

Social Cognition and Media Psychology Uncovered: Social Representations of Chinese on Turkish Newspapers

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Abstract

The area of social cognition involves how people interpret the social phenomena such as other people, countries, nations, social groups etc. The notion of stereotypes is one of the most common topics studied as one of the keys to uncover psychology of social cognition. The Oxford Dictionary defines ‘stereotype’ as “a widely held but fixed and oversimplified image or idea of a particular type of person or thing”. Due to the non-existence of Chinatowns and thus low social accessibility of Chinese people, Chinese are less known by Turkish people face-to-face. The information about Chinese are mostly acquired from news media and fictional works such as Jackie Chan films and kung-fu movies. The absence of face-to-face contact among many and the selectivity of media and films over social representations of Chinese might be held responsible for stereotypicality of social representations of Chinese in Turkey, rather than genuineness. Secondly, the area of media psychology studies the link between media and people’s psychology including people’s stereotypes and social representations. Mass communication theories consider media users as passive recipients which are shaped by media corporations, while more recent theories revamp this equation. In this paper, matching the discussions within media psychology and intercultural communication, the social representations of Chinese on Turkish newspapers are investigated. It is observed that Chinese appear on Turkish newspapers with extraordinary news, male-female imbalance, one child policy, political issues, commerce, long life, made-in-China products, consumerism, electronic products, hackers, tainted products, archeological and scientific discoveries, economic competition between China and U.S. etc.

Keywords: Media psychology, social cognition, stereotypes, Chinese, and intercultural communication

Toplumsal Biliş ve Medya Psikolojisi İlişkilerinin Açılımı: Çinlilerin Türk Gazetelerinde Toplumsal Temsilleri

Özet

Toplumsal biliş alanı, insanların diğer halklar, ülkeler, uluslar, toplumsal gruplar vb. gibi toplumsal görüngüleri nasıl yorumladıklarıyla ilgilidir. Kalıpyargı düşüncesi, toplumsal biliş psikolojisini açıklamak için en çok çalışılan anahtarlardan biridir. Oxford Sözlüğü,

‘kalıpyargılar’ı “belli türde bir insanla ya da şeyle ilgili yaygın olarak benimsenen, ancak sabit ve aşırı genelleyici olan bir imge ya da düşünce” olarak tanımlamaktadır. Çin mahallelerinin yokluğu ve bu nedenle Çinlilere yönelik düşük toplumsal erişilebilirlik nedeniyle, Çinliler Türkler tarafından yüzyüze olarak daha az tanınmaktadır. Çinliler hakkındaki bilgiler çoğunlukla haber medyasından ve Jackie Chan ve kung-fu filmleri gibi kurgusal çalışmalardan gelmektedir. Birçokları için yüz yüze temasın yokluğu ve Çinlilerin temsilinde medyanın ve filmlerin seçiciliği, Türkiye’de Çinlilerin toplumsal temsillerinin gerçekçi algının tersine olan kalıpyargısallığında sorumlu olarak görülebilir. İkincisi, medya psikolojisi alanı, insanların kalıpyargılarıyla toplumsal temsillerini içermek üzere medya ile insanların psikolojisi arasındaki ilişkiyi çalışmaktadır. Kitle iletişim kuramları medya kullanıcılarını medya şirketleri tarafından sunulan kabın şeklini alan edilgen alımlayıcılar olarak değerlendirirken, daha güncel kuramlar bu denklemi yeniden yazıyor. Bu çalışmada, medya psikolojisi ve kültürlerarası iletişim içerisindeki tartışmalarla denk gelir bir biçimde, Türk gazetelerindeki Çinlilere ilişkin toplumsal temsiller incelenmektedir. Çinlilerin Türk gazetelerinde olağandışı haberler, kadın-erkek orantısızlığı, tek çocuk politikası, siyasal konular, ticaret, uzun yaşam, Çin yapımı ürünler, tüketici kültürü, elektronik ürünler, bilgisayar korsanları, kirli ürünler, arkeolojik ve bilimsel buluşlar, Çin ile ABD arasındaki ekonomik yarış vb. konularla gündeme geldiği gözlemlenmiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Medya psikolojisi, toplumsal biliş, kalıpyargılar, Çinliler ve kültürlerarası iletişim

Introduction

In this research, social representations of Chinese on Turkish newspapers are studied. It is in the intersections of media studies and social psychology and involves social cognitions and stereotypes.

Social representations are the cognitive structures that “*organise the worldviews of community members and guide their interpretation of reality and their everyday practices*” (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000, p.260). In contrast to the purely cognitive approaches, they “*do not originate from pure reasoning or information processing. They are rooted in the past, culture, tradition and language*” (Markova, 2003, p.xii). Whereas social cognition “*is the study of the mental processes involved in perceiving, attending to, remembering, thinking about, and making sense of the people in our social world*” (Moskowitz, 2005, p.3). The social cognition approach exclusively focuses on the individual (Augoustinos, Walker & Donaghue, 2006), while social representations approach situates him/her within a social context. One of the major concepts within this context is social stereotypes which refer to simplified mental representations about a particular group of people. They are usually negative, but positive stereotyping is possible as well. Stereotypes don’t correctly represent the social world, since they are just simplifications which are

not capable of capturing the complexity of the social world. McGarty, Yzerbyt & Spears (2002) states that

[w]ithout individuals there could be no society, but unless individuals also perceive themselves to belong to groups, that is, to share characteristics, circumstances, values and beliefs with other people, then society would be without structure or order. These perceptions of groups are called stereotypes (McGarty, Yzerbyt & Spears, 2002, p.1).

With this conceptual background, we can move forward to the main research topic.

Method

Hürriyet which is one of the mostly-read newspapers in Turkey was established in 1948 (Hürriyet Kurumsal, 2013). Its circulation rate is 386.000 (Medyatava, 2013) which is low in comparison to the population of Turkey which is roughly 76 million as of 2012 according to TÜİK (Turkish Statistics Institute). However, the newspaper website is 6th most visited website in Turkey (Alexa, 2013a). It is surpassed only by Google Türkiye, Facebook, Youtube, Google and another Turkish newspaper (with a similar publication line) respectively (Alexa, 2013b). Its rank worldwide is 317th (Alexa, 2013a). According to Hürriyet self-reports, the accession rate (not necessarily circulation rate) is 1.9 million and site visitors are 6.8 million (Hürriyet Kurumsal, 2013). The popularity of the printed and e-version qualifies Hürriyet as a tool to study social representations of Chinese in Turkey. Another reason to focus on Hürriyet is the fact that it belongs to the most globalized Turkish media group (Doğan Group) which has partnerships in Belarus, Croatia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Russia, Slovenia and Ukraine (Hürriyet Kurumsal, 2013). Hürriyet published an English daily as well (Hürriyet Daily News) which is the most popular Turkish newspaper in English (Hürriyet Daily News, 2013).

In this study Hürriyet newspaper archive (Hürriyet Arsivi, 2013) was scanned with the most relevant keyword ('Çinli', 'Chinese' in Turkish). The irrelevant news texts were trimmed for a more consistent analysis. The study covered news published between 1 January and 27 September 2013. The search returned the following numbers of news involving Chinese for each year:

Table 1. The Number of News Pieces Involving ‘Chinese’ According to the Year

The Year	The Number of News Pieces Involving ‘Chinese’
2013	330
2012	671
2011	672
2010	703
2009	557
2008	516
2007	374
2006	394
2005	248
2004	264
2003	194
2002	177
2001	140
2000	96
1999	109
1998	116
1997	39

The table shows that despite annual reverberations, there is an increasing interest in Chinese. The newspaper features Chinese more. This may be due to 2 points: Firstly, this trend can be because of the technical considerations. The newspaper gets thicker and thicker each year; so it may be that this may reflect an overall rise in news entries. Secondly, maybe this increase is not because of the interest in Chinese, but because of China’s rise in world politics, economy and culture. These possibilities are supported by the fact that the top news on Chinese appear on the following sections/pages respectively: World (which features foreign policy issues), economy, sports, columnists, planet (which covers extraordinary, sensational life events all over the world), technology, culture and art, and flash news. Among the columnists, the top writers on China are the following: Gila Benmayor, Vahap Munyar, Hadi Uluengin, Emre Özpeynirci, Yalçın Bayer, Engin Kratzer, Doğan Hızlan, Sevil Atasoy, Kanat Atkaya, Yalçın Doğan, Serdar Turgut and Fatih Altaylı. However, we should keep in mind that the start date of each columnist are not same; thus starting date could distort this data.

It is observed that over the years (1997-2013), Chinese appear on Turkish newspapers with extraordinary news, male-female imbalance, one child policy, political issues, commerce, long life, made-in-China products, consumerism, electronic products, hackers, tainted products,

archeological and scientific discoveries, economic competition between China and U.S. etc. The next sections go into details of Chinese-related news to get a more comprehensive view. The most common news categories according to our content analysis over social representations of Chinese are economy & commerce, extraordinary news, politics, food, culture & arts, wushu, electronics, labor, encounters and travel. The sport news (except wushu news) were excluded from our analysis, as those news involve some other sets of factors that are out of scope of this study.

Economy & Commerce News

The most common economy and commerce news topics involving Chinese are metro, automobiles, fairs, and energy.

Turkish ministry of transport, maritime affairs and communications signed an agreement with CSR Corporation (a Chinese firm) for metro production in Ankara. *Hürriyet* features a photo from the groundbreaking ceremony (*Hürriyet* Ankara, 13.04.2013). One of the metro lines is planned to be opened at the end of 2013 and another one in 2014 (Gürel, 2013). The first 75 metro trains will be produced in China and the rest in Ankara. This is due to the contract that stipulates 51% local production (*Hürriyet* Ankara, 12.04.2013). A Turkish MP criticizes the transfer of this project from Ankara municipality to the ministry and claims that terms and conditions are violated by the Chinese firm (*Hürriyet* Ankara, 01.04.2013). He says that 51% of 324 metro trains should be bought from the local companies according to the terms and conditions, but this was not done. The minister states that the firm does not violate the terms, since they will establish a local production site. The MP responds that that doesn't mean local production; the transaction is supposed to be with the already existing local companies; and proposes that this is just an election campaign for the government (Sarioğlu, 2013).

Automobile news involves agreements between Turkish and Chinese firms (*Hürriyet*, 24.04.2013; 25.04.2013). A common expression in such texts is 'the largest market of the world' (*Hürriyet*, 24.04.2013; 25.04.2013). Another news piece features Automotive Dealer Day Conference and Fair that took place in Italy and states that the owner of the top Turkish dealer was invited by the relevant Chinese association for a talk in China about the trade secrets (*Hürriyet*, 20.05.2013). Another common theme is the Chinese purchase of global brands like Peugeot (*Hürriyet*, 24.09.2013).

The third recurring topic under economy and commerce category is the commerce fairs. A local government from Western Turkey (Karşıyaka, İzmir) participated to China Outbound Travel

& Tourism Market in Beijing (China Exhibition, 2013) and introduced Western Turkey to Chinese (Hürriyet Ege, 13.04.2013; 15.04.2013). However, this activity is presented in an insular way. No information is covered about how Chinese responded to this act of introduction and representation. Fairs are the venues where people meet with each other and learn from each other as well. On the other hand, the characterization of Chinese in Turkish fairs is positive. To quote from Oğuz (2013): *“As in any other sector, Chinese leave their marks in this fair. In every corner of the fair Chinese company officials could be found”*. In these lines, positive acceptance of the commercial power of Chinese is visible. Furthermore, the same ‘the largest market of the world’ discourse can be seen in fair news (Hürriyet, 19.01.2013).

Another relevant hot topic involves energy sector. Hürriyet features coal plant agreement between a Turkish firm and a Chinese firm (Chinese Coal Construction). The project covers 10 years offering 11,000 jobs. In the same site, some other contracts were signed and Chinese firms were already in operation (Hürriyet, 22.07.2013). A Chinese company (CGNPC) contacted the Turkish authorities to build up a nuclear power plant (Hürriyet, 28.04.2013). Another Chinese company signed an agreement with a Turkish company for solar energy systems in Turkey (Çelikkan, 2013). Another news piece features an electrical bus production agreement for Southeastern city of Turkey (Siirt) (Gökçe, 2013). A Turkish pop singer is reported to sing a Chinese song in the celebration. In the news piece, the applicability of this project is questioned with reasonable suspicion (Gökçe, 2013). Finally, Hürriyet reports the planned operations of the second largest petroleum company of China (Sinopec) in Egypt. The piece concludes with the statement that China invests a lot on energy that he needs to sustain his growth with (Hürriyet, 31.08.2013). The title of the piece is remarkable; it uses the expression: ‘Chinese Without Fear’.

Other than these themes, miscellaneous topics appear under economy and commerce category. Beymen, a globalized Turkish company specialized in women’s products is reported to hire Chinese-speaking staff, as they expect an influx of Chinese tourists (Hürriyet, 21.02.2013). In another piece, the potential fragility of Chinese economy is mentioned with suspicious reader’s comments questioning the genuineness of the news (Hürriyet, 14.09.2013a). At the same time, a Chinese bank (ICBC) is reported to be the top all over the world according to the Banker magazine, while the top Turkish bank (İş Bankası) on the list is 110th. The piece continues that among the top ten, 4 are Chinese and global share of Asian banks rose up to 56% (Hürriyet, 02.07.2013). On the other hand, Turkish businessmen in a government-organized meeting complained about trade

deficit with China, while emphasizing that China is the third main trading partner of Turkey after Russia and Germany. They urge Chinese investors to invest more to Turkey (Hürriyet, 12.09.2013).

A negative point is due: Shangri-La Hotel, a Chinese investment is established in Beşiktaş, next to Dolmabahçe Palace (Munyar, 01.04.2013) and the hotel plans to buy the Beşiktaş-Kadıköy pier for private use. These causes resentment and protests among locals (Çapa, 2013).

Some other economy and commerce news are the following: A Turkish company from Southeastern Anatolia plans to export marble to China (Hürriyet, 03.03.2013). China Steel Corporation visits a Turkish municipality (İzmir, the 3rd largest city) to sign contracts about waste water treatment systems (Hürriyet, 01.06.2013). China is reported to take revenge against France by imposing restrictions over French wine imports as a response to the restrictions imposed by France on solar panels (Hürriyet, 06.06.2013).

Overall, commerce and economy news, as can be seen above, focus on particular topics; however, the intercultural encounters and depictions are shallow. Such encounters are mostly instrumental and not deemed valuable per se.

Extraordinary News

One of the most common extraordinary news theme is nouveaux riches. These are defined as people who got rich quickly, therefore they are not considered to be ‘civilized’ and ‘culturalized’ enough to form a rich class. Although they are rich, they follow the habits of poverty. They like pomposity and show-off. An example of nouveaux riches-themed news is Kaymaz (02.01.2013) which reports that a Chinese businessman gave her daughter four boxes of gold, a Porsche and Mercedes as dowry, left a bank account of USD 3 million to her bed and transferred some portions of his USD 16 million company shares. Furthermore, he gave her a number of villas and shops and donated USD 10 million to two charity organizations. The piece implies that this show-off is common among nouveaux riches and it is a form of advertisement (Kaymaz, 02.01.2013). In another news story a Chinese luxury car owner (worth USD 420,000) gets his car sledgehammered to protest the bad service by the car company (Hürriyet, 16.05.2013a). In another piece, rich Chinese people are reported to hire wet nurses from the rural areas not for their newborns, but for themselves. The agency is reported to state that the consumers can even drink milk from the foster mother’s breasts (whether this is really stated or it is just an exaggeration is a moot issue). They work for 6-8 weeks and receive 16,000 Yuan in return. In the same piece, it is reported that

drinking mother milk is a historical tradition that survived until Mao and then resurfaced after him (Bora, 2013).

Some of the extraordinary news concentrate on interesting buildings in China such as ‘Water Cube’ in Beijing and horseshoe-shaped Sheraton Huzhou Hotel in Zhejiang (Hürriyet, 02.08.2013; 30.06.2013). Avian flu news occasionally appear as extraordinary news (e.g. Hürriyet, 09.04.2013; 05.04.2013). A group of news features Israeli-Chinese partnership in car production with “why we couldn’t do that?” mentality (Özpeynirci, 11.04.2013a; 11.04.2013b). On the other hand, that cars with Chinese designs are not preferred by Chinese is reported (Özpeynirci, 22.04.2013). The news story states that Volkswagen, Toyota and Hyundai are more common on Chinese roads than Chinese products with 7 out of 10 drivers preferring foreign cars (Özpeynirci, 22.04.2013). These can also be considered under economy and commerce category. Other than these themes, various topics under extraordinary news category can be easily captured from the headlines: “The air is for sale in China” is the first headline. The news emphasizes air pollution in Chinese cities and informs the reader that Chinese multimillionaire Chen Biangbio started to sell fresh mountain air in boxes in cities to remind people the air pollution problem (Hürriyet, 31.01.2013). Another headline is ‘Paying Compensation with Sacks of Small Changes’ (Hürriyet, 21.08.2013). A restaurant owner pays compensation for court ruling with 8 sacks of small changes. Thirdly, a news story mentions live crab automat in Hangzhou (Hürriyet, 14.09.2013b). Another piece reports that a Chinese student who carved his name on an Ancient Egyptian temple was identified by Chinese social media users and scolded. The family of the student apologized. The news text which is taken from BBC Turkish Service continues that it is common in China to release information on social media and this sometimes leads to charges and removal from posts. The text concludes by the rise in the number of Chinese tourists worldwide (Hürriyet, 27.05.2013).

Politics News

The most common theme under politics category corresponds to encounters. These are the visits by Turkish politicians to China or Chinese politicians to Turkey. Unlike most of the economy and commerce news, these news stories usually involve some intercultural exchanges that are beneficial for mutual understanding. Turkish politicians, especially if this is their first visit, almost always had their photos taken in touristic sites such as the Great Wall and the Tiananmen Square. An example from the dates covered in this study is the visit by Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu who is the leader of the main opposition party (CHP) (Demir, 16.01.2013; Kozan, 15.01.2013). These visits

are significant for the social representations of Chinese in Turkey, as some of the followers of these political leaders learn about Chinese people and China by their leader's visit. Kılıçdaroğlu talks about Turkey's trade deficit with China and invites Chinese businessmen for a higher level of cooperation. Other than encounters, the most frequent China news under politics category are Bo Xilai trial (Hürriyet, 22.08.2013), 'the Xinjiang Problem' (Elveren, 27.06.2013; 16.03.2013; Hürriyet, 28.06.2013; 30.04.2013) and China's never-ending attempt to serve as a mediator between Koreas (Hürriyet, 25.05.2013; 22.05.2013).

Food News

Food news covers Chinese restaurants in Turkey (e.g. Shang Palace in Shangri-la Hotel, Beşiktaş (Yaşın, 2013); Çin Çin Restaurant in Taksim (Soysal, 2013)), Turkish restaurants in China (e.g. Cengiz, 2013), Chinese food in general, food fairs (Hürriyet, 19.05.2013; 15.05.2013a; 15.05.2013b), food trade news and food scandals (e.g. Hürriyet, 03.05.2013; 02.05.2013). That most of the Chinese restaurants in Turkey target high and middle income people poses as an obstacle for intercultural understanding. Contrary to the case in Turkey, Chinese food is economically accessible in many other countries. It is rare to see that Chinese food is served in shopping malls in Turkey, although the number of stand-alone restaurants is rising. Soysal (2013) introduces a Chinese restaurant with reasonable prices (<http://cincinrestaurant.com.tr/>). Such endeavors should be supported, as food is a strong promoter of intercultural understanding.

Culture & Arts News

Culture and arts news comprises art fairs, book fairs (Çevik, 2013; Hürriyet, 22.08.2013), festivals (Arpaşın, 2013), international prizes (Doğan, 2013), official receptions (Hürriyet, 07.08.2013) and other Chinese culture and art events taking place in Turkey or Turkish events taking place in China (e.g. Hürriyet, 11.03.2013). Events such as an opera first time to be performed by the Turkish artists (Hürriyet, 11.03.2013) is a successful way of intercultural encounter for mutual understanding, even if it is mediated by a European art product. Likewise, Turkish film festival that took place in Beijing and Xi'an (Arpaşın, 2013) is another successful way and it is better than the former as it represents Turkish art and it utilizes the visual form over written form which has the capacity to attract wider audiences. International prizes such as Nobel Prize (Mo Yan) can also be instrumental for intercultural understanding. Apart from these, it won't be speculative to state that Turkish newspapers will more frequently feature Chinese culture in the last months of 2013, as the guest of honor of this year's international book fair in Istanbul (2-5

November 2013) is China. 17 prominent Chinese writers will join the fair (Çevik, 2013; Hürriyet, 27.07.2013). Mo Yan and Orhan Pamuk as Nobel laureates are the most popular novelists at a cross-cultural level in Turkey and China respectively (Çevik, 2013). Other than the regular literary events, a photo exhibition on China, an ancient Chinese books exhibition and a calligraphy workshop will take place (Hürriyet, 27.07.2013).

Electronics News

Usually electronics news about China involves the release of new smart phones (Kaya, 2013); problems about those phones (Hürriyet, 14.08.2013; 20.07.2013; 15.07.2013); hackers (Hürriyet, 29.05.2013) and the rise of China in electronics world (Hürriyet, 19.06.2013). By the rise of China in this sphere, the low-quality perception of ‘made-in-China’ products has been partially weakening. As the Chinese electronics firms move away from low-quality to high-quality, this weakening of this perception leads to a more positive social representation of Chinese. On the other hand, it is highly likely that some of the consumers are not aware that some high-quality electronic items are made in China, as they have English or English-looking names. Other than this, it is interesting to see that Chinese are associated with hacker attacks especially against American websites (Hürriyet, 29.05.2013).

Wushu News

Although the analysis of sports news has been excluded in this study due to methodological issues, news on wushu needs to be addressed, as it is an emerging topic in the social representations of Chinese in Turkish newspapers (cf. Erşan, 2013; Hürriyet, 04.08.2013; 16.05.2013b; 16.04.2013; 27.02.2013). The rising popularity of this martial art partially stems from the project support by the Turkish Ministry of Youth and Sports (Hürriyet, 04.08.2013) and partially by its inclination to be a family sport (Erşan, 2013). A Chinese wushu master is the trainer of the Turkish national wushu team (Hürriyet, 27.02.2013). It is expected that wushu will be among the olympic sports in 2020 (Hürriyet, 16.04.2013). A Chinese wushu master states that Turkey is the second motherland of wushu in terms of adopting the martial art (Hürriyet, 16.05.2013b).

Encounters: Tourism and Others

As stated before, physical encounters where both groups share physical presence is conducive for a better intercultural understanding. One of the most common ways of intercultural

encounters is by tourism. Given the touristic potential of Turkey and demand by newly emerging Chinese middle class, it is no surprise that news about Chinese tourists in Turkey appear on newspapers (Kaymaz, 01.04.2013; Saylam, 15.02.2013). Same doesn't apply for Turkish tourists in China; mass tourism in that direction is necessary. On the other hand, visa policies are reported to be an obstacle for tourists from both directions (Hürriyet, 20.08.2013). Furthermore, the pragmatic aspects of international tourism are eclipsing mutual intercultural benefits arising from physical encounters. The number of Chinese tourists visiting Turkey steadily increases by year (from roughly 28,000 in 2002 to surpassing 100,000 in 2012) (Kaymaz, 01.04.2013), but this merely translates into success in intercultural communication. The issue is also complicated, since majority of the Turkish people would call any Asian-eyed tourist as Chinese or Japanese.

Another less common form of physical encounter involves the Chinese staff working in Turkey. An example is the Chinese technicians that work for metro train sets in İzmir (Hürriyet, 02.09.2013). They got accustomed to Turkish way of life and wish to stay longer. They are the cultural bridges. However, this sort of encounter is far from joyful sometimes. This brings us to the labor news.

Labor News

In the beginning of the year, Hürriyet reports that Turkish and Chinese workers do their jobs in Amasra coal mines; and Chinese miners got their first bonus in their work life (Hürriyet, 10.02.2013). 4 months later, a Chinese worker dies and 2 are wounded due to landslide in the mine (Acar, 2013; Hürriyet, 12.06.2013). As China is notorious about safety measures in coal mines (e.g. People's Daily, 30.09.2013; 29.09.2013; 28.09.2013; 02.09.2013), this unfortunate incident raises suspicion. On the other hand, a European Union project observes that coal miners are adapted to Turkey very well (Hürriyet, 06.07.2013). In one way or another, Chinese workers in Turkey become another source of physical encounter which is not always positive. For example, a Kurdish MP complains in the Turkish Parliament that no dog is left in Cudi Mountain; they are all eaten by Chinese workers. Strangely enough, he follows the nationalist rhetoric which implies that "Chinese not only refrain from contributing to our economy, they even eat our dogs" (Milliyet, 2012). It is highly likely that racism and discrimination will rise as the number of Chinese workers increase in Turkey.

Travel

As usual, travelogues continue to appear about China on newspapers (e.g. Akıncı, 2013; Aydın, 2013; Sözüner, 2013). A lot in resemblance with touristic ads, these depict China as a paradise. However, complaints about miscommunication are common due to Chinese employees that are not able to converse in English. China is exalted, as obesity is not widespread, but with a grain of doubt, as “*they eat everything out of water and soil*” (Aydın, 2013). Overall, the tones of travelogues on China are positive, but improvements are said to be necessary.

Emerging Themes

In addition to the long list of categories above, emerging themes are apparent. These are the themes which do not recur often, but they are likely to recur in the future. The first is the Chinese success in space (e.g. Hürriyet, 21.06.2013; 20.06.2013), the second is the pollution in Chinese cities (e.g. Hürriyet, 23.08.2013; 10.07.2013), and the third is the sports (e.g. Hürriyet, 16.05.2013).

Discussion

The news stories analyzed above are usually on economy or IT pages. As China’s rise extends to the future, other news categories will abound with Chinese-related news stories as well. Turkish restaurants in China and Chinese restaurants in Turkey, sports and especially martial arts, as well as travelogues contribute to a closer level of intercultural understanding.

News about China (or People’s Republic of China) and about Chinese elsewhere (including Turkey) are clearly distinguished in our analysis. China vs. Chinese (country vs. people) as search words sometimes end up with different results as well. The former refers to the government, while the latter matches a greater set of life events. For instance, China as a mediator in Syrian conflict (but not Chinese) differs in search results. The keyword ‘China’ is more likely to be associated with such diplomatic affairs.

Regardless of the increasing number of news featuring Chinese on Turkish newspapers, physical encounters with Chinese are rare. Tourists, staff and workers are the major channels of physical encounters with an extremely limited scope. As they will grow in number, more physical encounters would be possible. It can be added that online encounters could also be conducive to intercultural understanding. Intercultural marriages that start on the net are getting more and more common (Gezgin, 2012).

Three major limitations of this study are the following:

First of all, Beijing Olympics effect, which involves primacy of major events in a single year could be an intervening factor in our analysis. This effect will possibly be visible at the last months of 2013, as China is the guest of honor for Turkey's International Book Fair.

Secondly, only printed materials were covered excluding TV and social media. It is possible that the social representations would differ on other sources. The website TV Arşivi (<http://tvarsivi.com/>) is an archive of the mainstream Turkish TV channels. Programs mentioning 'Chinese' could be identified and analyzed. However, due to time and space limitations, this was not possible in this study. Secondly, it is observed that most of the news texts in Turkish about Chinese are positive. However, this may not necessarily reflect the social representations of Chinese in Turkey. Google's autocompletion function, for instance, brings out negative comments about Chinese.

Thirdly, in this study, only one single newspaper in a single year (2013) was scanned. Other years and other newspapers could have been analyzed with a comparative perspective.

Future Studies

Following the listed and unlisted limitations of this study, below are the notes for future studies:

The notion of impression management and the distinction between public and private selves could be studied in future studies. The news stories on Turkish newspapers assume that Chinese are not among the readers. Same holds for Chinese newspapers. This assumption could be elaborated to uncover its ramifications in the way Chinese are socially represented. Secondly, future studies can link outgroup homogeneity with the conceptual foundations of extraordinary news.

News from Atlantic agencies vs. Chinese sources vs. Turkish sources could be differentially analyzed in future studies. Likewise, Hürriyet Turkish version and Hürriyet Daily News which is published in English could be compared in terms of social representations of Chinese, as addressing different audiences (foreigners rather than Turkish readers) may lead to differences in social representations. In the same manner, the news on news agencies (e.g. Doğan News Agency) instead of the ones on newspapers could be analyzed, as news stories on newspapers are subject to newspaper's editorial policies. Furthermore, comparisons of other

Turkish newspapers and newspapers vs. other media sources would extend the analysis provided in this paper.

Yearly comparisons could be done in the future. Trendy topics each year could be different, but some of them are common. Recurring themes provide the underlying representations. In that sense, the distinction between recurring themes vs. emerging themes vs. trendy themes can be meaningful. In numerical comparisons, annual ups and lows should be considered. This also applies for the periods before 1997 and 1973.

The relationship between social realities vs. news should be discussed. News as the reflection of representations vs. news building representations vs. both is an important consideration. Questions such as “Who represents? Foreign agencies, Turkish agencies, Turkish media companies, journalists, governments? etc.” can be fruitful. Furthermore, what are worthy of news, how they are omitted or included, how they are doctored etc. can be the major questions to develop a more comprehensive framework of social representations. Additionally, how the same news are represented on Chinese media can be an interesting research topic as well as how Turkish are represented on Chinese media.

Memory issues should be considered in future studies. Concepts such as salience, frequency of exposure to the news and personal relevance are useful for that purpose. Temporality and impact of news need further studies. Differences in centrality of the news (e.g. percentage of Turkish/Chinese on headlines) could be analyzed.

Three final points are the following: Firstly, it should be noted that news categories are not mutually exclusive. A news story can match the intersections of more than one news category. Secondly, interviews with top Turkish columnists on China about media representations can be conducted. Thirdly, reader comments can be analyzed in a separate study.

To sum up, we can reasonably expect that coverage of Chinese and China on Turkish newspapers will increase every day. For example, in our database, on 11 March and 16 May, 3 news pieces appeared on the newspaper about Chinese. Chinese influence will be stronger in news contents. The future Chinatowns in Turkey will also foster a more realistic image of the Chinese people and culture.

Conclusion

In this study, the social representations of Chinese people on Turkish newspapers have been analyzed. It is found that the following are the most common news categories on Chinese: Economy & commerce (especially, metro, automobiles, fairs and energy news), extraordinary (e.g. nouveaux riches and interesting buildings in Chinese cities), politics (e.g. visits by Turkish politicians to China and vice versa), food (e.g. Chinese restaurants in Turkey and Turkish restaurants in China, Chinese food in general, food fairs, food trade news and food scandals), culture & arts (art fairs, book fairs, festivals, international prizes, official receptions and other Chinese culture and art events taking place in Turkey and vice versa), electronics (the release of new smart phones, problems about those phones, hackers and the rise of China in electronics world), wushu, labor (e.g. Chinese workers in Turkey), encounters, travel and emerging themes (e.g. Chinese success in space, pollution in Chinese cities and sports). The news are analyzed from the perspectives of social representations and intercultural communication.

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