept: Bourdieu’s gender definition is shaped with his habitus concept that can also be called social practice. The habitus shows its traces in “*ways of thinking, perspectives on the world, patterns of perception and the principles of judgement and values at work in a society.*”⁹⁸ According to Bourdieu, the construction of order takes place in social practice: “*The habitus as the agents’s incorporated experience with the social world, not only shapes the body and the gestures and bodily stance where body functions as a medium in which the habitus express itself.*”⁹⁹ Bourdieu says the domination masculine is naturalized and affects

⁹⁴ Beate Kraiss, “The Gender Relationship in Bourdieu’s Sociology”, The John Hopkins University Press, 2000, p.53, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3685561?read-now=1&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

⁹⁵ For more information please see, Talcott Parsons, “Family: Socialisation and International Process”, 1955, <http://www.csun.edu/~snk1966/T.%20Parsons%20The%20American%20Family.pdf>

⁹⁶ Dr. Sara Neena, “Woman and Society”, University of Calicut, p.18,

http://www.universityofcalicut.info/SDE/BASociology_VI_Sem_Core_course_Women_Society.pdf

⁹⁷ Karsten Jonsen and Martha L. Maznevski and Susan C. Schneider, Gender differences in leadership-believing is seeing: implications for managing diversity, Emerald, UK, 2010, For more information please see: Fullager, C.J., Sumer, H.C., Sverke, M. and Slick, R. (2003), “Managerial sex-role stereotyping: a cross cultural analysis”, International Journal of Cross Cultural Management, Vol. 3 No. 1, pp. 93-107.

⁹⁸ Kraiss, *ibid.*, p.56

⁹⁹ Kraiss, *op.cit.*

which is “the most natural” for the person: *“So through the habitus, the social construction of gender relationship determines body image.”*¹⁰⁰

Erving Goffmann states in his book “Gender Advertisements” that if gender takes its roots from the cultural attributions and projections about sex, gender displays take place in society based on these displays: *“If gender is defined as the culturally established correlates of sex (whether in consequence of biology or learning) then gender display refers to conventionalized portrayals of those correlates.”* Goffman says that there are codes which can be used to identify gender. *“These codes of gender can be seen in the portrayals of men and women in advertising. There are four categories under which we can see these codes of gender: the family, the feminine touch, the ritualization of subordination, and licensed withdrawal.”*¹⁰¹ According to Goffman, *“gender displays can otherwise be defined as rituals of gender behavior, and they are used to help interpret social reality. This is what advertising mainly borrows from, and for Goffman this is the reason as to why ads do not look strange to the public.”*¹⁰²

2.4. Gender Stereotypes and Assumptions: Culturally Constructed Gender Stereotypes Women Leaders

There are some kinds of stereotypes that can be attributed to men and women. However, the use of these stereotypes changes according to the type of the society. Hofstede argues, *“that masculine societies expect men to be assertive and tough and women to be modest and tender.”*¹⁰³ Acceptance of certain leadership traits varies between cultures. According to Hofstede, *“collective cultures tend to stress traditional*

¹⁰⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *La Domination Masculine*, Seuil, 1992,

https://jugurtha.noblogs.org/files/2018/02/la_domination_masculine_Bourdieu.pdf

¹⁰¹ Nicoletta Signoretti, “A Study of Gender Advertisements. A Statistical Measuring of the Prevalence of Genders’ Patterns in the Images of Print Advertisements”, p.1.

https://res.mdpi.com/proceedings/proceedings-01-00947/article_deploy/proceedings-01-00947-v2.pdf?filename=&attachment=1

¹⁰² Aloe Kumar Jha, Amrita Raj and Dr. Rachana Gangwar, “A Semiotic Analyses of portraying gender in Magazine Advertisement”, p.1., <http://www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol.%2022%20Issue5/Version-11/A2205110108.pdf>

¹⁰³ Hofstede, G., *Value Survey Module 2013*, “Institute for Research on Intercultural Cooperation”, Netherlands, 2013, p.7., <https://geerthofstede.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Manual-VSM-2013.pdf>

authority which would predict perceived typical male leadership attributes as more appropriate than perceived typical female leadership styles.”¹⁰⁴

As Robert P. Vecchio says in his article, “We might obtain assessments on such individual behaviors as being evaluative, caring, nurturant, etc. Efforts to group these behaviors as being “masculine” or “feminine” may add less to an understanding of individual behavior than to an understanding of the labeling process.”¹⁰⁵ Hence, we can say that women and men are perceived differently and many researchers focus on this reality. Therefore, for analyzing women leaders’ behaviors, if we focus on classifying assessments like caring, nurturant, we may miss personal abilities and capacities that conduce toward achievements and failures.

If we want to see the effect of social expectation that can cause gender stereotypes that are used to interpret the behaviors of women leaders, we can take into consideration what Sharon Mavin states. Mavin says that female leaders try to satisfy these social expectations to be regarded as an acceptable leader by the society: “In order to develop themselves and prepare for a senior leader role, women need awareness that their ‘performance’ as ‘leaders’ is often perceived and presented differently to that of men. Such perceptions are based on gender or sex-role stereotypes of what is [in]appropriate behavior for men and women leaders.”¹⁰⁶

Sharon Mavin from Newcastle University says that social role theory sheds light to perceiving men and women as leaders in different ways. She quotes from Eagly saying about the assumptions that social role theory brings for this different perception: “Social role theory suggests that individuals form expectations for the social roles of others based on gender roles, or consensual” beliefs about the traits that are characteristic of, and appropriate for, women and men.”¹⁰⁷

Mavin says that people form perceptions and expectations about how the leader role should be performed: “The leader role is perceived as those behaviors and traits most

¹⁰⁴ Triandis, H. C.. “New directions in social psychology. Individualism & collectivism. Boulder”, 1995 CO, US: Westview Press.

¹⁰⁵ Robert P. Vecchio, “Leadership and gender advantage”, The Leadership Quarterly, 2002

¹⁰⁶ Sharon Mavin, “Gender Stereotypes and Assumptions: Popular Culture Constructions of Women Leaders”, Northumbria University, 2009, p.1, <https://www.ufhrd.co.uk/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2009/07/6-18-refereed-paper.pdf>

¹⁰⁷ A. H. Eagly, Sex Differences in Social Behavior: A Social-Role Interpretation, Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum., 1987

closely associated with men, thus leaving women perceived as less adequate for leader roles."¹⁰⁸

Mavin quotes from Powell et al, *"argue that according to traditional gender roles, males are especially high in 'masculine' traits that are task-oriented or agentic (self-assertive and motivated to master), whereas females are especially high in 'feminine' traits that are interpersonally oriented or communal."*¹⁰⁹

If we think about all these attribution to women and men leaders, we can see there are some expectations for leadership performances. Mavin thinks that people form perceptions and expectations about how the leader role should be performed. That is to say, there is a gender construction for women in society. Due Billing and Alvesson consider that masculinity and femininity are grounded within culture and not by biological necessity.¹¹⁰

Jonsen, Maznevski and Schneider also prove what Mavin say about the relation between gender roles accepted by society and social expectation concerning women: *"Societal gender roles may contaminate organizational roles and result in different expectations for female and male managers."*¹¹¹ Arijit Sikdar and Sumit Mitra say, *"Leadership being an abstract concept, perception of society plays an important role in the way it is seen and defined"*¹¹² So, when we think about leaders, we can say that women and men leaders can be under the shadow of these labels and they are under the pressure of certain expectations.

2.5. Communal Behaviors for Women and Agentic Behaviors for Men

Some stereotypes like *"Aggressive, risk-taking, decisive, and autonomous (agentic attributes), whereas women are characterized as kind, caring, relational, and humble*

¹⁰⁸ Sharon Mavin, **op.cit.** P. 2

¹⁰⁹ **Ibid.**

¹¹⁰ Yvonne Due Billing and Mats Alvesson, Questioning the Notion of Feminine Leadership: A Critical Perspective on the Gender Labelling of Leadership. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 7, 2000, p.144.

¹¹¹ Jonsen, Maznevski and Schneider, *op.cit.*, p.,551

¹¹² Arijit Sikdar and Sumit Mitra, "An Exploration of Gender Stereotypes in Perception and Practice of Leadership", University of Wollongong, Dubai, 2008, p.3., <https://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com.tr/&httpsredir=1&article=1004&context=dubaiwp>

(communal attributes)" are attributed to men. As a result of attribution of stereotypes, some professions are thought to be appropriate for men more than women. Therefore, these beliefs are not only used to describe the personalities of men and women.

Jonsen, Maznevski and Schneider say that empirical evidence does not signify that gender differences in leadership. According to Butterfield and Grinnell, "*the results of the role of gender and leadership researches over 20 years remain largely inconsistent*".¹¹³ However, some researchers defend there are some basic differences between women and men leaders. According to Bass and Avolio, "*women leaders are more transformational, democratic, participative and inclusive.*"¹¹⁴ Gibson says that men are more instrumental, agentic and transactional.¹¹⁵ If we accept that all the women leaders are democratic or participative, these presumptions turn into stereotypes as well. According to Eagly and Carli, "*women are associated with communal qualities which convey a concern for the compassionate treatment of others; being especially affectionate, helpful, friendly, kind and sympathetic interpersonally sensitive, gentle and soft spoken. Men are associated with agentic qualities conveying assertion and control; being especially, ambitious, dominant, aggressive, self-reliant and individualistic, self-confident and forceful.*"¹¹⁶ We can say that all these assessments are used as stereotypes to be attributed to men and women so as to classify people.

Eagly and Carli says that Business School students learn in their lessons that numerous (senior) leader behaviors such as masculine, delegating, disciplining, strategic decision making, problem solving, while recognizing and rewarding, communicating, informing and supporting (accepted as middle management strengths) are identified to be feminine. But "agentic" masculine leader behaviors are still the expected norm at the top of hierarchies.¹¹⁷ So women may feel the need to show "credible leadership behaviors" to navigate senior leader behaviors which are agentic and associated with

¹¹³ D.A. Butterfield and J.P. Grinnell, "Re-viewing' gender, leadership and management behavior: do three decades of research tell us anything?", in Powel, G.N. (Ed.), *Handbook of Gender and Work*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, 1999, pp. 223-38.

¹¹⁴ B.M. Bass, B.J. Avolio & L. Atwater, "The transformational and transactional leadership of men and women", 1996, *Applied Psychology, An International Review*, 45, pp.5-34

¹¹⁵ C.B. Gibson, "An investigation of gender differences in leadership across four countries", *Journal of International Business Studies*, 1993, 26, p. 255.

¹¹⁶ Eagly and Carli, "Women and the labyrinth of leadership", **Harvard Business Review**, Vol.85, 2007 No.9 pp.62-71

¹¹⁷ A.H. Eagly and L.L. Carli, **Through the Labyrinth**, Harvard Business School Publishing, Boston, USA, 2008, p. 90

masculinity. However, behaving like a man as a leader can be a source of challenge for women, too. Barass says, “*competitive women challenge the gender stereotype of agentic leader behavior and jolt assumptions of how women are ‘expected’ to behave. This message is reinforced in the popular media where competitive women are almost always portrayed as mean at worst or a little crazy at best*”¹¹⁸ To this end, being a successful female leader is always a challenge for women. Sharon Mavin says, “*It is no surprise that people are more resistant to women’s leadership influence and suspect, because successful powerful women do not fit established stereotypes, they are ‘not likeable’ or ‘nice’. To succeed as leaders, women need to demonstrate masculinity and suppress femininity.*”¹¹⁹

However, communal female leader behaviors are favored these days by new business schools. Schnurr says, “*communal feminine behaviors or non-leadership behaviors, sex-stereotyped to women are not yet valued or seemingly expected in senior leader positions, despite the “so called female leadership advantage” where new ways of leading are perceived to be more akin to women’s ways of leading e.g. relational, emotional intelligence connections.*”¹²⁰

Some people believe that women should be occupying leadership positions as they believe that women are more cooperative and people-oriented than men and that they bring a different set of competencies to the table. This can lead to the point of view that the best way for women to achieve a leadership position is by adopting a different approach than men and to highlight their uniquely feminine skills.¹²¹ If woman adopted male characteristics in leadership, they face losing or reflecting their personal characteristics. However, women leaders try to adopt male characteristics to be able to be more effective in the eyes of people. If women chose that way, they would face criticism saying that they become manlike this time.

¹¹⁸ Mavin, **op.cit.**, p.8,

¹¹⁹ **Ibid.**, p. 5

¹²⁰ S. Schnurr, “Surviving in a man’s world with a sense of humour: an analysis of women leaders’ use of humour at work”, **Leadership**, Vol.4, No.3. 2008, p.301

¹²¹ Julie Warnez, “(Wo)men in leadership — breaking down the gender stereotypes” 25.09.2018, <https://be.hudson.com/en-gb/knowledge-centre/blog/postid/2559/women-in-leadership-breaking-down-the-gender-stereotypes>

2.6. Examples of Gender Stereotypes Presented by Popular Culture in TV Series and Movies

We can see the effects of these gender stereotypes in movies and TV series showing that women have some leadership problems. We will give some examples to show such movies or series serve to create some kind of “distorted conceptions” about women’s leadership.

Sharon Mavin gives us some example from American TV series to show how showbiz creates a perception about women leaders in different section of life¹²². *Friends*, which is a sit-comedy broadcasted first in 1994 by NBC, shows us an example of woman leader. One of the main characters, Monica, becomes the head-chef of the restaurant she works. Monica’s competitiveness is not shown as a “neutral” or “disputable” characteristic that takes people to the success when we talk about male leaders. When we talk about female leaders, it turns into a personal ambition, not an agentic trait that male leaders have. We have to ask if she was a man, this competitiveness would be shown in a heroic way. However, she cannot achieve that in her carrier even if she is competitive and so she focuses on her family.

ER (Emmergency Room) (1994-2009) is another TV series that we can see how woman leaders are shown in a challenging way. *ER* was first broadcast on September 19, 1994 by NBC. Mavin says that despite *ER* contains numerous strong women characters, the constructions of senior women in leader positions remains ‘messy’.¹²³ She has excellent relationships with colleagues in the E.R. and being committed to her career, when Dr. Susan Lewis is promoted. Nevertheless, Barash says, “*she is constructed as continually struggling to establish authority over her ‘friends’ in her ER department.*”¹²⁴

¹²² Sharon Mavin, “Gender Stereotypes and Assumptions: Popular Culture Constructions of Women Leaders”, Northumbria University, 2009, <https://www.ufhrd.co.uk/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2009/07/6-18-refereed-paper.pdf>

¹²³ **Ibid.**

¹²⁴ Shakira Barash, **Tripping the Prom Queen: The Truth About Women and Rivalry**, St. Martins Press. 2006, p.169

The women leaders' characters are understood "messy" because they are constructed by contradictive behaviours. They can have communal behaviors like "being nice and agentic behaviors like "being strident" at the same time

Third example that Mavin gives is the movie "*Devil wears Prada*". "*Devil Wears Prada*" directed by David Frankel and starred by Merly Streep (Miranda) and Anna Hathaway (Andy), shows us "*construction of women leaders, becoming 'more male than the men' in order to achieve, even if she is alongside the concept of female*"¹²⁵

We see many sexist constructions and a number of gender stereotypes. By paying close attention to particular characters' portrayals, this can highlight important representations of social order. In the movie, Miranda (older woman editor) and Andy (the ambitious woman assistant) are constructed to represent a cultural structure.¹²⁶ The film integrates a number of gender stereotypes and sexist constructions; the outdated and sexist Queen Bee like (Mavin, 2008) ¹²⁷. In this movie, Miranda reflects the stereotype of Ice Queen and masculine. What makes her an ice queen is her coldness and attractiveness. She dominates people around her but she keeps her distance to her employees and she builds an empire of fear.

So, we can say that in these TV series and movies, the women leaders are far away from the leadership characters which are mainly attributed to women like being cooperative, people oriented and warm. The general message is "*if you want to be a leader you have to be like a man or if woman becomes a leader, her competitiveness derives from her 'abnormal psychological situation.'*"¹²⁸

Accordingly, these kinds of series or movies show that "*women cannot be succesful leaders or if they are succesful in their leadersip they show some "psychological problems" or "they became unlikeable people by trying to dominate the others."*"¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Mavin, **op.cit.**

¹²⁶ **Ibid.**

¹²⁷ Sharon Mavin, Queen Bees, Wannabees and Afraid to Bees: No More Best Enemies for Women in Management, **British Journal of Management**, Vol.19, 2008, pp.575-584.

¹²⁸ **Ibid.**

¹²⁹ Mavin, **op.cit.**

2.7. Reflections of Gender Stereotype for Business Life and Political Life

These stereotypes are gathered to build some prejudgments that lead us to think certain professions are more suitable for certain sex. Therefore, we can say that "*gender stereotypes are fixed ideas about men's and women's traits and capabilities and how people should behave, based on their gender.*"¹³⁰ There are some prejudgements about gender. For example, men are thought as better drivers than women. However, those kinds of stereotypes could lead to discrimination in some practices. Some managers could refuse to hire women as drivers because of their sex. Heilman says, "*In general, men are characterized as expectations and beliefs concerning the qualities that men and women have often dictate the type of jobs that are considered appropriate for them, leading to a situation in which the requisite characteristics for some jobs are defined in terms of gender, such as 'men's work or women's work.'*" For example, some professions are matched with certain sexes. Being a kindergarten teacher is thought as a feminine job, on the other hand, working as mechanics is often seen as appropriate for men. Miller and Budd says this manner of thinking, that is to say gender-role stereotype is encouraged through socialization during childhood and adolescence.¹³¹

Marlow says that in organizational literature, gender stereotyping serves to the fact that women are generally seen as inferior to men.¹³² Alimo and Metcalife point out, "*it has also been reported that there is gender bias with regard to the assessment of leadership in organizations*"¹³³ If we think about the image of women leaders in media, we have to consider all the stereotypes of women in every aspect of life. The stereotypes exist also in the way we interpret the behaviors of men and women. Erica Buist from *The Guardian* wrote an article on this fact. She remarks, "*Linguistic analysis of about 300 finances articles from the UK and other countries over the past year showed that 65% of those aimed at women defined them as "splurgers", excessive spenders with poor judgment who needed "rein in" their spending and "limit" their*

¹³⁰ Lernify, "Gender Stereotypes Presentation", <http://www.learnify.se/Learnifyer/player?id=0E7F01ED-F931-4B91-B334-20EEF6AADEE1>

¹³¹ Sikdar and Mitra, **opcit.**, p.3,

¹³² **Ibid.**

¹³³ Beverly Alimo-Metcalfe, "Women in management; organizational socialization and assessment practices that prevent career advancement. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment*", 1(2), 1993, pp. 68

outgoings in order to save."¹³⁴ These analyses show that men are better in finance than women. So, if 65 percent of the article have a negative perception about women's capability to manage financial issues, these perceptions could effect the way we consider a woman leader like the minister of economy or finance, even prime minister and president as economy is one of the most important part of leading a country. As these kinds of negative perceptions about women's capability could serve to a negative image for women leaders and men are more visible than women in leadership, some leadership characteristics attributed to men seem like "golden rules." Therefore, women leaders can feel they are forced to behave like a man. As business life and political leadership seem to be dominated more by men than women all around the world, Sikdar and Mitra try to find a reply to the question if "*Gender stereotyping is playing a role in the choice of organizational leaders, such that leadership is believed to require characteristics associated with men and thus women do not make leaders.*"¹³⁵ They say that as male leaders are more visible than women, leadership role is much more associated with male characteristics than female characteristics. But Duehr and Bono say as there is an increase in women managers, it is argued that there are resemblance between feminine and managerial characteristics.¹³⁶

However, as the numbers of female managers increase, the managerial skills begin to be identified with female characteristics compared to the past. Sikdar and Mitra indicate that it is possible that shared biological sex leads women to be psychologically identified with female managers and to believe that feminine characteristics are suited to managerial tasks. They quote from Shin and Mueller who say "*Empirical evidence confirms that as the number of women in management position increases, women see a stronger relationship between characteristics of females and characteristics of managers*"¹³⁷. Miller and Budd assert as men, "*hold more deep-rooted views on gender-role stereotypes. Emergence of a small number of women leaders in recent years may not be enough to change their views on the relationship between leadership*

¹³⁴ Erica Buist, "Media Stereotype Women in Financial Coverage Study Finds", The Guardian, 2018 <https://www.theguardian.com/money/2018/mar/10/media-stereotype-women-in-financial-coverage-study-finds>

¹³⁵ Sikdar and Mitra, **op.cit.**

¹³⁶ **Ibid.** p.3.

¹³⁷ V. E., Schein and R. Mueller, "Sex role stereotyping and requisite management characteristics: A cross cultural look", Journal of Organizational Behavior, 13, 1992 439-447.

and feminine characteristic.”¹³⁸ There are other factors that increase the effect of stereotype like being a member of a minority, lower caste or having a lower economic status. Sikdar and Mitra say that women may suffer from some intersecting stereotype: “Gender stereotypes compounded and intersecting with other stereotypes have a disproportionate negative impact on certain groups of women, such as women from minority or indigenous groups, women with disabilities, women from lower caste groups or with lower economic status, migrant women, etc.”

Gender stereotypes cause women to be perceived based on the societal roles. Leadership roles are often attributed to men. One of the things that cause leadership to be attributed to mostly men is some images that are drawn for women by the media. For example, in some advertisements, women are always depicted as addicted to shopping, while men are depicted as they are conscious about how to spend and save money. These kinds of capabilities like being an expert in finance serve to be a good leader. However, as women are depicted as incapable in those skills, their leadership capabilities are interrogated. Nevertheless, we see recently that there are many research activities highlighting that women have some skills helping them be much more successful than men. Being emotional, caring and nurturing motivates their team members. CEO of Leadership Global, Greg Young says in his article, “*Women, Naturally Better Leaders for the 21st Century*”, says that as women are better in emotional intelligence, they are better in some managerial skills than men: “*The areas where women emerge as stronger are those required by leaders of organisations to be most successful in the 21st century.*”¹³⁹ Another aspect is that some stereotypes such as belonging to a minority group or having some disabilities may intersect.

¹³⁸ L. Miller & J. Budd, “The development of occupational sex-role stereotypes, occupational preferences and academic subject preferences in children at ages 8, 12 and 16”. *Educational Psychology*, 19, 1999, pp. 17-35.

¹³⁹ Greg Young, “*Women, Naturally Better Leaders for the 21st Century*”, Taylor and Francis”, p.2, https://www.crcpress.com/rsc/downloads/WP-TL2-2016_Transpersonal_Leadership_WP2_FINAL.pdf

3. Types of Gender Stereotypes Used for Female Political Leaders

The labelling may transform into some obstacles that women may face throughout their life, especially their career. These handicaps are called glass ceiling or labyrinths for women. Jonsen says that labyrinth and glass ceiling concepts always exist when we talk about female leadership: *“There remain important barriers for women in navigating their careers. The ‘glass ceiling’ is a metaphor for the barriers that women encounter when trying to attain positions of leadership. Subsequent metaphors such as ‘glass elevators’ and ‘glass cliffs’ refer to the greater scrutiny and criticism that women may receive when in leadership roles.. However, Eagly and Carli (2007) have suggested the metaphor of the ‘labyrinth,’ may be more appropriate as it conveys the complexity and number of obstacles women face throughout their careers.”*¹⁴⁰

Glass ceiling is a collection of prejudgements and stereotypes that prevent women from being leaders. Those stereotypes mainly consist of prejudgements serving to the perception that men are ideally more suited to be a leader. As women face such stereotypes in their way to become leaders, they try to adopt assessments attributed to men so as to be a leader approved by the society.

These kinds of stereotypes are like frames that distort the success or failure of female politicians as Alice H. Eagly and Linda L. Carli show us: *“Prejudice and discrimination that slow or sometimes completely block women’s advancement have surely not disappeared, but the idea of glass ceiling with its portrayal of inflexible limits has lingered too long.”*¹⁴¹ Behind these prejudgments and stereotypes, we see that there are some ascribed perceptions about role and status of men and women leaders through traditional perspectives. These ideas can be positive or negative. So, we can talk about some generally accepted beliefs and ideas in society. One of the most common gender stereotypes for women is to think that all women want to get married and have a child. The division of housework may be originated from these stereotypes too. Some evolutionary psychologists describe the leadership of man as a natural result of the roles attributed to men and women. They think also that leadership is inherent in the male psyche¹⁴²: *“Men have predominated in leadership roles for so*

¹⁴⁰ Jonsen et all, **ibid.**, p.549,.

¹⁴¹ Alice H. Eagly and Linda L. Carli, **Through The Labyribth: The Truth About How Women Become Leader**, Boston, Harvard Business School Press, Massachussets, 2007 p.1,

¹⁴² A.H. and Carli, L.L. “Women and the Labyrinth of Leadership”, p.68

long that leadership itself perceived as a masculine domain. Regardless of their objective qualifications, men have an advantage over women merely because people ascribe mainly masculine qualities to leaders."¹⁴³

So, universal dominance by men over women is just a prediction. Eagly says if aggressiveness and competitiveness are inherent male dispositions, men would be dominant over women. Anthropologist evidence shows that in approximately one third of small-scale societies with simple socioeconomic system, men and women are almost equal in authority and power, even though they have different responsibilities. *"These finding challenges the authority and dominance is inherent in men's nature."*¹⁴⁴ However, even when male dominance is not universal, the stereotypes can make an illusion and can make us interiorize that leadership has a male nature. However people are stereotyped based on such personal characteristics as race, sex, age, and physical attractiveness.¹⁴⁵ Women leaders are perceived through some stereotypes. Those stereotypes present the women leaders in a way that does not reflect their true personalities, capacities and abilities about their profession. As the New York Times' American journalist Shankar Vedantam gives some examples of stereotypes that woman politicians from all over the world face: *"England's Margaret Thatcher... was called 'Attila the Hen.' Golda Meir, Israel's first female prime minister was 'the only man in the Cabinet.' Richard Nixon called Indira Gandhi, India's first female prime minister, 'the old witch.' And Angela Merkel, the current chancellor of Germany, has been dubbed 'The Iron Frau.'"*¹⁴⁶

Eagly and Carli say that we use stereotypes as shortcuts to guide our judgement but we are generally unaware of their presence. Therefore, that's one of the answers to the question why we use stereotypes. *"Stereotypes helps us make guesses about how others are likely to behave and how best to interact with them."*¹⁴⁷ These stereotypes are used by media, too. Media uses stereotyping for women politicians not only in

¹⁴³ **Ibid.** p 83

¹⁴⁴ Douglas P. Fry and Genevieve Souillac, "The Original Partnership Societies: Evolves Propensities for Equality, Prosociality and Peace", University of Minnesota, 2017

¹⁴⁵ Lawrence H. Ganong/Marilyn Coleman, "The content of mother stereotypes", (online), 1995, Springer, Berlin, <https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/BF01544185.pdf>

¹⁴⁶ Shankar Vedantam, "The Myth of the Iron Lady", New York Times, <http://www.uky.edu/AS/PolSci/Peffley/pdf/Vendantam%2007%20WP%20The%20Myth%20of%20the%20Iron%20Lady.pdf>

¹⁴⁷ Eagly and Carli, **op.cit.**, p. 8

verbal form but also in visual form. *“In a society grown more visual and less verbal, political cartooning is steadily emerging as an artistic and political force.”*¹⁴⁸ For example, to show the effect of Germany on Turkey, a cartoonist Sergey Elkin draws Merkel on a citadel representing the European Union. She pushes the ladder while Erdoğan climbs to the citadel.¹⁴⁹ The cartoon portrays here a powerful stereotype for Merkel.



Figure 3.1. Sergey Elkin drew the relation between Turkey and Germany.¹⁵⁰

However, what we focus on in our study, as in the example of Merkel during the migrant crisis, is that women leaders undergo some gender stereotypes that men do not face often. Therefore, these stereotypes can be an obstacle that can be called glass ceiling for women on their way to become a leader. For example, some characteristics like being too emotional creates a weak stereotype for women. This is because being emotional has been seen like an obstacle for women leaders even in recent research studies showing that women can be more successful than men in leadership thanks to their higher emotional intelligence levels compared to men.

One of the sources of gender stereotype is the appearance of women leaders. As Julia Munder quoted from Scholz, today politics is more and more visualised, mediatized

¹⁴⁸ Cartoon Art flourishing, <https://www.nytimes.com/1982/04/08/us/cartoon-art-flourishing.html>

¹⁴⁹ DW, “AB ile Türkiye’nin Saklambaç Oyunu Son Bulmalı” (Hide and Seek Play of EU and Turkey should end up), 05.09.2017, <https://www.dw.com/tr/yorum-ab-ile-türkiyenin-saklambaç-oyunu-son-bulmalı/a-40372529>

¹⁵⁰ DW, *op.cit*, 05.09.2017

and influenced by the media.¹⁵¹ Politicians and election candidates are under constant surveillance of the media.¹⁵² From the beginning of their political career, they are under the pressure of public but female politicians are under detailed observation of the media.¹⁵³ For example, media focuses on Merkel's appearance but they do not make the same criticisms for male politicians. For example, when Merkel wore the same dress for the Bayreuth Wagner Opera festivals in Lebanon in 2008 and 2012, she was criticised by *The Guardian* about wearing the same gown for the same event twice –and became the focus of the media even there were so many other important things like the performances of opera singers: “Mrs Merkel appeared in the same full length blue evening gown, accessorised with a pearl necklace, that she was photographed wearing to exactly the same event four years ago.”¹⁵⁴ We can also give an example from *Der Spiegel*. *Der Spiegel* published an article about Merkel showing her nude as SPD stripe her naked. The editorial chose this picture for cover as they wanted to show the loss that Merkel suffered because she made a coalition with SPD: “Angela Merkel has paid a high price in order to stay Chancellor a little longer.”¹⁵⁵ Showing someone naked can be included in freedom of speech. What we can criticize here is that if this is done for only women leaders, why the media uses the appearance or nudity of women to criticize, is this to decry or to blame her or to ruin her reputation?

And what does this news serve for? We can say that this kind of news puts Merkel in an awkward and clumsy situation and besmirch the leader's reputation.

¹⁵¹ Julia Munder, "The visual representation of Angela Merkel in the media Does her visual representation reinforce or challenge the visual representation of female politicians in the media?" https://www.academia.edu/7882585/The_visual_representation_of_Angela_Merkel_in_the_media_Does_her_visual_representation_reinforce_or_challenge_the_visual_representation_of_female_politicians_in_the_media

¹⁵² D. McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory*, 6th ed., Sage, 2010, p.524.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ Telegraph, “Double take: Angela Merkel steps out in same dress she wore to same event four years ago”, 25.07.2012, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/9427863/Double-take-Angela-Merkel-steps-out-in-same-dress-she-wore-to-same-event-four-years-ago.html>

¹⁵⁵ Mogaznewsen, “Angela Merkel appears NAKED in shock cartoon mocking German Chancellor's ...”, <https://en.mogaznews.com/collection/809404/Angela-Merkel-appears-NAKED-in-shock-cartoon-mocking-German-Chancellors-.html>



Figure 3.2. Der Spiegel showed Merkel stripped by the members of SPD. ¹⁵⁶

These examples show us that, behind these stereotypes, there are some prejudgments which are used to qualify women leaders and these can be negative or positive. These prejudgements seem like personal traits in the public eye. However, the effects of stereotypes change depending on the content in which they are used. The election periods or different crises are among the opportunities that we can see more clearly how the deteriorated prejudgements serve to consolidate the stereotypes that are attributed to women leaders.

According Major and Coleman, the media also focuses on the image of the female candidate instead of the candidate's stance on issue.¹⁵⁷ Major and Coleman show us that the gender stereotyping of female candidates indicate that female candidates are effective on health care and education issues; whereas male candidates are effective on economy and defense issues. Therefore, prejudgements and stereotypes can turn into glass ceilings that can restrain female politicians from showing their real capabilities. Media can be a propagative instrument for these prejudgements. For this reason, the election races become an area where men and women do not race under equal conditions because of the discriminative approach of media towards women leaders.

Myra Marx Ferree says that even when Merkel does not use her gender as an instrument to gain German women's votes, the media focuses on her appearance:

¹⁵⁶ Der Spiegel, "Angela Merkel appears NAKED in shock cartoon mocking German Chancellor's coalition deal", 10.02.2018, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/917227/Germany-Angela-Merkel-Der-Spiegel-cartoon-naked-SPD-Martin-Schulz-coalition-CDU>

¹⁵⁷ Major, L. H., & Coleman, R.. "The intersection of race and gender in election coverage: What happens when the candidates don't fit the stereotypes? The Howard Journal of Communications", 2008 315-332.

*“Media interest in Merkel as a woman candidate brought predictable attention to her hairstyle make up and dress as well as to her family life, and on all these groups she was assessed as deficient but trying to make expectations. A more fashionable haircut and clothes served not only to define her as more feminine but also as accommodating to West German norms of femininity”*¹⁵⁸

Susan Chira from New York Times also says that Merkel never used her gender to climb into the political ladder in an article she wrote just one week before the fourth general elections she won: *“Angela Merkel has spent her political career playing down her gender: shunning a feminist label, offering modesty, caution and diligent preparation as an implicit contrast to male swagger. The chancellor seems to be coasting to re-election next Sunday as the most powerful woman in the world.”*¹⁵⁹

By the way, Merkel was criticized by many others not to use feminism card in Germany where women are still paid 21 percent less than men — the European average is 16 percent.¹⁶⁰

One of the reasons of why Merkel was not using her gender is that her father was a pastor, she grew up in the communist environment of East Germany and in East Germany, women were freer to participate in economy than women in West Germany. Women in East Germany were supported with opportunities like kindergarten to raise their children; however, in West Germany, the American woman stereotype, being a good housewife and mother under the guise of conservatism, was pictured like ideal. Therefore, after Merkel came to power, the West Germany women were encouraged to be freer economically. However, the new situation was interpreted like abandoning the values by some journalists and writers like Katrin Benhold. Katrin Benhold from New York Times quotes from Birgit Kelle who is a member of Merkel’s Christian Democratic party in her article *“In Angela Merkel, German Women Find Symbol, but not Savior.”*

¹⁵⁸ Myra Marx Ferree, “Angela Merkel: What does it mean to run as a woman”, 2006, p.99 https://www.jstor.org/stable/23742714?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

¹⁵⁹ Susan Chira, The New York Times, “The World’s Most Powerful Woman Won’t Call Herself a Feminist”, 16.09.2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/16/sunday-review/angela-merkel-feminist-germany.html>

¹⁶⁰ Katrin Benhold, “In Angela Merkel, German Women Find Symbol, but Not Savior”, New York Times, 13.09.2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/13/world/europe/angela-merkel-germany-election.html>

Chira compares Merkel with Hillary Clinton and concludes that Merkel was not trying to break the glass ceiling as Clinton was doing: “Mrs. Clinton campaigned as a woman who would make history by shattering the highest glass ceiling; in response, a misogynistic backlash gripped segments of the United States. By contrast, Ms. Merkel avoided dwelling on her historic first and cultivated a resolutely boring public persona, easing her ascent to lead a nation that long held conservative attitudes toward women...Her climb to the top and her 12-year tenure have proven her a masterful political practitioner...”¹⁶¹

When we compare the political careers of Hillary Clinton and Angela Merkel, we see that Clinton faced many criticism that derived from stereotypes like being a mannish woman because she wears trousers or is not enough potent like their male counterparts. However, Merkel could escape that kind of stereotypes by staying silent in her first years of careers. Because of that silence, some media gave her a nickname “grey mouse”¹⁶² She also kept away from movements like feminism to be able to address to the whole country. This strategy was one of her secrets of success. That’s why Chira also underlines that Merkel does not call herself a feminist, which is severely criticized by many feminists. Hence, Merkel proved first her power in politics before being a victim of some stereotypes.

Wu stated that masculine and feminine gender role orientation could apply to male or female politicians.¹⁶³ Some of these stereotypes derive from the stereotypes attributed to women. However, contrary to what is supposed, most of these stereotypes attributed to women are not derived from those attributed to women. For example, German and European media calls Merkel “Mutti Merkel.” Merkel was given the nickname of “Mutti” (Mother) even if she does not have a child. We see that some stereotypes contributed to women, as being mother is contributed to women leaders, too. Nevertheless, sometimes we see that the stereotypes for women and stereotypes for women leaders do not overlap. According to research by Monica C. Schneider and

¹⁶¹ Susan Chira, *op.cit.*

¹⁶² Sidney Morning Herald, “The mother land: how Germany fell in love with Angela Merkel”, 27.09.2013, <https://www.smh.com.au/world/the-mother-land-how-germany-fell-in-love-with-angela-merkel-20130927-2ujk3.html>

¹⁶³ Alice H. Wu, “Gender Stereotyping in Academia: Evidence from Economics Job Market Rumors Forum”, Princeton University, 2017, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3051462

Angela L., the stereotype content for female politicians will be largely distinct from the content of stereotypes of women, constituting a subtype of the broader group. Male politicians may rather constitute a subgroup where they share many qualities with men.¹⁶⁴ Amy E. McCabe and Laura A. Brannon define subtype as “*a subcategory containing members atypical of the larger social group*” and subgroup as “*a subcategory containing members possessing many of the characteristics consistent with those of the larger group.*”¹⁶⁵

Their findings demonstrated that respondents did not view female politicians as possessing female stereotypical traits in the same way that these traits are ascribed to women. For example, when they are asked whether women are emotional or not, 93.5 of them responded yes. However, this rate is 29.5 percent for female politicians. For being warm, the rate is 76.1 for women and 11.8 for female politicians. For being pretty, the rate is 87 percent for women and 5.9 percent for female politicians.

The results of the research indicated that female politicians are a subtype of women. Female professionals, a known subtype of women, “*were viewed as having more positive personality traits, as more empathetic and as more competent and capable leaders than female, politicians.*”¹⁶⁶ According to the research, female politicians surpassed male politicians in terms of positive female personality traits; they were only on par with male politicians in terms of empathy. A Gallup poll states, “*If given the choice between a male or female boss when taking a new job, Americans strongly lean towards men as their preferred choice.*”¹⁶⁷ This is because there is a stereotype called “horrible female boss.” In an article published in *The Guardian*, based on the results of the research by Gallup, Judith Baxter says, “*expectations for women in power are set so high that it's nearly impossible for any human being to meet them.*”¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Monica C. Schneider and Angela L. Bos, "Measuring Stereotypes of Female Politicians", **Political Psychology**, 2013, http://www.users.miamioh.edu/schneimc/Schneider%20and%20Bos_PP.pdf

¹⁶⁵ Amy E. McCabe and Laura A. Brannon, “An Examination Racial Subtypes Versus Subgroups”, **Current Research in Social Psychology**, 2003, <https://uiowa.edu/crisp/sites/uiowa.edu.crisp/files/9.8.pdf>

¹⁶⁶ McCabe and Brannon, **op.cit.**

¹⁶⁷ Frank Newport and Joy Willke, "Americans Still Prefer a Male Boss", Gallup, Zürich, 2013, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/165791/americans-prefer-male-boss.aspx>

¹⁶⁸ Baxter, Judith, “How to Beat the female leadership stereotypes”, *The Guardian*, 09.12.2013 <https://www.theguardian.com/women-in-leadership/2013/dec/09/beat-female-leadership-stereotypes>

However, we see in a recently Gallup study that there is no gender preference for boss, even for those taking a new job. According to survey, *"Currently, 55% of Americans volunteer that they would have no gender preference for a boss if they were taking a new job. Roughly equal percentages, 23% and 21%, say they would prefer a man or a woman, respectively."*¹⁶⁹ However, Shankar says that even there are some perceptions about women, people are not conscient about the evaluation criteria for the perception of women and men leaders: *"The driving factor in the way women leaders are perceived, experiments show, is not that they are any more ruthless than men who get to the top, but that people have strong and often unconscious conceptions about men, women and the nature of leadership."*¹⁷⁰

As the famous American business woman Rosabeth Moss Kanter identified four "role traps" for women like the pet, the mother, the battle-axe and the seductress, Judith Baxter says, *"Today, if you look at the way women are represented in the media, these role traps heavily influence the way we see female leaders."*¹⁷¹ We collected some stereotypes from some articles and news in media that could bring some light to the stereotypes that are attributed to Merkel by the Turkish media in the time of migrant crisis. Merkel, who started her career as a scientist in physics, had an extraordinary start in politics. She is not a graduate of political science as Helmut Kohl or Helmut Schmidt or from law school like Wolfgang Schäuble or Gerhard Schröder. Given her worldviews and many personal choices, it is possible to say that she is a very genuine politician. However, in the Turkish media and the Western media, we do not see every aspect of Merkel's life. What we can see are the images of Merkel reflected by the perspective of the media companies that can be changed based on bilateral relations between Germany and Turkey or international incidents that affect the destiny of both country. One of the most effective examples of these incidents is the international crises that can damage the interests of countries. Therefore, in the time of crisis, media can lose "its objectivity" more than any other periods. The images of leaders can be distorted by media more than any other time. In the time of crisis, we generally see that Turkish media is in a tendency that distorts the image of the leaders of foreign countries. In that distortion, media prefers to see the leaders through some stereotypes.

¹⁶⁹ **Ibid.**

¹⁷⁰ Shankar, **op.cit.**

¹⁷¹ Judith Baxter, "How to best female leadership stereotypes", 09.12.2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/women-in-leadership/2013/dec/09/beat-female-leadership-stereotypes>

The migrant crisis is one of the big cases that has created a tendency that lets us see those kinds of stereotypes, especially towards women. As in many media corporations, the images of women and men leaders are both filtrated through stereotypes. As stereotypes used for men serve to fortify their capability in politics in most of the times, these kinds of stereotypes may damage the women's competence in politics. However, while stereotypes for men construct a perception that places them in business life and politics, some stereotypes for women can stimulate a perception that tries to limit women with their roles in family. On the other hand, some women leaders can be attributed some stereotypes that are attributed to men. However, in this case, women are criticized to have a mannish character. For Merkel, we see that media attribute stereotypes that belong to both sexes. So, we will investigate how some stereotypes are used in migrant crisis in 2015 by the Turkish media.

3.1. "Ice Queen"

Ice queen is one of the qualifications attributed to strong female leaders. Merkel is qualified as "ice queen" by the European media. A woman, who shows her emotions easily, is often deemed as too fragile or unstable to lead, according to Halley Bock, CEO of leadership and development training company Fierc. *"A woman who shows no emotion and keeps it hyper-professional is icy and unfeminine. For many women, it can be a no-win situation"* says Bock. American fashion editor Anna Vintour is one of the examples of ice queens. Newspaper like *The Telegraph* often used the "Ice Queen" label for Anna Vintour¹⁷².

The cover photo of *Stern* magazine is another example for the Merkel's ice queen image. *Stern* magazine used the title of "Die Eiskönigin" (Ice Queen) for Merkel by depicting "the steel looking" Merkel with this subtitle *"How Angela Merkel became Europe's most feared woman. And who now pays the price for the euro rescue"*.¹⁷³ This cover was used by many websites that wanted to show Merkel as an ice queen under the title of "Die Eiskönigin".

¹⁷² Patrick Sawyer, "Fashion's ice queen Anna Vintour opens up about family" <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/11640778/Fashions-ice-queen-Anna-Wintour-opens-up-about-family.html>

¹⁷³ Stern Magazine, "The Cover of Stern Magazine", 16.07.2015, <https://www.stern.de/sonst/vorabmeldungen/stern-vorabmeldung--charlie-hebdo--chef---wir-haben-das-recht-auf-karikatur-verteidigt--nun-sind-andere-dran--6345870.html> Formal presentation?



Figure 3.3. The cover photo of Stern magazin published on 16 July 2016 use the title of “Die Eiskönigin”, meaning “Ice Queen” for Angela Merkel.¹⁷⁴

Before September 2015, Merkel was called “Ice Queen” when she made a Palestinian girl cry by saying Germany would deport migrants during a televised debate about living in Germany. Reem Sahwil, 14, said Angela Merkel that she and her family had been waiting for permanent residence status for four years. In response, Merkel told her that Germany cannot accommodate everyone as it could not ‘cope’ with that, prompting the teenager, who has cerebral palsy, to burst into floods of tears. After Merkel’s attitude, German Stein magazine used “Ice Queen” title for Merkel on its cover.¹⁷⁵ There are some caricatures showing Merkel as an “ice queen” as well. The image of ice queen is used to show the powerful and lonely side of Merkel. The ice queen image has a controversial effect between power, loneliness and weakness. Therefore, we can say that media channels want to accentuate the fragility of power of Merkel by using that image.

In the Turkish media, Merkel’s attitude was shown as a sign of her heartless, that can be interpreted as “Ice Queen”. Her words were qualified as “harsh” by *Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Yeni Akit*.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Asylum case rattles Angela Merkel, <http://www.dw.com/en/asylum-case-rattles-angela-merkel/a-18590701>

As below:

*Sabah: "The harsh word of Merkel made Palestinian girl cry"*¹⁷⁶

*Hürriyet: "Merkel made Palestinian girl cry"*¹⁷⁷

*Cumhuriyet: "The words of Merkel deeply saddened Palestinian girl"*¹⁷⁸

*Yeni Akit: "Merkel made cry Palestinian girl"*¹⁷⁹

In fact, Merkel tried to soothe the girl, too. However, media focused rather on "harsh words" of Merkel saying that Germany cannot accept every refugee. After Merkel saw that she was crying, she hugged the Palestinian girl. But media trivialized the hug by giving a huge place to Merkel's harsh words and cry of the Palestinian girl.



Figure 3.4. The dialogues between Merkel and the Palestinian girl whom she made cry. Merkel tried to sooth the girl.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Sabah, "Merkel'in katı sözleri Filistinli kızı ağlattı", 17.07.2015, <https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2015/07/17/merkelin-kati-sozleri-filistinli-kizi-aglatti>

¹⁷⁷ Hürriyet, "Merkel Filistinli mülteci kızı ağlattı", 17.07.2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/merkel-filistinli-multeci-kizi-aglatti-29569295>

¹⁷⁸ Cumhuriyet, "Merkel'in sözleri Filistinli mülteci kızı gözyaşlarına boğdu", 16.07.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/dunya/323635/Merkel_in_sozleri_Filistinli_multeci_kizi_goz_yaslarina_bogdu.html

¹⁷⁹ Yeniakit, "Merkel Filistinli kızı ağlattı", 16.07.2015, <https://m.yeniakit.com.tr/video/merkel-filistinli-multeci-kizi-aglatti-4050.html>

¹⁸⁰ Mondoweiss, "Angela Merkel makes a 14-year old Palestinian girl cry by telling her she is not welcome in Germany", 16.07.2015, <https://mondoweiss.net/2015/07/palestinian-telling-welcome/>

After negative news about Merkel published in the media, Merkel took a step to demolish negative prejudgments about her attitude toward refugees by giving an order not to excruciate Palestinian girl and her family¹⁸¹



Figure 3.5. Merkel is shown as an ice queen who lost power by The Spectator¹⁸²

The Spectator showed Merkel as a leader who has power but now debilitating. To show her as a defeated ice queen, they depicted the Europe as a big mass of ice. However, the ice is breaking and the queen Merkel is slipping on it and the ice beneath her feet is cracking. In this respect, she is delineated as a weak ice queen.

We can see that media tries to associate the ice queen image with many women leaders. Before the elections in 2008 in USA, the representation of former first lady, and then former foreign minister Hillary Clinton as cold, scornful, over ambitious, calculating, scary, intimidating, lacking in beauty and feminine qualities¹⁸³. Gaffney and Blaylock (2010) made a survey among voters who are strongly identified with their part and who are low identifiers in California to find out Hillary Clinton's levels of competence and warmth. They found that voters perceived Clinton as competent but not nurturing and warm.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Daily Mail, "Palestinian girl who broke down in tears when Angela Merkel told her 'not everyone can come' during excruciating exchange has won permission to stay in Germany another year", 24.12.2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3373370/Palestinian-girl-broke-tears-Angela-Merkel-told-not-come-excruciating-exchange-won-permission-stay-Germany-year.html#ixzz58uDDQVsW>

¹⁸² The Spectator, "Where did it all go wrong for Angela Merkel?", 25.11.2017, <https://www.spectator.co.uk/2017/11/where-did-it-all-go-wrong-for-angela-merkel/>

¹⁸³ Diana B. Carlin and Kelly B. Winfrey, **Have You Come a Long Way, Baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and Sexism in 2008 Campaign Coverage**, 2009, Routledge, London, http://www.kean.edu/~jkeil/Welcome_files/Have%20You%20Come%20a%20Long%20Way%3F.pdf

¹⁸⁴ Marlin and Kelly, **op.cit.**

Gaffney and Blaylock say that although Clinton won the primary elections in California, many voters expected more warmth from her. In 2008, Clinton was portrayed as having lack of femininity and being icier, which may constitute an obstacle for her in the elections as male voters might not prefer a woman that seems so icy and mannish, while Sarah Palin presents a more feminine style.

Gaffney and Blaylock found that for participants who are strongly identified with their political party and perceived Clinton as high in competence, warmth was positively related to voting for Clinton. (Figure 2.1.4) For participants weakly identified with their political party, warmth was positively related to voting for Clinton, regardless of perceptions of competence. (Figure 2.1.5)¹⁸⁵

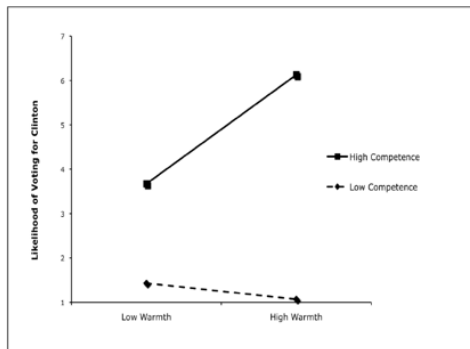


Figure 3.6. The relationship between warmth and competence among high identifiers in predicting voting for Clinton.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Daniel Blaylock and Amber M. Gaffney, "Hillary Clinton's race: Did she match the presidential prototype?", *Advancing Women in Leadership Journal*, 2010, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/264811301_Hillary_Clinton's_race_Did_she_match_the_presidential_prototype

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

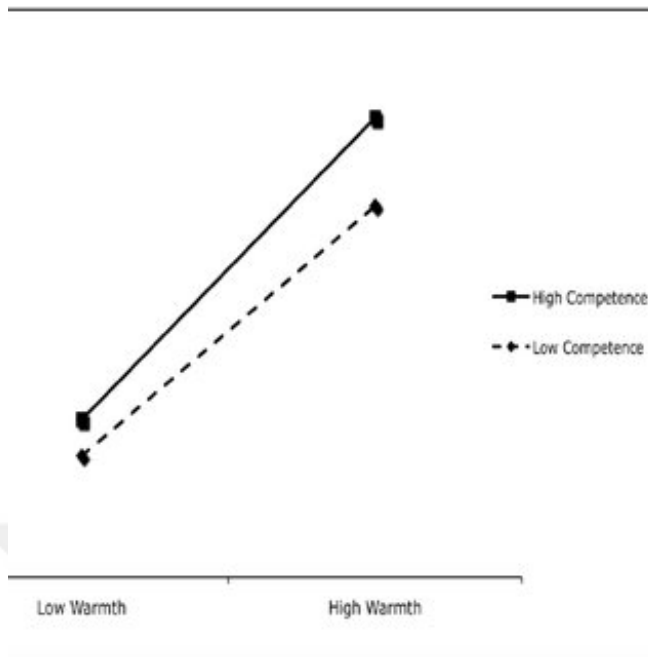


Figure: 3.7. The relationship between warmth and competence among low identifiers in predicting voting for Clinton.

In conclusion, Western media used “ice queen” image for Merkel to show her powerful and lack of feminine qualities like warmth and nurturing qualifications. It is used to define her power, underline her failures in some situations that she lost power, like migrant crisis. However, in the Turkish media ice queen image is only used for the situations that Merkel does not show warmth or pity for people like in the case that Palestinian girl cried because of the words of Merkel saying that Germany cannot accommodate a big migrant wave. If we try to understand the effect of ice queen for woman leaders in politics, we see that while high identifiers do not make a relation between warmth and competence, the low identifiers see a close relation between them (Daniel Blaylock and Amber M. Gaffney). So, as media corporations address to readers among whom there are many low identifiers with politics, ice queen image can serve to deteriorate the image of Angela Merkel.

3.2. “Single and Lonely”

Harvard lecturer Olivia Fox Cabane says that the fear of sacrificing the personal life to gain power in career may stop women from going after power. Therefore, women have to give up their family dreams to be “a real professional, according to this idea.

However, for men, family is an advantage to be accepted as a successful leader. Being a single woman and being a single man are not perceived in the same way. When old women do not prefer to get married, they can be perceived like “old maids” or spinsters, men, on the other hand, are considered as bachelors. In fact, when Janet Napolitano was nominated for the Secretary of Homeland Security, critics said her being single would allow her to “*spend more time on the job.*”¹⁸⁷

Spiegel Online published an article in 2015 to show how Merkel is alone in her refugee politics. In the article “*The Lonely Chancellor: Merkel under fire as the refugee crises worsens*”, they say Merkel was losing power and the Merkel era is coming to an end, even if Merkel is still said to be powerful: “*Merkel can still rely on a large number of supporters within her own party. But each day that thousands of refugees cross into Germany, the certainty that such support is sustainable erodes a bit further. Not long ago, Merkel was considered the strongest political leader in Europe, one whose term in office could only come to an end were she to decide herself against running for reelection in 2017. Now, both foreign and domestic media outlets are wondering aloud whether she will run into serious trouble before Christmas, or shortly thereafter.*”¹⁸⁸



Figure 3.8. The Spiegel showed Merkel alone among German politicians.¹⁸⁹

The lonely image of women leaders serves to show women leaders weaker than their counterparts. So loneliness is shown like a stereotype for women leaders. As we mentioned in our “sexist stereotypes about women in some TV series and movies” section, women leaders in different branches of business life are shown with some

¹⁸⁷ Jeanna Goudro, “The 10 Worst Stereotypes About Powerful Women”, 24.10.2011, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/jennagoudreau/2011/10/24/worst-stereotypes-powerful-women-christine-lagarde-hillary-clinton/#4a39926761ca>, For More Information Please See: Janet Napolitano, “Persistence of Singlisme”, 05.12.2008, <https://blogs.wsj.com/juggle/2008/12/05/janet-napolitano-and-the-persistence-of-singlism/>

¹⁸⁸ Spiegel Online, “The Lonely Chancellor: Merkel under fire as the refugee crisis worsens”, 02.11.2015, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/merkel-under-fire-as-refugee-crisis-in-germany-worsens-a-1060720.html>

¹⁸⁹ Spiegel Online, 02.11.2015, **op.cit.**

stereotypes like “lonely, aggressive or obsessive” in many movies or TV series, as Emma Bell and Amanda Sinclair like Sharon Mavin show examples of women leaders in movies and television series, bring light to stereotyping against women leaders by entertainment industry: “Although women leaders are sometimes represented in film and television, they are often represented in negative, stereotypical ways. TV series such as *Suits* (2011-14) and *Mad Men* (2007- 14) portray senior women as obsessed by work, sexually frustrated or manipulative, lonely and ruthless.”¹⁹⁰



Figure 3.9. Angela Merkel is sitting on a chair lonely and crying. The media loves to show Angela Merkel fragile, lonely and ill. ¹⁹¹



Figure 3.10. Merkel is shown fragile and lonely.¹⁹² **Psychoanalyst Hans Joachim Maaz is on the left.**

¹⁹⁰ Emma Bell and Amanda Sinclair, “Re-envisioning Leadership through the Feminine Imaginary in Film and Television”, in Beyes, T., Parker, M. And Steyaert, C. (eds.) Routledge Companion to Reinventing Management Education, London: Routledge, pp. 273-286.

¹⁹¹ Shutterstock, “The image of Angela Merkel who is crying and sitting lonely on a chair”, <https://www.shutterstock.com/search/angela+merkel+illustration>

¹⁹² Kieran Korkoran, “Is Angela Merkel on the verge of a mental breakdown? Warning from psychoanalyst”, (Express), <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/639184/Is-Angela-Merkel-on-the-verge-of-a-MENTAL-BREAKDOWN-Warning-from-psychoanalyst>

For example, Kieran Corcoran from Express wrote an article that aims to show Angela Merkel in a weak and unhealthy image. The article showing a lonely Merkel image says that Merkel's mental health is a concern by citing the observations of a psychoanalyst called Hans Joachim Maaz. Saying that Merkel may undergo a mental breakdown, Corcoran said: *"The German Chancellor could lose the plot after sustained criticism of her open-door migrant policy, it has been said."*¹⁹³ Maaz cited by Corcoran says, "The chancellor's stubbornness in the face of opposition shows that she has "lost touch with reality." He says also a psychological and physical collapse for her is imminent. He said, *"We know from show business - first comes then loneliness - then perhaps alcohol - then the mental breakdown."*¹⁹⁴ So in this article Merkel is shown lonely, apt to being mentally ill, fragile and unhealthy because of her migrant policies.

According to Nyonga Jacinta Mutenyo and Whitekar and Lane, some myths show "women's weakness" as one of their handicaps to become a real leader. As weakness constitutes "glass ceiling", *"Women in leadership confront barriers or obstacles that men do not realize. Some myths suggest women cannot discipline older students, particularly males; females are too emotional; too weak physically; and males resent working with females."*¹⁹⁵

The Turkish media also does not hesitate to republish the articles in the European media which shows Merkel as a lonely leader. The news portal Mynet published an article titled *"The loneliest politician of Europe, Merkel"* on 26 August 2016 that was originally published in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. In the article Merkel is described as *"the loneliest politician in Europe"* because of her migrant policy and her policy for Turkey.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ **Ibid.**

¹⁹⁴ Korkoran, **op.cit.**

¹⁹⁵ Nyonga Jacinta Mutenyo, "Women's perception of leadership and its influence on voting for women in Kenya: A case study of Bumula Constituency in Bungoma County", p.2, http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/bitstream/handle/11295/76973/Nyongesa_Women%20s%20perception%20of%20leadership%20and%20its%20influence%20on%20voting%20for%20women%20leaders%20in%20Kenya.pdf?sequence=4

¹⁹⁶ Mynet, "Avrupa'nın en yalnız lideri Merkel" (Merkel is the most lonely leader of Europe), 26.08.2016, <https://m.mynet.com/avrupanin-en-yalniz-politikacisi-merkel-110102606956>

Anadolu Agency published an article titled “Germany’s Prime Minister became lonely in the European Summit.”¹⁹⁷ Merkel’s stance has been always against the EU membership of Turkey. In the article, even if Merkel does not talk about her wish to cut the negotiations with Turkey about European Union membership, but only said her worries, the newspaper chose a title that showed Merkel against the membership of Turkey to the EU. The western media tries to show Merkel in a lonely position about her migrant policy to disadvantage her leadership. For German media, Merkel’s loneliness of is like a proof of her craziness of lost of mind. The Turkish media tries to show Merkel lonely to prove her weakness in politics when it comes to the membership of Turkey to the EU due to Merkel’s stance against Turkey’s accession to the EU. However, Merkel’s loneliness can be sometimes a source of power for Turkish media when it is about her migrant policy.

3.3. “Iron lady” - Tough -Powerful

We can say that iron lady stereotype is also a stereotype against tough women leaders: Such women are seen as invincible and “iron lady” is the one of the famous qualifications for these leaders as well as being powerful and tough. What does iron lady mean? According to Collinsdictionary, iron lady is *“a nickname often used to describe female heads of government around the world, meaning 'strong-willed woman'.* *“Most famously used of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (1979 to 1990) Margaret Thatcher.”*¹⁹⁸

There are some other qualifications similar to iron lady which are used for female leaders: *“England's Margaret Thatcher, you will learn, was called ‘Attila the Hen.’ Golda Meir, Israel's first female prime minister was ‘the only man in the Cabinet.’ Richard Nixon called Indira Gandhi, India's first female prime minister, ‘the old witch.’ And Angela Merkel, the current chancellor of Germany, has been dubbed ‘The Iron Frau.’”*¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ AA, “Almanya Başbakanı Merkel AB Zirvesinde yalnız kaldı”, 20.07.2017, <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/almanya-basbakani-merkel-ab-zirvesinde-yalniz-kaldi/942753>

¹⁹⁸ The Collins Dictionary, “Definition of Iron Lady”, <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/the-iron-lady>

¹⁹⁹ Shankar Vedentham, “The Myth of Iron Lady”, The New York Times, <http://www.uky.edu/AS/PolSci/Peffley/pdf/Vendantam%2007%20WP%20The%20Myth%20of%20the%20Iron%20Lady.pdf>

Angela Merkel has been the Chancellor of Germany since 2005 and the leader of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) since 2000. İlke Toygür and Bianca Benvenuti say, “In addition to her political career in Germany, she has been also acting as the ‘unelected’ leader of the European Union.”²⁰⁰

Toygür and Benvenuti say that Merkel’s leadership played an active role in Eurozone crisis. The refugee crisis was the second problem that Merkel proved her leadership for the European Union even this leadership was unofficial and contested. In summer 2015, “*German Chancellor Angela Merkel emerged as a leading figure in the Europe-wide response to the refugee crisis.*”²⁰¹ Toygür and Benvenuti say that Merkel was fighting for settling this crisis in many possible ways, first inside the EU and then in alliance with Turkey: “*The concepts of “shared humanity” and “moral responsibility” have marked her discourse throughout 2015. However, the timing of this leadership has not been the best for her political career either at home or abroad. The austerity measures that have been forced upon member states have already turned several EU members against her leadership, and at home she faced competition from the far right.*”²⁰²

Refugee crisis was one of the good reasons for Merkel to be identified with her iron lady image. Some observers commented on Angela Merkel’s reaction, defining her as “Europe’s conscience” for her emphasis on the European values and her interest in a collective response to the migration crisis.

We used to think that women politicians may be warmer than male ones but Shankar says that some research studies show that women politicians can be tougher than men. Iron lady concept is in fact first used for the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Thatcher lived one of her most important crises during the occupation of Falkland Island by Argentina in April 1982. Thatcher took a very decisive stance even if the public support decreased to 25 percent with the outbreak of an economic crisis: She sent British marine forces to war and retook the island. After the island was regained,

²⁰⁰ İlke Toygür and Bianca Benvenuti, “The European response to the refugee crises: Angela Merkel on the move”, June 2016, p.5 http://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/IlkeToygur_BiancaBenvenuti_FINAL.pdf

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.1

²⁰² Toygür and Benvenuti, *op.cit.*, p.5.

British people began to call her "iron lady" thanks to her strong stance. "Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the UK, the original 'iron lady,' is commonly understood as the militaristic exception to the rule of peaceful women leaders."²⁰³

Alice Eagly and Linda Carli say that women leaders can be more aggressive than we think: "*Culturally, women are the nicer, sexier and men are more aggressive go-getters. Leaders are generically in our culture more like men than women in the way people think about leaders.*"²⁰⁴

In the European and Turkish media, Merkel seems like a tough person who cannot be persuaded very easily. She is portrayed as a hard negotiator who often gets what she wants especially in the times of crises like Greek debt crises, Eurozone crises and refugee crises after the Syrian war. There are so many titles in Turkish media about the tough negotiations and decisions that Merkel had to deal with.²⁰⁵

However, the most concrete adjective to describe the tough image of Merkel is "Iron Lady". Many reporters and columnists used this stereotype that was formerly used for the British former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Telegraph forged a link between Thatcher and Merkel: "The comparisons between the two formidable female leaders are almost too obvious to draw. But is Angela Merkel turning into Europe's new Margaret Thatcher? If the German and other European media are anything to go by, it would be easy to think that she is. Germany's first woman Chancellor – a leader once referred to as "Ms Europe" – is nowadays being dubbed "Frau Germania", "Iron Lady" and even "Maggie Merkel", not just by hyper-critical British newspapers but by the press in her own country."²⁰⁶

²⁰³ Madison Schramm and Alexandra Stark, "Peacemakers or Iron Ladies? A Cross National Study of Gender and International Conflict", Harvard, Massachusetts, 2017, http://people.fas.harvard.edu/~jkertzer/HISC2017/schedule/papers/Schramm_Stark.pdf

²⁰⁴ Vedantam, **op.cit.**

²⁰⁵ NTV, "Merkel'in Zor Kararı" (The tough decision of Merkel), https://www.ntv.com.tr/dunya/merkelin-zor-karari,QL2Bcl_0o0-dq0sjy86Xzw, 17.05.2011,

²⁰⁶ The Independent, "The iron Frau: Angela Merkel", 12.04.2010, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/the-iron-frau-angela-merkel-1941814.html>

In many images that European media used, we can see Merkel was depicted as an iron lady. For example, The Freaking News used a Merkel image by making an analog between her and Margaret Thatcher who was known as “iron lady.”



3.11. The Freaking News published a news report showing Merkel in an iron lady image.²⁰⁷

Daniel Johnson from *The Telegraph* says Merkel is the iron lady of the Europe without dispute: *“She’s been patronised and ridiculed – but Angela Merkel’s quiet diplomacy has won the euro a reprieve.”*²⁰⁸

Johnson also compares Merkel with Thatcher who has the title of “iron lady” originally: *“The German chancellor dominated the European stage as no woman has done since Margaret Thatcher. The two could hardly differ more, either in personality or politics. Indeed, Merkel reminds me of a different Mrs T: she is a Teutonic Mrs Tiggywinkle, who kindly takes in the eurozone’s dirty linen but whose homely figure conceals her hedgehog’s prickles.”*²⁰⁹

Johnson also accentuates the power of Merkel in the European politics: *“In the perpetual negotiation machine that is the European Union, Merkel excels at getting her way while treating the male egos around her as gently as possible. She does not relish humiliating her more improvident relations, but she is determined not to be the rich aunt left with the bill at the end of the meal.”*²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ The Freaking News, “Angela Merkel in the Iron Lady”, <http://www.freakingnews.com/Angela-Merkel-in-the-Iron-Lady-Pictures-106622.asp>

²⁰⁸ Daniel Johnson, “Angela Merkel: The triumph of Europe’s Iron Lady”, *The Telegraph*, 28.10.2011, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/8855882/Angela-Merkel-The-triumph-of-Europes-Iron-Lady.html>

²⁰⁹ **Ibid.**

²¹⁰ **Ibid.**

Behind the iron lady image, we see a very powerful Merkel among other European leaders, whether they are male or female. Kate Connolly from *The Guardian* says Merkel has a very powerful role among the other European leaders. He says that Merkel is sometimes referred to as *“the de-facto leader of Europe or ‘the decider’”*²¹¹

Another newspaper that describes Merkel as “iron lady” is Quatrevingtans. In the article published in Quatrevingtans, Philip Waring says that during the crises in the eastern part of Ukraine between pro-Russians and Ukrainian soldiers showing the Russian danger to the Europe, Merkel exerted her authority by decreasing the dependency of Germany on Russia about energy: *“She is talking tough. An iron lady? In any case she went on to indicate that it might be necessary for Germany, and Europe, to reduce their dependence on Russian gas. Germany gets now about one third of its supply from Russia and Ms. Merkel says that they will have to rethink their energy policy in the medium- to long-term if the present violation of basic principles of nations at peace by Russia continues. Her language does make her into a kind of iron lady, speaking the truth to power, or better in the present instance, calling out injustice, in this case Russia’s aggressive behavior in the Ukraine, although she did avoid the term aggression.”*²¹²

²¹¹ Kate Connolly, *The Guardian*, “Ten reasons Angela Merkel is the world most powerful woman”, 07.01.2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/07/ten-reasons-angela-merkel-germany-chancellor-world-most-powerful-woman>

²¹² Philip Waring, “Merkel Europe’s New Iron Lady”, *The Quatrevingtans*, 29.09.2014, <https://quatrevingtans.net/2014/09/29/ms-merkel-europes-new-iron-lady/>



Figure 3.12. In the article by Philip Warren, Merkel is shown as the iron lady with the cover photo of Time showing Merkel giving a strong stance pose with the title of “Frau Europa” (Woman Europe).

He says that Merkel’s speaking style in her talk that she made to reduce their dependence on Russian gas sounds like the “iron lady of Europe.” He defends that Merkel is not only the “iron lady” of Germany but also of Europe. We can see here the iron lady image of Merkel does not have only national but also international extend. Waring shows also Merkel as the successor of Thatcher’s title of iron lady. At this point, Voice of America defends something different in an article titled “Germany’s Merkel – 'Iron Lady' Abroad But Trouble at Home.” In this article, they say even if Merkel is seen like an iron lady in international politics, she is not seen like this in German politics: *“German Chancellor Angela Merkel is highly respected internationally but at home the "Iron Lady" of German politics is increasingly beleaguered and even her most faithful supporters are not convinced she will be able to see out her full electoral term ending in 2021.”*²¹³

Jamie Dettmer, the author of the *Voa News*, says since Merkel took power, there has always been rumors predicting she would lost her power soon. He says that Merkel is weakened. Sky News political correspondent Sophy Ridge describes Merkel as an Iron Lady.²¹⁴ We can see so many articles that accentuate the iron lady image of Merkel. For example, *Sabah*, a Turkish newspaper, published an article about the list of Forbes that shows Merkel the most powerful woman among 100 women for the fifth time²¹⁵.

²¹³ Jamie Dettmer, “Germany’s Merkel – 'Iron Lady' Abroad But Trouble at Home” , *Voa News*, 25.09.2018, <https://www.voanews.com/a/germany-politics-merkel/4595999.html>

²¹⁴ Sophy Ridge, “Angela Merkel is finally having her feminist moment”, 04.06.2010 <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-politics/11651033/Angela-Merkel-Germanys-Chancellor-is-finally-having-a-feminist-moment.html>

²¹⁵ *Sabah*, “Dünyanın En Güçlü Kadını Merkel” (Merkel is the most powerful woman in the world) <https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2015/05/26/dunyanin-en-guclu-kadini-merkel>

Merkel was shown as the most powerful woman for five years in a row. We see similar news in *Hürriyet*, another Turkish newspaper, too.

Following her victory in the federal elections held in 2005, Merkel won her second victory in 2009's federal elections being at the head of a grand coalition consisting of the CDU, its Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Union (CSU), and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). In the 2009 federal elections, the CDU obtained the largest share of the votes; therefore, Merkel was able to form a coalition with the Free Democratic Party (FDP). However, with that coalition, the image of Merkel entered into a new phase. Spiegel published an article titled "Will Merkel Mutate from 'Mom' to 'Iron Lady'?". In the article, it is said, "After Sunday's election victory, Angela Merkel finally has the center-right coalition she always said she needed to reform Germany. Media commentators say she now needs to get tough and adopt a clearer conservative stance, something that could erode her status as "mom" of the nation.

Sabah published an article in 2009 titled "Merkel is in the way of being an iron lady" after Merkel made a coalition with SPD after the elections that made her mother image eroded. In the article, it is said, "*Merkel was in a position as the mother of her country.*"

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Anadolu Agency says that Merkel deserved the title of iron lady for her country as "*She is one of the lead figures of Europe alongside with U.K.'s Prime Minister Theresa May thank to her achievements in politics.*"²¹⁷

One of the leading figures of Turkish journalists wrote an article about Angela Merkel's "iron lady" title to German newspaper "*Bild*" after she was chosen as the person of the year by The Time: "*I don't know whether the fact that Merkel was on the cover page of The Time flattered Germans' pride. But it should. Merkel is today*

²¹⁶Sabah, "Merkel Demir Leydi Olma Yolunda" (Merkel is on the way to be an iron lady), 29.09.2019, https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2009/09/29/melek_merkel_demir_leydi_olma_yolunda

²¹⁷ AA, "Siyasette kadının adı hala yok", 07.03.2007, <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/siyasette-kadinin-adi-hala-yok/765494>

Europ's most effective leader. She was the second woman leader who deserved the 'Iron Lady' title after Thatcher.'"²¹⁸

In conclusion, Iron Lady is one of the stereotypes that is both used by Turkish and Western media to underline the power of Merkel in politics. Iron Lady title is first used for Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher who drew a very strong portrait with her leadership not only for Britain but also for Europe. Merkel's problem solver attitude for the biggest problems of Europe like euro crisis and migrant crisis made her deserve this title in the eyes of the Western Media. For the Turkish media, Merkel deserves this title for her success in politics. So, this stereotype creates a perception that empowers the image of the German Chancellor.

3.4. "Weak and Fragile"

Weakness and fragility is a concept that is associated with women in comparison with men. The traditional roles like caring children or doing housework are seen often women's primary missions. In many societies, it is believed that men are born to be leaders. Because of the fact that men left a strong masculine leadership history, women's leadership is measured according to masculine qualities. Costa Rica President Laura Chinchilla, the country's first female leader, told that successful women face typecasting largely because society is still adjusting to women's recent decision-making power. Chinchilla believes the most pervasive stereotype is that women are "weak," a perception that may stem from women's greater desire to build a consensus.²¹⁹ *"Men have predominated in leadership roles for so long that leadership itself perceived as a masculine domain regardless of their objective qualifications, men have an advantage over women merely because people ascribe mainly masculine qualities to leaders"*²²⁰

Weak woman stereotype is often seen in autocracies where a woman substitutes her father or husband who is a president or prime minister. In Asia and Latin America, this stereotype is very common. *"Specifically, many women leaders in the Southern and*

²¹⁸ Bild Turkish, "Angela Merkel 'Demir Leydi' ünvanını haketti" (Angela Merkel deserved the title of 'Iron Lady', 10.07.2012, <https://www.bild.de/politik/kolumnen/oezkoek-ertugrul/tuerkiye-nin-en-uenlue-gazetecisi-bild-icin-yaziyor-25078572.bild.html>

²¹⁹ Bild Turkish, op.cit.

²²⁰ Eagly and Carli, **op.cit**, p. 83

Southeastern Asia have blood or marital ties with slain or imprisoned leaders even though the general political participation and activity of women in these countries has been restricted."²²¹ In the book of Maria Bra titled "Women politicians and the Media", we see that many of the first women members of the House and Senate, whose husbands took on a legislative function like senatorship or congress membership, were appointed or elected as replacements for their deceased husbands in United States.²²² This phenomenon is not limited to Asian and Latin American cultures. Four of five Latin American women executives and all nine Asian women executives had familial ties.²²³ The role of woman leader who succeeded her dictator father or mother is to create a calm period for the country. However, these women leaders are often overshadowed by their fathers or husband who became leaders.

South Korea's former president Park Geun-hye who is the daughter of the former dictator Park chung-hee, was an example for such women leaders. From the first child of a slain dictator to the nation's first female president and now the epicenter of the country's worst political fiasco, the life of Park Geun-hye has had many turns. She was the first woman president of the country. A ferry accident caused the death of 306 people, causing her presidency to weaken. After a corruption scandal that fuelled a hate against political and business elite, she resigned. She was sentenced to 24 years of prison for abuse of power and corruption on April 6th 2018.²²⁴

Media also has some prejudgements about women's success in politics. Therefore, media gives less chance to women and gives fewer places to female candidates. According to Lisa Eargl, Ashraf M. Esmail and Jas M. Sullivan, news coverage varies by office. They stated that females who run for a Senate seat receive less coverage than males who run for a Senate seat.²²⁵ Framing female candidates as not viable, media

²²¹ Preeti Sharma, "Oligarchic patriarchal political culture of women participation in South Asia: with special reference to India, Bangladesh, Pakistan", 21.07.2014, <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/a9a6/01bafdd6c423ed528744751a6bf3d432aefe.pdf>

²²² Maria Braden, **Women Politicians and the Media**, the University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, 1996, p. 32 and p. 58

²²³ Farida Jalalzai and Alleghenies College, "Women Political Leaders: Past and Present", https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1300/J014v26n03_04, Philadelphia, Haworth Press, p.101

²²⁴ The Guardian, "South Korea: former president Park Gen-hey sentenced to 24 years in jail", 06.04.2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/06/former-south-korea-president-park-geun-hye-guilty-of-corruption>

²²⁵ Lisa A. Eargle, Ashraf M. Esmail and Jas M. Sullivan, "Voting the Issues or Voting the Demographics? The Media's Construction of Political Candidates Credibilit", 2008 https://www.jstor.org/stable/41674648?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

portrays females as candidates that tend to fail at elections. For years, media has tried to show Angela Merkel a weak leader because of the sexism in media coverage, according to Prof Can Muddle: *“During most of her more than ten years in power Merkel has been described as a weak leader, lacking power and vision. While this is largely due to enduring sexism in media coverage of female leaders, Merkel is first and foremost a centrist politician leading a pragmatic rather than ideological party; in fact, Kohl was a very similar leader, even if he was mostly described as powerful and with a strong (European) vision.”*²²⁶

Merkel is perceived as a weak leader when she becomes unsuccessful with her open arm policy toward refugees and her politics about European financial crisis. Financial Times columnist Wolfgang Münchau tried to construct a perception about Merkel: *“Financial Times columnist Wolfgang Münchau unflatteringly called her a weak leader, a scheming politician, lacking a convincing strategy and finally pronounced her unfit for the office, writing ‘this crisis is global and requires leaders with a global and European mindset to solve them.’”*²²⁷

In Turkey, we see that media loves to see Merkel in a weak position even the winning side is far right “Alternative for Germany” that produces arguments against Muslims and Turkish people. An article published in NTV in 2016 says that *“after the election that was realised in three states the party of Merkel lost votes and this situation was interpreted that Merkel has lost power about her migrant policy.”*²²⁸

When Merkel was elected instead of Gerhard Schröder who resigned three days before the end of his post, Schröder blamed Merkel with weakness. Turkish newspaper Yenişafak is one of the newspapers which published this article. Schröder blamed the weak leadership of Angela Merkel as the main reason of the problem of the coalition in Germany.²²⁹ However, we see that CDU reacted against Schröder’s explanation about Merkel by saying his explication is the proof showing how he feels about losing

²²⁶ Cas Muddle, "Why Angela Merkel's Political Survival Is Crucial to Europe's Center-Left", 02.01.2016, <https://www.huffingtonpost.com/cas-muddle/why-angela-merkels-politib9132540.html>

²²⁷ Steven Hill, "Angela Merkel: The World's 'Most Valuable Leader'", 18.08.2010, Social Europe, London, <https://www.socialeurope.eu/angela-merkel-the-worlds-most-valuable-leader>

²²⁸ NTV, "Merkel Güç kaybına Uğradı", (Merkel lost power), <https://www.ntv.com.tr/dunya/merkel-guc-kaybina-ugradi,gbiSCpNhW02PaOQ4UJsRIA>

²²⁹ Yenişafak, "Schröders: Merkel zayıf bir lider", (Merkel is a weak leader), 21.10.2006, <https://www.yenisafak.com/dunya/schroder-merkel-zayif-bir-lider-11251>

the elections. Schröder did not mean that Merkel is a weak leader as she is a woman leader. However, as Merkel is the first female prime minister, these words can serve to a perception that accepts women leaders as weak. Schröder's explications were not perceived as an attack against Merkel's leadership just because she is a woman.

What is interesting is that Merkel was called like *Madchen of Kohl*, the girl of Kohl, before she became "The Chancellor Angela Merkel." So before being an "iron frau" (iron lady), she was just a "little girl" in the eyes of the media. The media tried to show Merkel in a weak position by calling her like this.

Even the former Chancellor Schröder seemed not to take Merkel's leadership serious by criticising her foreign policy and her criticism about the situation of human rights in China.

Many Turkish newspapers published news that qualifies Merkel as "the girl of Kohl". The newspaper *Sabah* also published an article including this expression. The news says that Merkel directs her country as a queen. In the article, it is said that there were many people who suspect if Merkel is capable of becoming a chancellor: *"In this period nobody regard as possible that Merkel could become prime minister for three times. The only people who could succeed that were Konrad Adenauer from Christian Democratic Party between 1951-1963 and Helmut Kohl who made history, becoming prime minister for 16 years between 1982-1998. But the success of Merkel is not a coincidence. Merkel began to give evidence of her passion of power much earlier. 'The girl of Kohl' showed it in article that she wrote her candidacy instead of Kohl who was involved in a donation scandal in the Christian Democratic Union Party."*²³⁰

When Merkel try to negotiate about some issues with other male leaders, especially with Putin, Obama, Sarkozy and Erdoğan, she can be portrayed as being in a love relationship with her male counterpart. Merkel is often portrayed as being in a love triangle with leaders or their wives too. There is a claim presented by the media that Merkel was a KGB agent under the order of Vladimir Putin and was the Eastern Germany chief of KGB before the Berlin Wall collapsed. So, this uncertain claim is always on the background of the articles that try hard to show the photos in which

²³⁰ Sabah, "O Kohl'un Kızı", 23.09.2013, <https://www.sabah.com.tr/aktuel/2013/09/23/o-kohlun-kizi>

Merkel and Putin pose in a sincere way. We see that the European and Turkish media hint as there is a real love relationship. So Merkel is depicted by the Turkish and Western media as a leader that uses her attractiveness instead of her political capability. Such images serve to weaken her image. We can bring an explanation to this awkward situation with the “masculine dominance” concept of Bourdieu. Because of the masculine dominance, Merkel’s gender is described with only its sexual aspect, not by her profession or personal capabilities like being a prime minister.

Hürriyet Daily News Columnist Murat Yetkin wrote an article titled “Merkel suddenly falls in love with Erdoğan” to tell that Merkel understood finally the importance of Turkey in the resolution of the migration crisis. So even to describe the change of mind of Merkel about Turkey, *Hürriyet* uses a “fake love scene”, as there is a woman leader in the leading role.

There is a frequency of publishing photos in which Merkel look Erdoğan in a loving way in forums like Ekşi Sözlük (Sour Dictionary) which is very popular in Turkey and used mainly to learn about the latest news or social media platforms. These photos are circulating so much in these platforms. For example, there are lots of topics opened by Ekşi Sözlük writers like “*The relation between Erdoğan and Merkel*”²³¹, “*The fact that Merkel has fallen in love with Erdoğan*”²³² or “*The look that Emine Erdoğan throwing a glance at Merkel.*”²³³

²³¹ Ekşi Sözlük, “Recep Tayyip Erdoğan-Angela Merkel İlişkisi” <https://eksisozluk.com/recep-tayyip-erdogan-angela-merkel-iliskisi--2794479>

²³² Ekşi Sözlük, “Merkel’in Tayyip’e aşık olduğu gerçeği”, <https://eksisozluk.com/angela-merkelin-tayyipe-asik-oldugu-gercegi--4397689>

²³³ Ekşi Sözlük “Emine Erdoğan’ın Merkel’e attığı bakış”, <https://eksisozluk.com/emine-erdoganin-angela-merkele-attigi-bakis--3730799>



Figure 3.13. Turkish and Foreign forums always mock the fake love story between Erdoğan and Merkel and sometimes they ask the question “Do Merkel and Erdoğan love each other” seriously with photos that try to provoke this love story²³⁴?



Figure 3.14. Merkel is portrayed in a secret fake love story when she tries to negotiate with Erdoğan by the Turkish newspapers. Here the news website uses a photo that captured Erdoğan and Merkel pose like two lovers. In the article, they used “The very special request of Merkel from Erdoğan.”²³⁵

²³⁴ Girls Ask Guys, “Do Erdogan and Merkel love each other?”, <https://www.girlsaskguys.com/trending-news/q2367980-do-erdogan-merkel-love-each-other>

²³⁵ Haberler, “Merkel’in Erdoğan’dan Çok Özel İsteği”, 14.08.2014, <https://www.haberler.com/merkel-in-erdogan-dan-cok-ozel-istegi-6377228-haberi/>



Figure 3.15. Merkel, Obama and Putin are portrayed as being in a love relationship by cartoonist Marian Kamensky.²³⁶



Figure 3.16. An article titled “German politicians say Merkel left the EU when exposed to Turkish blackmail”, published by Crises Forum, shows a love triangle between Obama, Erdoğan and Merkel.²³⁷

²³⁶ Marian Kamensky, “Strong love”, <https://www.cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/11675>

²³⁷ Crises Forums, “German politicians say Merkel left EU exposed to Turkish blackmail”, May 2016, <http://www.crisisforums.org/discussion/44217/german-politicians-say-merkel-left-eu-exposed-to-turkish-blackmail>



Figure 3.17. Turkish news website Onedio often published comic photo galleries that hint there is a love story between Erdoğan and Merkel, so Merkel is like in a love triangle between Erdoğan and his wife. In the caps it is written, “Two women one man, love fades away from the scene”²³⁸

In conclusion, the weakness and fragility are used as a stereotype that can show Merkel ineffective in politics. Both western and Turkish media use this stereotype in different ways. One way is to show Merkel as a “little girl” of Germany’s former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. This is because when she began her political career, Schmidt supported Merkel. So, media interpreted this relationship in a way that showed Merkel in a weak position by saying Merkel is the “little girl” of Schmidt. The other way is that media used fictive scenario in which Merkel is in a love relationship with other leaders like Obama, Putin and Erdoğan. Turkish media used this scenario in several articles. In both ways, we never see Merkel’s capabilities as a leader but her sex is used as an argument to show her weak. This is because in her relationship with Kohl, she is the little girl and Kohl is like a father to her. In her relations with other leaders, she is depicted like a prey that other male leaders are chasing for. So, the weakness is shown by bringing only sexual side of Merkel into the forefront.

3.5. “Mother”

The mother stereotype is one of the four stereotypes that is used for women politicians. Politicians are so eager to associate themselves with “traditional family values”. In politics, if a nation or a country is accepted like a big family, the leaders are called

²³⁸ Onedio, “Angela Merkel’in Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’a Duyduğu Destansı Aşkı Anlatan 19 Caps” (19 Caps that tells the myhtological love of Angela Merkel for Recep Tayyip Erdoğan”, 19.10.2015 <https://onedio.com/haber/angela-merkel-in-recep-tayyip-erdogan-a-duydugu-destansi-aski-anlatan-19-caps-363631>

“mother” or “father”. If leaders are called mother or father of a country more and more, that can make the relation between people and the leader much stronger. So, it is inevitable for some politicians to be attributed as the “mother” or the “father.”

Judith Bazter in her article called “How to beat the female stereotypes” says that “recent media (2013) of Angela Merkel, known by the Germans as “the Mother”, depict her moving flexibly between the iron-fisted chancellor and the charming token female bantering with male heads of state.

Angela Merkel is described as the nation's mother in 2001 and that surprised many people. So Germany has given its “Mutti” another potentially record-breaking four years in power. Angela Merkel is described as the nation's mother. However, even if this image is so indispensable for Merkel, Daniel Johnson says that she is closer to being a “career woman”: *“The Germans nickname her “Mutti” (Mummy), but her resemblance to a 1950s hausfrau is only skin-deep: she is actually a career woman. One of her ministers (and rivals) is Ursula von der Leyen, a glamorous mother of six who sees it as her mission to persuade German women to boost the birthrate. Merkel herself has no children.”*²³⁹ Merkel is also described like the “mother of refugees” by many European newspapers due to her politics for refugees like receiving quadruple numbers of refugees. As Merkel accepted the selfie proposal of refugees, the image of “mother of refugees” was fortified.



Figure 3.18. After taking selfie with refugees, some newspapers used the title of “mother of refugees” for Merkel.²⁴⁰

Johnson states that the Germans call her “Mutti” (“Mummy”), but her resemblance to a 1950s “hausfrau” is a superficial qualification: she is actually a career woman. One

²³⁹ Daniel Johnson, Telegraph, “Angela Merkel: The triumph of Europe’s Iron Lady”, 28.10.2011, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/8855882/Angela-Merkel-The-triumph-of-Europes-Iron-Lady.html>

²⁴⁰ Themanews, “Germany to receive quadruple number of refugees in 2015”, 03.06.2015, <http://en.protothema.gr/merkel-mother-of-all-refugees-takes-selfies-with-migrants-in-berlin-pics/>

of her ministers (and rivals) is Ursula von der Leyen, a glamorous mother of six who sees it as her mission to persuade German women to boost the birthrate. Merkel has no children.

However if the woman politician is “mother”, that would be an obstacle for her. During Clinton’s presidential campaign, some headlines bring to light the sexism and stereotypes dominating political reporting on women:

“Hillary Clinton: Grandmother-in-chief?” (CBS News); “The Pros and Cons of ‘President Grandma’” (Time); “Could Hillary’s smile cost her the election? Twitter mocks Clinton’s ‘creepy grandma’ grin” (Daily Mail).

After Palin’s candidature was declared, CNN’s John Roberts said that her motherhood can be an obstacle for Palin: Professor of Politics and Public Opinion, Virginia García Beaudoux, from University of Buenos Aires, says that Mitt Romney was never asked if his 18 grandchildren would affect or not his race for presidency.²⁴¹ But USA Today asked this question for Hillary Clinton: “*It’s unclear how Chelsea’s pregnancy will affect Hillary Clinton, who is considering a race for president in 2016.*”²⁴²

The fact that Palin had a child with down syndrome caused some discussion whether she could do her job properly or not if she was elected as a vice president: “*Children with Down’s syndrome require an awful lot of attention. The role of Vice President, it seems to me, would take up an awful lot of her time, and it raises the issue of how much time will she have to dedicate to her newborn child?*”²⁴³

So being a mother and grandmother can be a prejudice for media to degrade the ability of woman candidates or politicians. Motherhood is one of the particularities of woman that comes forward sometimes more dominantly than the other particularities when a woman become a leader. Sarah Taylor says that “natural roles” for men and

²⁴¹ Lulu Chang, “Hillary Clinton will be a grandmother but why in the world should this affect her campaign”, Bustle, 18.04.2014, New York, <https://www.bustle.com/articles/21649-hillary-clinton-will-be-a-grandmother-but-why-in-the-world-should-this-affect-her-campaign>

²⁴² USA Today, “Baby on board: Chelsea Clinton says she’s pregnant”, 17.04.2014

<https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2014/04/17/chelsea-clinton-pregnant/7836283/>

²⁴³ Patentini Solved, “CNN’s John Roberts and His Concern for Baby Palin”, 31.08.2008 http://parentingsolved.typepad.com/parenting_solved/2008/08/cnns-john-rober.html

women are derived from the politics of reproduction: "*The politics of reproduction deals with gender constructions that are based on "natural" roles for men and women, such as father and mother.*"²⁴⁴

However, in the case of "Mutti Merkel"²⁴⁵, mother stereotype is totally different. First of all, Merkel is not a mother but we can see in the headlines that Merkel is called "mother." This stereotype is used just like Turkish former President and Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel who did not have a child but was called "father" (baba in Turkish). There is a slogan which was popular in that period "save us father" (kurtar bizi baba in Turkish.) There is also a book named "*Kurtar Bizi Baba*" (Save Us Father) which tells the life story of Süleyman Demirel written by Uğur Mumcu.²⁴⁶

As mentioned before, we can see the same case for the former president and prime minister Süleyman Demirel. Turkish people called him "baba" to show respect for him. For "Mutti Merkel", there is respect and an attribution of mother characteristics to Merkel like caring and providing the needs of a child. Therefore, in this analogy, the child symbolizes the nation and the mother symbolises Merkel. Mother stereotype can be a positive significative that shows a fiduciary relationship between a nation and a leader.

Daniel Johnson from *The Telegraph* said in his article that Merkel knows how to behave male politicians in a way that does not "belittle their male ego", so Johnson meant that Merkel uses her tenderness like a mother: "*In the perpetual negotiation machine that is the European Union, Merkel excels at getting her way while treating the male egos around her as gently as possible.*"²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴ Sarah Taylor, "Mothering the Fatherland-Nationalism and Gender in Eastern Europe", University of Canterbury, New Zealand, 2000, <https://docplayer.net/24446712-Mothering-the-fatherland.html>

²⁴⁵ Cathy Newman, "Angela Merkel cannot escape Margaret Thatchers legacy", 23.09.2014, Telegraph, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-politics/10328397/Angela-Merkel-cannot-escape-Margaret-Thatchers-legacy.html>

²⁴⁶ Uğur Mumcu, **Kurtar Bizi Baba (Save US Father)**, Araştırmacı Gazetecilik Vakfı, 1993, <https://www.amazon.com/Kurtar-Bizi-Baba-Ugur-Mumcu/dp/9758084593>

²⁴⁷ Daniel Johnson, Telegraph, "Angela Merkel: The triumph of Europe's Iron Lady", 28.10.2011, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/8855882/Angela-Merkel-The-triumph-of-Europes-Iron-Lady.html>

In conclusion, as Taylor said “*The politics of reproduction deals with gender constructions*”, natural roles like being a father and a mother are assumed to leaders. Even being a mother is perceived as an obstacle to leadership in many times like in the case of Sarah Palin and Hillary Clinton, the title of mother is given to many women leaders that proved their power. Even if Angela Merkel does not have a child, mother stereotype is often used for her. Western media uses mother stereotype as a mother of German people and mother of migrants. Even if two titles seem to have same functions, there are a few nuances. Western media uses the title of mother to underline the balance between the iron-power and warmth of Merkel. However, Merkel is the mother of migrants as she has caring, nurturing and protecting qualities. She also shows these qualities for German people but as Merkel opened the doors for migrants while other countries close, these qualities are much more dominant.

3.6. “Housewife”

We see in the European media that there is also housewife stereotype for women leaders. Merkel is a married woman and media also likes to accentuate her domestic side.



Figure 3.19. Western media shows the “housewife” side of Angela Merkel.

Merkel was a woman that was raised in East Germany as a daughter of a Protestant priest. There were many differences between the women from Eastern and Western Germany in that time. While Eastern German women were more liberal, Western German women were raised as a housewife and a mother in their families. On the other hand, in East Germany, there was more encouragement for women to participate into business life like working in kindergartens. However, working and being a mother at the same time can be problem for women in Western Germany. Therefore, as Merkel is from Eastern Germany, “liberating women” was not among the main concerns for

Merkel personally. As *“The über-mother of German lore (old tradition) has roots in the country’s difficult history. The Nazis awarded medals to women who have multiple children. Then came Germany’s division: The West revived the 19th century maxim of Kinder, Küche, Kirche — children, kitchen, church, while in the East, the Communists set up free day-care centers.”*²⁴⁸

Katrin Benhold from New York Times says that East German mothers drove cranes and studied physics: *“Until 1977, West German wives officially needed their husbands’ permission to work”*²⁴⁹ However, East German mothers had some rights that were easing their lives like paid maternity leave and shorter working hours. For this reason, when the Berlin wall collapsed, Merkel had to address to West German women’s problem. The image of housewife for Merkel may be an important image to address to the women in Western Germany. We see in European media that Merkel’s housewife side is also shown to enforce this image very deeply with her cooking abilities. Her cooking abilities have been always a good story for the media.

Hence, what we see for the housewife image of Merkel is she is cooking plumcake for her husband even she does not like it. Stefan Kornelius from *The Guardian*, wrote, *“Merkel loved to brag about her cooking and baking qualities.”*²⁵⁰ The story of cooking became very popular in Germany when Angela Merkel became the Chancellor: *“In her early public life, Angela Merkel loved to brag about her cooking and baking qualities. Indeed, there is a lot of praise for her potato soup, her beef loaf and especially her plum cake. The cake soon became a measure of how much time she was able to afford her private life and her husband. He loved the cake, she really didn’t. As a junior minister under Helmut Kohl, she was still able to have two or three baking weekends each plum season. The plum cake stories trickled away when she became chancellor.”*²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ Katrin Bennhold, The New York Times, “In Angela Merkel, German Women Find Symbol, but Not Savior”, 13.09.2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/13/world/europe/angela-merkel-germany-election.html>

²⁴⁹ **Ibid.**

²⁵⁰ Stefan Kornelius, “Six things you didn’t know about Angela Merkel”, 10.09.2013, The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/german-elections-blog-2013/2013/sep/10/angela-merkel-origins-germany-election>

²⁵¹ Cornelius, **op.cit.**

We see that Turkish media loved the story that Angela Merkel is a good housewife too. *Hürriyet* published an article telling that Angela Merkel shared her personal story. *Hürriyet* gave a large place to the news that she loves cooking especially potato soup.²⁵² *Hürriyet* meant with its title “*A family photo from Merkel for Elections*” that Merkel used the housewife card for elections. Turkish newspaper Milliyet published also an article that shows Merkel’s housewife image for elections.²⁵³

Annabelle Tismit from Quartz wrote that in Western Germany the female stereotype was inspired from the American stereotype of housewife during 1950s:

East and West Germany did not differ only in the active inclusion of women in the workplace; they also differed in their visions towards women’s role in society. In West Germany, the study says, “the female stereotype was a perfect and modern housewife and mother, as inspired by the American standard of the 1950s.” Another reason that stereotype preserves its importance is that the Nazi period imposeson the importance of being a mother and a housewife: “*During the Nazi era, a woman’s highest calling was thought to be motherhood. Under Hitler, the country reversed practically any gains that women had made towards being treated equally, and while those practices and beliefs have obviously – and thankfully – been consigned to the history books, an essence of them may well have survived.*”²⁵⁴

In East Germany, however, the ideal woman was defined as “*professionally active and ‘emancipated’ ... working as journalists, professors, brigadiers or factory workers, participating in the construction of socialism.*”²⁵⁵

In conclusion, as the housewife sterotype has been always used to depict women, women leaders have been facing a challenge due to this sterotype. However, Angela

²⁵² Süleyman Selçuk, “Merkel'den seçimlik aile fotoğrafı” (A family photo from Merkel for Elections), *Hürriyet*, 16.08.2013, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/avrupa/merkelden-secimlik-aile-fotografi-24532773>

²⁵³ Milliyet, “Merkel’in seçimlerde kozu ‘ev kadınlığı’” (Merkel’s biggest trump for election is being a housewife), 14.08.2013, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/merkel-in-secim-kozu-ev-kadinligi-/dunya/detay/1749531/default.htm>

²⁵⁴ Josie Cox, “Angela Merkel is the world's most powerful woman – so she better start calling herself a feminist”, *The Independent*, 19.09.2017 <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/angela-merkel-chancellor-germany-powerful-feminism-gender-roles-a7955526.html>

²⁵⁵ Annabelle Tismit, “Why girls from former Soviet countries do better in math”, *QZ*, 09.06.2018, <https://qz.com/1300084/why-girls-from-former-soviet-countries-do-better-in-math/>

Merkel has lived a very different experience with this stereotype. As she was raised in East Germany, she was not under the effect of being a housewife as East German women were supported to work professionally. However, in West Germany which was under the effect of United States, being a housewife was an ideal. Therefore, when the two parts of Germany was unified and Merkel became the first female chancellor for the unified Germany, she had to address to the Western German women, too. In German media, we saw many stories telling that Merkel is also a good housewife who cooks very delicious potatoe soup and bakes plum cake and loves to deal with chores like shopping for a peaceful home where she lives with her husband. Turkish media also shows the housewife side of Merkel as being a housewife is still an important role for women. However, in some articles, Turkish media has agreed that Merkel uses “being a housewife” as a trump for the elections.

3.7. “Sexy- Feminine”

This type of woman leader is at the forefront with her femininity. If she is beautiful, smiling and prefers more feminine style with her sexy outfit, media brings women candidates forward with their style choices. Palin is decribed by the media as a beauty queen, sexy, and very attractive. The media used Palin’s role as a mother of five to indicate that Palin would not have time for both family and her job as a vice president. According to Gaffney and Blaylock, gender stereotypes characterize competent females as cold and opponent. Many individuals dislike female leaders who show a low level of warmth and competence.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶Danielle Blaylock and Amber Gaffney, “Hilary Clinton's race: Did she match the presidential prototype?”, *Advancing Women in Leadership Jounal*, 2010, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/264811301_Hilary_Clinton's_race_Did_she_match_the_presidential_prototype



Figure 3.20. Merkel's low cut dress (right) was mocked many times by many European newspapers like Deutsche Welle.²⁵⁷ During the elections campaign of 2009 Merkel was mocked because she wore a dress with decolletee. On the right photo, we see Vera Lengsfeld from Merkel's party CDU. The photo on the right side is the original photo.²⁵⁸

The election placard (left) was put the by CDU member Vera Lengsfeld without taking the permission of Merkel. Lengsfeld who was running for elections in a left-wing district of Berlin chose a sexist and discriminative slogan "wir haben mehr zu bieten" (We have more to Offer). She said "*The chancellor could never have allowed me to do this, otherwise everyone would have wanted to do it. I find it amazing how little humour some people have shown over this placard.*"²⁵⁹

Even the candidate does not prefer to be mentioned with her style, media loves to discuss it as in the case of Merkel. Merkel tries to show minimum effort contrary to Palin, but media talked much about her hair style and dresses and mocked her efforts to wear more feminine dresses. Daily Mail published an article that mocks a campaign poster published in Germany ahead of general elections in 2009 in which Merkel is in a low-cut dress.²⁶⁰ However, almost nobody talked about her competitor, former chancellor Gerhard Schröder's look.

Spiegel also mocked Merkel's dress by having an interview with German fashion designer Wolfgang Joop. As Merkel wore a low-cup dress and that became an object

²⁵⁷ Deutsche Welle, "Angela Merkel Raises Eyebrows with Cleavage Display", 15.04.2008, <https://www.dw.com/en/angela-merkel-raises-eyebrows-with-cleavage-display/a-3269347>

²⁵⁸ Spiegel, "Joop Advises Merkel to Don More Revealing Clothes", 29.10.2009 <http://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/the-chancellor-s-decollete-joop-advises-merkel-to-don-more-revealing-clothes-a-658045.html>

²⁵⁹ The Telegraph, "Posters of Angela Merkel's cleavage spice up German election campaign", 11.08.2009, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/6010188/Posters-of-Angela-Merkels-cleavage-spice-up-German-election-campaign.html>

²⁶⁰ Allan Hall, "Eyebrows raised as billboards of Angela Merkel's cleavage spring up across Germany with slogan: 'We have more to offer'", Daily Mail, 13.08.2009, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1205844/Billboards-Angela-Merkels-cleavage-spring-Germany-slogan-We-offer.html>

of joke, Joop supported Merkel by saying and mocking: *“Wear more low cups...And if someone teases her, she can always slap them on their fingers using a fan from her clutch handbag.”*²⁶¹

Media tries to label women leaders by not being “clever” and “potent” enough for their positions if they are popular with their beauty. Sarah Palin is one of the good examples for these leaders. Media was mocking her when she was the Alaska governor. She was wearing very chic and expensive outfit and media was giving place to her like a magazine star. However, when it comes to Clinton, she was portrayed mannish as she wears trousers. Even female media icons made harsh criticism about Clinton. Famous fashion editor Anna Wintour said in 2008 that Clinton was a mannish coward.²⁶² Daily Mail is interested so much in the décolletage of Merkel when we read the first phrase of the article: *“Posters showing the ample décolletage of German chancellor Angela Merkel have been distributed ahead of the country's general election next month.”*²⁶³

Carlin and Winfrey²⁶⁴ analyzed the common gendered stereotypes established by the media coverage during the 2008 elections. They found that female candidates receive more coverage on personality, appearance, and family and receive less coverage on issues than male candidates receive. Eargle, Esmail and Sullivan examined the news coverage of four television news programs during the 2008 election campaigns. Eargle et al.²⁶⁵ discussed theories of frame and framing effects and explored research on the media's frame of female political candidates.

Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin are good examples of the reflection of appearance of female leaders. According to Lind (2009), Clinton does not attract the attention of many males with her looks, whereas males consider Palin good-looking and hot.

Laufer-Ukeles²⁶⁶ and Lind discussed the elections in 2008. Although the elections in 2008 made history, the elections was not a turning point for female political leaders

²⁶¹ **Ibid.**

²⁶² Jezebel, "Vogue Anna Wintour calls Hillary Clinton a mannish coward", 18.01.2008, <https://jezebel.com/346503/vogues-anna-wintour-calls-hillary-clinton-a-mannish-coward>

²⁶³ Allan Hall, **op.cit.**

²⁶⁴ Carlin and Winfrey, **Op.cit.**

²⁶⁵ Eargle et al., **op.cit.**

²⁶⁶ Pamela Laufer-Ukeles, "Leadership in Her Own Image: Valuing Women's Different Lives", Hamline Journal of Public Law and Policy, 2009, New York,

even they took big place in the media. Sheeler (2010) discussed the cultural stereotype of²⁶⁷ the beauty queen barrier that Michigan governor Jennifer Granholm encountered. Granholm overcame this barrier and became the governor of Michigan in the elections of 2002.

Udo Walz, coiffeur to the stars, including the Chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, and Martina Acht, a former world hairdressing champion, both claimed they persuaded Mrs Merkel to trade in her dull style for a sharper cut.²⁶⁸ Mrs Merkel's trademark pudding bowl style²⁶⁹ disappeared when it became clear she would run against Mr. Schröder in the general elections. The attempt to feminise her image has been compared to the make-over given to the Lady Thatcher. In her early years as prime minister, her hairstyle was softened and her voice made smoother by voice coaches. Merkel's low cup dress became a subject that Turkish media published many articles about. However, we see that the point of view of Turkish media is the same with western media, which mainly mocks the dress of Merkel. *Hürriyet* published an article saying that Merkel's low cut dress was discussed not only in German media but also in world media too after Hillary Clinton wore a dress like Merkel's.²⁷⁰ *Haberler*, a Turkish news site, published a news article that collected woman leaders who are succesful but not sexy and Merkel is listed among these leaders.²⁷¹

In conclusion, Western and Turkish media construct an opposition between being beautiful and succesful for women leaders. One of the presumptions is if the women leaders are beautiful and attractive, they would probably lack capability in politics. However, when she is not attractive but succesful, this time she could be the victim of harsh criticism for not being attractive enough or being a bit mannish. Hillary Clinton

<https://poseidon01.ssrn.com/delivery.php?ID=358086124121104114109112127116095066005053028051000082065086074119118114101068064106013057098023052127028116127095013082110078109016014016004014017113116000019096073066040001126022029009021127108093095122090123126086087101094072087023127073002069104&EXT=pdf>

²⁶⁷ Kristina Horn Sheeler, "Beauty Queens and Unruly Women in the Year of the Woman Governor", 2010, https://www.academia.edu/4594457/Beauty_Queens_and_Unruly_Women_in_the_Year_of_the_Woman_Governor

²⁶⁸ Kiristen Allen, "Merkel gets hair and makeup done everyday", (online), 12.09.20013, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/merkel-gets-hair-and-makeup-done-every-day-a-921874.html>

²⁶⁹ Allan Hall, **op.cit.**

²⁷⁰ *Hürriyet*, "Dekote Şoku", 15.04.2008, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/dekolte-soku-8701341>

²⁷¹ *Haberler*, "Başarılı ama seksi değil!", 26.10.2016, <https://www.haberler.com/angela-merkel-seksi-olmayan-10-unluden-biri-8896467-haberi/>

came under fire because of this kind of criticism. Merkel was criticized for her choice of dress. In the period of election campaign, media tried often to bring her style to the forefront instead of talking about her politics and election pledges. When she tried to wear a feminine style dress, Western and Turkish media mocked her choice. Being sexy or having a feminine style is always seen in an ambivalent way that serves to destroy the image of women leader in the eyes of readers. However, for male candidates we see media does not publish anything about their styles.

3.8. “Masculine”

Male leaders are often taken reference for female leaders' success. So, female leaders try to learn “men's language” in everyday life and politics. Football is one of the great examples of that. If women candidates know football very well, they gain credits in the eyes of those who see politics as a male-dominant sphere. However, there is also manhood that dominates the political system, making make it more difficult for women candidates to use their own arguments like feminism. Merkel can be an example for this situation. This is because she was criticized to behave like a man. Merkel was once criticized for her mannish hair and outfit style. After she won the elections, she made some changes with her hair. She tried to put more makeup than before. So, when Merkel gained power in “men's way” and proved her power, she began to adopt a more feminine style for her wear. But when she tried to put on a sexier dress, she became a joking matter.

Leaders who seem like an “ice queen” have faced often being mannish like Margaret Thatcher. Merkel and Thatcher are always compared even they set different example. Because to become successful they have to behave like a man as Myra Marx Ferree says: *“Within a gendered political system where power is still very much associated with manhood, Merkel has never has the privilege of having us taken for granted and made invisible.”*²⁷²

²⁷² Myra Marx Ferree, *op.cit.*, p.99

But even she didn't prefer to use her gender in politics, sometimes her power is associated with manhood. For example, Merkel was resembled to He-Man, which is a cartoon hero.²⁷³



Figure 3.21. Merkel was resembled to He-Man, a cartoon hero (left)²⁷⁴ because of some mannish attitudes attributed to her. German newspaper NWZ Online published an article focusing on Merkel's love of football with a photo of Merkel putting her her arms up like He-Man during a football match playing the German national team against Poland at the European Championship in 2012." They wrote under the photo: "I have the Power!" like He-Man says in the famous cartoon. So, they made a relation between Merkel's power and masculinity.²⁷⁵

Even Merkel does not use masculine attitude, media loves to fit the masculine image on Merkel. For example, Israeli newspaper The Times of Israel featured a very interesting photo in which the shadow of finger of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu fell on the face of Merkel like a moustache and beard. The article tells that this image went viral and brought some criticism; however, the title of the article "Awkward Merkel photo goes viral" tells us something: It sets up a relation between having a fake masculine appearance and being awkward. As people draw moustache on people they do not love, the revenge of the history between Jews and Germany, The Holocaust, is taken by drawing a moustache on Merkel by showing her like Hitler. As the photo went viral with the hashtag "Hitler Moustache", The British newspaper The Independent made a criticism about the photo: "*Unfortunately for the two leaders, the resultant shadow gave Merkel a faux moustache not unlike that of another, far less reputed, German leader - Adolf Hitler.*"²⁷⁶ Jerusalem Post criticized the photo that

²⁷³ Cheeseburger.com, "German Chancellor Angela Merkel Totally Looks Like He-Man", <https://cheezburger.com/3467536128>

²⁷⁴ Cheeseburger.com, **op.cit.**

²⁷⁵ NWZ Online, "Masters of Germany machen Merkel zur He-Man-Figur", (Masters of Germany make Merkel a He-Man figure), 19.09.2017, https://www.nwzonline.de/digitale-welt/berlin-video-hit-bei-youtube-masters-of-germany-machen-merkel-zur-he-man-figur_a_32,0,3708098093.html

²⁷⁶ The Independent, "Angela Merkel, Benjamin Netanyahu, and the rather awkward case of the shadow moustache", 25.02.2014, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/news/angela-merkel-benjamin-netanyahu-and-the-rather-awkward-case-of-the-shadow-moustache-9152853.html>

was published. The newspaper told that they will not publish the photo neither on paper nor on their web site. However, in this way, Merkel is losing her femininity too. Media tried to associate Merkel's power with a masculine image even through a cruel leader like Hitler.



Figure 3.22. An image in which the PM's finger creates a shadow above the German leader's upper lip produces headlines, smiles and criticism. The shadow went viral with the hashtag of "Hitler moustache."²⁷⁷

Ferree told that at the beginning, Merkel never used the feminism card to become successful. However, after that, she was criticised harshly for her stance about feminism. So she had to have interviews with woman magazines like Cosmopolitan and Brigitte and even with feminist magazines like Emma.

Maddock however shows us that some women are comfortable with their 'natural' masculinities and some others adapt within a 'masculine' context and adopt masculinities.²⁷⁸ However, Mavin defends that "*positioning masculine and feminine as polar opposites traps men and women in gendered sex-role stereotypes and perpetuates the same.*"²⁷⁹ Schnurr, attracts our attention to the fact that "*that women's performance as leaders is often viewed as something 'other' than leadership.*" According to him, "*to explore women as the 'other' leader, we have to make clear gendered assumptions and mental associations which underpin perceptions of men and women leaders. Because these assumptions guide our responses, behaviors and our interpersonal relations in everyday lives.*"²⁸⁰

²⁷⁷ The Independent, "Angela Merkel, Benjamin Netanyahu, and the rather awkward case of the shadow moustache", **op.cit.**

²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁸ The Independent, "Angela Merkel, Benjamin Netanyahu, and the rather awkward case of the shadow moustache", **op.cit.**

²⁷⁹ **Ibid.**

²⁸⁰ Schnurr, S. "Surviving in a man's world with a sense of humour: an analysis of women leaders" use of humour at work, *Leadership*, 2008, Vol.4, No.3. pp.299-320.

The movie “Devil Wears Prada” integrates a number of gender stereotypes and sexist constructions; the outdated and sexist Queen Bee²⁸¹ construction of women leaders, becoming ‘more male than men’ in order to achieve in their careers.

In a video interview with Forbes, Christine Lagarde, the managing director of the International Monetary said that she hates the idea that “*you have to look like a businessman.*”²⁸² She admitted she sometimes feels the pressure to look the “right” way, but tries to resist being “overly business like.”

The notion that “powerful women must lead and look like a man” is one of the main motivations that cause women leaders to try to behave like a man. So the majority of male leaders makes an illusion for men to be seen more potent leaders. For some women leaders, the language of men has been important to become successful leaders and they try to adopt this language by many ways like being interested in football.

"In the early '80s, women were encouraged to learn the language of football so they could communicate as leaders — even if they didn't care a thing about the sport," says Helgesen. Corsones, who entered the workforce in the late '60s, says this male miming happened even earlier, because *"business culture was dominated by men, and the rules that existed were the rules created by men."*²⁸³

Turkish former Prime Minister Tansu Çiller is a good example for her football love. She tried to attend football matches to draw the portrait of a woman leader who knows very well the language of men. In Samsun, there is even a female football team named Tansu Çiller Female Football Team. Merkel is also known for her love for football. She was seen with the members of German national football team giving them moral support.²⁸⁴

²⁸¹ Sharon Mavin, "Queen Bees, Wannabees and Afraid to Bees: No More ‘Best Enemies’ for Women in Management?", 2008, BJM, London, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1467-8551.2008.00573.x>

²⁸² Goudro, *op.cit.*

²⁸³ Susan Aaron, “Woman and Gender Stereotype”, <https://www.monster.com/career-advice/article/how-women-can-battle-stereotypes>

²⁸⁴ Josie Ensar, “How Germany’s 12th man Angela Merkel proved to be lucky charm”, Telegraph, 14.07.2014, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/football/teams/germany/10965276/World-Cup-2014-how-Germanys-12th-man-Angela-Merkel-proved-to-be-lucky-charm.html>

Philip Oltermann from *The Guardian* says that Merkel has had a very tight relationship with football during her power: *“For anyone interested in Angela Merkel's relationship with football, there is nothing more instructive than flicking through the archive of photographs showing Germany's chancellor and its national team throughout her nine years in power.”*²⁸⁵

It's notheworthy that two leaders are also seen in military outfits. (For Merkel²⁸⁶ and for Tansu Çiller²⁸⁷) But Merkel's interest in politics is often criticized by some politicians and football experts saying that Merkel was playing politics with football on 8 October 2010.²⁸⁸ She seems much more joyful in many photos than her male friends while they are watching football matches.



Figure 3.23. Merkel who is famous for her big love for football seems much more exciting than her male friends during the match between Germany and Portugal at 2014 FIFA World Cup even if she seems normally much more serious in public. This exaggeration can be interpreted like adopting male behaviours to be accepted as a capable leader by public.

²⁸⁵ Philip Oltermann, “Angela Merkel Chancellor German Team Relationship”, 14.07.2014, *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/14/angela-merkel-chancellor-german-team-relationship>

²⁸⁶ The Federal Chancellor, “Chancellor Angela Merkel in Afghanistan”, Bundeskanzlerin, <https://www.bundeskanzlerin.de/ContentArchiv/EN/Archiv17/Reiseberichte/af-bk-in-afghanistan.html>

²⁸⁷ Realite Haber, “Tansu Çiller attended the Istanbul meeting of AKP”, 17.06.2008, <http://www.realitehaber.com/2018/06/17/tansu-ciller-akpnin-istanbul-mitingine-katildi/>

²⁸⁸ Angela Merkel visits German football team's dressing room, causes controversy, 22.10.2010 <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=5cdInJJ3W9Q>



Figure 3.24. Germany's chancellor Angela Merkel (L), reacts next to the president of the German Football Association (DFB), Wolfgang Niersbach, during UEFA EURO 2012 quarter-final soccer match Germany vs Greece at Arena Gdansk in Gdansk, Poland, 22 June 2012.²⁸⁹

We see that Merkel makes excessive efforts to show her interest in football. She takes her place in many selfies with footballers and she even enters into changing rooms to give motivation to the footballers.



Figure 3.25. Smile! Sami Khedira snaps a picture with Angela Merkel at the Maracana²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹<https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-germanys-chancellor-angela-merkel-l-reacts-next-to-president-of-the-55487817.html>

²⁹⁰ Mirror, "Mesut Ozil reveals his biggest regret: Not getting a selfie with Angela Merkel after the World Cup final", 15.06.2015, <https://www.mirror.co.uk/sport/football/news/mesut-ozil-reveals-biggest-regret-5885592>

Merkel is not the only example who pays special attention to football. Turkish former Prime Minister Tansu Çiller tried to give messages to football fanatics to gain support. She promised to Samsunspor fanatics to support their team to upgrade it to the premier league without knowing that the team was already in the premier league. There is a football team named “Tansu Çiller.” This is because Tansu Çiller became an idole for girls who want to achieve in the areas of professions in which girls were so rare.²⁹¹



Figure 3.26. Turkey’s first female prime minister Tansu Çiller



Figure 3.27. The name of the football team consisted of girls took the name of former first female prime minister of Turkey, Tansu Çiller (right).

We see that Merkel has many photos with German soldiers. Tansu Çiller has some photos with Turkish soldiers. However, the difference is that Çiller and former interior minister Meral Akşener, who became a candidate for the presidential race last year, prefer to wear a military uniform. This can be interpreted that Turkish President is also the Chief Commander of Turkey. However interior minister does not have a qualification like that. The Turkish proverb saying “Turks are soldiers by birth” may be one of the reasons for Çiller and Akşener to give poses in uniform. But, for Çiller who is the first female prime minister of Turkey, this can be interpreted as adopting masculine behaviours to be accepted like a real or efficient leader or trying to persuade

²⁹¹ Yeni Haber, “Kupa Tansu Çiller’in” (Cup to Tansu Çiller), 21.12.2018, <https://www.sakaryayenihaber.com/93226-kupa-tansu-ciller-in-haberi.html>

her own people that a woman can be a leader as capable as men by wearing a military uniform.

However, Merkel does not prefer wearing soldiers' uniform. Merkel's choice can be interpreted as drawing a frontier between military and civilian spheres to underline that democracy belongs to the civilian rule. But at the same time Merkel's poses can evoke an image that she is as powerful as men in the men's world.



Figure 3.28. Merkel is with German soldiers.²⁹²



Figure 3.29. Tansu Çiller is with Turkish soldiers. The former candidate for presidential elections, Meral Akşener (left), was the Interior Minister at that time.²⁹³

²⁹² RT, "Merkel wants Germany military budget boosted to counter 'external threats'", 22.06.2018, <https://www.rt.com/news/347699-merkel-germany-military-threats/>

²⁹³ Realite haber, "Tansu Çiller AKP'nin İstanbul mitingine katıldı" (Tansu Çiller attended to AKP's Istanbul meeting), 17.06.2018, <http://www.realitehaber.com/2018/06/17/tansu-ciller-akpnin-istanbul-mitingine-katildi/>

For other women politicians and women leaders, we see similar process of behaving like a male leader. But after they are criticised, some of them began to change their style in a feminine way like Merkel does with her appearance, like their hair style and dresses or the way they behave. For example, Jennifer J. Jones looks at how Clinton's speaking style has evolved in interviews and debates over her 25-year career in politics. Her article is titled "How Clinton talks more like a man the more powerful she becomes".

She finds that she has spoken in an increasingly masculine way over time. She also states that during Clinton's first presidential campaign in 2007, when she was trailing Barack Obama, her language became more feminine in order to increase her likability.²⁹⁴ Using a feminine way was always shown as a way to steal male voters' hearts like Sarah Palin did. But, media mocked her life choices like being mother of five children or her sexy clothing style.

For example, CNN's Rick Sanchez anchoring the network's coverage of Palin's resignation announcement asked in a facetious way "*Hey, could she be pregnant again?*"²⁹⁵ MSNBC analyst Donny Deutsch told *Morning Joe* viewers, "*That the Quittah from Wasilla is divisive specifically because 'this is the first woman in power with sexual appeal. ... We're used to seeing a woman in power as nonthreatening.'*"²⁹⁶

Jones found out the media made pression over Clinton about her personal styling choice. Jones tells that Clinton fall afoul of the expectations about how she should behave. But, these expectations change depending on achievements and failures. Each time, we see that even if she is succesful, some journalists or coloumnists try to nag at her. If she fails, it is much easier to find a defect: "*Fox News commentator Greg*

²⁹⁴ Jennifer J. Jones, "Talk "Like a Man": The Linguistic Styles of Hillary Clinton, 1992–2013 ", Cambridge, 2016, **American Political Science Association 2016**, p.625

https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/0F8189E4F3221D78C6233C2F38C72A3E/S1537592716001092a.pdf/talk_like_a_man_the_linguistic_styles_of_hillary_clinton_19922013.pdf

²⁹⁵ Inquisitr, "Did Sarah Palin Resign as Governor of Alaska because she's Pregnant?", 04.07.2009, <https://www.inquisitr.com/28187/did-sarah-palin-resign-as-governor-of-alaska-because-shes-pregnant-video/>

²⁹⁶ Jennifer L. Pozner, "Hot And Bothering: Media Treatment Of Sarah Palin", 08.07.2009 <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=106384060>

*Gutfeld tweeted ‘even when she says, you know, it’s recited like a wind up doll’ and New York Times columnist David Brooks told PBS News anchor Judy Woodruff that Clinton failed to “emotionally connect” in her speech. When Clinton talks, it comes across as unrelaxed, hair-raising, nagging, and grating. It conflicts with our expectations about how she should behave.”*²⁹⁷

What is more interesting is that Clinton was criticized when she failed to show these masculine traits like having “strength, determination, self-confidence, decisiveness and more”. “She is criticized when she fails to display these masculine qualities and yet she is criticized and disliked when she fails to display her warmth and femininity—a classic “double-bind” that women in politics and other leadership positions often confront” says Jones.²⁹⁸

Sputnik published an article about the women leaders who have mannish physiological particularities causing them to be interested in politics.²⁹⁹ According to article, if the effectiveness of masculine hormones increase, those women are more interested in politics. Those women have more masculine face lines like Merkel and Hillary Clinton.³⁰⁰ The article about the research gives place to a research study conducted by Friedrich-Alexander University. The result of the research defends that women who have larger faces are more prone to starve for power and they are more masculine than other women. According to “this theory published in Sputnik”, during the teenager period the corporeal development has certain effects on brain development. So if the masculine hormones are much more effective, the motivational parts of the brain to gain power can be different for women. The large face is caused by these hormones, so it is the proof that these parts of the brain encourage women to gain more power. For the women with large face, the article gives the examples of Angela Merkel, Margaret Thatcher and Hillary Clinton. The article says Merkel is one of the women who fits

²⁹⁷ Jennifer J. Jones, "Hillary Clinton talks more 'like a man' the more powerful she becomes", 31.08.2016, <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/69241/1/blogs.lse.ac.uk-Hillary%20Clinton%20talks%20more%20like%20a%20man%20the%20more%20powerful%20she%20becomes.pdf>

²⁹⁸ **Ibid.**

²⁹⁹ Sputnik Türkçe, “Angela Merkel ve Hillary Clinton güç Düşkünü” (Angela Merkel and Hillary Clinton are Power Suckers), 28.08.2017, <https://tr.sputniknews.com/bilim/201708281029905230-angela-merkel-hillary-clinton-guc-duskunu/>

³⁰⁰ Sputnik Türkçe, “Merkel ve Clinton'ın 'gücü' yüzlerinde gizliymiş” (The Power of Merkel and Clinton were hidden in their faces), 28.08.2017, <https://tr.sputniknews.com/bilim/201708281029905230-angela-merkel-hillary-clinton-guc-duskunu/>

that type of women and Thatcher with her large facial features is one of the most powerful woman leaders of the British political history. Therefore, the article tries to describe Merkel's character beginning from her physiological particularities. And the article constructs a positive line between being men and being interested in politics.

In conclusion, the notion that “powerful women must be, lead and look like a man” is one of the main reasons that woman leaders tend to have masculine behaviors while practicing their leadership to be accepted as a real leader. Being interested in football “more than men” or in military issues are some means to adapt mannish behaviours in the eyes of people. This is because there are prejudgments that these domains (football and military) are the main areas of interest of men, even they are open to everybody. Turkey's former first female Prime Minister Tansu Çiller's poses in military clothes in media and her motivating messages for football fans while she was visiting Turkish cities can be interpreted in this way too. One of the results of this presumption is the idea saying that mannish woman leaders are succesful. Women leaders like Merkel, Clinton and Thatcher are always exempling of this idea. However, we see that while Merkel and Thatcher both bear the title of “Iron Lady”, Clinton is a little different from them. While Clinton is more criticized because of her behaviours which are said to lack emotions and dressing style interpreted as mannish, we see that Clinton and Thatcher does not take that kind of criticism. Merkel was criticized because of her dressing style but it was not because she was wearing mannish clothes, it was because her choice of dresses that are not found stylish.

3.9. “Trümmerfrauen” (Rubble Women)

As Merkel is one of the most powerful European leaders and in many crises like the economic crises in Greece she was the one having the final word, she is seen like the cleaner figure of Europe after many crises. Therefore, Merkel was described as “Terminatress”, making an attribution to Terminator, Poker Face and Ice Queen.

Trümmerfrau is also one of the stereotypes that is associated with Merkel. Trümmerfrauen, meaning the “rubble cleaner”, is a title for German women who were cleaning the rubbles of the buildings bombed to rebuild their cities after the World War II. For this reason, these women are called “Trümmerfrauen” of Germany, meaning “rubble women”. Trümmerfrauen became one of the myths of

Germany. Helmut Kohl also emphasized the role of Trümmerfrauen for the rebuilding of Germany in 2005. He said that the rubble-clearing women in the aftermath of WWII are "a symbol of the German people's wish to rebuild and of their powers of survival," he said, adding that the Munich monument "commemorates the large number of women who volunteered to clear the ruins." Historian Leonie Treber says that "*The Trümmerfrau is a German legend.*"³⁰¹



Figure 3.30. Trümmerfrauen (rubble women) of Germany are in the memories of Germans who rescued the country after the World War II.³⁰²

German newspaper *Deutsche Welle* says that the "Trümmerfrau" image became an unforgettable image for Germans: "*The image of hard-working, cheerful women clearing the rubble of WWII from German streets is deeply ingrained in German minds. "Chiseled in stone, hammer in hand, her hair bound in a knotted kerchief - monuments to Germany's Trümmerfrau (rubble woman) can be found in many German cities.*"³⁰³

³⁰¹ Leonie Treber, "Bad German Historians Woman Points Out Trümmerfrau Myth", *Observing Hermann*, 25.11.2014, <https://observinghermann.com/2014/11/25/bad-german-historian-woman-points-out-trummerfrau-myth/>

³⁰² Olivier Das Gupta, "So entstand der "Trümmerfrauen"-Mythos" (This is how the "rubble women" myth originated, 03.12.2014, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/deutschland-nach-dem-zweiten-weltkrieg-wie-sozialistische-kampagnen-den-truemmerfrauen-mythos-praegten-1.2250207>

³⁰³ *Deutsche Welle*, "Dismantling the German myth of 'Trümmerfrauen'", 24.11.2014, <https://www.dw.com/en/dismantling-the-german-myth-of-truemmerfrauen/a-18083725>

When Merkel distanced herself from Kohl because of the scandal (Schwarzgeldaffäre) that ended his political career, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Kohl's former protégé, later called for his resignation over a political funding scandal.³⁰⁴ As Angela Merkel hinted that Mr. Kohl, who was still an MP, should be pulled from political life, she became like a cleaner of the CDU's image. In this case, Merkel, who was blamed afterwards for causing the death of Kohl's wife by Kohl's son, took a big risk. After Kohl resigned in 2000, Schröder became the prime minister.



Figure 3.31. When Kohl made a warning to Merkel about her migrant policy, English newspaper Express published two surly pictures of Merkel and Kohl (left)³⁰⁵ side by side as they do not like each other to reflect the bad memories between him and her that was resulted with the demission of Kohl from his post. He said, “It does not lie in Europe. Europe cannot become a new home for millions of people in need around the world.”³⁰⁶ But in old days their happy photos (right)³⁰⁷ were published many times when Merkel was titled as the “das Mädchen” (The girl) of Kohl to express that she is Kohls’ protégé.

There were many politicians like the Deputy Chairman Michael Luther that calls for Mr. Kohl's retirement. For this reason, Merkel, being the CDU's General Secretary at that time, was supported and the start of her career as a prime minister was like a turning over a new leaf for the party: “*The CDU organised nine regional conferences to gather grassroots opinions within the party. It was at these meetings that Merkel won widespread support as a kind of ‘Trümmerfrau’, an icon of the postwar period in*

³⁰⁴ BBC, “German reunification architect Helmut Kohl dies at 87”, 16.06.2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40307918>

³⁰⁵ Express, “Warning to Merkel: Former leader says Germany 'can't become new home for migrants”, 18.05.2016, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/661972/angela-merkel-helmut-kohl-germany-eu-migrants-new-home>

³⁰⁶ **Ibid.**

³⁰⁷ Kurdistan Daily, “Former German Chancellor Helmut Kohl dies at 87”, 17.07.2017, <https://ekurd.net/german-helmut-kohl-dies-2017-06-17>

which women uncomplainingly cleaned up the ruins of war in order to help rebuild the country.” ³⁰⁸



Figure 3.32. Kohl was trying to take his revenge from Merkel in different occasions. He said once that Merkel did not know properly how to eat with fork and knife when she was young. ³⁰⁹

Mark Richard Thompson said in his article that Merkel “*benefited from a gendered stereotype as a Trümmerfrau who could rebuild the conservative’s moral standing out of the affair’s ruins. But her continued success had much to do with successful political learning of how to turn critics’ attacks against themselves.*” ³¹⁰

English newspaper *The Telegraph* also published an article which empowered the Trümmerfrauen image of Merkel. In the article it is said that Merkel is the cleaner of the Eurocrise: “*The German chancellor dominated the European stage as no woman has done since Margaret Thatcher. The two could hardly differ more, either in personality or politics. Indeed, Merkel reminds me of a different Mrs T: she is a Teutonic Mrs Tiggywinkle, who kindly takes in the Eurozone’s dirty linen but whose homely figure conceals her hedgehog’s prickles.*” ³¹¹

³⁰⁸ Thompson, **op.cit.**

³⁰⁹ The Telegraph, “Merkel 'cannot use a knife and fork': Helmut Kohl”, 06.11.2014 <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/angela-merkel/11143750/Angela-Merkel-cannot-use-a-knife-and-fork-Helmut-Kohl.html>

³¹⁰ Mark Richard Thompson, “The Making of Chancellor Merkel”, Research Gate, German Politics, Vol.15, No.1, March 2006, p. 99

³¹¹ Daniel Johnson, **op.cit.**

Turkish media does not use Trümmerfrau but sees Merkel almost the most important leader of Europe alongside Theresa May. However, in the eyes of Turkish media, Merkel is much more powerful than Theresa May thanks to her capacity to struggle with crises even she lost power after her migrant policy in 2015.

In conclusion, Merkel is seen as a “Trümmerfrau” by Western media during crises, especially euro crisis. As stated above, Trümmerfrau was given to the women who try to clean the rubbles of buildings to rebuild Germany. One of the reasons for that is she always takes initiatives to resolve problems while other leaders abstain from them. Therefore, Merkel is also identified with the Trümmerfrau stereotype not only by German media but also European media. For Turkish media, even we do not see the word “Trümmerfrau”, generally Merkel has an image of “problem solver” of Europe.

3.10. Conclusion

We have nine stereotypes used for Merkel: Ice queen, lonely, Iron Lady, weak, mother, housewife, sexy-feminine, masculine-mannish and Trümmerfrau. All of the stereotypes are used both by Western and Turkish media. The only exception is Trümmerfrau that is used only by western media because it is special for Europe, but we can see Merkel’s strong stance about the crises that shake Europe supports her “problem solver” image, almost the synonym of “Trümmerfrau.” Merkel is seen by Turkish and Western media as an ice queen. But ice queen image does not fortify Merkel’s image all the time. It evokes meanings like lack of sensibility like in the case of Palestinian girl and being lonely in hard times. Turkish media uses the ice queen stereotype to disgrace the image of Merkel while western media uses it both to disgrace and show the “cold power” of Merkel that lacks of emotions. Turkish media uses lonely image of Merkel in two ways: For her stance about the membership of Turkey to the EU and her stance about migrant policy. When Merkel stands as the only person against Turkey among the other members of the EU in some meetings, Turkey tries to show Merkel alone in a negative way that tries to disgrace her image. However, when she defends migrants, this time Turkish media tries to canonize the lonely stance of Merkel. Iron Lady image is both used to approve the power of Merkel in politics by both Turkish and western media. Western and Turkish media try to use the weak stereotype by using her sex as an excuse. Behind this idea, there is the presumption that

says men are ideal for leadership. “Little girl of Kohl” title was used for Merkel to weaken her image in politics and “trying to show her as a prey for male leaders” are the efforts to damage her credibility in politics. One of the stereotypes that Turkish and Western media love to use is “mother”, even she does not have a child and motherhood has been seen as an obstacle for leadership in western media as in the case of Sarah Palin whose mothership was seen as an obstacle to achieve in politics by some journalists. As being the mother of migrants, this stereotype was used during the migrant crisis to underline the Merkel’s peaceful migrant policies. We can say that mother image can be used to soften the feelings of Germans towards migrants. As Merkel is called as “mother” also by Germans, this image can evoke some pity for migrants in the hearts of Germans. When Merkel opened the doors of Germany and many Germans welcomed migrants in a peaceful way, the mother image of Merkel fortified the human side of Germany with all these developments in the eyes of global public. For Turkish media, mother and father images for a leader is so powerful and a source of respect as in the case of Süleyman Demirel. Merkel used housewife stereotype to address women which were raised with West German culture in election campaigns. This is because Merkel was raised in East Germany where women were more encouraged to work than those in West German. Turkish media loved the stories that Merkel is a good housewife, cooking potato soup and plum cakes for her husband. Some Turkish newspapers published articles saying that Merkel was using “housewife stereotype” as an image to gain more support in elections. Western and Turkish media construct an opposition between being beautiful and succesful for women leaders. For both media, Merkel is one of the examples of the women leaders who are succesful but not beautiful enough. Her efforts to adopt a more feminine style are always mocked by Turkish and Western media. The presumption of “powerful women must be, lead and look like a man” is one of the main reasons that women leaders tend to have masculine behavior to be approved by their public. We see that in her first years of her carreer, Merkel tried to stand distant to feminism movements not to be the representative of only one segment of people but to address all Germany. We do not see that Turkish media tries to show Merkel as she adopted masculine behaviours to gain power. But in Western and Turkish world her photos with football creates an effect that she is not foreign to “men’s world” and she wants to be part of it to normalize it for every sex.

4. Analyzes of Merkel's Image in Turkish Newspapers between September-November 2015

We analyzed the period from September to November 2015. In September, a Syrian refugee Aylan Kürdi died in the Aegean Sea. The death of Aylan Kürdi grasped the attention of opinion public worldwide.



Figure 4.1. Three-year-old Syrian-Kurdish baby Aylan Kurdi's dead body washed ashore on a beach of Bodrum, Turkey on September, 2nd 2015.

At this period, media stay focused on countries which aide the Syrian refugees. The role of European countries in refugee crisis was put into question. In media, journalists published the photo of Aylan Kürdi many times in their articles and websites. We saw the reflection of the usage of this photo in social media. Human right advocates raised their voice much more against anti-refugee approaches of countries, social groups like far right groups or people.

We are investigating the image of German Chancellor Angela Merkel constructed by Turkish media around stereotypes. Therefore, we will make a comparison between the perception of Merkel through stereotypes in general and during three-month period when the migrant crisis hit the top.

November 29th is the date when the former Prime Minister Ahmed Davutoğlu reached a compromise about refugee crisis to sign an EU-Turkey deal about refugee crisis. The period between these dates is important to see how Merkel's leadership image changed in Turkish media. The image of Merkel is as it is reflected to a distorting mirror and seems different than the original one through stereotypes that come forward. This is

because we see that all newspapers develop different reflex to defend their ideology and it causes them to use different stereotypes to reflect the image of Merkel.

As Merkel defends accepting the refugees into Germany, in European and German media, some newspapers published news that are against Merkel or defend Merkel. The Turkish media was affected by this divergence in German and European media. We see there is a fraction in Turkish media. However, the main point that causes a fraction is that the European Union was making a deal with the government about migrants. One of the promises of the European Union was the free-visa regime for Turkey if the free visa process was successful. For this reason, if the deal were successful, the government would be successful, too. This causes media companies to have different opinions. So, we can say that Merkel's image is changing between "demonization" and "angelisation", like shades of grey. So we are trying to understand the degree of the change for the image of Merkel in Turkish media during this period. We will analyze the news, which tries to construct the image of Merkel that may be different from what it is in reality.

The tension between countries, the fluctuant relations between Erdoğan and Merkel, the relation of some newspapers with Germany, the Turkish population in Germany causes fictitious images of Merkel in Turkish media.

The reflection of negative and positive news about Merkel on Turkish media is more different than that is on German and European media. When Merkel seems alone facing far right, she seems weak in German media, but in Turkish media, she may seem like a heroine who faces up to difficulties bravely. However, some Turkish newspapers can see Merkel as the far right European media sees. Therefore, the period of crisis is very important for us to analyze.

We see 29 out of 141 news underline the strength of Merkel for three-month period.

We can see below that happened during this 3-month period:

* The attacks of Bashar Assad were intensified and refugee flow rushed to Europe, passing through Turkey.

*First Syrian child Aylan Kürdi's dead body washed ashore in Turkish Bodrum on September 2, 2015.

* Non-governmental organizations (NGO) from all over the world especially from Europe put pressure upon European states. So, Europe decided to take an action against migration. Turkey was the key country to find a solution to stop migrant flow toward Europe.

* In the European Summit between Turkey and Europe on October 15, 2015, a “Joint Action Plan” was made between Turkey and the EU to reach an agreement to send back migrants that arrived Europe.

* On November 29, 2011, Turkey and the EU decided to put the “Joint Action Plan” into practice.³¹²

4.1. General Methodology

In this study, we aimed to make a research about German Chancellor Angela Merkel’s image in Turkish media during migrant crises. First we limited our period that we analyzed Merkel’s image. We chose the death of Syrian child Aylan Kurdi, September 2015, as the starting point of our study since Aylan’s death stunned worldwide media more than any other incident. Since this kind of big incidents that effect each country in a different way, they create a deteriorating effect on perception of leaders’, especially woman leaders’ perception in media. The end of our period is November when Turkey and EU reached a deal about refugees.

We analyzed three important newspaper, Cumhuriyet, Sabah and Hürriyet of Turkey for our study. We chose the newspapers according to their publishing policy and their political stance below:

1. Hürriyet is the newspaper who address democratic and secular people who defend Kemalism which is the constitutional ideology of Republic of Turkey. We can say that Hürriyet has also a mainstream and liberal outlook. For the period we chose for our study, Hürriyet had an anti-Erdoğan stance. But after the newspaper was sold to Demirören Group, it turned into a pro-Erdoğan newspaper. But we analyzed Hürriyet before its sale to Demirören. So the newspaper’s pro-Erdoğan stance is not included in our research.

³¹² Turkish Ministry for European Union, “Report dated November 29, 2015 Turkey-EU Summit”, (29 Kasım 2015 Tarihli Türkiye-AB Zirvesi Bildirisi), https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/AB_Iliskileri/29_kasim_2015_turkiye_ab_zirvesi_bildirisi_.pdf

2. Sabah represents pro-Erdoğan stance. It has a conservative and Islamist outlook.

3. Cumhuriyet is the voice of central-leftist world view in Turkey. The anti-Erdoğan policy of the newspaper has never changed.

We only took the news and columns that were published on the web sites of these newspapers. We entered keyword of Merkel in the research engine of the web sites. We collected all the news and columns. Then we categorized the news and columns to better understand the image of Merkel in these newspapers.

In our analyze we used the social science method of “discourse analyses.” We collected approximately approximately 400 news and columns. We chose those which concern more refugee crises, refugee deal and the effect of refugee deal between Turkey and EU and Merkel’s migrant policy on inner politics of Germany and Turkey. We analyzed all the news and columns under categories that we determined for each newspaper. So, we try to understand the image of Merkel for each newspaper by taking the average of idea over news and articles together. Especially in Turkey the columnist editorial policy is not so different than the general editorial policy of the newspaper. However, many of the managing editors write columns in newspaper. As the period that we analyzed was limited with a short time, the news and columns within the same newspaper don’t differentiate from each other so much.

We also made documentary research to instruct a theoretical base for the stereotypes and adjectives that were used for Angela Merkel. For theory part, we searched different adjectives and stereotypes that were used by Western and Turkish media for Merkel. So we searched stereotypes and these adjectives like keywords beside the name of Merkel on Google search engine and the search engines of websites of Western and Turkish newspapers. We cited from the articles of social scientists about stereotype and gender stereotypes theories. We also benefited from the articles and books of many researches about woman leaders. So, we presented perspectives from sociological, psychological, social psychological and anthropological researches in our study.

To understand how media used stereotypes for women leaders, we compared different women leaders all over the world like former Foreign Foreign Affairs Secretary and former First Lady Hillary Clinton, former Alaska Governor Sarah Palin and some Asian women leaders to be aware of different situations of being a woman political leader.

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's "habitus" concept helped us to position the gender stereotypes that women leader face. Canadian Social Psychologist and Sociologist Erving Goffman's "codes of gender" showed the genesis of gender stereotype. American psychologists Alice Eagly and Linda Carli's "glass ceiling" concept to understand the gap that woman leader faced broadened our horizon to understand Merkel's image in Turkish media. The relation that American Anthropologist Margaret Mead attract our relation between gender roles and cultural production brings light to emergence of gender stereotypes too. All these conceptions that different social scientists put forward helped us to understand the image of Merkel in Turkish media during refugee crises.

4.2. The Analyze of Merkel's Image in the Articles Published by *Hürriyet* Newspaper from September to November 2015

4.2.1. Background of *Hürriyet*

Founded in 1948, *Hürriyet* (means Liberty) is one of the major Turkish newspapers. As of January 2018, it had the highest circulation among the newspapers in Turkey with around 319,000. *Hürriyet* has a mainstream, liberal and nationalist outlook. *Hürriyet* has regional offices in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana, Antalya and Trabzon as well as a news network comprising of 52 offices and 600 reporters in Turkey and abroad, all affiliated to Doğan News Agency in the past but now to Demirören News Agency. This is because Doğan Media Group has been sold to Demirören Company Group known for its pro government stance. However, our study period covers the time when *Hürriyet* was under Doğan Media Group which primarily publish newspapers and broadcast television channels that are under the management of Doğan Media Group.

Hürriyet is a newspaper that represents mostly the citizens that oppose AKP government. *Hürriyet* has been like a shelter for Kemalist leaders who are against the government led by AKP. Many columnists who are against the policy of the government that was trying to shake the Kemalist traditions in public sphere. Therefore, AKP gave Kemalists a deep shock. *Hürriyet* is one of the fortress of the citizens who feel lonely against AKP policies. *Hürriyet* positions itself like the defender of the republic and democracy in Turkey.

4.2.2. Methodology

* We analyzed 141 news including brief news, special news and columnists for three-month period. In these news articles, *Hürriyet* used 59 photos of Merkel. All the news and columns analyzed have “Merkel” keyword. Among 141 articles, we chose those which concern more refugee crises, refugee deal and the effect of refugee deal between Turkey and EU and Merkel's migrant policy on inner politics of Germany and Turkey.

- * We grouped the brief news (articles) and columnists into 8 categories to better understand the Merkel's image in Turkey.
- * The news trying to show Merkel is a powerful leader and to prove the support for Merkel – 29 news and columns
- * News that appreciates Turkey for its effort in migrant crisis - 22
- * The news which shows that Merkel and Germany need Turkey in migration crisis to resolve the crisis which threatens Germany and Europe - 20
- * Merkel as a hope destroyer - 4
- * News trying to show Merkel's weakness and the news which underlines the pressure in domestic politics of Germany against Merkel - 19
- * News containing sexist prejudgments against Merkel - 3
- * Merkel's declaration against Turkey's interests especially in European Union - 2
- * News trying to show Merkel works only for German interests and benefits from Turkey for German interests-2

Keywords used to describe Merkel in the articles published by *Hürriyet* in order of frequency: Powerful (2 times), modest (once), mother (2), having the courage of her convictions, standing by her words (2), decisive (1), cold blooded (1)

Before the migrant crisis, we see a harder Merkel image in Turkish media, which portrays Merkel in her Iron Lady and ice queen images mostly. During the refugee crisis, *Hürriyet* reflected many Merkel images even if some are true or not, but still strong enough even she is alone supporting her migrant policy. When Merkel makes declarations to protect refugees or to make a call for help for Turkey, we see a strong, friendly, warm and understanding Merkel. This is because all the European countries are not content with the refugee flow coming to Europe. However, some columnists questioned the sincerity of Merkel claiming that Merkel looked after German interests. They called the deal between Europe and Turkey “a dirty deal”. This is because the refugees are used as a trump to gain advantage for both sides, according to them. As we analyze *Hürriyet* newspaper, we see there are some ambivalence through stereotypes that are attributed to Merkel in general.

4.2.3. Powerful or Weak among Iron Lady, Ice Queen and Mother Stereotypes

First ambivalence is that in one hand Merkel is a powerful leader when she is successful and seems like the negotiator of Europe about refugee crisis. However, on the other hand, when she lost support in Germany, the photos in which Merkel is put in chador come to the foreground. There are 29 news showing Merkel as a strong leader. However, there are 19 news in which Merkel loses power in the domestic politics of Germany or in international politics. So, the numbers of the two kinds of news are not neck to neck but very close.

4.2.3.1. “Powerful” Merkel

We see 29 out of 141 news underline the strength of Merkel for three-month period. We observe that *Hürriyet* is focused on Merkel’s power among other European leaders. *Hürriyet* published news about refugee flow coming to Europe, Merkel's policy and political voices that are against Merkel's refugee policy. When we analyze the news, we see that they are very important for the representation of Merkel in Turkish media. Firstly, Merkel is praised for her open-door policy by many human right advocates and leaders. The main idea is that Merkel should be respected and she is a meritorious leader. *Hürriyet* shows concerns to publish articles that focus on German support for refugees like the walk in Frankfurt where thousands of people walked for refugees. This is because 80.000 refugees were expected to come to Germany.³¹³ On the other hand, *Hürriyet* gave a place to the articles highlighting that Merkel’s policy is not supported: “Merkel who opened the doors to refugees as soon as she sees the tragedy at the Hungarian frontier. The party leaders of other countries backed Merkel but she is beleaguered by her party. The sister party of CDU, the leaders of CSU criticize Merkel for her refugee policy.”³¹⁴ The efforts of *Hürriyet* can be interpreted like tarnishing the image of Merkel.

³¹³ *Hürriyet*, “Mültecilere Destek Yürüyüşü”, “(Sport March for Refugees), 02.09.2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/frankfurt-ta-multecilere-destek-yuruyusu-29959236>

³¹⁴ *Hürriyet*, “World Appreciated Her, but Her Party Criticized Her”, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/merkel-i-dunya-takdir-etti-ama-partisi-elestirdi-30106681>, 19.09.2015

Angela Merkel, who holds the title of being the prime minister for the longest period of time among the member states of the EU, faces some of the major challenges during her term of office, including the global economic crisis, the decision to phase out nuclear energy use in her country, the financial crisis that has shaken the EU and the last asylum crisis. The first female prime minister of the country took note of the decision to abolish compulsory military service in Germany during her rule. When Merkel completed her first 10 years as a prime minister, many articles and news were published to prove the strength of Merkel. The common point of these articles is that "despite many prejudgements and economic crisis, Merkel could save her post and many people thought she would not be successful as a prime minister." *Hürriyet* also published a brief news article summarizing the success of Merkel.

We see many keywords are used to qualify Merkel like “strong”, “cold-blooded”, she has increasing power despite negative comments” etc. Angela Merkel, who was elected to be Germany's first female Chancellor in the elections held on November 22, 2005, completed her 10th year in the prime minister's chair. Angela Merkel, who was elected to the Christian Unity Party (CDU) on April 10, 2000, has been not only managing all kinds of crises in a cold-blooded manner during the 10-year prime minister's term, but also has been dealing with the reactions of both the coalition partner and the party during the last four months of the asylum crisis. Commenting that she could not stay in power for a long period in the first years of her position as a prime minister, Angela Merkel has increased her power well over the last 10 years.³¹⁵ Oskar Niedermayer, a professor of Political Science at the Free University of Berlin stated that Angela Merkel was a strong prime minister when she was elected and had to manage many crises such as the financial crisis in the world. This is a method used by journalist to support their idea or prove their thoughts. The message seems like "the professors also say Merkel is a strong leader." Even if *Hürriyet* mentioned rarely “Iron Lady” portrait in this 3-month period, the articles make us feel and think the particularities of the iron lady stereotype for Merkel. Although there are problems in the domestic German politics about migrant crisis like protests in Bavaria, Merkel resisted on her migrant policy. *Hürriyet* also gives place to an article showing horrible decrease in the support for Merkel using the words “*The leader of CSU which is the*

³¹⁵ *Hürriyet*, “Angela Merkel 10 Yılını Doldurdu”, (Angela Merkel Completes Her 10 Years), *Hürriyet*, 22.11 2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/angela-merkel-10-yilini-doldurdu-40017140>

small partner of the government criticized the policy of Angela Merkel. He said the permission that gave Merkel to refugees to come to Germany is a long term error that will cause trouble."³¹⁶ We see also articles titled "*Merkel loses ground*"³¹⁷ or "*Merkel went into decline.*"

There is no word to describe the leadership of Merkel. However, the writer shadows out that Merkel will not give Turkey something pleasant in exchange of the refugee agreement as Merkel is a vigilant, self-seeker leader who tries to deceive Turkey. So, Merkel is like an advocate of Western world who was beaten by the Ottoman Empire and now tries to win a victory over Turkey. From this perspective, Merkel is like the spokesperson of the enemy.

4.2.3.2. Merkel's Migrant Policy Portrays a Weak Image

Describing a woman leader is always a problem for media. There can be suspicions against a woman leader's proficiency about her leadership because of some prejudgments. "Men are better leaders" is one of the prejudgments that lie behind the thoughts about women leaders. In *Hürriyet*, the direct or indirect qualifications are used for describing Merkel's leadership. The presumption of "powerful women must be, lead and look like a man" brings many presumptions with it. As Myra Marx Ferre (2006) says, "*Within a gendered political system where power is still very much associated with manhood*"³¹⁸, women leaders are charged with politic failure much more easily. There are 19 articles published by *Hürriyet* trying to show Merkel's weakness and the news which underlines the pressure in the domestic politics of Germany against Merkel.

However, during this period, Merkel did not behave like a man, which may be the reason for harsh criticisms against her as in the case of Hillary Clinton. Mother image can sometimes be used to fortify a policy that is risky to take support, like the migration policy of Merkel. So the dead body of Aylan Kurdi who washed ashore became a breaking point for Angela Merkel's image that had a harder character before the

³¹⁶ *Hürriyet*, "Merkel Hükümeti için Dönüm Noktası", "(A Turning Point for Merkel Government), *Hürriyet*, 31.10.2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/merkel-hukumeti-icin-donum-noktasi-40008139>

³¹⁷ *Hürriyet*, "Merkel Taban Kaybediyor" (Merkel Loses Her Ground), 29.11.2015 <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/merkel-taban-kaybediyor-40020484>

³¹⁸ Myra Marx Ferre, **op.cit.**

migration crisis. *Hürriyet* published an article, which expressed sad feelings of Angela Merkel on September 11, “*Merkel: ‘The photo of Aylan deeply affected me.’*”³¹⁹ Merkel said that the body of Aylan washed ashore, affected her so deeply. Merkel is one of the only leaders who spoke bravely about Aylan Kurdi and who took concrete steps for the tragedy of Aylan’s death. With the order of Merkel, many investigations were initiated against hate speech. So, the image of Merkel as a sensitive woman leader was reinforced by the news published in Turkish media during this period.”

Hürriyet also published articles about some racists who were detained by police because of a message they shared: “*A disrespectful behavior from German racist against Aylan Kurdi who deeply saddened the entire world with his death. A German racist, opened a page called ‘Berlin wehrt sich- Berlin’ (Berlin defends itself) and said ‘We are not sad, contrary we are happy. Just a migrant less...’*”³²⁰ The racist German was interned by the police. Merkel attracted attentions to the reaction of far right against migrants and said they would not show tolerance for this kind of reactions.”³²⁰ So *Hürriyet* wants to underline anti-racist stance of Merkel.

Hürriyet tries to show that the democratic approach of Merkel covers not only Germans but also refugees. So, *Hürriyet* highlights that Merkel is a leader not only for her people but also for refugees. This argument was used to degrade the image of Merkel before the migrant crisis.³²¹ However, this was never used by *Hürriyet* during this period of time.

For the news, generally the photos in which Merkel seems in the strongest position and the photos in which Merkel's outfit is the chicest are chosen. Hence, Merkel's image in the photos includes a mannish stance and a feminine touch at the same time. We cannot see body gestures like US’s former Alaska government Sarah Palin in Merkel's photos. However, Merkel is trying to soften her hard image by wearing chic

³¹⁹ *Hürriyet*, “Aylanın Fotoğrafi Beni Derinden Eklledi”, (The Photo of Aylan Deeply Effected Me), 11.09.2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/merkel-aylan-fotografi-beni-derinden-etkiledi-30052129>

³²⁰ *Hürriyet*, “Aylan'ın Fotoğrafi ile Irkçı Paylaşım, Alman Polisinden Soruşturma”, (Investigation by German Police to Racist Social Media Sharing With Aylan's Photograph) 05.09.2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/aylanin-fotografi-ile-irkci-paylasima-alman-polisinden-sorusturma-2999738>

³²¹ Deutsche Welle, “Angela Merkel Raises Eyebrows with Cleavage Display”, 15.04.2008, <https://www.dw.com/en/angela-merkel-raises-eyebrows-with-cleavage-display/a-3269347>

but modest outfits. Her efforts to seem stylish have been sometimes mocked and media wants to label Merkel as being clumsy about her style.

ARD, German State television, published a news article showing Merkel in a chador. According the scenario in the news, after the refugee policy of Merkel, a lot of refugees would come and transform the culture of Germany by replacing their culture instead of the German culture. So, women would wear chadors, even if all of the Syrians or Middle Eastern does not wear chadors. We can see an Orientalist perspective here. This is because in Orientalist art products, Western travelers tried to turn Orient into how they wanted to see it and into an object that must be capture We see an unreal scene in the artistic products of Orientalist artists. They allege that Eastern women are not free because of Eastern men, to be able to intervene in the Eastern world to free Eastern women. Edward Said (1977) says “*Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.*”³²² As Macfie summarizes Said’s argument, “*the orientalist assists in exacerbating a series of stereotypical images, as Europe (the West, the ‘self’) being the rational, developed, superior, authentic, active and masculine and The Orient (the East, the ‘other’) being irrational, backward, inferior, inauthentic and feminine.*”³²³

German state television channel ARD, dresses Merkel in burqa to criticize her attitude towards refugee crisis. ARD emphasized that Germany flooded by refugees may lose his own values. The Moderator who scrutinized the refugee crisis, accompanied by a graphic that shows European Parliament with “minaret” and said “*Will we be able to succeed or not?*”³²⁴ How will we act if the refugees encounter issues in woman rights, equality, freedom of expression and freedom of media etc.?³²⁵ They said the graphic is a concrete photo of the discourse of PEGIDA.

³²²Edward Said, **Orientalism**, Penguin, London, 1977, http://eaford.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Said_Edward1977_Orientalism.pdf, p.3

³²³ Hands Tekdemir, “Critical Approaches to Edward Said’s Orientalism”. Uludağ University Faculty of Arts and Sciences Journal of Social Sciences, Vol. 18, 2017 p.143

³²⁴ Hürriyet, “ARD Merkel’e Kara Çarşaf Giydirdi”, (ARD Colthed Merkel with Chador), 06.10.2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ard-merkele-kara-carsaf-giydirdi-40000744>

³²⁵ **Ibid.**



Figure 4.2. Merkel is displayed in chador to criticize her migrant policy by ARD, which was published by *Hürriyet* many times.³²⁶

The efforts to pull down Merkel with her pro-refugee policy are also reflected by *Hürriyet*. We often see that Merkel loses power due to the support she gives to refugees. Cengiz Özbek says that Merkel became the victim of her politics. In his article, he used two magazine covers. In one of the cover, there is Merkel's photo with chador, which is used by ARD television causing a big shock in world media. The other cover photo used in *Der Spiegel* Merkel is the "Mother Theresa" image. Özbek who is a male columnist said that because of her embracing attitude toward refugees, the media put her into black chador to criticize her and the maternal attitude of Merkel didn't work out: "*Merkel who adopted an embracing attitude toward migrants and for that reason who was assimilated to Mother Teresa and was made wear black chador, became victim of her maternal attitude.*"³²⁷

So Merkel's mother image was matched with her failure. We can see that Merkel is a victim of a sexist point of view. This is because putting the blame on sexual particularities or thinking the success comes from sexual assessment is a sexist behavior. Media used the image of Mother Theresa and women wearing chador to underestimate Merkel. If only a chador was used, we would say this is an Orientalist view. However, we saw that media used the image of a Christian woman and a Muslim woman on Merkel to express "disturbance or hate" against Merkel's policies. The writer points out that she became the victim of this attitude of a mother who embraces refugees. So, for also a male writer, being like a mother is something that makes

³²⁶ *Hürriyet*, **op.cit**, 06.10.2015

³²⁷ Cengiz Özbek, "Dünder Göçmen Krizi Avrupa'nın yakın Geleceğini Belirliyor", *Hürriyet*, 10.11.2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/gocmen-krizi-avrupanin-yakin-gelecegini-belirliyor-40012354>

someone exposed to attacks. We see that *Hürriyet* publishes 3 articles containing sexist prejudgment against Merkel. So, we can say that *Hürriyet* makes a kind of self-orientalism. “Self-orientalism describes the fact that East regards itself with the eyes of the West and the East turns into to the other of its self.”³²⁸

On the other hand, welcoming image of Merkel for migrants is criticized by German politicians and other countries’ leaders. Merkel lost some support and the international media exaggerated Merkel’s lost as she was highly supported. Focusing on loss of support, *Hürriyet* writer Cengiz Özbek said that the maturity of Merkel did not work for her success. So, we can see a sexist approach in Özbeks’s words. Özbek says that Merkel didn’t gain anything with her image of “mother of refugees”. Sharing the photo in which Merkel is dressed in chador three times shows us that *Hürriyet* likes to promote the disadvantaged image of Merkel. The photo in which Merkel is shown like Mother Theresa is published many times. *Hürriyet* wants to show that “mother’s affection” does not bring any advantages to Merkel. So, *Hürriyet* did not avoid publishing sexist and Orientalist news about Merkel. The news article was shared three times by *Hürriyet*. This frequency shows us *Hürriyet* agrees with German media.

4.2.4. A Friend or an Enemy

The second ambivalence is that Merkel is shown like a friend of Turkey when she mentions the necessity to help Turkey in refugee crisis. However, she does not defend that Turkey should join the EU, which means that she is displayed like a disguised enemy. Therefore, “is Merkel a friend or an enemy of Turkey” is a question that *Hürriyet* cannot answer properly. This is because Merkel is like a harbor for Kemalist and EU defender Turkish intellectuals to get rid of AKP. However, when she tries to make a deal with the AKP government, *Hürriyet* is annoyed because as any deal with the EU may empower AKP government. However, as *Hürriyet* was one of the newspapers of Doğan Media who has strong links with German media company Axel Springer, *Hürriyet* may want to protect the image of Merkel. *Hürriyet* published several times the letters that these Turkish intellectuals wrote to Merkel not to come to Turkey before the general elections.

³²⁸ Evrim Ölçer Özünel, “Kendini Seyreden Öteki: Halk Kültürü Temsillerinde Öz Oryantalist Yaklaşımlar”, (The other Which Watch its Self: Self-Oriented Approaches in Folk Culture Representatives) *Milli Folklor*, <http://www.millifolklor.com/PdfViewer.aspx?Sayi=102&Sayfa=2>, p.5

The ideas we extract from the articles include: “A leader among us”, “Merkel is a role model for Turkish leaders”, and “Merkel who is against the membership of Turkey even if the migrant deal was made.”

We see that there are 22 articles including declarations made by Germany, Merkel and European Union appreciating Turkey for its effort for migrant crisis. There are also 20 articles showing that Merkel and Germany need Turkey in migration crisis to resolve the crisis which threatens Germany and Europe. So Merkel’s friendly face towards Turkey is shown in many times by *Hürriyet* in that period.

4.2.4.1. A Leader among Us

In this period, we see that *Hürriyet* began to publish stories that Merkel showed her smiling face to Turkey. The integration summit in November 2011 gave a unique opportunity to Merkel to show empathy towards migrants and Turkey. Merkel told a story that once upon a time, there were small settlements in Germany where people went in houses by taking off their shoes. With this statement, she was trying to establish a bond between Germany, migrants and Turkey as taking off shoes before entering a house is a custom of Turkish people and Syrians refugees. So, we can say that the secret message for Turkish readers: "Merkel is among us": *“After the press conference of Prime Minister Merkel, Minister Özoğuz, Minister of Health Hermann Gröhe and Psychologist Ramadan Salman told about the story of the shoe he was wearing when he was a child. Merkel tells us that her mother once bought a white carpet and smuggled the carpet by going in and out of her shoes as she said that the tradition of taking off shoes before entering in the houses, as in the Turks, was also in small settlements in Germany.”*³²⁹

Merkel likes to give the message that she is one of us. We can see this message while taking selfie with refugees. In the photo, Merkel is taken a selfie with a refugee as evidence of her modesty, warmth and mother side even though she has no children. However, she also shows her brave side even when she receives letters against refugees from her own political party.

³²⁹ *Hürriyet*, “Uyum Zirvesi Toplandı”, (Integratiom Summit Gathered, *Hürriyet*, 11.11.2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/8-uyum-zirvesi-toplandi-4001546>



Figure 4.3. After taking a selfie with refugees, some newspapers used the title of “mother of refugees” for Merkel.³³⁰

4.2.4.2. A Role Model for Turkish Leaders

Angela Merkel is an important figure who is shown as a role model not only among female leaders but also male leaders. Ertuğrul Özkök (male) compared the effect of Erdoğan and Merkel on Turkish and German people in his article: “*What percentage of people is afraid of President Erdoğan*”.³³¹ Özkök tries to show that Merkel is a more democratic leader than Erdoğan as German people are not afraid of her but it is the opposite in Erdoğan’s case.

4.2.4.3. Merkel: An Example of Modesty through the Game of ‘Golden Thrones’

The G20 Summit in Antalya on November 15-16 became an opportunity for *Hürriyet* to compare different characteristics of leaders. *Hürriyet* published a special news article to disclose some choices made by leaders for their hotel rooms as an indicator of their modesty levels. The title draws attention: “*Merkel Sent Gold Leaf Seats Back To Antalya: US President Obama, while choosing 'royal suit' instead of a private villa prepared for him in Antalya, German Chancellor Angela Merkel remained in 'an ordinary room'. Obama's bulletproof glass was taken from America just five months ago. In the bathroom, everything in the jacuzzi was golden...Another name of the most powerful leaders in the world, German Prime Minister Merkel, did not ask for bullet-proof glasses nor was it a 'special' room, unlike Obama. The hotel management had*

³³⁰ Themanews, “Germany to receive quadruple number of refugees in 2015”, <http://en.protothema.gr/merkel-mother-of-all-refugees-takes-selfies-with-migrants-in-berlin-pics/>

³³¹ Ertuğrul Özkök, “Halkın Yüzde Kaçı Ondan Korkuyor”, (What Percentage of People are afraid of Him), *Hürriyet*, 22.10.2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ertugrul-ozkok/halkin-yuzde-kaci-ondan-korkuyor-40004409>

put gold leaf furniture on the room they had prepared for Merkel. When Merkel saw the room, she said, 'Please take them back. Bring me more daily chairs.'"³³²

The G20 summit became a pretext to see the luxury choices of Obama and Merkel. However, in the article, Merkel is shown much humbler than Obama. So, Merkel's modesty came into prominence in this article to show her as a role model for Turkish leaders too. She was welcomed with golden plated Ottoman chairs in Dolmabahçe for her visit to Erdogan. More special seats that *Hürriyet* called "thrones" were used. *Hürriyet* writer-columnist Kanat Akkaya said that Merkel found these seats strange.³³³ This is because subconsciously the idea that in the final period of Ottoman Empire, luxurious palaces were built; while the contemporary European countries palaces are so modest. So, the modest choices are accepted like an indicator that proves the high quality of a leader.

4.2.4.4. Merkel's Another Face against Turkey

Despite the positive developments between Turkey and Germany, Merkel surprised many people by not taking a step back from her decisive attitude towards not accepting Turkey's membership to the European Union. One of the articles of the migrant treaty was giving free-visa regime to Turkey. However, this article has never been implemented. So, even if Merkel needs Turkey's help for refugees, she acted in a manner not to make any concession about her position for Turkey's accession to the EU. By doing so, she displays her strength. Merkel said the aid of Turkey to stop the refugee flood is necessary but this situation did not change her opinion about the accession of Turkey to the EU. *'I was always against the membership of Turkey' I am still against it.*"³³⁴ But even if Merkel is against Turkey's participation into the EU, *Hürriyet* prefer not bringing this kind of declarations made by Merkel forward.

³³² *Hürriyet*, "Merkel, Altın Varaklı Koltukları Antalya'ya Geri Gönderdi", (Merkel Sent Gold Leaf Seats Back To Antalya), 18.11.2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/merkel-antalyada-altin-varakli-koltuklari-geri-gonderdi-40015738>

³³³ Kanat Akkaya, "Direniş Koltuk", (Resist Armchair), *Hürriyet*, 19.10.2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/kanat-atkaya/diren-koltuk-30350343>

³³⁴ *Hürriyet*, "Merkel: Türkiye'nin AB üyeliğine Karşıyım, Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan da Biliyor", (Merkel, I am Against the Membership of Turkey to EU, and President Erdogan Knows It), *Hürriyet*, 08.10.2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/merkel-turkiyenin-ab-uyeligine-karsiyim-cumhurbaskani-erdogan-da-biliyor-30262088> - PHOTO)

Hürriyet gave place only to 2 articles including Merkel's declaration against Turkey's interests in the EU.

During the refugee crisis, some 100 elites in Turkey wrote a letter to Merkel in order to dissuade her to come to Turkey. The letter proves that Merkel has a strong image in the Turkish public opinion. In the letter, they wrote that in Turkey there is no respect for human rights and freedom of speech. So, Merkel's visit before the general elections in Turkey would be regarded as support for Erdoğan. We see that Merkel is like a heroine for some Turkish people to save them from Erdoğan. Such articles stress the weak side of Merkel. The domestic policy of Germany and the international reaction against Merkel are the evidence that Merkel is a leader that cannot make each side content.

One of the international negative reactions to Merkel is from French far right leader Marine Le Pen. She said that Germany seeks cheap workforce.³³⁵ This is an argument which was used in Turkish media and by some *Hürriyet* columnists as well. So, according to this idea, Merkel tried to find cheap workforce for German economy. So, she is described like a "cunning fox." The hypothesis saying that Merkel is a friendly leader for Turkey is a pipe dream.

There are numerous articles which quote from Merkel saying Germany and European countries must lighten the burden of Turkey during the refugee crisis and negotiate about refugee crisis with Turkey. *Hürriyet* columnist Cengiz Semercioğlu wrote an interesting article³³⁶ showing the face of the janus. Semercioğlu says that Turkey would take visa free travel right with the refugee agreement. He says that in the beginning, Turkey would get 3 billion euros and will take back every refugee who has gone to Europe. He points out that European press calls that "dirty deal." He says that he does not want to travel through the free visa regime. Even if there are some columnists who wrote against Merkel, *Hürriyet* published only 2 articles that try to

³³⁵ *Hürriyet*, "Suriyelilere Kapı Açan Almanya'ya Suçlama" (Germany Blamed for Opening to Doors for Syrians), 08.09.2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/suriyelilere-kapilarini-acan-almanyaya-suclama-30005522>

³³⁶ Cengiz Semercioğlu, "Vizesiz Seyahat İstemiyorum" (I don't Want Travel without Visa), *Hürriyet*, 30.11.2015, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/cengiz-semercioglu/vizesiz-seyahat-istemiyorum-40020463>

show Merkel works only for German interests and benefits from Turkey for German interests.

4.2.5. A Hope Giver or Destroyer

Third ambivalence is Merkel is like a “hope giver” for the resolution of refugee crisis and Turkey but she can be also a “destroyer of hope.” This is because she may welcome refugees, but at the same time, she may take a step back and close the borders. She may give some promises but does not change her attitude about the accession of Turkey to the EU. There are 20 articles published by *Hürriyet* which shows Merkel and Germany need Turkey in migration crisis to resolve the crisis which threatens Germany and Europe. So, we can say that *Hürriyet* tries to show Merkel as a “hope giver.” However, there are only 4 articles where Merkel gave a negative declaration about migrants coming to Europe.

Hürriyet published news articles showing Merkel as a hope for Syrians: “*Merkel's delegations that Turkey's burden in refugee crisis must be lightened, became a hope for migrants. Now some migrants think about going to Germany.*”³³⁷ Another article titled, “*We Can't Let Refugees Down: “Merkel said they have to talk with Turkey about how they can discuss intensely the refugee crisis. Austrian Prime Minister Faymann said they can't let refugees down.*”³³⁸

Merkel always made declarations that they cannot let refugees go fled from their war-torn countries. So such news articles which give place to Merkel's welcoming declaration about refugees reinforce her “powerful leader image” that gives hope for better bilateral relations. At the same time, Merkel shows her soft side for the ones who need help. In this kind of news, which proved the strength of Merkel, she is described like the heroine of refugees. Because despite the other European leaders, Merkel defends that the burden of Turkey about its efforts for refugees must be shared by the other European countries. These declarations made by Merkel are accepted like a “big hope” for the migrants and a big stance against all European countries that are

³³⁷Hürriyet, “Suriyelilerin Merkel Umudu” (Merkel is the Hope for the Refugees), Hürriyet, 01.09.2015: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/suriyelilerin-merkel-umudu-29963740>

³³⁸ Hürriyet, “*Siğınmacıları Yüüstü Bırakmayız*”, (*We cannot Refugees down*), Hürriyet, 16.09.2015 <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/siginmacilari-yuzustu-birakamayiz-30086001>

criticized by Turkey for their negative attitudes towards refugees. Thanks to her protector attitude for refugees, she is appreciated by many people around the world. However, in the domestic German politics, things have been different than expected. She is fighting against the voices against refugees in her own political party, Christian Democrat Party (CDU) and coalition partner CSU. So, there are many news saying that despite her efforts for refugees, there is a strong bloc against Merkel's refugee policy. So, the image of Merkel facing that difficult condition is described like "lonely leader who is going on her way despite difficulties." So, this image perception is shared by *Hürriyet* also.

The domestic policy of Germany drives Merkel into a corner. Nevertheless, she continues her refugee policy without stopping or making little step-backs that does not change this policy. So, what we understand from these news articles that Merkel is alone, but confident and strong leader who can resist the reactions coming from diverse German political parties, even from the CSU, the sister part of Merkel CDU or even from CDU's member. The consistency of Merkel provides a powerful image. Merkel made a lot of declarations saying that European countries must help Turkey that carries the one of the biggest burdens of the refugee crisis. So that's important to see through these kinds of news that Merkel is shown as a warm and friendly leader for Turkey.

We see Merkel like the voice of German and Europeans who support refugee flow coming to Europe and Germany. For this friendly image, Merkel made very important declarations for the Turkish immigrants in Germany. Merkel gives the case of the Turkish citizens migrated to Germany in 1960s and 1970s as an example and she says that they will not repeat the mistakes they did during those years: "*Germany Takes Lesson From 'Guest Workers: Germany did not teach German to Turkish workers as they thought they would go back to Turkey, now wants Syrian migrants to learn German and integrated them in labour market with a law that enables migrants to work in Germany. Merkel supports the law underhandedly.*"³³⁹ So *Hürriyet* builds ways to preserve Merkel's relations in peace with Turkey despite the other European

³³⁹ *Hürriyet*, "Almanya Misafir İşçiden Ders Çıkardı", (Germany Learned Lessons from Guests Worker), *Hürriyet*, 01.09.2015 <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/almanya-misafir-isci-den-ders-cikardi-29965215>

leaders who do not want Turkey to be accepted into the EU. By the way, Merkel's brave declaration that "she is still against the accession of Turkey into the EU" was published by *Hürriyet*. In the photo, Merkel is taken a selfie with the refugees, which proves her hope giver side beside her modesty, warmth mother side.

In conclusion, in the foreign media, we see many descriptive adjectives used for Merkel. In Turkish media, we see some of these adjectives and stereotypes are used to describe the leadership of Merkel. Powerful (2 times), modest (once), mother (2), having the courage of her convictions, standing by her words (2), decisive (1), cold blooded (1) are among some specific words used to describe Merkel. Even though she pays attention to the relations between Turkey and Germany, she is against the accession of Turkey into the EU. Even though they are not mentioned, other qualifications that can be assumed include negotiator, spokeswoman of Europe, alone, stiff, self-seeker and cunning.

4.2.6. Conclusion

1. The policy of Merkel and Germany was softened after the death of Aylan, traumatic effect of which was expanded by media. In this period, the agreement plan between Turkey and Germany was accelerated. So, Merkel's initiative to soften the attitude towards refugees is acclaimed by *Hürriyet*. In this period, we should question if newspapers attribute some adjectives to Merkel's leadership around the concept of "welcoming". After the death of Aylan Kurdi as the starting point of our analyze, we see a sudden change in the attitude of Merkel towards refugees. Before the crisis we see Merkel in her Iron Lady and Ice Queen image, but after the death of Aylan, it is very striking that Merkel who adapted a risky migrant policy for her political career in Germany is shown in her mother image. So the first characterization that can be attributed to Merkel with the period starting with the death of Aylan Kürdi is "motherhood" and "tenderhearted" even though Merkel has an image that can be mannish and cold in the eyes of European media as Merkel expressed her feelings about the death of Aylan. So Merkel's image was softened with mother stereotype.

2. Merkel is shown like a lonely hero when she insists about accepting refugees into Germany against German politicians, other countries political figures and far-right

groups. *Hürriyet* portrays a powerful Merkel image. But when she was blamed for her migrant policy by German media, *Hürriyet* used mother image of Merkel as a source of failure for her policies.

3. With the refugee crisis, we see an increased cooperation between Turkey and Europe. However, we see Germany as the spokesperson of Europe and Merkel as the most prominent European leader both in the decision-making process of the refugee crisis and in the negotiations with the other key countries like Turkey and Greece. In one hand, Merkel shows her human face for refugees, on the other hand, Merkel is shown like a cunning fox about the refugee crisis to capture interests for Germany like cheap work force. There is a duality about Merkel: Is she a friend or enemy of Turkey? From this perspective, some columnists think that Merkel seeks the best interests of Germany and looks after cheap workforce by accepting the refugees. In some news, Merkel is shown like a role model for Turkish leaders with her modesty, (golden thrones and comparison between Obama and Merkel). They also used an image of Merkel to give democracy lesson to Turkish leaders as a role model. *Hürriyet* adopted an attitude that supports the cooperation between Germany and Turkey about the resolution of refugee crisis. *Hürriyet* that is under the Doğan Media group is not independent from Germany because of the relations between German media group Axel Springer and Doğan Media Group. German media outlet Axel Springer has become a partner of Doğan Media Group. So, general publishing policy of *Hürriyet* about Merkel and Germany may be positive because of the link between Doğan Media and Axel Springer. In some news, the president of the board of Ringier Axel Springer is Mathias Döpfner, and he is at the same time the president of the Federal Union of German Press Publishers. According to some news, Angela Merkel has close relationships with Axel Springer's widow Friede Springer who is the board member of Axel Springer Media company and a member of CDU. We see Merkel and Friede Springer together in some photos.³⁴⁰ However, *Hürriyet* had a negative stance against President Erdoğan and this stance takes its sources from its secular character. This stance may have an effect on some articles published by *Hürriyet* about Turkey's membership into the EU.

³⁴⁰ Wikizero, "Friede Springer",

<http://www.wikizero.biz/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9lbi5tLndpa2lwZWRpYS5vcmcvd2lraS9GcmllZGVfU3ByaW5nZXI>

4.3. The Analyze of Merkel's Image in *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper between September-November 2015

4.3.1. Background of *Cumhuriyet*

Cumhuriyet (The Republic) is the oldest up-market Turkish daily newspaper. Headquartered in Istanbul, the newspaper but also has offices in Ankara and İzmir. *Cumhuriyet* was established on May 7, 1924 by the journalist Yunus Nadi Abalıoğlu, a confidant of the Turkish Republic's founder Atatürk. The newspaper has a secular and republican stance. The center-left newspaper which in the past had strong links with the Kemalist Republican People's Party (CHP), turned to a more independent course by advocating democracy, social liberal values and free markets.³⁴¹ *Cumhuriyet* was awarded the Freedom of Press Prize by international NGO "Reporters Without Borders" for making a stand against the AKP government's mounting pressure in 2015. Shortly afterwards, *Cumhuriyet*'s former editor-in-chief Can Dündar and the newspaper's Ankara representative Erdem Gül were arrested and they were sentenced to life imprisonment.

4.3.2. Methodology

* We analyzed 115 news including brief news, special news and columnists for three months. In these news articles, *Cumhuriyet* used 47 photos of Merkel. All the news and columns have "Merkel" keyword. Among 115 articles, we chose those which concern more refugee crises, refugee deal and the effect of refugee deal between Turkey and EU and Merkel's migrant policy on inner politics of Germany and Turkey.

* We grouped the brief news (articles) and columnists into 7 categories to better understand the Merkel's image in Turkey.

* The news trying to show Merkel is a powerful leader and to prove the support for Merkel – 28 news and columns

* News that appreciates Turkey for its effort for migrant crisis- 5

³⁴¹ Wikipedia, "Cumhuriyet",
<http://www.wikizero.biz/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9lbi5tLndpa2lwZWRpYS5vcmcvd2lraS9DdW1odXJpeWV0>

* The news showing that Merkel and Germany need Turkey in migration crisis to resolve the crisis threatening Germany and Europe, and Merkel is shown as a hope giver- 23

* Merkel as a hope destroyer - 2

* News showing Merkel's weakness and the news underlining the pressure in domestic politics of Germany against Merkel - 6

* News containing sexist prejudgment against Merkel - 3

* Merkel's declaration against Turkey's interest especially in the European Union - 2

* News showing that Merkel works only for German interests and benefits from Turkey for German interests-17

Keywords for Merkel's image in *Cumhuriyet*

Iron Lady (1), powerful (3), interest (means Merkel is self-seeker for her national interests - 4), mother (0), warm (1).

4.3.3. Powerful or Weak between the Stereotypes of Iron Lady, Weak and Orientalist Images

In the period of migrant crisis, *Cumhuriyet* reflected a powerful Merkel image. *Cumhuriyet* underlines the power of Merkel by comparing her with Erdoğan. Merkel's power was interrogated when she was blamed by far right for her migrant policy. Since *Cumhuriyet* follows a publication policy that is against AKP government, Merkel's cooperation with AKP government about migrant crisis has given rises to some interrogations for *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. The subjects that were interrogated included whether Merkel was using Turkey as a means to protect Germany's and Europe's interest and whether Merkel was empowering AKP government by making a visit to Turkey. Merkel's visit to Turkey just before the elections in November 2015 was not welcomed by *Cumhuriyet*. However, Merkel's efforts for migrant crisis are always followed and published by *Cumhuriyet*. While the images of Iron Lady, powerful are used by *Cumhuriyet*, Merkel is shown weak in domestic politics of Germany when she tried to resolve refugee crisis with AKP government.

4.3.3.1. Iron Lady and Stronger than Erdoğan

First ambivalence is that in one hand Merkel is a powerful leader when she is successful and seems like the negotiator of Europe about refugee crisis; however, on the other hand, when she loses support in Germany, the photos in which Merkel is put in chador are published in the foreground. There are 29 news showing that Merkel a strong leader. However, there are 5 news showing Merkel's weakness because of her migrant policy and that she lost power in domestic German politics or in international politics. So, there is a huge difference between weak and powerful images of Merkel. Nevertheless, we see that with daily news *Cumhuriyet* portrays a powerful Merkel images. However, the columnists of *Cumhuriyet* try to be away from displaying Merkel as powerful. (except Ergin Yıldızoğlu). But the power of Merkel is mentioned in contrast with the weakness of Turkish leaders like Erdoğan and Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu. One of the articles comparing the power of Merkel and Erdoğan mocks the title of Erdoğan, "The Leader of the world" while they were in the Climate Summit, with the article titled "'World Leaders' were not welcomed."

Can Dündar wrote an article titled "It is the first weak that Merkel came to the throne" where he compared Turkey's and Germany's way to prove their magnificence. However, in reality he wanted to compare Merkel and Erdoğan without saying their names. He says Erdoğan made Merkel sit on a golden leaf chair to show Turkey like a big country. According to Dündar, Germany does not use luxury buildings, but uses science and art. Therefore, Dündar portrays Merkel as a role model.

Angela Merkel's own power on German and world politics were also reflected by *Cumhuriyet*. *Cumhuriyet* published "Time chose the Person of the Year" article alongside other newspapers. This proves that *Cumhuriyet* did not ignore Merkel's power. In the article, *Cumhuriyet* chose the cover photo of Time that used a big photo of Merkel with a prideful stance.

Cumhuriyet also published an article about Forbes magazine, which chose Merkel as the second most powerful person of the year 2015, after the President of Russia, Vladimir Putin. The Former US president Barak Obama was in the third place after Merkel.

Even if Putin is chosen as the most powerful man in the world, Merkel's second place as a woman leader is important and Turkish press loves to give place to this kind of news. Even if *Cumhuriyet* does not support every action of Merkel, the newspaper prefers to give place to the articles which remind of the power of Merkel.

One of the *Cumhuriyet* columnists, Ergin Yıldızoğlu used the "Iron Lady" title for Merkel to describe the power of the German Chancellor. He is the only one who praised the power of Merkel. He says that Merkel makes Europe feel her power and she has a very important leader in the whole Europe especially during crises even she was questioned for the first time for her politics for migrants: "The government founded by Europe's new "Iron Lady" and the General Presidency of CDU is interrogated for the first time. The subject is as you know: Syrian migrants going to Europe through Turkey and the biggest refugee crisis that Germany faces. He also quotes Philip Stephens, who says "If Merkel goes, Europe will begin to disperse."³⁴² At that point, we can say that *Hürriyet* portrays a Merkel image which is similar to the "charismatic leader" definition of Max Weber. "Charismatic leadership, according to Weber, is found in a leader with extraordinary characteristics of individual, whose mission and vision inspire others."

4.3.3.2. Merkel's Scapegoat: Racists and Far Right

Cumhuriyet published news showing that Merkel was losing power in the domestic politics of Germany. As *Cumhuriyet* has a leftist point of view, the newspaper shows the failure of Merkel because of the emergence of far right movements who are against migrants: "In Frankfurt, Germany, protests against reporters and racist attacks were protested. 800,000 refugees are expected to arrive in Germany by the end of this year. In the face of this refugee flood, city administrations are setting up empty refugees in large empty settlements. However, the threats and pressures of German extreme right-wingers towards the refugees are increasing. During the past week, the protesters in the city of Heidenau have been racists for days in front of the refugee country. Extreme right-wingers sometimes clashed with the police. These violent incidents of refugees continue to react to every segment of society and politicians. Prime Minister Angela

³⁴² Wikipedia, "Cumhuriyet", **op.cit.**

Merkel visited the refugee house in Heidenau on Wednesday to ask for more tolerance.” We see that *Cumhuriyet* publishes an article showing her loss of power against the far rights when the migrant crisis hit the top. We can also say that the article shows Merkel’s democratic face even when there is a big reaction against refugees. Merkel was accused by the far-right Alternative Party of Germany due to opening the doors to migrants; Merkel paved the way for human trafficking: “German Prime Minister Angela Merkel was found guilty of crime. Alternative Party for Germany Merkel is accused of ‘human trafficking’ in the criminal complaint made by the AFD to the Berlin’s Prosecution Office. In the statement made by the AFD, it is claimed that Merkel committed the act of imprisoning foreigners according to Article 96 of the criminal law. Alexander Gauland, the deputy head of the extreme right-wing party AFD, who announced a criminal complaint about Merkel, claimed that Merkel was ‘human trafficker’ because he opened doors for dozens of refugees waiting in Hungary.”³⁴³

During the migrant crisis, Merkel always underlined the importance of Turkey. Therefore, she came to Turkey to visit Erdoğan and former Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu. However, Merkel was criticized by German press, especially by *Cumhuriyet* to visit Turkey just before the General elections in November. Because if a leader visits another leader just before the elections, this visit can be interpreted like a support for these leaders. So many times, we see that European leaders try not to make these kinds of visits. *Cumhuriyet* criticized Merkel for paying such a visit. A journalist of *Hürriyet*, Ozan Demircan, made an interview with one of the Turkish leaders of The Greens of Germany, Cem Özdemir. In the interview, Mr. Özdemir says that Merkel took a wrong step by visiting Erdoğan and Davutoğlu before the elections, which would determine the destiny of Turkey.

In the article, Mr. Özdemir states that Merkel chose to visit Erdoğan in Istanbul instead of his palace that was newly built and caused criticism because of the luxurious inner design. So, Özdemir calls the palace in Ankara like an “illegal palace.” However, Merkel was welcomed in Dolmabahçe Palace where she sat giant golden seats in Ottoman style, which was criticized by *Cumhuriyet* and some other western media.

³⁴³ *Cumhuriyet*, “Merkel Hakkında Suç Duyurusu”, (Criminal Complaint about Merkel), 09.10.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/dunya/384735/Angela_Merkel_hakkinda_suc_duyurusu.html

Özdemir interprets Merkel's situation with these words: "Merkel escaped the Palace but, fell in love with golden chair." So Merkel was portrayed by Özdemir like a victim and someone who has weakness or Achilles point for "magnificence." Merkel and Erdoğan pose like a king and a queen. What we see here for the same visit is that Merkel sat on golden chairs while Dündar portrays Merkel as a role model for modesty for Erdoğan in his article, while Özdemir meant that Merkel was fascinated by the glory of golden chairs.

Orhan Bursalı underlines that Merkel was 'welcomed' with a "banner on which there is a message saying that she betrayed Germany" held by "pedigree" Germans.

Cumhuriyet does not use mother image as a source of weakness as *Hürriyet* does. However, one of the columnists of *Cumhuriyet*, Nilgün Cerrahoğlu, supported ARD's channel showing Merkel in chador to portray her as weak and failed in her migrant policy, although she is a woman too. She changed the name of Merkel into "Ayşe Angela El Merkel Habib" to indicate that Merkel drags along her country towards "Arab-isation" or "Islamization." She stressed some scenarios created by social media users about the future of Germany, showing that they think in the same way as ARD: "One of my friends on social media who saw I was interested in that subject showed me some of the discussions and scenarios in social media. One of these was: The President of Jean Claude Juncker who welcomes Merkel while she was gets off her car and shouts: 'Angela, is it you.'" Bu calling Angela Merkel an Arabic name extension like "Ayşe Engels El Merkel Habib", Cerrahoğlu makes "self-orientalism." "Self-orientalism describes the fact that East regard itself with the eyes of West and East turn into to the other of its self." If Merkel were a man, she would not be displayed in a chador. We always see that women are criticized for their wearing style. Cerrahoğlu mocked Merkel in that way. Moreover, Der Spiegel published Merkel in Mother Theresa appearance in September 2010 to question her migrant policy in a negative way by showing her "mother image" as a source of weakness. Mother stereotype is used both in positive and negative way. However, *Cumhuriyet* did not publish this image and never used mother nickname for Merkel in either positive or negative way. While being a woman can be as a source of weakness for leadership, the question if being a mother is still a source of weakness for *Cumhuriyet* is not clear. We

see that *Cumhuriyet* published 3 articles that have sexist prejudgments about Merkel, which is high when we compare with other newspapers.

In conclusion, *Cumhuriyet* portrayed a Merkel image between being powerful and weak. During this three-month period, Merkel is shown like an Iron Lady whose existence is very crucial for the whole Europe. On the other hand, the newspaper is focused on Merkel's loss of power. *Cumhuriyet* preferred to portray Merkel in an Orientalist perspective used by ARD to show that her "failure in her migrant policy" will start an "Arab-isation" and "Islamization" process in Germany.

4.3.4. Neither a Friend or nor an Enemy: A Government Collaborator

Our second ambivalence that we try to reply in our thesis is if Merkel is a friend or enemy for *Cumhuriyet*. *Cumhuriyet* has some mutual points with Hürriyet but its stance is much more against AKP government. Therefore, *Cumhuriyet* has much clearer replies for this question. As some writers like Can Dündar are known for their stance, which supports the German democracy, Angela Merkel is a very important leader for them. When Merkel announced that she would visit Erdoğan just before the general elections in November, 100 academicians wrote a letter to Merkel not to come to Turkey. In the letter, they expressed their discomfort about the forthcoming visit to Turkey. That means *Cumhuriyet* shows concern about the letter and wants it to be taken seriously by Merkel. In other words, *Cumhuriyet* takes Merkel seriously. The letter was published many times. It is possible to say that Merkel was seen like a harbor of democrats by *Cumhuriyet*.

In migrant crisis, Merkel seems to help Turkey take money from the EU and she wants to make coordination with Turkey. We see that *Cumhuriyet* published 23 articles about this attitude of Merkel to help Turkey resolve the migrant crisis in coordination with Turkey. We saw often articles titled, "Erdoğan talks with Merkel about refugee crisis about 800,000 migrants expected to come to Germany", "Merkel: We need to lighten the burden of refugees in Turkey." Merkel gave a declaration to say that the EU should discuss the migrant crisis with Turkey. In the photos we see Merkel in an authoritarian and serious look. In some articles, Merkel says, "Turkey is an important partner." As

there is an important frequency of articles that proves the importance that Merkel gives to Turkey, we can say that *Cumhuriyet* prefers to publish that kind of articles.

Cumhuriyet always publishes articles titled “Angela Merkel: We need an agreement with Turkey” and “Turkey has a right to wait help form EU.” where Merkel underlines the importance of Turkey as a country in migrant crisis.

One of the most important developments is that Merkel’s party CDU nominated a Turkish candidate, Emine Demirbügen for the first time. Merkel’s surprise visit was very close the election date, 29 November when Turkey and EU agreed to put the agreement on refugees into practice. So, the message is that Merkel and her party achieved a positive footstep toward Turkey and they are the allies of Turkey. *Cumhuriyet* gave a big place to the developments about Merkel’s visit to Erdoğan and the former Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu:



Figure 4.4. Merkel and Erdoğan are together. They are represented like equal leaders. Erdoğan looks Merkel as he admires her.

EU’s biggest promise about the refugee deal was free vise regime. Thanks to this promise “under some conditions”, Merkel made some positive declarations about this promise and these declarations published by *Sabah* provided a better image for Angela Merkel. Even if it is not realized, this promise created a great excitement for Turkish opinionion public for this period. So the free visa regime promise served to construct a friendly Merkel for Turkey. In this article, Merkel was portrayed as a hero who would vest a prestigious right in Turkey.³⁴⁴ However, the title used for the article is a little

³⁴⁴*Cumhuriyet*, “AB ve Türkiye’nin sığınmacı pazarlığı: 2 milyon insan karşılığında vize serbesitesi” (The Refugee Bargain between Turkey and EU: Free visa Regime in Return of 2 Million People), 15.10.2015,

ironical: “Free visa regime in return of 2 million people.” The title means that Turkey wants to use 2 million people as a trump in return for free visa regime. The migrant crisis were a grand opportunity for Turkey to make steps in the way of becoming a member of EU. Davutoglu told Merkel, “*We expect the EU negotiations to be revitalized. Comprehensive reforms will come on the agenda with the new government in the coming period. We are waiting for the support of Germany in this process.*”³⁴⁵ However, *Cumhuriyet* tried to show Turkey in a position of beggar with the critics of CHP leader Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu who said, “*They beg to EU by saying ‘please take us to EU.’*”³⁴⁶ Therefore, *Cumhuriyet* tries to reinforce the message that Turkish leaders were abasing themselves before Merkel. So, Merkel’s image seems superior to Turkish leaders.

Cumhuriyet columnist Mustafa Balbay wrote about Merkel’s visit to Turkey. He says that thanks to Merkel’s visit, Erdoğan had the opportunity to say that “where they (EU and Merkel) need us, they knock at our door like a lamb. He says that this visit prove that countries are always ready to leave the moral values. Otherwise, the democracy and humanist right could come into play and Merkel would think twice before coming to Turkey. Balbay says that because of this visit Merkel was exposed to harsh criticism by ignoring the poor democracy in Turkey.”³⁴⁷

4.3.4.1. A Collaborator of AKP Government

One of the suspicions that *Cumhuriyet*’s journalists and columnists have about Merkel is that she works only for her country’s interests and uses Turkey for her “dirty aims.”

So Merkel is portrayed as a “self-seeker” politician. We see there are 17 articles published by *Cumhuriyet* trying to show Merkel works only for German interests and

http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/dunya/388703/AB_ve_Turkiye_nin_siginmaci_pazarligi__2_milyon_insan_karsiliginda__vize_serbesitesi.html

³⁴⁵ *Cumhuriyet*, Kılıçdaroğlu: Merkele’e Bizi Avrupa Birliği’ne Davet Edin Diye Yalvarıyorlar, (Kılıçdaroğlu: Merkel’e Bizi Avrupa Birliği’ne Davet Edin diye yalvarıyorlar), 19.10.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/siyaset/390917/Kilicdaroglu_Merkel_e_Bizi_Avrupa_Birli_gi_ne_davet_edin__diye_yalvariylorlar.html

³⁴⁶ *Cumhuriyet*, “Obama’sız Operasyon”, (An Operation without Obama), 16.11.2015 http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/turkiye/419685/Obama_siz_operasyon.html

³⁴⁷ Mustafa Balbay, “AB’nin Toplama Kampı mı Oluyoruz”, (Do we Become the Concentration Camp of EU), 20.10.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/koseyazisi/391095/AB_nin_toplama_kampi_mi_oluyoruz_.html

benefits from Turkey for German interests. It is a significant number for us to say that *Cumhuriyet* sees Merkel as a “self-seeker” leader.

One of the special news says that Erdoğan undertakes the mission of Libya’s former leader Gaddafi. They quote from the former Green Party Representative Mehmet Kılıç to prove their idea. Kılıç says that Merkel gives money to Erdoğan and Erdoğan accepts to belike Gaddafi to receive the money that Merkel offers.³⁴⁸ So, Kılıç means that Merkel wants to use Turkey for her politic gains and Erdoğan accepts Merkel’s offer even though he knows the “real aims” of Merkel.

Cumhuriyet columnist Nilgün Cerrahoğlu, criticized Merkel writing an article for her visit in Istanbul to see Erdoğan. She says that the migrant deal is a dirty agreement that does not care about migrants but the interests of two countries.³⁴⁹

Mustafa Balbay brings forward in his article that Merkel wants to turn Turkey into “a concentration camp” of the EU. He says that the only reason why Merkel came to Turkey is to maintain them (refugees) in Turkish³⁵⁰ lands, so she does not find Merkel sincere.³⁵¹ On the same date, *Cumhuriyet* columnist Ali Sirmen wrote an article like Balbay titled “Block them, don’t come.” He also says that Merkel and Erdoğan made a dirty deal and Merkel was in the line of fire. Sirmen tells that Merkel does not mind the criticisms and she follows the principle of “a drowning man will clutch at a straw” when there is a big crisis like migrant crisis. He defends that the only reason for her visit to Turkey is the migrant crisis.

Cumhuriyet columnist Mine Söğüt wrote about the letter that 100 academicians wrote to persuade Merkel not to come to Turkey for the deal would not work. She made a call addressing to the academicians. So, it means that Merkel is on the side of Erdoğan and it is useless to complain about Erdoğan to Merkel. Söğüt portrays Merkel as “the

³⁴⁸ Miyase “İlknur, “Yeni Kaddafi Erdoğan”, (New Gaddafi Erdoğan), 21.10.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/siyaset/391519/_Yeni_Kaddafi_Erdogan_.html

³⁴⁹ Nilgün Cerrahoğlu, “Altın Varaklı Kirli Anlaşma”, (Dirty Deal with Golden Leaf), 20.10.2015 http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/koseyazisi/391103/Altin_varakli_kirli_anlasma_.html

³⁵⁰ Ali Sirmen, “Onları da Engelle”, Sen de Gelme, (Block Them, Don’t Come), 20.10.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/koseyazisi/391089/_Onlari_engelle_sen_de_gelme_.html

³⁵¹ Mustafa Balbay, AB’nin Toplama Kampı mı Oluyoruz” (Will we Be the Concentration Camp of EU?), 20.10.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/koseyazisi/391095/AB_nin_toplama_kampi_mi_oluyoruz_.html

collaborator of Erdoğan”, not the “real defender of democracy” and “a self seeker of European or German interests.”

Duygu Güvenç wrote a special news saying that Merkel is not a guarantee for Turkey’s wish about taking money and becoming a member of the EU. This is because Merkel gives the responsibility to the EU.³⁵² So, Güvenç highlights that “Merkel was looking for only European interests and did not want to keep their promises for Turkey.”

Ceyda Karan says Turkey does not behave in a justway in migrant crisis toward Europe. She tells that Turkey does not talk about the monarchies in The Gulf that do not accept refugees. She says that Turkey talks about refugees like guests but Europe make preparations for refugees and they know refugees will stay in Europe.³⁵³

One of the most effective articles was written by Emre Kongar. He said that with the migrant deal Turkey is no more a bridge between Asia and Europe, but transformed into a buffer-country due to the “*politics of AKP which bogged down Turkey*.”³⁵⁴

Cumhuriyet’s journalist Ezel Şahin wrote a special news report about a meeting titled, “*The Leadership of Germany is Impossible within EU*”³⁵⁵ In that meeting, Prof. Simon Bulmer made a speech. He said that the “hegemony of Germany” came out after the Ukraine, migrant and euro crises. He said the aim of the foundation of the EU is to contract a union without a leader, so the moral leadership of Merkel cannot turn into a leadership that would last long. With this article, we see that *Cumhuriyet* tries to question the leadership of Merkel for Europe.³⁵⁶

³⁵² Duygu Güvenç, “Merkel Topu AB’ye attı”, (Merkel Threw the Ball to EU), *Cumhuriyet*, 20.10.2015
http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/dunya/391123/Merkel_topu_AB_ye_atti_Elde_var_sifir.html

³⁵³ Ceyda Karan, “Avrupa’ya Şantaj”, (Blackmail for Europe), *Cumhuriyet*, 07.09.2015,
http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/koseyazisi/362333/Avrupa_ya_santaj.html

³⁵⁴ Emre Kongar, Köprüden Tampona, (From Bridge to Buffer), *Cumhuriyet*, 20.10.2015
http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/koseyazisi/391087/Kopru_den_Tampon_a.html

³⁵⁵ Ezel Şahinkaya, “Avrupa Birliği’nde Almanya’nın Liderliği İmkansız”, (The Leadership of Germany is Impossible within EU), *Cumhuriyet*, 27.10.2015,
http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/dunya/396683/_Avrupa_Birligi_nde_Almanya_nin_liderligi_i_mkansiz_.html

³⁵⁶ **Ibid.**

Güray Öz criticized Merkel for her words about Turkey. Merkel said “*Turkey should be considered as a secure country from now on.*”³⁵⁷ Öz says that he wonders how she said Turkey is secure even though some people are detained as they “insulted” the President.

Cumhuriyet columnist Ali Sirmen asked a question why Merkel wanted to negotiate with Turkish government in such a hurry: “*Maybe it is because she picked on Turkey her own size.*”³⁵⁸ He wonders what would happen with this new order came with the agreement between Turkey and Germany, making Turkey as a buffer country.

Nilgün Cerrahoğlu, wrote another article to criticize the EU’s decision to postpone “progress report” “not to make Erdoğan angry.” As there would be negative assessments in the report and these assessments could lead the “migrant deal” to be concluded in a poor way: “*The arms of octopus reached to Brunelleschi and Merkel. Merkel entered into ‘network of octopus’ when she agreed on Syrians migrants negotiation with Erdoğan on the “crone armchairs of Mabeyn Kiosk.”*”³⁵⁹ So Cerrahoğlu means that Merkel and the European Union were making collaboration with Erdoğan for the migrant deal and they “made a meal out of Erdoğan.”

In conclusion, so we can say that one of the hypotheses is not included in this part. We made a hypothesis that Turkish media describes Merkel as a powerful leader when she positions herself as a friend of Turkey or she becomes closer with Turkey. However, when she tries to defend German or European interests, Turkish media tries to accentuate adverse developments about her like loss of support in German politics. For *Cumhuriyet*, the most important failure of Merkel is her migrant politics. When Merkel tries to make a deal with Turkish government, *Cumhuriyet* shows a Merkel image that is self-interested, unprincipled about human rights and democracy by coming to Turkey. So, the hypothesis that Turkish media describes Merkel as a powerful leader when she positions herself as a friend of Turkey or she becomes closer with Turkey comes out to be true. However, when she tries to defend German or European interests,

³⁵⁷ Güray Öz, “Türkiye Güvenli Ülke”, (Turkey is a Secure Country), *Cumhuriyet*, 21.10.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/koseyazisi/391463/_Güvenli_Ulke_Turkiye_.html

³⁵⁸ Ali Sirmen, “Bak Gör Neler Olacak” (Look and See What will Happen), *Cumhuriyet*, 22.10.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/koseyazisi/392291/Bak_gor_neler_olacak_.html

³⁵⁹ Nilgün Cerrahoğlu, “Ahtapotun Zaferi”, (The Victory of Octopus), *Cumhuriyet*, 03.11.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/koseyazisi/403773/Ahtapotun_z aferi.html

Cumhuriyet does not show Merkel as the only enemy of Turkey. *Cumhuriyet* shows Erdoğan as he struggles to increase the power of AKP, not the interests of Turkey. So, Merkel's loss of power is not as underlined as in our hypothesis, when she searches for German and European interests in the migrant deal. However, she is portrayed as a collaborator of Erdoğan and AKP government.

4.3.5. Welcoming or Hostile for Migrants

The third ambivalence is that Merkel is acting like a "hope giver" for the resolution of refugee crisis and the free visa promise but she can be also a "destroyer of hope." *Cumhuriyet* shows both faces of Merkel. In some declarations that she gave, she welcomes refugees, but in some declarations she says that Germany cannot accept more refugees. Besides, Merkel's friendly face towards Turkey can be interpreted as her hope giver side, and her stance against Turkey can be considered as her hope destroyer character. We see that there are 23 articles which show Merkel and Germany need Turkey in migration crisis to resolve the crisis which threatens Germany and Europe and Merkel is shown as a hope giver. When we see there are 23 articles showing that Merkel and Germany need Turkey in migration crisis to resolve the crisis which threatens Germany and Europe and Merkel is shown as a hope giver. However, the number of articles showing that she is a hope destroyer is only 2.

4.3.5.1. Merkel is for Migrants

When pressures against Merkel increased, she made some declarations about the dangers that Europe would face with the refugee flow: "*German Prime Minister Angela Merkel said that the Schengen area and free movement could be in danger.*"³⁶⁰ But she insists on her refugee idea by saying, "*If we do not find a system in which we can distribute the refugees fairly, the Schengen theme is added back to the agenda of some of us, and we do not want it.*"³⁶¹ In this period, Merkel underlines the danger of terrorism and *Cumhuriyet* underlines these dangers caused by National Socialist Underground Organization NSU that are against migrants and xenophobia. Merkel

³⁶⁰ *Cumhuriyet*, "Merkel: Serbest Dolaşım Tehlikede", (Merkel: Free Circulation is in Danger), 01.09.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/dunya/357967/Merkel__Serbest_dolasim_tehlikede.html - photo

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*

took action against German racists who used bad words like “We are not sorry, but we are pleased... the sea has swallowed many refugees” about the death of Aylan Kurdi. German Chancellor Angela Merkel has drawn attention to the possible reactions of extreme right-wingers to asylum seekers and has stated that they will never be tolerated: *"We should always be careful about racism and follow new developments closely and take the necessary precautions."*³⁶² She also emphasized that *"a shameful series of murders committed by the National Socialist Underground Organization NSU should not repeat a similar one."*³⁶³ After the declarations of Merkel, German Police detained the person who insulted Aylan Kurdi.³⁶⁴ At that point, Merkel is like a hope giver for migrants because she wants to bring the far right into line to welcome migrants in Germany. Merkel's declarations like *"We are ready to open our doors to 24,000 asylum seekers"*³⁶⁵ reinforces Merkel's hope giver side too. As Merkel declared that Turkey is a safe country³⁶⁶, this could be interpreted as a development that Turkey achieved on her way to the EU. So, Merkel's hope giver attitude was not missed by *Cumhuriyet*. For this article, *Cumhuriyet* is on the same side with *Hürriyet*. Being announced as a safe country is something good for *Cumhuriyet* and *Hürriyet*. This is because being announced as a safe country by a foreign country flatters the national pride. Even though *Cumhuriyet* has a leftist attitude, the newspaper also has a national stance. So our hypothesis that Merkel is an European leader, all Turkish media including opposition and pro-government media can stand together against Merkel about some issues that touch on nationalism and national aims like becoming a member of the EU is true for *Cumhuriyet*. Merkel's declarations to normalize welcoming migrants into Germany like: *"Merkel noted that 800,000 asylum seekers are expected to Germany this year, and she emphasized the importance of living in*

³⁶²Cumhuriyet, “İnsanlıktan Nasibini Almayanlara Tepki Yağdı, (Reaction against Inhuman People), 05.09.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/dunya/361629/insanliktan_nasibini_almayanlara_tepki_yagdi.html

³⁶³ **Ibid.**

³⁶⁴Cumhuriyet, “Aylan Bebeğe Küfür Etti”, Polis Evini Bastı, (He Insulted Aylan Baby, Police Invaded His House), 06.09.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/dunya/362091/Aylan_bebege_hakaret_etti__polis_evini_basti.html

³⁶⁵Cumhuriyet, “İki Yılda 24 Bin Sığınmacıya Kapılarımızı Açmaya Hazırız”, (We are Ready to Open our Doors to 24.000 Refugees) http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/dunya/362859/_iki_yilda_24_bin_siginmaciya_kapilarimizi_acmaya_haziriz_.html

³⁶⁶Cumhuriyet, “AB Türkiye’yi Güvenli Ülke İlan Edecek, (EU will Announce Turkey as a Secure Country), 07.09.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/dunya/362977/AB_Turkiye_yi__guvenli_ulke__ilan_edecek.html

conditions worthy of human dignity...”³⁶⁷ published by *Cumhuriyet* reinforces Merkel’s hope giver image as well.

4.3.5.2. Merkel is not Tough Enough

Even if Angela Merkel insists on her migrant policy, she has tried to find a balance between her policy and anti-migrant policy. Therefore, she always showed concern to take measures against migrants who cannot integrate into the German society like teaching them German language, and meeting their needs. However, she speaks softly but carries a big stick too like threatening refugees to close the borders if there is a risk of a military conflict in Balkans: “*German Chancellor Angela Merkel has been quoted as saying that if the country closes the border to block entry into the refugees, military disputes may arise in the Balkan countries.*”³⁶⁸



Figure 4.5. Merkel seems to give military instructions. She has a hard facial expression. This photo reinforces the paroles of Merkel about closing the borders. She says if Austria closes the border there would be some disputes between Balkan countries and there would be a military conflict between them.

Cumhuriyet published a few articles that give places to Merkel’s decelerations saying that Europe cannot take the full responsibility of migrants: “*German Chancellor*

³⁶⁷ *Cumhuriyet*, “Mültecileri Doğrudan Kamplardan Alma Politikamızı Sürdüreceğiz”, (We will Continue Our Policy of Taking the Migrant Directly from Migrant Camps), 04.09.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/dunya/360913/_Multecileri_dogrudan_kamplardan_alma_politikamizi_surdurecegiz_.html

³⁶⁸ *Cumhuriyet*, “Askeri Çatışma Çıkabilir”, (Military Dispute can Arise), 03.11.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/dunya/404671/Merkel__Askeri_catisma_cikabilir.html

*Angela Merkel said Germany, Austria and Switzerland will not be able to take all the burden of the migrant crisis that escaped the war.”*³⁶⁹

However, these warnings of Merkel are not so serious, as the deal between Turkey and Europe came to signing in November, Merkel declared that Europe would take more refugees saying *“Prime Minister Angela Merkel announced that special centers will be set up for applicants with low acceptance, and the asylum process will be reduced to three weeks.”*³⁷⁰

In conclusion, even if European countries took no steps for refugees, Merkel heralded opening of special centers for refugees. Even if *Cumhuriyet* published about warnings of Merkel about some problems that refugees may cause, there are more articles published by *Cumhuriyet* about the positive steps that Merkel achieved about migrants and her welcoming attitude. So, *Cumhuriyet* underlined Merkel’s hope giver side for migrants.

4.3.6. Conclusion

1. *Cumhuriyet* portrayed Merkel as an Iron Lady. However, the newspaper highlights the power of Merkel by comparing her with Erdoğan. Merkel is shown as a role model for Turkish leaders too for her modesty even when she is the Chancellor of Germany. Merkel’s interest in AKP about migrant deal is not something that *Cumhuriyet* liked. When Merkel was displayed in chador to criticize her migrant policy by ARD, this Orientalist image was used many times by *Cumhuriyet*. ARD wanted to show Merkel in chador to say that Merkel’s migrant policy would turn Germany into a Muslim country where women are not free. *Cumhuriyet* prefers using such arguments to underline the importance of secularism. However, if Merkel were a man, ARD would not show Merkel like this. So, we can say that ARD’s image was Orientalist and sexist

³⁶⁹ *Cumhuriyet*, “Göçmenlerin Bütün Yükümlülüğünü Alamayız”, (We can’t Take all the Responsibility of Migrants), 15.09.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/dunya/369609/Merkel__Gocmenlerin_butun_yukumlugunu_alamayiz.html

³⁷⁰ *Cumhuriyet*, “Üç Milyon Kişi Yolda, Avrupa Ne Bekliyor”, (Three Million People are on the Way, What does Europe Wait for?), 06.11.2015, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/m/haber/dunya/408763/Uc_milyon_kisi_yolda_Avrupa_neyi_bekliyor_.html

at the same time and *Cumhuriyet* did not see any problem to publish this article many times. So, our hypothesis highlights that patriarchal culture is interpreted like a source of weakness by the *Cumhuriyet*, too.

2. When she wanted to make a deal with AKP government she was depicted as the collaborator of AKP and the deal was depicted as a dirty deal that provides interest with Turkey and Europe and use refugees as a tool to attain their goals. At that point, Merkel loses her credibility in the eyes of *Cumhuriyet* even if she is an important figure for Turkish intellectuals who want to protect democracy in Turkey.

3. Apart from the deal that Merkel made with AKP, Merkel is portrayed as a leader that insisted on her migrant policy. So, first she opened the doors and presented some possibilities to migrants to be able to adapt into German society. *Hürriyet* gave big place to these kinds of positive steps that Merkel took for Syrian refugees.

4.4. The Analyze of Merkel's Image in the Articles Published by *Sabah* Newspaper from September to November 2015

4.4.1. Background of *Sabah*

Sabah newspaper was founded by Dinç Bilgin in Izmir on April 22, 1985. Bilgin tried to make the Yeni Asır newspaper popular but he failed and then he founded *Sabah*. The first Chief Editor of *Sabah* was Rahmi Turan. The editor in chiefs was respectively Rahmi Turan, Zafer Mutlu, Ergun Babahan, Ufuk Güldemir and Tayfun Devecioğlu. In 2000, the Ciner Group became one of the partners of *Sabah*. On May 3, 2005, *Sabah* was sold to Merkel Group among which Ciner was one of the partners. On January 2, 2007, Fatih Altaylı became the editor in chief. However, on April 2, 2007, *Sabah* was seized by TMSF (Savings Deposit Insurance Fund) when the newspaper could not pay his debts. The common tender of *Sabah* and ATV was made on November 7, 2007. Opening cost of the tender was determined as 1,1 billion dollars. *Sabah's* sales to Çalık Holding were approved on April 22, 2008.

“Ahmet Çalık, has been described as a "close associate" of Erdoğan.³⁷¹ The \$1.1bn sale aroused substantial controversy in Turkey, not least because it was partially financed by \$750m of loans from two state banks, VakıfBank and Halkbank,” After the Newspaper was sold to Ahmet Çalık, the Editor in Chief of the newspaper, Fatih Altaylı submitted its resignation to Ahmet Çalık on December 31, 2008. On February 18, 2009, Erdal Şafak was appointed the chief-editorship. In the sales report before the seizure of *Sabah* by TMSF, Turkish daily newspaper had a circulation of around 506.957 from April 9, 2007 to April 15, 2007 but then the circulation decreased to 331.913 from August 30, 2010 to September 5, 2010. “Aslı Aydintaşbaş, who was *Sabah's* Ankara bureau chief until the takeover says that from then on the newspaper took on "an unwavering pro-government line.”³⁷²

“*Sabah* has published *The New York Times International Weekly* on Sundays since 2009. This 8-page supplement features a selection of articles from *The New York Times*

³⁷¹ Wikipedia, *Sabah* Newspaper, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sabah_\(newspaper\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sabah_(newspaper))

³⁷² Turkey's War on the Press, Aslı Aydintaşbaş, *The Wall Street Journal*, 18 September 2009

*translated into Turkish. The partnership with the New York Times was terminated in 2014 without any formal explanation given.”*³⁷³

Sabah has a nationalist, Islamist and pro-Erdoğan publishing policy after the newspaper was seized by TMSF.

4.4.2. Methodology

* We analyzed 70 news articles including brief news, special news and columnists for three-month period. In these news articles, *Cumhuriyet* used 23 photos of Merkel. All the news and columns have “Merkel” keyword. Among 70 articles, we chose those which concern more refugee crises, refugee deal and the effect of refugee deal between Turkey and EU and Merkel’s migrant policy on inner politics of Germany and Turkey.

* We grouped the brief news (articles) and columnists into 7 categories to better understand the Merkel’s image in Turkey.

* The news trying to show Merkel is a powerful leader and to prove the support for Merkel – 7 news and columns

* News that appreciate Turkey for its efforts - 28

* The news showing that Merkel and Germany need Turkey in migration crisis to resolve the crisis which threatens Germany and Europe and she portrays a hope giver image for the resolution of refugee crisis - 13

* Merkel as a hope destroyer about her efforts in migrant crisis - 6

* News trying to show Merkel’s weakness and underlinings the pressure in domestic politics of Germany against Merkel - 8

* News containing sexist prejudgment against Merkel - 1

* Merkel’s declaration against Turkey’s interest especially in the European Union - 7

* News trying to show Merkel works only for German interests and benefits Turkey for German interests-2

Keywords used for Merkel to describe her leadership include alone (2), powerful (2), mother (1), self-seeker(1). We see that *Sabah* used few stereotypes to describe

³⁷³Wikipedia, “Sabah Newspaper”

<http://www.wikizero.biz/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9lbi5tLndpa2lwZWRRpYS5vcmcvd2lraS9TYWJhaF80bmV3c3BhcGVyKQ>

Merkel's leadership. We do not see stereotypes like "Iron Lady", "ice queen" or mother.

4.4.3. Merkel's Power to Support Turkish Government

In three-month period covering September 2015 and November 2015, *Sabah* newspaper portrays a Merkel who is the "real leader" of the European Union. In this period, figures like the Australian Prime Minister who was trying to cooperate with Merkel or not welcoming the refugee flow, or any other European leaders were quite fade. Even if Merkel is a powerful leader according to *Sabah*, *Sabah* columnists avoid carefully using adjectives that qualify her leadership like "powerful" or "Iron Lady".

Sabah describes firstly the power of Merkel through her power that can persuade EU to accept or not the membership of Turkey to EU. *Sabah* published an article which gave place to a declaration of Merkel, in which she says, "They will try to persuade Greece about opening a new chapter for Turkey" as Greece said they would not allow to open new chapters for Turkey³⁷⁴ even if the migrant deal was negotiated with Turkey.

Mehmet Barlas wrote that Merkel is the number one leader who decides the future of Turkey about the European Union. He underlines that Merkel was educated in Leipzig University and she was a citizenship of East Germany to hint out that "she may have a secret fascist tendency in her politics" without saying she is fascist. He says that East Germans were fascist (or Nazis) but now Germany is governed with liberal democratic values. Barlas criticized Merkel's declaration saying "*I am against the membership of Turkey to the EU. President Erdoğan knows it too. My decision did not change.*"³⁷⁵ Barlas underlined that Merkel wants to sign migrant deal in return for some demands of Turkey, such as free visa regime and supplying money to ease the burden of Turkey. Barlas complains that the membership of Turkey to the EU depends on the decision of Merkel. In his article, we understand that Barlas approves Merkel's power in Europe even he does not use the adjective "powerful" for her. Therefore, *Sabah*

³⁷⁴ *Sabah*, "Fasılların Açılmasına İzin Vermeyeceğiz", (We won't Allow to Open New Chapters), 20.10.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/10/20/fasillarin-acilmasina-izin-vermeyecegiz>

³⁷⁵ Mehmet Barlas, "Hem Faşist, Hem Komünist, Hem de Demokrat", (Faschist, Communist, and Democrat), *Sabah*, 10.10.2015, <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2015/10/10/hem-fasist-hem-komunist-hem-de-demokrat>

wants to underline that Merkel is powerful and tries to get rid of all the obstacles that prevent Turkey from going further in his way to the EU. So, we can say that *Sabah* wants to strengthen Merkel image to gain support from Turkish people about the migrant deal which would strengthen AKP government too without directly accepting the power of Merkel.

We see that *Sabah* follows its attitude of strengthening Merkel's image as long as she supports Turkish government. *Sabah* published 28 articles showing her support for Turkish government. In October, when the migrant deal was on the way, Germany suspended its decision about recognizing "1915 events" as genocide.³⁷⁶ This decision was welcomed by *Sabah* as this decision is like an achievement of government.

Sabah published an article that gives place to the criticism of Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, the leader of the main opposition party CHP, about demands of government from Merkel to be invited to the EU Summit: "*Merkel came and said 'Invite us there.' If you were a real man, you wouldn't need to request this. They would invite you anyway.*"³⁷⁷ He says that Merkel's main reason to come to Turkey is to say "*Let Syrians stay in Turkey, we will give you money, your country shall be a concentration camp, you pay the piper.*"³⁷⁸ What we understand from the words of Kılıçdaroğlu is that he accepts Merkel as a real authority who decides which country will be invited or not to the summits. By publishing this article *Sabah* approved the power of Merkel. In her visit to Turkey, Merkel met also with Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu. Davutoğlu's declaration about Merkel that Turkey was left alone about refugee crisis and Europe had to lighten the burden of Turkey was underlined in the articles. Merkel's positive words about free-visa regime for Turkey and the fact that Europe had to open new chapters for Turkey were highlighted in this declaration.³⁷⁹ *Sabah* is trying to strengthen the government with Merkel's promises and positive words about Turkey.

³⁷⁶ Sabah, "Almanya'dan Türklere Jest", (Gesture From Germany to Turkey), 17.10.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2015/10/17/almanyadan-turkiyeye-jest>

³⁷⁷ Sabah, "Kılıçdaroğlu'ndan Merkel Eleştirisi", (Critics of Merkel from Kılıçdaroğlu), 20.10.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/10/20/kilicdaroglundan-merkel-elestirisi>

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁹ Sabah, "Başbakan Davutoğlu Merkel ile Görüştü, (Prime Minister Davutoğlu met with Merkel), 28.02.2015, <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/02/28/basbakan-davutoglu-merkelle-gorustu>

In conclusion we can say Merkel's power is highlighted when she appreciates Turkey and has made a declaration for the interests of Turkey. Merkel's call to Europe to lighten the burden of Turkey was underlined by *Sabah* three times.³⁸⁰ This is because such declarations strengthen the image of government in the eyes of Turkish people.

4.4.3.1. Merkel and Erdoğan are “Almost” Equal

When we talk about the power attributed to Merkel by *Sabah*, we see that *Sabah* acts in the opposite way to one of our hypotheses. Our hypothesis suggests, “Turkish media perceived Merkel in ambivalence due to her power derived from her leadership statue and her femininity that patriarchal culture interpreted like a source of weakness.” *Sabah* tries to construct a Merkel image according to her behaviors against Erdoğan and Davutoğlu.

We see that *Sabah* approves Merkel's power when she establishes a positive relationship with Turkey. *Sabah* gave a large place to the articles about meetings between Erdoğan and Merkel. We see that the speeches of Erdoğan and Merkel are given almost equal places in the article. One of the most interesting things is that *Sabah* prefers publishing articles where Merkel and Erdoğan are placed equally in the frame. However, Merkel looks at Erdoğan as if she admires him.³⁸¹ Even she is shown in an equal way; *Sabah* tries to select photos where Erdoğan gives a straighter look to the photographer as Merkel is looking at Erdoğan in a lovely way. This example reminds us the “fake love stories between Erdoğan and Merkel” that are circulating both in Turkish and Western media. So that kind of photo preference by *Sabah* can be interpreted as the effort of aggrandize the power of Erdoğan beside Merkel.

³⁸⁰ Sabah, “Merkel'den Avrupa'ya Türkiye Çağrısı”, (Call about Turkey from Merkel to Europe), 11.03.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2015/11/03/merkelden-avrupaya-turkiye-cagrisi>

³⁸¹ Sabah, “Erdoğan ile Merkel Görüştü”, (Erdoğan and Merkel Met), 16.09.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2015/09/16/erdogan-ile-merkel-gorustu>



Figure 4.6. Merkel was portrayed in a manner that she admires President Erdoğan.³⁸²

In Merkel's speech, *Sabah* gave a large place to her appreciation of Turkey's efforts about migrant crisis. So, we can say that as long as Merkel appreciates Turkey, her leadership is aggrandized and canonized by giving a large place to her in articles. But *Sabah* avoids qualifying her leadership with positive adjectives like "powerful" or "Iron Lady."

While we see that Merkel is portrayed slightly inferior than Erdoğan, she is at a more equal level with Prime Minister Davutoğlu.



Figure 4.7. Merkel is portrayed at equal level with Prime Minister Davutoğlu.³⁸³

Merkel is a role model for *Sabah* too. This is because in a speech President Erdoğan said that if someone insults the president, there is no punishment in Turkey but insulting Merkel in social media brings 2.5 years of prison.³⁸⁴ So even *Sabah* makes

³⁸² Sabah, *op.cit*, 28.10.2015

³⁸³ Sabah, "Davutoğlu Merkel Görüşmesi", (Meeting between Merkel and Davutoğlu), 18.10.2015, <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/10/18/davutoglu-ve-merkel-gorusmesi>

³⁸⁴ Sabah, "Merkel'e Hakaret Suç ama Bizde Tam Tersi, (Insulting Merkel is a Crime, but It is the Opposite here), 28.10.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/10/28/merkele-hakaret-suc-ama-bizde-tam-tersi>

an effort to balance the powers of Erdoğan and Merkel, Merkel's Germany are always shown as a role model for Turkey even if *Sabah* tries to not to praise Merkel too much.

Many times *Sabah* published articles that Merkel celebrated Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu when AKP government won a victory. In Merkel's celebration speech, she appreciated Turkish democracy. So, the function of these articles is to prove that Turkey is a good example by its democracy.³⁸⁵

When Merkel came to Antalya for G20 Summit, she was welcomed by children who worn flowers.³⁸⁶ However, *Sabah* preferred publishing a Merkel photo that she got off the plane alone. On one hand, *Sabah* tried to strengthen a respectful feeling towards Merkel, on the other hand, the newspaper does not want to exaggerate the powerful image of Merkel.



Figure 4.8. Merkel came to Antalya for G20 Summit where the migrant deal was discussed on November 11.³⁸⁷

4.4.3.2. Weakness Come from Her Negative Relations with Turkey

We see that Merkel's weakness does not come from her femininity but her negative relations with Turkey when she resists to the demands of Turkey about migrant deal, and when she made concession to resolve the migrant deal. We do not see *Sabah* using special adjectives to describe the weakness of Merkel but by telling the difficult situation that Merkel faced. Another source of weakness for Merkel is her "political compromises" that she has given during the migrant crisis.

³⁸⁵ Sabah, "Merkel'den Davutoğlu'na Tebrik Telefonu", (Celebration Call from Merkel to Davutoğlu), 11.03.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2015/11/03/merkelden-davutogluna-tebrik-telefonu>.

³⁸⁶ Sabah, "Almanya Başbakanı Merkel Antalya'ya Geldi", (Germany's Prime Minister Angela Merkel Came to Antalya), 15.11.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/11/15/almanya-basbakani-merkel-antalyaya-geldi>

³⁸⁷ Sabah, **Op.cit.** 15.11.2015

For example, *Sabah* published an article showing the reaction of Western media against the visit of Merkel. *Sabah* underlines the headline of The Times which says, “Merkel stopped her opposition to the membership of Turkey to the EU.” Le Monde’s headline was underlined also: “*Merkel made so many compromises.*”³⁸⁸

Sabah’s journalist Barış Ergin highlights the compromises of Merkel by saying, “*Germany who was the number one defender of belt tightening politics of Greece made a ‘U’ turn. Germany’s Chancellor Angela Merkel, is proposing money.*”³⁸⁹ He means that Merkel was making political compromises to resolve refugee crisis.

Sabah Columnist Hasan Bülent Kahraman says that even if Merkel says they would host 800.000 refugees, those words do not matter.³⁹⁰ He tries to say that Merkel’s refugee policies were ineffective. So, this is an effort to show Merkel weak in her policy.

Just before the deal between the EU and Turkey, the government prepared a wish list for Merkel as conditions for migrant deal. In this period, *Sabah* tried to disgrace the image of Merkel who was elected by Forbes as the “most powerful woman.”³⁹¹ *Sabah* published an article that gave place to an article by Theo Sommer from of German Die Zeit newspaper, who says “*The most powerful woman? Not at all!*”³⁹² Sommer says Merkel can only have influence over Europe if she support other states financial power. Sommer told that when European countries turned their back to Merkel, she had to ask for help from Turkey and Russia. So, according to Sommer, this was something that weakened Merkel.

³⁸⁸ Sabah, “Merkel’in Ziyareti Dünya Basınında”, “Merkel’s Visit in in World Press), 20.10.2015, <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/10/20/merkelin-ziyareti-dunya-basininda>

³⁸⁹ Barış Ergin, “Mülterci Krizi Komşuda Kamera Bollaştırıyor”, (Migrant Crises Widens the Belt of Neighbor), Sabah, 20.10.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2015/10/20/multeci-krizi-komsuda-kemeri-bollastiriyor>

³⁹⁰ Hasan Bülent Kahraman, “Faşizmin Yeni Senaryosu Göç”, (New Scenario of Fascism is Migration), 18.09.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/kahraman/2015/09/18/fasizmin-yeni-senaryosu-goc>

³⁹¹ Sabah, “AB Merkel’e Sırtını Döndü”, (EU Turned its Back to Merkel), 30.10.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2015/10/30/ab-merkele-sirtini-dondu>

³⁹² Sabah, **op.cit.**, 30.10.2015



Figure 4.9. Merkel was elected many times as the most powerful woman by Forbes and shown as the most powerful leader of Europe. But *Sabah* preferred publishing an article written by Theo Summer from Die Zeit who denies her power. In the photo, *Sabah* gave the headline “*The most powerful woman of the world? Not at all!*”³⁹³

Sabah published an article including a declaration of Merkel saying, “*Turkey must be included in the secure country list.*”³⁹⁴ However, *Sabah* wrote on the photo used in the article as a second headline, “Many Compromises from Merkel”. So, *Sabah* wants to disgrace Merkel’s image to construct a strong perception for Turkish government by saying that Turkey made Merkel to make compromises.



Figure 4.10. *Sabah* published an article saying that Merkel makes compromises for migrant deal between Turkey and the EU. Such articles try to prove that Turkey is powerful enough to cause Merkel to make concessions.³⁹⁵

Sabah also published many articles in which Turkish government put forward to accept migrant deal like “*Five Warnings for Angela Merkel.*”³⁹⁶ Opening five chapters for the

³⁹³ *Sabah*, *op.cit.*, 30.10.2015

³⁹⁴ *Sabah*, “Merkel: Türkiye Güvenli Ülkeler Listesine’ne Alınmalı”, (Turkey must Be Included in Secure Countries List), 18.10.2019, <https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2015/10/18/merkel-turkiye-guvenli-ulkeler-listesinde-yer-almali>

³⁹⁵ *Sabah*, *Op.cit.*, 18.10.2019

³⁹⁶ *Sabah*, “Türkiye’den Merkel’e 5 Önemli Uyarı”, (Five Warnings from Turkey to Merkel, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/10/18/turkiyeden-merkele-5-onemli-uyari>

membership of the European Union is among the conditions that Turkish government asked from Merkel.

In conclusion, *Sabah* accepts Merkel as a powerful leader without attributing her the adjectives like Iron lady and powerful. On the other hand Merkel is portrayed as a lonely leader because her refugee policy was not supported much by other European leaders. This is because *Sabah*'s columnists underline some issues which influence particularly the destiny of Turkey. For example, the membership of the European Union depends on the decision of Merkel who has a strong effect on the EU. However, *Sabah* makes great efforts to balance the powers between Erdoğan, Davutoğlu and Merkel. Yet, there is a vicious circle for the construction of Merkel image. Because when Merkel tries to seek a settlement with Turkish government about refugee deal, *Sabah* shows Merkel as a leader who makes compromises to make a deal with Turkey and Greece and powerful in the same time. That is to say there are articles which show Merkel powerful and other articles that show Merkel as a leader that makes compromises. So that is a duality through which *Sabah* tries to find a balance to show Merkel powerful but not more powerful than Erdoğan. Therefore, *Sabah* tries to hit Merkel where it hurts the most. *Sabah* also tries to show Merkel as a leader who can be persuaded easily to accept the conditions of Turkey to sign the migrant deal.

4.4.4. Merkel with Two Faces: Friend and Enemy

In this period of three months, *Sabah* mostly showed its readers the friendly face of Merkel to Turkey. However, Merkel's image was presented inferior than presented by *Hürriyet* and *Cumhuriyet*. *Sabah*'s main aim is to create a warm perception through Merkel's friendly face towards the achievement of migrant deal.

However, we see that criticisms about the attitude of Merkel about the membership of Turkey into the European Union were published too. There are 7 articles for this period about the stance of Merkel. The most important article, which criticized Merkel's attitude, belongs to Mehmet Barlas, who underlined that Merkel is against the

membership of Turkey and the idea that the accession of the country depends on Merkel.³⁹⁷

In that period, *Sabah* always gave places to the articles where Merkel gives promises or makes compromise to persuade Turkey to sign the migrant deal. Turkey wanted to be in the secure country list and the declaration of Merkel that Turkey should be included in the secure country list was published by *Sabah*.³⁹⁸

When Merkel came to Turkey to visit Erdoğan, the visit did not take place in Ankara but in Istanbul. Many newspapers interpreted the situation as Merkel did not want to be welcomed in the new palace that was criticized by many opponents of AKP government and Erdoğan “because of the luxury that palace had”. That’s why the opponent media, especially *Cumhuriyet* titled the palace as an “illegal palace.” However, Merkel’s spokesperson Seibert denied the allegation that Merkel did not prefer being welcomed in the palace in Ankara. Seibert said that the place of the meeting place was chosen by the host country.³⁹⁹

When Merkel came to Istanbul to talk to Prime Minister Davutoğlu, *Sabah* published many articles that gave places to the details of agreement and Turkey.

³⁹⁷ Mehmet Barlas, **op.cit.**

³⁹⁸ Sabah, “Merkel: Türkiye Güvenli Ülkeler Listesinde Yer almalı”, (Turkey must Be Included in Secure Country List), 18.10.2018, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2015/10/18/merkel-turkiye-guvenli-ulkeler-listesinde-yer-almali>

³⁹⁹ Sabah, “Almanya Hükümet Sözcüsü O İddiaları Yalanladı”, (German Government Spokesperson Denied), 19.10.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/10/19/almanya-hukumet-sozcusu-o-iddialari-yalanladi>



Figure 4.11. Merkel's meeting with Davutoğlu on October 18, 2015.⁴⁰⁰



Figure 4.12. Merkel was portrayed at a much more equal level when she came to visit Erdoğan.⁴⁰¹

After the meeting between Erdoğan and Merkel, we see that *Sabah* gives place to the declarations that AKP government wanted to hear. “Turkey’s burden should be lightened” or “new chapters must be opened related to the membership of Turkey to the European Union” are often underlined.⁴⁰² For that reason, *Sabah* often puts forward such declarations of Merkel to increase the necessity of the migrant deal.

When Ahmet Davutoğlu won the elections, Merkel congratulated Davutoğlu. *Sabah* gave a place to this article many times.⁴⁰³ After the meetings between Turkey and

⁴⁰⁰ Sabah, “Davutoğlu Merkel Görüşme”, (Meeting between Davutoğlu and Merkel), 18.10.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/10/18/davutoglu-ve-merkel-gorusmesi>

⁴⁰¹ Sabah, “Erdoğan ve Merkel’den Ortak Açıklama”, (Declaration from Erdoğan and Merkel), 18.10.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/10/18/erdogan-ve-merkelden-ortak-aciklama>

⁴⁰² Sabah, “Erdoğan ve Merkel’den Ortak Açıklama”, (Common Declaration from Erdoğan and Merkel), 18.10.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/10/18/erdogan-ve-merkelden-ortak-aciklama>

⁴⁰³ Sabah, “Merkel’den Davutoğlu’na Tebrik Telefonu, (Celebration Call from Merkel to Davutoğlu), 11.03.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2015/11/03/merkelden-davutogluna-tebrik-telefonu>

Germany, just before Europe and Turkey reached a deal, Merkel called Europe for reducing the burden of Turkey.⁴⁰⁴

In conclusion, *Sabah* tries to show Merkel as a friendly leader as long as her relations with Turkey are good. So, if Merkel starts to make declaration against Turkey *Sabah* try to show her in a weak position. We see that Merkel's positive declarations about the resolution of refugee crisis with Turkey create a warm Merkel image.

4.4.5. Mother of Migrants: Merkel

Merkel's hopeful attitude about the resolution of migrant crisis is also powerful in the eyes of *Sabah*. *Sabah* tries to show Merkel as the biggest defender of refugee crisis against other European leaders. *Sabah* published every detail about the process that Merkel welcomed Syrian refugees. One of the articles where *Sabah* gave place to the death of Aylan Kürdi and the reaction of the world includes Merkel's declaration against Hungary Prime Minister Victor Orban. Merkel says that Germany makes something for refugees what it must be legally and morally against Orban who says that the majority of refugees are Muslim and this can be a problem for Europe that has a Christian culture.⁴⁰⁵

Articles like "*Germany opened its doors to refugees*"⁴⁰⁶ strengthen Merkel's "hope giver" image, that is to say her wish for the resolution of refugee crisis.

Merkel made a Palestinian girl who immigrated to Germany and waited for residence permit cry by saying "Germany cannot accept all the refugees." However, after that incidence, the Palestinian girl and her family took the residence permit and German authorities said that they would not be deported. *Sabah* published this article to underline "the human side" of Merkel. All these articles highlight the importance of the refugee deal.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁴ Sabah, "Merkel'den Avrupa'ya Türkiye Çağrısı", (Call for Turkey from Merkel to Europe=, 04.11.2015, <https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2015/11/04/merkelden-avrupaya-turkiye-cagrisi>

⁴⁰⁵ Sabah, "Bir Çocuk Dünyayı Sarstı", (A Child Shaked the World), 04.09.2015, <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2015/09/04/bir-cocuk-dunyayi-sarsti>

⁴⁰⁶ Sabah, "Almanya da Mültecilere Kapılarını Açtı", (Germany Opened the Doors for Refugees too), 05.09.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2015/09/05/almanya-da-multecilere-kapilarini-acti>

⁴⁰⁷ Sabah, "Merkel'in Ağlattığı Kıza Oturma İzni" (Residence Permit the Girl that Merkel MAded Cry), 06.09.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2015/09/06/merkelin-aglattigi-kiza-oturma-izni>

Merkel defended her refugee policy by putting forward the argument that if Europe did not follow the open-door policy, this situation can lead Europe to lose its essential values.⁴⁰⁸ *Sabah* published another article reporting that Merkel said it does not fit the European values if Europe that has 500 million populations cannot take 1 million refugees who come probably for a limited time. Germany's decision to take 800 thousands refugees⁴⁰⁹ and the fact that 8,500 refugees entered into Germany⁴¹⁰ strengthen Merkel's hope giver image as well.

In conclusion, *Sabah* tried to construct a Merkel image around her migrant policy that welcomed Syrian refugees. In this period, we can say that Merkel was portrayed as a hope giver leader for the resolution of refugee crisis even she was alone against the other European leaders who do not want to open the doors for refugees.

4.4.6. Conclusion

1. We see our hypothesis that "Turkish media describes Merkel as a powerful leader when she positions herself as a friend of Turkey or she becomes closer with Turkey" is true for *Sabah* for this three-month period. She was described as the most important leader of the EU as she is the only problem solver leader of the bloc. However, the second part of our hypothesis that "when she tries to defend German or a European interest, Turkish media tries to accentuate adverse developments like the loss of support in German politics" is not true for *Sabah*. *Sabah* rarely shows Merkel as a defender of German and European interests. She only defends the interests of the EU when it comes to the membership of Turkey into the EU. However, during this period *Sabah* didn't try to highlight the weakness of Merkel in the domestic politics of Germany because of her refugee policy that causes big discussion in Germany.

⁴⁰⁸ Sabah, "Sığınmacı Krizinde Başarısız Olduk" (We Failed in Refugee Crises), 09.10.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/09/10/siginmaci-krizinde-basarisiz-olduk>

⁴⁰⁹ Sabah, "Almanya 800 bin Mülteci Alacak", (Germany will Take 800 Thousand Refugees), 09.17.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/09/17/almanya-800-bin-multeci-alacak>

⁴¹⁰ Sabah, "Bir Günde 8 bin 500 Mülteci Giriş Yaptı", (8,500 Refugees Entered in One Day), 09.26.2015, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2015/09/26/bir-gunde-8-bin-500-gocmen-giris-yapti>

2. *Sabah* portrays a Merkel image which is equal to that of Erdoğan and Davutoğlu. Merkel's power is rarely defined with powerful and Iron Lady stereotypes. *Sabah* makes efforts not to construct a Merkel image which is superior than Erdoğan. However, Merkel's power image is used to strengthen the image of AKP government by giving place to her declarations praising and supporting Turkey and the Turkish government.

3. We do not see that *Sabah* used a sexist stereotype for Merkel. We see that Merkel's weakness does not come from her femininity but her negative stance for Turkey like her attitude about the membership of Turkey to the EU.

4. *Sabah* tried to show Merkel as a friend of Turkey and we see that in that period Merkel's cooperation with AKP government was highlighted for refugee deal. The newspaper published many articles that Merkel underlined the cooperation with the Turkish government and called European countries for easing the burden of Turkey. For that reason, we can say that *Sabah* portrays mostly a friendly image for Merkel.

CONCLUSION

For the period of September-November 2015, *Hürriyet* published articles for the resolution of refugee crisis, so the newspaper constructed a softer Merkel image than before for the refugees. Merkel was always an Iron Lady as she was seen as the most powerful leader of The Europe by *Hürriyet*. For this three-month period, she was still powerful and Iron Lady. *Hürriyet* uses Merkel's loss of support in the domestic German politics as a source of weakness but this weakness does not influence her power in international relations. *Hürriyet* did not avoid using the criticisms against Merkel which were used by western media and have sexist and racist motifs. Our hypothesis which points out that "the way Merkel is shown in Turkish media derives from main sexist stereotypes in the times of a crisis like migrant crisis" is true for *Hürriyet*.

Hürriyet published more articles that showed the power of Merkel than those published by *Cumhuriyet* and *Sabah*. We can say that Axel Springer Media Company that supports Merkel in Germany and had a share in Doğan Media may have an effect on the construction of Merkel image. Therefore, *Hürriyet* made the biggest effort to underline the power of Merkel on Turkey, Germany, Europe and in the world generally. With the death of Aylan Kürdi, Merkel's image was softened with mother stereotype and her modest side. However, *Hürriyet* used motherhood as a source of weakness as well. When it comes to the migrant deal, *Hürriyet* acts on duality. This is because one one hand, if the migrant deal goes well, it could empower the AKP government that *Hürriyet* was opposing. So, in accordance with our hypothesis, *Hürriyet* portrayed Merkel in ambivalence that is constituted by her power derived from her leadership statue and her femininity that patriarchal culture interpreted as a source of weakness.

Merkel is shown like a cunning fox about the refugee crisis to capture interests for Germany like cheap work force. There is a duality about Merkel: Does she support Turkey or does she look for only German interests? From this perspective, some columnists think that Merkel seeks the best interests of Germany and looks after for cheap workforce by accepting the refugees. In some articles, Merkel was shown like a role model for Turkish leaders with her modesty. They also used an image of Merkel as if she was giving democracy lesson to Turkish leaders as a role model. *Hürriyet*

adopted an attitude that supports the cooperation between Germany and Turkey about the resolution of refugee crisis. Our hypothesis suggests that “Merkel was portrayed as a powerful leader when she positions herself as a friend of Turkey or she becomes closer with Turkey. However, when she tries to defend German or The European interests, Turkish media tries to accentuate adverse developments like the loss of support in German politics” is valid for *Hürriyet*. *Hürriyet* adopted an attitude to support the refugee deal between The EUrope and Turkey. Therefore, our hypothesis says “all Turkish media including opposition or pro-government media can stand against Merkel about some issues that touch on nationalism” is valid for *Hürriyet*.

For *Cumhuriyet* Merkel was always an Iron Lady. Standing against the AKP government, *Cumhuriyet* used the power of Angela Merkel as a means to disgrace Erdoğan. Apart from the refugee deal, *Cumhuriyet* sees Merkel as a democratic leader. *Cumhuriyet* published the death of Aylan Kürdi as a tragedy. However, the newspaper sees the refugee deal as a “dirty deal” that provides interests both Turkey and Germany on the bodies of refugees. According to *Cumhuriyet*, Merkel turned the refugee crisis into an opportunity to provide the cheap work force for German economy. So, in the period of crisis, Merkel became a leader who is a self seeker for *Cumhuriyet* refugee deal. But, Merkel was portrayed as a harbor for Turkish democrats so we can say that *Cumhuriyet* sees Merkel as the guarantee of German democracy with her struggle with far right. This particularity made Merkel a role model for Turkish leaders. For this reason, Merkel became a means of criticizing Turkish leaders.

Even if *Cumhuriyet* has a leftist approach in its publishing policy, the newspaper did not did not abstain from publishing the ARD’s photos that show Merkel in chador in a sexist and racist manner. So, we can say that *Cumhuriyet* disgraces Merkel over her femininity and some racist prejudgements. However, this is not an attitude that is used often. We can say that in accordance with our hypothesis *Cumhuriyet* used some sexist stereotypes for Merkel, when she is not so successful in managing the crisis. So, the perception of “Merkel in chador” is a created perception to describe the failures of Merkel in managing the refugee crisis. Therefore, it is possible to say that *Cumhuriyet* created or reinforced some false perceptions originated from a sexist stereotype for a woman leader in a period of crisis. In accordance with our first hypothesis, *Cumhuriyet* portrayed Merkel in ambivalence between her power derived from her leadership statue and her femininity that patriarchal culture interpreted as a source of weakness.

For *Cumhuriyet*, Merkel is a leader who made the biggest effort to resolve the biggest problems of The Europe. Merkel is a leader that *Cumhuriyet* shows as a role model for Turkish leaders. Even if Merkel is a member of Christian Democratic Party, *Cumhuriyet* accepts Merkel as guarantee of social democracy and democracy. So, for *Cumhuriyet*, Merkel is a very important leader in general. However, as Merkel tried to make a deal with Turkey and visited Erdoğan and Davutoğlu, she was portrayed as a self seeker of German and The European interests and as a pragmatic leader. Even if *Cumhuriyet* believes that the refugee deal is a dirty deal and Merkel used the refugee deal for EU's interest, Merkel was shown as the number one leader who showed the biggest will to resolve the refugee crisis. However, *Cumhuriyet* did not cooperate with Turkish newspapers for refugee deal's success. Contrary to our hypothesis, *Cumhuriyet* does not stand with *Hürriyet* and *Sabah* about some issues that are about national interests. This is because *Cumhuriyet* describes national interests in a different way independently of the benefits of government. For *Sabah*, there is a parallelism between national interests and the interests of the government. For *Hürriyet*, the definition of national interests is not clear. *Cumhuriyet* did not make a special effort to display Merkel weak in her refugee policy. According to *Cumhuriyet*, Merkel acts as a hope giver to resolve the crisis. One of the reasons that *Cumhuriyet* did not want to show Merkel in a weak position is that *Cumhuriyet* is against far-right movements. So, we can say that *Cumhuriyet* described Merkel as a powerful leader, but this power only comes from Merkel's achievements, not from her good relationship with the Turkish government. Contrary our hypothesis is that the newspaper does not try to come forward Merkel's loss of power in the domestic politics of Germany. Since *Cumhuriyet* has a leftist point of view, the newspaper does not want to emphasize Merkel's loss of power against far-right.

In this three-month period, *Sabah* didn't describe Merkel's leadership by the adjectives like powerful and Iron Lady. However, for *Sabah*, Merkel was still one of the most powerful and effective leaders for The Europe and has the biggest power to decide on Turkey's destiny about the EU. So, *Sabah* cannot escape the charismatic power of Merkel even if the newspaper tried hard to deny or ignore it. This is because the refugee deal was mostly under the control of Merkel. As being a pro-government newspaper, *Sabah* always tends to underline the power of AKP government, President Erdoğan and then Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu. So, *Sabah* always tries to put forward the

image of Merkel with Erdoğan and Davutoğlu at an equal level and sometimes Merkel's image is shown a little bit more inferior than Erdoğan. *Sabah* makes efforts not to construct a Merkel image which is more superior than Erdoğan. In one of the most important categories of articles, Merkel was praised and supported Turkey, Erdoğan and Davutoğlu about Turkey's efforts for refugees and the election held in November. Therefore, *Sabah* always tried to underline the power of Erdoğan and AKP government over Merkel's power.

We see that *Sabah* portrays Merkel as a powerful leader when Merkel cares about Turkish interests and problems or when she becomes closer with AKP government. For this three-month period, she was described as the most important leader of EU as she is the only problem solver leader of the bloc. *Sabah* does not care if Merkel chases for German and The European interests. We see the main aim of the newspaper is to try to make Turkish people have trust in Merkel and support refugee deal between Turkey and the EU.

We do not see that *Sabah* used sexist stereotype for Merkel. We see that Merkel's weakness does not come from her femininity but her negative stance against Turkey with her attitude about the membership of Turkey to the EU.

In the period of September-November, *Hürriyet*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Sabah* used some stereotypes (in the table below) for German Chancellor Angela Merkel. The essential difference and similarities about the image of Merkel are shown below:

In our research, we have found some image construction, some of which are similar to the western media and some of which are more different. The image construction that Turkish media used which has similarities is about the ambivalence that Merkel faces about being powerful or weak. Merkel's image in Turkish media has always been portrayed in accordance with her political stance and power in Germany and European Union. Her power over Europe as the most effective leader of the union and being one of the most powerful women leaders has been always approved by media. The criteria which strengthen the power of Merkel include that she is not only a powerful leader among women leaders, but also among male leaders. In our research conducted from September 2015 to November 2015 when the refugee crisis hit the fan, we investigated

if the stereotypes used for Merkel before the refugee crisis by Western and Turkish media were used for German Chancellor through our hypothesis. The most common stereotypes attributed by these newspapers to Merkel are the “powerful” and “Iron Lady” that was first used for Margaret’s Thatcher. Even these three newspapers portrayed a powerful Merkel image, each newspaper showed a different source for Merkel’s power. While, for *Hürriyet* and *Cumhuriyet*, the source of power stems from the political achievements of Merkel in Germany and in Europe, for *Sabah*, Merkel’s power mainly depends on her relations with the Turkish government and Erdoğan, even though *Sabah* is well aware of Merkel’s power in Europe by avoiding exaggerating the power of Merkel. However, before migrant crisis, we see that Merkel took her power from her effectiveness about solving the biggest problems of Europe like economic crisis. Another point is that we found out that in Turkish media Merkel’s image was used as a tool to judge, criticize or appreciate Turkish leaders. We see that especially *Cumhuriyet* uses the image of Merkel to criticize Erdoğan. For *Hürriyet* and *Cumhuriyet*, Merkel is a role model. However, *Sabah* uses Merkel’s image to reinforce the images of Erdoğan and Davutoğlu. *Sabah* shows Merkel’s Germany as an example for Erdoğan haters.

Normally we do not often see that leftist media uses racist and sexist images. However, *Cumhuriyet* used these images. We see that for Merkel’s pragmatic image is so dominant especially in *Cumhuriyet*. For some *Hürriyet* writers Merkel has a pragmatist attitude too.

For the methodology we analyzed almost 400 articles that include news and columns about Merkel during migrant crisis. We chose a time interval that the refugee crisis had the widest media coverage from the beginning of September 2015 when Aylan Kürdi died to November 2015 that Turkey and the EU has reached a deal about controlling the refugee flow. One of the biggest problems that we faced during our research is that stereotypes used for Merkel were originated from Western media. Turkish media used most of these stereotypes to describe the image of Merkel. In addition to this, as they were originated from western media, the stereotypes used in Turkish media were not as much as Western media used. However, to be able to use a second method of research for our study, we made interviews with managing editors of world news departments of *Sabah*, *Hürriyet* and *Cumhuriyet*. Only we could talk

with managing editors of world news of Sabah and Hürriyet about the image of Angela Merkel in Turkish media during refugee crisis. Hürriyet didn't reply our questions due to their communication strategy which was changed aftermath the newspaper was sold to Demirören Group which is a pro-Erdoğan company group. As the replies that we took from managing editors were not so stunning for our work and we could not take any reply from Hürriyet, we gave up including the interviews in our study.

Another research option on the image of Angela Merkel can be about European media. Merkel's average image can be analysed in different European countries and the results can be compared. The image of women leaders in media has a big potential for researchers since for the recent years both in politics and business life. Moreover, for different levels of administration, we see the number of women leaders has increased. However, according to some research studies, the increase is not enough for a more equal representation between women and men. According to a research study carried by Pew Research Center in 2017, *"the number of women leaders has increased but they are still so small"*⁴¹¹ The negative stereotypes and prejudgments about the capacity of women leaders have a big role on the number of women leaders. Even if Merkel is treated with stereotypes from time to time, like in the period of migrant crisis, she proved her power in leadership not only among the women leaders, but also male leaders. Therefore, we can say that Merkel succeeded to show the power of her leadership independently from her gender. That's why Merkel stood in stance from feminist movement. Merkel's qualifications that reinforce her leadership among male leaders can be another good subject of a research study that helps to pave the way for women leaders. This is because for a better future of democracy where the number of women leaders are enough and women are equally represented with men, the number of women leaders must be increased.

⁴¹¹ Pew Research, "Woman Leaders Around the World", 03.08.2017, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/03/08/women-leaders-around-the-world/>

GENERAL EVALUATION

On the way of exploring the image of Merkel in Turkish media during refugee crisis, we saw that *Hürriyet*, *Sabah* and *Cumhuriyet* had different reflections through their publishing policy.

In general the main differences about the image of Angela Merkel shown in these newspapers are as we show on the table below:

<i>Hürriyet</i>	<i>Cumhuriyet</i>	<i>Sabah</i>
<i>Hürriyet</i> use many adjectives to describe leadership of Merkel.	<i>Cumhuriyet</i> use adjectives to describe leadership of Merkel less than <i>Hürriyet</i> .	<i>Sabah</i> avoids carefully to use adjectives to describe leadership of Merkel.
Stereotypes: Mother, Iron Lady, ice queen, powerful, modest, cold blooded.	Stereotypes: Iron Lady, self-seeker, warm.	Stereotypes: Powerful, alone, self-seeker.
<i>Hürriyet</i> 's columnist are divided about the refugee deal signed between Turkey and EU. Because on one hand was empowering the government, on the other hand <i>Hürriyet</i> had to follow a publishing policy that supports Merkel. So the image of Merkel in <i>Hürriyet</i> can be described mostly like "powerful" but rarely self seeker.	For <i>Cumhuriyet</i> the migrant deal is interpreted mostly like a "dirty deal." So Merkel's image reflected like a self seeker.	<i>Sabah</i> used Iron Lady and powerful image of Merkel to legalize the refugee deal in the eyes of Turkish people.
Merkel is like an harbor for democrats in Turkey. Her modest side was underlined by <i>Hürriyet</i> for welcoming refugees.	Merkel is like an harbor for democrats in Turkey. But as far as she protests German and European interest, she is a self-seeker politician who	Merkel is a friend of Turkey as far as she makes cooperation with AKP government and Erdoğan. But Merkel was shown weak

	wants to make profit from refugee deal.	in the inner politics of Germany.
Merkel is role model for Turkish leaders and whole world.	Merkel is role model for Turkish leaders.	Merkel's Germany is a role model for Turkey, not Merkel.
Merkel is mostly a hope giver for the resolution of refugee crises. <i>Hürriyet</i> constructed a welcoming Merkel image for the refugees.	Merkel is mostly a hope giver for the resolution of refugee crises. She has a welcoming attitude with her open border policy but her self-seeker attitude about turning Syrian refugees into cheap work-force for German economy was underlined the most by <i>Hürriyet</i> than the other newspapers.	Merkel is mostly a hope giver for the resolution of refugee crises. <i>Sabah</i> constructed the most welcoming Merkel image for the refugees.
Merkel is shown like a lonely hero when she insists about accepting refugees into Germany against German politicians, other countries political figures and far-right groups. <i>Hürriyet</i> portrays a powerful Merkel image. But when she was blamed for her migrant policy by German media, <i>Hürriyet</i> used mother image of Merkel as a source of failure for her policies. <i>Hürriyet</i> showed Merkel weak against far-right because of far right.	Merkel is always lonely about her migrant politics in inner policy of Germany. But <i>Cumhuriyet</i> didn't prefer to publish articles so much that showed Merkel lonely and weak against far right as far as <i>Hürriyet</i> and <i>Sabah</i> did. Since the newspaper has leftist approach, <i>Cumhuriyet</i> didn't want to underline the power of far-right in Germany so the newspaper didn't want to show Merkel as a desperate politician. <i>Cumhuriyet</i> published the least articles that shows the	Merkel didn't avoid to show Merkel as a lonely leader against far-right as the newspaper always tried to balance the powers of Erdoğan and Merkel in the eyes of Turkish readers. <i>Sabah</i> published so little articles that shows the weakness of Merkel.

Merkel's weakness in inner politics was underlined the most by Hürriyet.	weakness of Merkel in inner politics.	
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Table 4.1.

The most important thing in Turkish media that influenced the image of Merkel during the refugee crises became the stance of newspapers about AKP government, not Merkel. At this point we see that Hürriyet and Cumhuriyet were against AKP government and Sabah was a defender of AKP government. So there are many common points between Hürriyet and Cumhuriyet. But the fact that Hürriyet has a relation with Axel Springer, since Axel Springer had a big share in Dogan Media whose name changed into Demirören Media after Doğan Media has been sold to Demirören Group which is pro-Erdoğan. But as Merkel tried to make a deal with AKP government and this deal could empower President Erdoğan and AKP, Cumhuriyet took a hard stance. So while Hürriyet tried to protect the image of Merkel, Cumhuriyet showed a self-seeker Merkel. Because for Cumhuriyet Merkel didn't hesitate to make a deal with a government which according to newspaper "ignores democracy." In this perspective Sabah tried to protect the image of Merkel to persuade the Turkish public opinion about refugee deal as long as she is not more powerful than Erdoğan. What we see in this perspective is the political economy of media has a big effect on Merkel's image in Turkish media. So Merkel's image was first filtrated through the publishing policies of newspapers.

We can say that the columnists of Hürriyet had the most diverse views about refugee deal. Cumhuriyet had the most negative view for the deal by blaming the deal as a "dirty deal" and or this period we see that Cumhuriyet's view about Merkel became more negative than the newspaper had in old times. That is one of the findings that is stunning. Because for Cumhuriyet Merkel is a very important leader to preserve the democracy. Sabah has the most positive stance for the deal by defending its profits for Turkey. Because the refugee deal was to empower AKP government. Even if these three newspapers have different publishing policy, Merkel's power was never underestimated. For three newspapers the visit of Merkel was a sign of approval for AKP government to be accepted as a powerful government. So while Sabah celebrate the visit of Merkel, Cumhuriyet had a negative stance for this visit. But Hürriyet tried

to preserve a neutral stance for this visit since the newspaper tried to preserve the image of Merkel because of its economical relation with Axel Springer which has a pro-Merkel stance in Germany.

So we can say that Merkel's power in Europe was effective in Turkey too. We may say that three newspapers accept the power of Merkel as a determinant for the image of Turkey too. Merkel's image as a woman leader was not at the forefront with her femininity. So, we can say that the image of Merkel's leadership was shown mostly with her leadership achievements more than the gender stereotypes attributed to her in three newspapers.



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APPENDIX

The List of Newspaper Links that are Analysed for Our Study:

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