

# *The Framing of Africa In Turkish Newspapers*

Ridhaa Hamisi KORONGO<sup>1</sup>

## ABSTRACT

Media plays a crucial role in shaping audience perceptions and interpretations of events through framing, which emphasizes specific issues while downplaying or ignoring others. Previous research on Africa's media portrayal has consistently shown that non-African outlets often depict the continent in an unfairly negative light, reinforcing stereotypes and limiting a nuanced understanding of African realities. However, little research has explored how Turkish media frames Africa. This study employs a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative and qualitative content analysis and framing analysis, to examine how Turkish newspapers represent Africa. It investigates the dominant frames used in African news coverage, the frequency and types of African stories reported, and the distinctions in framing between North and Sub-Saharan Africa. The sample comprises all issues of four Turkish newspapers—*Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, *Sözcü*, and *Akşam*—published between July 1, 2020, and June 30, 2021. By analyzing this comprehensive dataset of news articles, the study identifies patterns in Turkish media discourse on Africa and evaluates the implications of these representations. Findings indicate that Turkish newspapers predominantly apply the responsibility frame, which appears in 44.3% of all Africa-related news. Political news is the most frequently reported category, emphasizing governance, diplomacy, and security-related issues. Furthermore, over 99% of African news coverage comprises event-based reporting rather than original investigative journalism, limiting deeper engagement with African affairs. The study also reveals significant differences between North and Sub-Saharan African coverage. North Africa receives more media attention, and regional reports frequently adopt the responsibility frame. In contrast, Sub-Saharan Africa is covered less extensively, with a higher prevalence of the human-interest frame, often focusing on social and humanitarian issues. These findings contribute to a broader understanding of how Turkish media constructs narratives about Africa and the potential implications for public perception and international relations.

**Keywords:** *Framing, Africa, Turkish Newspapers, Frames, Representation.*

<sup>1</sup>Turkish Radio and Television Corporation, Ankara, ridhaa.korongo@trt.net.tr;

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0297-4189>

Submit Date: 20.02.2025, Acceptance Date: 21.04.2025

DOI:10.17932/IAU.IJMCL.2015.014/ijmcl\_v01i1001

## **Türk Gazetelerinde Afrika'nın Çerçevenmesi**

### **ÖZET**

Medya, belirli konuların bazı yönlerini vurgularken diğerlerini göz ardı ederek veya önemsizleştirerek çerçeveleme yoluyla izleyici yorumlarını ve algılarını etkiler. Afrika'nın medyadaki temsiline ilişkin önceki araştırmalar, Afrika dışındaki medya kuruluşlarının kıtayı çoğunlukla haksız bir şekilde olumsuz gösterdiğini ortaya koymuştur.

Bu çalışma, Türk gazetelerinin Afrika'yı nasıl temsil ettiğini incelemek amacıyla nicel ve nitel içerik analizi ile çerçeveleme analizini birleştiren karma yöntemli bir yaklaşım benimsemektedir. Araştırma, Afrika haberlerinde kullanılan baskın çerçeveleri, haberlerin sıklığını ve türlerini, ayrıca Kuzey Afrika ile Sahra Altı Afrika arasındaki çerçeveleme farklılıklarını araştırmaktadır. Örneklem, 1 Temmuz 2020 ile 30 Haziran 2021 tarihleri arasında yayımlanan dört Türk gazetesinin—*Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, *Sözcü* ve *Akşam*—tüm sayılarından oluşmaktadır. Bu kapsamlı haber makalesi veri seti aracılığıyla çalışma, Türk mediasındaki Afrika söylemine ilişkin örüntüleri belirlemekte ve bu temsilcilerin olası etkilerini değerlendirmektedir.

Bulgular, Türk gazetelerinin Afrika ile ilgili haberlerinde ağırlıklı olarak sorumluluk çerçevesini kullandığını ve bu çerçevenin Afrika ile ilgili haberlerin %44,3'ünü oluşturduğunu göstermektedir. Siyasi haberler en sık yayımlanan haber kategorisi olarak öne çıkarken, Türk gazetelerindeki Afrika haberlerinin %99'undan fazlasının gazetelerin kendi araştırmalarından ziyade olayları kapsadığı dikkat çekmektedir. Kuzey Afrika ve Sahra Altı Afrika'nın haber kapsamında da önemli farklılıklar bulunmaktadır. Kuzey Afrika, Sahra Altı Afrika'ya göre daha fazla medya ilgisi görürken, çerçeveleme biçimi de değişiklik göstermektedir: Kuzey Afrika haberlerinde sorumluluk çerçevesi daha yaygın kullanılırken, Sahra Altı Afrika ile ilgili haberlerde insan ilgisi çerçevesi daha sık tercih edilmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Çerçeveleme, Afrika, Türk Gazeteleri, Çerçeve, Temsil.

### **INTRODUCTION**

Since the era of enslavement and colonialism, Africa has been subjected to negative portrayals, initially propagated by traders, missionaries, explorers, and adventurers who depicted the continent as "dark" and uncivilized, in need of enlightenment. Although colonialism has ended, these negative representations persist, now mainly spread through the media. Africa, with its 54 sovereign nations, is often stereotyped, especially in Western media, as a homogeneous entity rather than a continent rich in diverse cultures and nations (Biney, 1997). The enduring negative imagery of Africa has thus shifted from the narratives of traders, missionaries, and adventurers to those now promoted by the media.

Africa is the world's second most populous continent, the second largest by land area, and arguably the most diverse. Despite its immense diversity, it continues to be subjected to stereotypical representations, particularly in Western media. The continent, with its 54 independent countries, is frequently portrayed as a single, monolithic entity, much like China, India, or Russia. This misconception ignores that Africa is a vast and varied continent, home to nations with rich cultural and linguistic diversity (Biney, 1997).

Türkiye's relationship with Africa dates back to the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century. However, modern Türkiye's engagement with the continent began in earnest in 1998 with its "opening up to Africa" initiative. This engagement was further reinforced in 2005 when Türkiye declared it "the Year of Africa" and adopted a more concrete policy to deepen ties with the continent. Today, Türkiye is Africa's fourth most represented country, following the United States, China, and France (Orakçi, 2022).

Several studies have examined how media from countries with significant representation on the continent, such as the United States, China, and France, frame Africa. However, Türkiye remains an exception. Despite Türkiye being a key player and maintaining bilateral cooperation with Africa, no studies have been conducted on the coverage and framing of the African continent in Turkish media, particularly in Turkish newspapers. This study aims to address this research gap by investigating how Africa is framed in Turkish newspapers, explicitly focusing on comparing the framing of North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Based on preliminary research, this study proposes the following hypothesis: "Conflict is the most commonly used frame by Turkish newspapers to portray Africa; additionally, Turkish newspapers frame the two regions of Africa (North and Sub-Saharan) similarly."

Framing refers to how news media select, emphasize, organize, and present information to an audience. During this process, journalists choose which elements of reality to highlight, such as focus, language, tone, placement of specific facts and evidence, values, and norms (Ford & King, 2015). Media frames organize and present messages from particular perspectives, shaping how audiences perceive and interpret the information (Gabore, 2020). The same event can be portrayed differently by selecting, emphasizing, excluding, or presenting information differently (Borah, 2011).

Framing also serves as a tool for media to provide specific cues, interpretations, and suggested decisions (Scheufele, 2006). By emphasizing certain aspects of an issue or excluding others, framing makes particular considerations more salient, favoring one perspective over another (Stauffacher et al., 2015).

This study explores how Turkish newspapers portray Africa in their news coverage, applying framing theory and utilizing both content and framing analysis methods.

It addresses two main research questions:

1. How do Turkish newspapers frame Africa in their news coverage?
2. How does the coverage differ between North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa?

Additionally, the study examines four sub-questions:

- The presence of African news in Turkish newspapers
- The characteristics of African news in Turkish newspapers
- The most common types of African news in Turkish newspapers
- The quality of African news in Turkish newspapers

The study aims to understand how Turkish media represents different regions of Africa and whether certain areas receive more attention or distinct types of coverage compared to others.

## **Africa**

Africa is a vast and diverse continent, rich in culture, history, and geography. It is the world's second-largest continent, covering 30.3 million square kilometers and home to 54 countries. The continent is often misunderstood, with some perceiving it as a single country or solely defined by deserts and wildlife. However, it features eight major physical regions, including savannas, rainforests, highlands, and coastal areas. Africa's population is equally diverse, speaking thousands of languages and divided into two broad racial groups: *Black populations*, making up over 70% of Sub-Saharan Africa, and *Caucasoid groups*, including Arabs in the north and European-descended populations in Southern Africa (Kaba, 2020; Palmer, 2022).

Today, Africa is home to over a billion people and is one of the most diverse continents in the world. It is rich in natural resources, including arable land, water, oil, natural gas, minerals, forests, and wildlife, holding a significant share of renewable and non-renewable global resources. African countries have diverse government systems, ranging from full presidential republics to semi-presidential and absolute monarchies.

Africa is divided into five geographical regions and has numerous regional cooperation organizations facilitating economic and political collaboration.

Table 1: Regions of Africa

Region	Countries
Eastern Africa	Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda.
Western Africa	Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo.

Northern Africa	Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Sahrawi Republic and Tunisia.
Southern African	Angola, Botswana, Eswatini, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe
Central Africa	Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, and São Tomé and Príncipe.

Source: African Union

Another way to categorize the African continent is by dividing it into North and Sub-Saharan Africa. These two regions are often distinguished due to differences in climate, culture, and historical influences. While different sources define the boundary between them based on varying criteria, this study considers North Africa to include the five countries generally recognized as part of the Arab world, which have closer historical, cultural, and economic ties to the Middle East and the Mediterranean region: Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia. The remaining 49 countries are classified as Sub-Saharan Africa.

Although Africa is often associated with challenges such as coups, hunger, droughts, wars, and poverty, these issues are not universal across the continent. For instance, while coups occurred in Chad, Mali, Guinea, and Sudan in 2021, some African nations have never experienced one since gaining independence. Similarly, droughts may impact countries in the Sahel and Sahara, but others, such as São Tomé and Príncipe and Equatorial Guinea, rank among the world's wettest regions. Furthermore, while some African nations are classified as less developed, others, such as Seychelles and Mauritius, rank higher on the Human Development Index (HDI) than some European countries, underscoring Africa's diversity and progress.

### **Turkiye-Africa Relations**

The relationship between Türkiye and the African continent dates back more than five centuries. Some scholars argue that relations between Turks and Africans predate the 15th century.<sup>1</sup> This study summarizes relations between Türkiye and Africans beginning in the 15th century, following the formation of the Ottoman Empire. The relationship is divided into three periods: the first during the Ottoman Empire, the second during the republic, and the third from the 1998 "Opening up to Africa" plan to the present (Gunn, 2020).

<sup>1</sup> Türkiye-Africa relations have an ancient history for Turks and Africa. It started during the period of Turkish tribes and Anatolian beyliks (*Anadolu beylikleri*) that broke away from Central Asia and migrated to the West, Europe, and Africa (Firat, 2016, p. 60).

1. **Ottoman Empire (1510s-1918):** Relations began when the Ottoman Empire expanded into North Africa, conquering regions like Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and parts of Sudan, Somalia, and Ethiopia. Sub-Saharan Africa had minimal contact, but the Ottomans maintained ties with African kingdoms such as Kanem Bornu and the Sultanate of Zanzibar (Firat, 2016; Gunn, 2020).
2. **Republic Period (1923-1997):** Following the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Türkiye focused on its internal issues, leading to limited interaction with Africa. However, Türkiye supported African decolonization and gradually established diplomatic missions, starting with North Africa and extending to Sub-Saharan countries like Nigeria, Ghana, and Kenya (Özkan & Akgün, 2010).
3. **1998-Present:** The "Africa Action Plan" initiated in 1998 marked a shift toward stronger diplomatic, political, and economic engagement with Africa. This period saw Türkiye's increased diplomatic presence, including observer status at the African Union (AU) in 2005 and designation as an AU strategic partner in 2008. The Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit, held every four years, strengthens bilateral ties. Türkiye's economic relations have flourished, with trade reaching \$25.3 billion by 2020. The focus is on mutually beneficial cooperation, particularly in education, cultural exchanges, and humanitarian aid (Gunn, 2020).

Türkiye's relationship with Africa has significantly expanded, evidenced by increased diplomatic missions, business ventures, educational exchanges, and humanitarian support. This partnership focuses on win-win cooperation, mutual respect, and shared development.

### **Turkish Newspapers**

According to Öner, 2011, Özgen, 2012, and Alrmizan, 2019, the history of newspapers in Turkish territory began in 1795 with the French-language *Bulletin des Nouvelles* in Istanbul. The first Ottoman newspaper focused on Ottoman affairs was the *Spectateur de l'Orient* (1825). However, *Takvim-i Vekayi* (1831) is considered the first official Ottoman newspaper in Turkish, followed by the first private newspaper, *Ceride-i Havadis* (1840).

The press evolved through several key periods:

1. Ottoman Era: Various newspapers emerged covering religious, artistic, and political content.
2. Early Republic Period (1920s): The press faced strict government control through the law known as *Takrir-i Sükûn Kanunu* (1925), leading to newspaper closures and journalist imprisonments. The 1928 alphabet reform, changing from Arabic to Latin script, temporarily decreased readership and circulation.
3. Post-WWII Era: The press expanded with new publications like *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet*. Technological advances enabled more significant circulation numbers, with *Hürriyet* reaching one million copies in the 1960s.

4. Military Intervention Period: The press was restricted during multiple military coups (1960, 1971, 1980, and 1997), which affected media outlets and journalists.
5. Modern Era: The 1990s-2000s saw the emergence of media conglomerates and online newspapers.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Framing

This study is guided by framing theory, a widely used framework for understanding the effects of media that extends beyond the field of communication science. According to Ndinojuo, Ihejirika, and Okon (2018, p. 10), the origins of framing theory can be traced back to cognitive psychology through Bartlett (1932) and anthropology through Gregory Bateson (1955; 1972). The theory was later adapted in other fields, such as sociology, by Goffman (1974), who argued that interpretive designs are central to cultural belief systems. Goffman referred to these interpretive designs as "*frames*," which we use daily to make sense of the world. The application of framing theory in communication science was first popularized by Tuchman's 1978 publication, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (Ndinojuo et al., 2018).

In communication, framing refers to how news media select, emphasize, organize, and present information to an audience. Journalists highlight specific elements of reality, such as focus, language, tone, placement of facts and evidence, values, and norms, to shape how audiences perceive an issue or event (Ford & King, 2015). Media framing organizes information into "packages" containing storylines that interpret and contextualize issues or events (Scheufele, 1999). According to Entman (1993, p. 52), framing involves "selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described."

Framing is a process that involves patterns of selection, emphasis, and exclusion (Gitlin, 1980, p. 17). It enables the depiction of the same event differently by selecting, emphasizing, interpreting, excluding, organizing, and presenting information in varying manners. The media employs framing by offering specific clues, interpretations, and evaluations, suggesting decisions, emphasizing certain aspects or parts of an issue to make them more salient, and excluding or muting other elements of reality, favoring one perspective over another (Gabore, 2020, p. 305).

Based on these definitions, framing can be understood as a communication theory that explains how the media packages and presents information to the public. It involves emphasizing specific events and contextualizing them to encourage or discourage particular interpretations. Consequently, the media wields selective influence over how people perceive issues or events.



In contrast, McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver (1997, as cited in Türkili, 2022, p. 26) argued that framing should be regarded as second-level agenda-setting, suggesting it is an extension of agenda-setting theory. However, Price, Tewksbury, and Powers (1997) contend that framing does not center on which topics or issues are selected but rather on the specific ways in which those issues are presented.

Furthermore, Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) distinguish framing from agenda setting by asserting that "how an issue is characterized in news reports can influence how the audience understands it." This distinction highlights that while both agenda-setting and framing influence public opinion, they do so in different ways. Agenda setting prioritizes news topics like issues, groups, or individuals while framing shapes public opinion and perceptions of those topics.

Framing has two broad foundations: sociological and psychological. Sociological framing research examines the words, images, phrases, and presentation styles used to construct news stories and the processes that shape their construction (Gitlin, 1980). In contrast, framing with psychological foundations explores the cognitive processes involved in how audiences form frames and interpret messages (Gabore, 2020).

### **News Frames**

Several scholars have defined "frames" in various ways. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) described frames as how media and media gatekeepers organize and present events and issues and how audiences interpret the information provided. According to Entman (1993, p. 55), a frame is a "power imprint" that reflects the identity of actors or interests competing to dominate a text. The way media frame news can influence audience perception, propagate societal stereotypes, and shape empathy or aversion toward specific groups or ideologies (Ndinojuo et al., 2018). Similarly, Gitlin (1980, p. 7) defined frames as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation" media use to organize discourse through selection, emphasis, and exclusion.

Gamson and Modigliani (1987, p. 143) described a frame as a central organizing idea or storyline that provides meaning to unfolding events. Frames encapsulate the essence of an issue and highlight what is at stake in a debate. They further noted that the emergence of media frames is influenced by factors such as journalistic norms and practices and the influence of interest groups.

While other researchers, such as Edelman (1993), added other factors, such as ideology and prejudice to media frames, Scheufele (1999) recognized that media frames are shaped by external factors and identified five main factors that influence media frames:

(a) *Social norms and values* reflect widely accepted societal beliefs. (b) *Organizational pressures and constraints*, given that media outlets operate as profit-driven entities. (c) *Interest group pressures* reflect the inclinations of



sponsors or stakeholders. (d) *Journalistic routines*, which prioritize the timely reporting of events. (e) *Journalists' ideological or political orientation* shapes framing issues within media narratives (Lin, 2016).

News frames can be categorized into *issue-specific frames* and *generic frames*. These can be analyzed through the presence or absence of specific keywords, stereotypes, images, information sources, and thematically supportive sentences (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

Vreese (2005, pp. 54–55) proposed four indicators for identifying and applying news frames:

1. **Distinguishable conceptual and linguistic characteristics** that define the frame.
2. **A common occurrence in journalistic practice**, ensuring its relevance.
3. **Reliability** in distinguishing the frame from others.
4. **Representational validity** means others should recognize the frame, not merely an academic construct.

Additionally, Tankard (2001, as cited in Ndinojuo et al., p. 13) outlined various framing devices that the media used to characterize and evaluate frames. These devices include headlines, subheads, photos, logos, photo captions, leads, source selection, quote selection, pull quotes, statistics, charts, and concluding statements. This study adopts these framing devices and indicators to identify and analyze the words, sentences, and images used to represent Africa in Turkish newspapers.

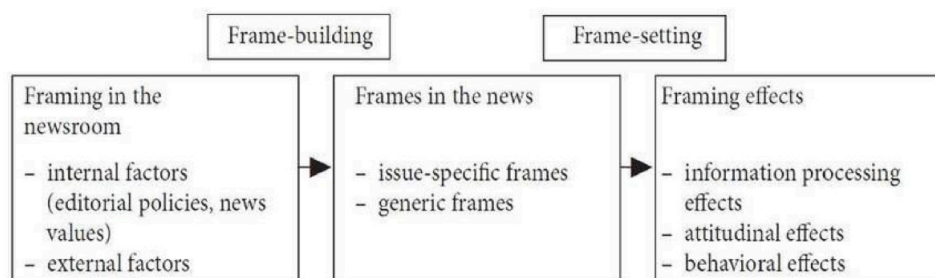
### **Framing Process**

The framing process is continuous, with the outcomes of each phase serving as inputs for subsequent phases. Vreese (2005, pp. 51–52) identified three key stages of framing: *frame building*, *frame setting*, and *societal-level framing consequences*.

*Frame building* refers to the factors that shape the structural qualities of news frames. These factors can be internal, such as the ideology of journalists and media outlets, or external, such as political pressures. Lecheler and Vreese (2019) define frame building as the process through which the media select and prioritize competing frameworks originating from elite or strategic communicators. The frames produced through this process are included in news texts and represent the output of frame building (Türkili, 2022, p. 34).

*Frame setting* is a dynamic process that examines the interaction between media frames and audience responses. This stage explores the relationship between frames in communication (how the media present information) and frames in thought (how audiences interpret and process that information) (Vreese, 2005, pp. 52–53).

The final stage, *societal-level framing consequences*, encompasses the broader effects of framing on individuals and society. At the individual level, framing provides a cognitive structure that influences personal attitudes and decision-making. Exposure to specific frames can alter how individuals perceive and respond to issues. On a societal level, framing shapes collective processes, such as political socialization, decision-making, and collective action. By doing so, frames contribute to shaping public opinion and guiding societal behavior (Vreese, 2005, pp. 52–53).



**Figure 1:** An integrated process model of framing (Vreese, 2005, p. 52).

The framing process, as illustrated in Figure 1, begins with a frame building, where external factors, such as elites, political, economic, and cultural actors or organizations, and internal factors, such as editorial policies and news values, together with media outlets and journalists, shape the creation of media frames. This is followed by framing, a stage where individual frames are developed, influencing public perceptions and attitudes based on media frames. In summary, this process highlights how various actors create frames and the impact of news frame exposure on audiences' attitudes, decisions, and emotions. Consequently, frames play a crucial role in shaping how elites construct reality, guiding journalists in information selection, and influencing audience cognition and attitudes, as they are inherently part of culture and socially shared (Vreese, 2005; Matthes, 2012).

### Previous Studies

There is a notable gap in research on how Africa is framed in Turkish media, as no comprehensive studies have been conducted. This study marks the first investigation into the portrayal of Africa in Turkish media, contrasting with extensive research into the framing of Africa in Western and Chinese media.

Studies on Western media's depiction of Africa consistently highlight negative portrayals, with few presenting a positive image of the continent. For instance, Biney (1997) argues that misinformation about Africa is a persistent issue, dating back to colonial times when Africa was depicted as a "dark continent" needing civilization. Over time, Western media representations shifted from "emergent Africa" in the post-independence era to "dependent Africa" in the 1970s and eventually to a "crisis-ridden and pitiable continent" in the 1980s and 1990s.

Contradictory narratives have also been identified, such as the use of euphemisms like "black-on-black violence" for South African conflicts. At the same time, similar phrases were absent in discussions of white-dominated conflicts, such as those in Northern Ireland.

Michira (2002) identified seven common Western media portrayals of Africa: (i). Africa is a homogeneous entity, treating the continent as a single country. (ii). The "Dark Continent" highlights backward traditions and practices like female genital mutilation. (iii). Africa as a "Wild/Jungle," portraying it as a giant zoo. (iv). Persistent images of famine and starvation are often described in broad, absolute terms. (v). A continent plagued by violence, conflict, and civil war. (vi). Political instability and recurring coups. (vii). A continent infested with diseases like HIV, Ebola, and malaria.

These depictions, shaped during the colonial era, continue to influence Western perceptions and are reinforced by media coverage. Western media often provides minimal historical and analytical context for African conflicts, instead attributing them to tribalism and irrationality. This approach often reflects imperialist and racist biases (Michira, 2002).

In contrast, Chinese media adopts a journalistic approach called "constructive journalism." This focuses on balanced reporting that highlights solutions alongside challenges. Studies, such as Gabore (2020), have shown that Chinese media tends to portray Africa more positively. Gabore (2020) highlighted that during the COVID-19 pandemic, Chinese media coverage of Africa was overwhelmingly positive (75.5%), while Western media reports were predominantly neutral (41.2%) or negative (34.3%). Similar trends were observed in Abate's (2020) analysis of Chinese media's coverage of Ethiopia, where 47% of reports were positive, 36% neutral, and only 17% negative.

This comparative insight underscores the need to explore how Turkish media, with its unique historical and diplomatic ties to Africa, frames the continent in its narratives.

## METHODOLOGY

A research methodology collects, analyzes, and presents data within a specific sampling frame. It encompasses data collection methods, analytical tools, and the overall research approach, shaping the selection of specific methods (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015, p. 26).

There are two main research approaches: *quantitative* and *qualitative*. The *quantitative approach* focuses on numerical data, such as frequencies, percentages, and proportions, providing measurable insights. In contrast, the *qualitative approach* explores non-numerical data to understand concepts, opinions, or experiences (Lin, 2016). This study applied qualitative and quantitative methods to examine the presence of African news in Turkish newspapers and analyze how they frame Africa in their coverage.

## **Methods**

### ***Content Analysis***

Content analysis is a research method used to study and summarize messages in various forms of mass media, such as films, books, magazines, songs, and advertisements. It has been defined in various ways. Berelson (1952) described content analysis as a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of communication content (p. 263). Kerlinger (1986) defined it as a systematic, objective, and quantitative method for studying and analyzing communication to measure variables. Krippendorff (1980) characterized content analysis as a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data within its context. Similarly, Weber (1985) defined it as a methodology that employs procedures to derive valid inferences from text. These inferences may relate to the message's sender, the message itself, or the target audience (Prasad, 2008).

The method gained prominence during World War II when Harold Lasswell's project, funded by the U.S. government, evaluated enemy propaganda. This initiative laid the groundwork for content analysis as a scientific method. It led to advancements documented in works like *The Language of Politics* (1940s) and Berelson's book *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (1952), popularizing it in the social sciences and media research fields.

Content analysis became prominent in Türkiye in the 1960s, with early studies by Nermin Abadan (1961) and Şerif Mardin (1969). Abadan compared the newspapers *Cumhuriyet* and *Ulus*, while Mardin analyzed changes in *Ülkü* journal's content by counting word frequencies. By the 1980s, content analysis had become widely used in Turkish communication research and remains a key methodology today (Atabek, 2007, p. 3).

This study employed qualitative and quantitative content analysis to examine news coverage of Africa in Turkish newspapers.<sup>1</sup> The qualitative analysis focused on the use of the term "Africa" and the accuracy and depth of information, while the quantitative analysis involved processing data in SPSS, conducting frequency analyses, and creating cross-tabulations.

The study analyzed three key areas:

- 1. News Presence and Prioritization** – It assessed how frequently Africa-related news appeared on front pages, included images, or had large headlines.<sup>2</sup>
- 2. Characteristics of Coverage** – It examined the context of reporting (event-driven vs. investigative), sources used (primary vs. secondary), diversity of country coverage, and the overall tone (positive, negative, or neutral).

---

<sup>1</sup> In quantitative content analysis, a concept is selected for examination, and analysis involves measuring and counting its existence. In contrast, qualitative content analysis aims to go beyond the existence of concepts by exploring the relationships between the defined concepts (Neuendorf, 2017).

<sup>2</sup> Fedyk (2018) and Serdali et al. (2016) mentioned headlines, front-page news, and images as a method of prioritizing news and a functional mechanism for influencing readers.

3. **News Topics** – African news was categorized into eight main themes: economic, political, health and education, environmental, poverty and hunger, war and terrorism, Turkiye-Africa relations, and humanitarian issues. News that did not fit these categories was classified under "Other Topics," each category was analyzed for frequency and distribution in Turkish newspapers.

### ***Framing Analysis***

According to Vreese (2005), framing analysis is a key area of communication research that examines how the media presents specific topics by emphasizing certain aspects over others and identifying the factors influencing these choices. There are two main approaches to identifying frames in media: the *inductive approach*, where frames emerge from the data without predefined categories, and the *deductive approach*, which applies predefined frames to analyze media content (p. 53).

This study adopted the deductive approach, investigating five generic news frames identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) in their report, *Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News* (p. 95). These frames are:

1. **Conflict:** Portrays news regarding individual, group, or nation disagreements.
2. **Attribution of Responsibility:** Assigns blame or responsibility for an issue to individuals, organizations, or governments.
3. **Human Interest:** Introduces personal or emotional elements, often featuring individual stories or human-centered narratives.
4. **Morality:** Frames issues through religious or ethical perspectives.
5. **Economic Consequences:** Highlights events' financial and economic impact on individuals, groups, or nations.

An additional category, **Other**, was used for news that did not fit into these frames. These generic frames served as coding tools to analyze how Turkish newspapers framed Africa in their reporting.

### ***Sampling***

This study employed purposive sampling to select a representative subset of Turkish newspapers. All issues of *Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, *Sözcü*, and *Akşam* published between July 1, 2020, and June 30, 2021, were analyzed. These newspapers were selected based on their high circulation, diverse ownership structures, and ideological differences, enabling a comprehensive examination of how Africa is framed in Turkish media.

## **FINDINGS**

This study examined the presence and visibility of African news in Turkish newspaper publications. A total of 1,460 publications were analyzed, of which 473 included at least one mention of Africa or an African country. Among these, *Akşam* had the highest number of newspapers with African-related articles (147),

followed by *Hürriyet* (124), *Sabah* (119), and *Sözcü* (83). In total, 595 news items mentioning Africa were identified and analyzed across these newspapers. The results are discussed below.

### **News Coverage of Africa**

The study identified 595 news articles about African countries, leaders, and citizens. *Akşam* published the most Africa-related news (208, 35%), followed by *Sabah* (143, 24%), *Hürriyet* (141, 23.7%), and *Sözcü* (103, 17.3%).

Front-page coverage was minimal, with only 7.6% of African news appearing on front pages. *Akşam* had the most front-page stories (24), while *Hürriyet* and *Sabah* had nine each, and *Sözcü* had only three.

Visual representation was prominent, as 97.3% of African news featured photographs depicting events, leaders, or conflict aftermaths. Additionally, 44.4% of African news had large, attention-grabbing headlines, while 55.6% used minor headings.

### **Characteristics of the News and Articles Mentioning Africa**

#### **• Context of Reporting**

The study examined what drives Turkish newspapers to cover Africa and whether they conduct investigative journalism or report on events. It found that only two investigative reports from *Sabah* focused on Africans living in Türkiye, making up just 0.3% of Africa-related news. The remaining 99.7% of coverage was event-driven, covering elections, attacks, and statements by leaders.

#### **• Sources of News**

Turkish newspapers relied on both primary and secondary sources. *Akşam* and *Sabah* used more primary sources, while *Hürriyet* and *Sözcü* relied more on secondary sources. 53.6% of African news used primary sources, mainly leaders and official documents from organizations like the UN and AU. Another 39.5% came from secondary sources, such as other media and news agencies, while 6.9% had no cited sources.

#### **• Breadth of News Coverage**

The study found that African countries were not equally represented. Libya accounted for 42.7% of Africa-related news, followed by Egypt (21.3%), meaning these two countries comprised 64% of coverage. Nigeria and Somalia followed, each with only 4%, while many countries, including Angola, Malawi, and Congo, were barely mentioned.

A significant reporting gap existed between North and Sub-Saharan Africa. North Africa (5 countries) accounted for 67.4% of coverage, while Sub-Saharan Africa (49 countries) received only 31.1%. When looking at news focused on a single country, North Africa's share rose to 68.4%, highlighting an imbalance in Turkish media coverage of Africa.

#### **• News Tone**

The study examined the tone used in Turkish newspapers when reporting on



Africa. It found that the most common tone was neutral, followed by positive and negative tones. A neutral tone appeared in 81.8% of African news, a positive tone in 11.9%, and a negative tone in 6.2%.

When breaking it down by region, North African news had a predominantly neutral tone (84%), with 12.5% positive and 3.5% negative tone. In contrast, Sub-Saharan African news also leaned neutral (79.5%), but it had a higher proportion of negative tone (12.4%) compared to positive tone (8.1%).

An important observation is the differing use of tones in the coverage of North and Sub-Saharan Africa. North African news had a significantly higher percentage of neutral tone (69.6%) than Sub-Saharan Africa (30.4%). Additionally, North Africa received more positive tone coverage (76.9%) than Sub-Saharan Africa (23.1%). In contrast, Sub-Saharan Africa had more of the news reported with a negative tone (62.2%) than North Africa (37.2%).

### Types of News

Numerous social, political, and economic activities occur daily on the African continent; this study investigated which events are reported in Turkish newspapers. The study established eight news categories: economic, political, war and terrorism, health and education, environmental, poverty and hunger, Türkiye-Africa relations, and humanitarian news. News that did not fit into these categories was labeled "other." The study found that 545 (91.6%) of the news about Africa in Turkish newspapers fell into these categories, while the remaining 50 cases (8.4%) were considered invalid. The term "all African news" refers to the valid cases.

**Table 2:** Types of news in Turkish newspapers

Type of News	Newspaper								Total	
	Akşam		Hürriyet		Sabah		Sözcü			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Environmental	6	3.4%	1	0.7%	2	1.5%	3	3,1%	12	2.2%
Economic	13	7.3%	11	8.1%	5	3.7%	6	6,3%	35	6.4%
Humanitarian	12	6.7%	4	2.9%	11	8.1%	0	0%	27	5%
Health and Education	10	5.6%	3	2.2%	1	0.7%	1	1%	15	2.8%
War and terrorism	56	31.5%	27	19.9%	36	26.7%	$\frac{2}{7}$	28,1%	$\frac{14}{6}$	26.8%
Political	52	29.2%	49	36%	32	23.7%	$\frac{3}{1}$	32,3%	$\frac{16}{4}$	30.1%
Türkiye-Africa relations	27	15.2%	41	30.1%	47	34.8%	$\frac{2}{8}$	29,2%	$\frac{14}{3}$	26.2%
Poverty and hunger	2	1.1%	0	0%	1	0.7%	0	0%	3	0.6%
Total	$\frac{17}{8}$	100%	$\frac{13}{6}$	100%	$\frac{13}{5}$	100%	$\frac{17}{8}$	100%	$\frac{54}{5}$	100%

The study found that different Turkish newspapers emphasized various news categories about Africa. Akşam focused more on war and terrorism news, followed by political news and news about Türkiye-Africa relations. Sabah prioritized Türkiye-Africa relations, followed by news of war and terrorism, and political news. Hürriyet and Sözcü gave the most attention to political news, followed by Türkiye-Africa relations, war and terrorism, and other topics.

Political news was the most covered, accounting for 27.6% of African news, followed by war and terrorism news (24.5%) and Türkiye-Africa relations news (24%). Other categories included economic (5.9%), humanitarian (4.5%), health and education (2.5%), environmental (2%), and poverty and hunger (0.5%). The remaining 8.4% fell into unspecified categories.

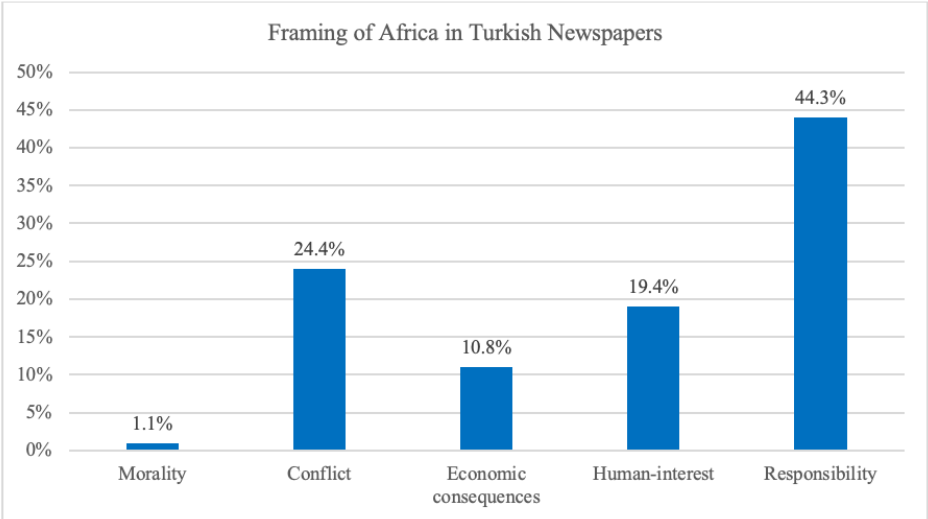


Figure 3: Frames in the news about Africa in Turkish newspapers

Framing in Various News Types

Building on its analysis of how Turkish newspapers generally frame African news, this study examined the distinct framing patterns used for different categories of African news.

The study found that Turkish newspapers predominantly use the responsibility frame when reporting on Africa. This frame was the most frequently applied across various news categories, including Türkiye-Africa relations (78.5%), environmental news (63.6%), health and education news (53.3%), humanitarian news (52%), and political news (50.9%).

The second most prevalent frame was the economic consequences frame, which was used in 90.6% of all economic news. Other notable framing patterns included the human-interest frame, which was dominant in poverty and hunger news (66.7%), and the conflict frame, which accounted for 47.9% of war and terrorism coverage.

Framing patterns varied across different news genres. In environmental news, 63.6% of stories were framed using the responsibility frame, while the remaining 34.4% were framed under the human-interest frame. Economic news was overwhelmingly framed through the economic consequences frame (90.6%), followed by the human-interest frame (6.3%) and the conflict frame (3.1%).

In humanitarian news, 52% of stories were framed using the responsibility frame, 24% using the human-interest frame, 16% using the morality frame, and 8% using the conflict frame. Similarly, health and education news were framed primarily through the responsibility frame (53.3%), followed by the human-interest frame (40%) and the economic consequences frame (6.7%).

Coverage of war and terrorism was framed mostly through the conflict frame (47.9%), with additional use of the human-interest frame (28.8%), the responsibility frame (19.9%), and the economic consequences frame (3.4%). In political news, 51% of stories were framed using the responsibility frame, followed by the conflict frame (37.1%), the human-interest frame (7.5%), and the economic consequences frame (4.4%).

The remaining two genres were framed as follows:

- In Turkiye-Africa relations coverage, 78.5% of stories were framed using the responsibility frame, followed by the economic consequences frame (13.1%), the conflict frame (4.6%), the human-interest frame (3.1%), and the morality frame (0.8%).
- In poverty and hunger coverage, the human-interest frame was the most dominant (66.7%), while the responsibility frame accounted for the remaining 33.3%.

### **Framing between North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa**

One of the goals of this study was to determine whether Turkish newspapers frame North African countries differently from Sub-Saharan African countries. Analysis has found that Turkish newspapers frame North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa differently.

**Table 5:** Framing in North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa

Frame	Region				Total	
	North Africa		Sub-Saharan Africa			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Morality	0	0%	5	2.8%	5	0.9%
Conflict	101	26.4%	37	20.8%	138	24.6%
Economic consequences	48	12.6%	11	6.2%	59	10.5%
Human-interest	42	11%	68	38.2%	110	19.6%
Responsibility	191	50%	57	32%	248	44.3%
Total	382	100%	178	100%	560	100%

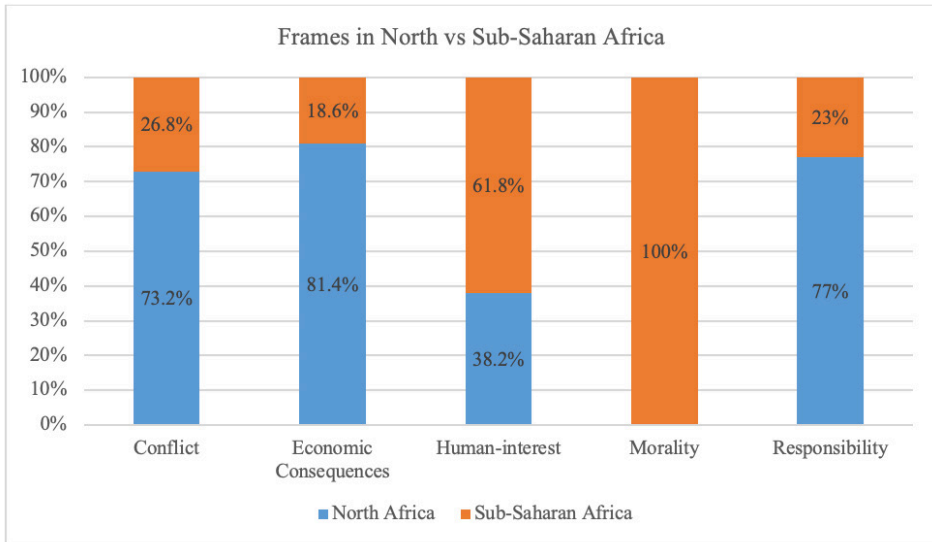
As shown in Table 5, Turkish newspapers predominantly used the responsibility frame when reporting on North Africa, accounting for 50% of all regional news. The conflict frame was the second most common (26.4%), followed by the economic consequences frame (12.6%). The human-interest frame was the least used, appearing in only 11% of news about North African countries.

Interestingly, while the human-interest frame was the least used for North Africa, it was the most frequently applied to Sub-Saharan Africa. Turkish newspapers used this frame in 38.2% of all news covering Sub-Saharan Africa, often portraying people in the region as victims of terrorism and political instability. The responsibility frame was the second most common for Sub-Saharan Africa (32%), followed by the conflict frame (20.8%) and the economic consequences frame (6.2%). The morality frame was the least used; it did not appear in any North African news but accounted for 2.8% of news about Sub-Saharan Africa.

When comparing the representation of North and Sub-Saharan Africa within each frame, North African countries were more prominently featured in the economic consequences, responsibility, and conflict frames. At the same time, Sub-Saharan Africa was more dominant in the morality and human-interest frames. Specifically:

- North African news accounted for 81.4% of coverage in the economic consequences frame, while Sub-Saharan Africa comprised 18.6%.
- North Africa represented 77% of the news in the responsibility frame, while Sub-Saharan Africa accounted for 23%.
- In the conflict frame, 73.2% of the news was about North Africa, while 26.8% focused on Sub-Saharan Africa.
- The morality frame was used exclusively for Sub-Saharan Africa (100%).
- In the human-interest frame, 61.8% of the news focused on Sub-Saharan Africa, while 38.2% covered North Africa.

Figure 4 (below) visually represents the differences in framing between North and Sub-Saharan Africa.



**Figure 4:** The difference in framing between North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa

### Qualitative Analysis

This study used qualitative content analysis to develop more detailed information about Turkish newspapers' frames, scope, and quality of Africa-related news. The topics discovered through qualitative analysis of African news in Turkish newspapers are:

#### The term Africa

This study analyzed the usage and context of the term *Africa* in Turkish newspapers. Two key findings emerged: first, Turkish newspapers predominantly use the term to refer to people and countries in Sub-Saharan Africa; second, they often generalize events and issues from Sub-Saharan Africa as if they were representative of the entire continent.

The study reveals that Turkish newspapers frequently use *Africa* as a synonym for Sub-Saharan Africa, referring to its people as *Africans* and its nations as *African countries*. In contrast, North African countries and peoples are identified by their specific names. For instance, in *Sabah* and *Hürriyet* newspapers of January 31, 2021 the leaders of Senegal and Guinea-Bissau visiting Ankara were mentioned as *African leaders*. In contrast, the leaders of Libya and Egypt are mentioned with their names, titles, and national affiliations. By consistently equating Africa with Sub-Saharan Africa, where the majority of the population is Black, Turkish newspapers reinforce the perception of Africa as a homogenous entity composed solely of Black people. This framing overlooks the continent's diversity and misleads readers about its accurate demographics.

The second issue is Turkish newspapers' tendency to generalize events, problems, and activities occurring in individual African countries, presenting them as if they apply to the entire continent. Notably, this generalization applies only to Sub-Saharan Africa, whereas news related to North African countries is attributed to specific nations. Some headlines make broad generalizations while specifying a country within the article, while others omit the country's name altogether, further reinforcing the notion that the issue affects the entire continent. For example, conflicts in Libya and Somalia are reported differently. While the Libya conflict is headlined as *Conflict in Libya*, the Somalia conflict is described as *Al-Qaeda terror in Africa*. First example is *Hürriyet* newspaper of January 3, 2021 which used the headline *Al-Qaeda terror escalating in Africa* to report on terrorism in Somalia. This pattern extends beyond conflict reporting to areas such as health, education, and humanitarian aid. For instance, the COVID-19 variant discovered in South Africa was labeled as an African *variant* in different Turkish newspapers including *Akşam* newspaper of April 2, 2021. In humanitarian aid reporting, assistance to a specific location is often framed as aid to the entire continent. For example, *Akşam* newspaper of May 1, 2021 headlined a news story about a Turkish organization providing an iftar dinner in a Malian village as *Iftar given in Africa*.

This generalization fosters distorted perceptions of Africa in several ways. First, presenting Africa as a singular entity reinforces the misconception that the continent is a single, homogeneous country. Additionally, framing problems in one or a few African nations as continental issues misrepresents Africa as a whole. For instance, referring to terror in Somalia as *terror in Africa* creates an image of the entire continent as a place of war and terrorism, even though most of its 54 countries have never experienced such conflicts. Similarly, the broad labeling of disease-related news strengthens the stereotype of Africa as a continent of illness. At the same time, the framing of humanitarian aid efforts perpetuates the perception that Africa is universally impoverished and dependent on external assistance. These portrayals are misleading, as they ignore the vast socio-economic diversity across the continent.

### **Quality of News**

This study examined the quality of African news coverage in Turkish newspapers, evaluating accuracy, prioritization, positioning, and depth of information. The findings indicate that African news is not a priority in Turkish newspapers, as the quantitative analysis shows that only 7% of African-related news appears on front pages. Moreover, when such news is published, it is often placed in small headlines and squeezed between other articles with more significant, more prominent headlines, making it easily overlooked.

Overall, the quality of African news in Turkish newspapers is generally satisfactory. However, in some cases, particularly those covering Sub-Saharan Africa, news articles contain inaccuracies and lack essential background information. A clear example is the reporting on the death of Tanzania's leader. *Sabah* newspaper



published this news on March 19, 2021, under COVID-19 updates, without mentioning the leader's name, position, or cause of death. The lack of context and placement under COVID-19 updates created the misleading impression that the leader had died from COVID-19, resulting in a misrepresentation of the event.

Another issue is the presence of factual errors in published news. A notable example is a report in *Akşam* newspaper on January 7, 2021, about a mass killing of citizens in Mali. The article incorrectly described Mali as a country in South Africa, which is an apparent geographical inaccuracy. Such errors suggest either a lack of proper fact-checking and editorial oversight or a limited understanding of African geography among some journalists and editors in Turkish newspapers.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study investigated how Turkish newspapers frame and represent Africa, offering both quantitative and qualitative insights into the tone, structure, and themes of coverage. Drawing on the five generic frames proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), the research reveals that responsibility, conflict, and human-interest frames dominate Turkish media portrayals of Africa, collectively accounting for 88.1% of the framed news items. These findings mirror broader trends in international media, where Africa is frequently covered through narratives of crisis, governance, or humanitarian concern.

Coverage was found to be largely event-driven, focusing on high-profile developments such as elections, conflicts, official visits, and natural disasters. The news tone was predominantly neutral, and coverage relied heavily on primary sources. North African countries such as Libya and Egypt received the most attention, with Sub-Saharan Africa receiving less visibility. News from North Africa was primarily framed through the lens of responsibility and political stability, while Sub-Saharan African news was framed more often using human-interest angles related to conflict and humanitarian issues.

These disparities are likely influenced by Türkiye's geopolitical interests and historical ties, particularly in the Mediterranean and North Africa. The prominence of themes such as the Türkiye–Libya Maritime Border Agreement illustrates how strategic priorities shape editorial decisions.

The study's findings carry broader implications. Media framing not only influences public perceptions but also plays a role in shaping foreign policy discourse. The underrepresentation and fragmented portrayal of Sub-Saharan Africa, in particular, risks reinforcing narrow stereotypes and obscuring the continent's diversity and complexity. Moreover, the reliance on event-based journalism limits the potential for deeper engagement with African societies, voices, and developments.

Future research should expand beyond print media to explore how Africa is framed across digital platforms, television, and social media, where visual framing and interactivity may produce different narratives. Audience reception studies could also provide valuable insights into how Turkish readers interpret and internalize

these representations. Additionally, comparative studies between Turkish and African media could help identify discursive asymmetries and inform efforts to build more balanced transnational narratives.

In conclusion, this study provides a foundational understanding of Africa's portrayal in Turkish print media and highlights the need for more inclusive, diverse, and contextually rich journalism that moves beyond episodic reporting and stereotypical framing.

## REFERENCES

- Abate, B. Y. (2020). The Image of Ethiopia in the Chinese Media: A Case Study of China Global Television Network. *AHBV Akdeniz Havzası ve Afrika Medeniyetleri Dergisi* (AKAF), 2(2), 11-25.
- African Union. (2025). *Member States*. African Union. <https://au.int/sw/node/3678>
- Akşam Newspaper. (2020-2021). *Various news articles published between July 1, 2020, and June 30, 2021*.
- Alrmizan, M. (2019). The Historical Development of the Turkish Press: From Its Beginnings to the Present Day. *King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies* (KFCRIS).
- Atabek, Ü. (2007). İçerik Çözümlemesi İletişim Çalışmalarının Olağan Yöntemi. *Medya Metinlerini Çözümlemek*, Ü. ve G.Ş. Atabek (der.), Siyasal Kitabevi, Ankara. 1-18.
- Bartlett, F. C. (1932). *Remembering: A study in experimental and social psychology*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Bateson, G. (1972). *A theory of play and phantasy: Steps to an ecology of the mind*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Berelson, B. (1952). *Content analysis in communication research*. Free Press.
- Biney, A. (1997). The Western Media and Africa: Issues of Information and Images. *Interstate Journal of International Affairs*, 1996/1997(2).
- Borah, P. (2011). Conceptual issues in framing theory: A systematic examination of a decade's literature. *Journal of Communication*, 61: 246-263.
- Edelman, M. (1993). Contestable categories and public opinion. *Political Communication*, 10(3), 231-242. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.1993.9962981>
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.
- Fairhurst, G. T., & Sarr, R. A. (1996). *The Art of Framing: Managing the Language of Leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

- Fedyk, A. (2018). Front Page News: The Effect of News Positioning on Financial Markets. *Harvard University*. scholar.harvard.edu/files/fedyk/files/afedyk\_frontpagenews.pdf
- Firat, M.Y. (2016). *Türkiye'nin Afrika Açılımı Siyahi Afrika Ülkeleriyle İlişkileri* [Master's Thesis, Ufuk University]. Ulusal Tez Merkez. <https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tezSorguSonucYeni.jsp>
- Ford, J. & King, D. (2015). Coverage and framing of climate change adaptation in the media: A Review of influential North American newspapers during 1993–2013. *Environmental Science and Policy*, 48, 137–146. Doi: 10.1016/j.envsci.2014.12.003
- Gabore, S. M. (2020). Western and Chinese media representation of Africa in COVID-19 news Coverage. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 30:5, 299-316. DOI:10.1080/01292986.2020.1801781
- Gamson, W. & Modigliani, A. (1987). The Changing Culture of Affirmative Action. In R. Braungart (Ed.), *Research in Political Sociology*, Vol. 3 (pp. 137-177). Jai Press, Inc.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The Whole World is Watching: Mass media in the making & unmaking of the new left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Gunn, T. (2020). The Presence of Turkey in Africa: Results and Perspectives. *Stratejik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*. DOI: 10.30692/sisad.712718.
- Hürriyet Newspaper. (2020–2021). *Various news articles published between July 1, 2020, and June 30, 2021*.
- Kaba, A. (2020). Explaining Africa's Rapid Population Growth, 1950 to 2020: Trends, Factors, Implications, and Recommendations. *Sociology Mind*, 10, 226–268. doi:10.4236/sm.2020.104015
- Kerlinger, F.N. (1986). *Foundations of Behavioural Research* (3rd ed). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*, London: Sage.
- Lecheler, Sophie., & De Vreese, Claes H. (2019). *News Framing Effects*. Routledge
- Leedy, P. D., & Ormrod, J. E. (2015). *Practical research. Planning and design* (11th ed.). Malaysia, Pearson.
- Lin, R. (2016). *Framing China's National Image through Film: Chinese Political Films in the 1980s and the 2000s* [Master's thesis, Iowa State University]. Graduate Theses and Dissertations. <https://doi.org/10.31274/etd-180810-5375>

- Matthes, J. (2012). Framing politics: An integrative approach. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56(3), 247–259. doi:10.1177/0002764211426324
- Michira, J. (2002). Images of Africa in the Western Media. *University of Nairobi Research Archive*. <http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/handle/11295/40862>
- Ndinojuo, B.E., Ihejirika, W. C. & Okon, G. B. (2018). "Reinvigorating the Framing Theory: Appraising Reports on Nigerian Military and Boko Haram Insurgency." *International Journal of Media, Journalism and Mass Communications (IJMJMC)*, vol 4, no. 4, pp. 10-19. Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.20431/2455-0043.0404002>
- Neuendorf, K. A. (2017). *The Content Analysis Guidebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA Sage.
- Öner, S. (2011). Türk Basınının İlk Resmî Gazetesi Takvim-İ Vekayi'de Padişah Portresine İlişkin Haberler. *İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi*, 0 (29). <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/iuifd/issue/22860/244098>
- Orakçı, S. (2022). *The Rise of Turkey in Africa*. Alajazeera centre for studies. <https://studies.aljazeera.net/en/analyses/rise-turkey-africa>
- Özgen, M. (2012). Türk Basınının Gelişimine Tarihsel Bir Yaklaşım ve Değerlendirme. *İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi*, 0 (11) <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/iuifd/issue/22878/244556>
- Özkan M. & Akgün B. (2010). Turkey's Opening to Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. Vol. 48, 525-546. DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X10000595
- Palmer, E. (2022). *Africa: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge
- Prasad, B.D. (2008). Content analysis: A method of Social Science Research. In D.K. Lal Das (Ed) *Research Methods for Social Work*, (pp.174–193), New Delhi: Rawat Publications. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.1.1748.1448
- Price, V. & Tewksbury, D. & Powers, E. (1997). Switching Trains of Thought: The Impact of News Frames on Readers' Cognitive Responses. *Communication Research*, 24(5). 481-506.
- Sabah Newspaper. (2020–2021). *Various news articles published between July 1, 2020, and June 30, 2021*.
- Scheufele, B. (2006). Frames, schemata, and news reporting. *Communications*, 31(1), 65–83. doi:10.1515/COMMUN.2006.005
- Scheufele, D. A. & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 9-20.
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), 103-22. DOI:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02784.x

- Semetko H.A. & Valkenburg P. M. (2000). Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News. *Journal of Communication*, pp. 93–109. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2000.tb02843.x>
- Serdalia, B.K., Ashirbekovab, G., Isaevaa, Z., & Adievaa, P.M (2016). Newspaper Headings as a Means of Presenting Priority and Secondary Information. *International Journal of Environmental & Science Education*, Vol. 11, No. 11, 4729-4738.
- Sözcü Newspaper. (2020–2021). *Various news articles published between July 1, 2020, and June 30, 2021*.
- Tankard, J. W. (2001). The empirical approach to the study of media framing. In S. D. Reese, O. H. Gandy & A. E. Grant (Eds.), *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world* (pp.95-106). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: Free Press.
- Türkili, C. (2022). *Role of Media Framing on the Formation of Opinion Concerning Eastern Mediterranean Question*. [Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University]. OpenMETU. <https://hdl.handle.net/11511/95229>
- Vreese, C. H. de. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal*, 13(1), 51–62. Doi: 10.1075/idjdd.13.1.06vre
- Weber, R. (1985). *Basic Content Analysis*. Beverly Hills, CA. Sage.