

How Media Approach And Present Obesity: A Study into Turkish Media

Yasin Bulduklu

Assoc. Prof. Dr., Necmettin Erbakan University, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities,
Public Relations and Advertising Department, Konya, Turkey
ybulduklu@konya.edu.tr

Orhan Gökçe

Prof. Dr., Selcuk University, Faculty of Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences,
Public Administration Department, Konya, Turkey
ogokce@selcuk.edu.tr

Abstract

One of the mediums used to raise awareness of obesity is media and it causes effect on the attitudes of people towards obesity and builds up perception by developing and presenting obesity based content by means of framing method. The way media presents obesity also contributes to the medicalization of obesity and the definition of different approaches in coping with the problem. This study conducted to investigate how the obesity content is presented in media. With this aim, 523 texts dealing with obesity, from 5 national newspapers, were investigated through content analysis method to determine how obesity is dealt with and presented. Content analysis results have shown that causes of obesity as "individual choices and attitudes"(56,1%), "genetic/biologic factors"(18,8%) and "systemic/social conditions" (12,2%). As for the recommendations for the prevention of obesity, "Nutrition/Dieting" (38,2%), "movement and exercise" (19,7%) and "surgical operation" (14,4%) were given.

Key Words: Obesity and media, framing, agenda - setting theory, content analysis, health communication

Introduction

Research into obesity and media has investigated the issue from two points of view: media is the cause of obesity and the way media presents obesity shapes the attitudes to obesity. Long time periods spent on mass media, mainly on television, is often stated to cause obesity particularly among children. Media is also claimed to trigger obesity through inserting commercials or products when building up dieting attitudes and habits. However, it should be noted here that this study mainly deals with the ways media presents the issues related with obesity. In this context, media was considered to contribute to awareness of obesity through the ways it used to present obesity. Medical Science examines obesity in terms of genetic, physiologic and bio-chemical context. Sociology deals with the issue considering the relationship between eating addiction and the consuming society that capitalism envisages. Communication Studies search for an answer to the question how the issue is dealt with and presented in media.

Media is capable of affecting the attitudes, opinions and behaviours of people through the way it presents the events. Particularly, most of the national newspapers have a health section that includes various

topics such as nutrition, obesity and dieting. Media not only presents various ways to contribute to the comprehension of social issues through framing but also directs different types of events. Gusfield (1981), who claimed the social attitudes could be transformed through framing, argued that obesity would be appreciated socially if it were claimed that being fat or overweight was a natural and desirable outcome of biological diversity (as cited in Saguy & Almeling, 2008: 57). Individuals may go into the effort to be healthy, lose weight and remain fit when exposed to this content and similar other messages.

Aim of the Study

The study aimed to contribute to literature on relationship between obesity and media within a context that seeks an answer to the question how obesity is dealt with and presented, i.e. framing, in Turkish media. As such, the broader aim of the study was to investigate how obesity was framed and presented in Turkish media. As for the layout of the study, some short information on theoretical background is going to be presented first and the main question of the study is to be dealt with on this background. Another objective of the study is to compare the findings with the other similar

research. Moreover this study discusses the ways that media leads people to think about obesity. In this context, content analysis method was used considering the point that news texts were to be analyzed (content analysis refers to some principles that should be followed: theoretical framing, questions based on theoretical frame, and assumptions developed out of these questions to be tested. Content analysis is related with “what to do/how to do that” and the design of the study that defines what should be done and how it should be conducted. In other words, content analysis determines the frame of the methodological construction of the study. Content analysis is based on these three components (Berelson, 1952; Krippendorff, 1980; Merten, 1983; Früh, 2000; Gökçe 2006). Kracauer (1952) began to discuss the need for Qualitative Content Analysis, which has attracted a great deal of interest of various works released in recent years. However, Qualitative Content Analysis does not question the basic philosophy of the quantitative approach; rather it emphasizes the qualitative aspect of categorizing. For example, Mayring, stated that *qualitative content analysis aims to analyse the texts systemically in a process by which the categorization system developed on the basis of the theory and the research items are analysed* (Mayring, 2000, 2002). As is seen from the explanation clearly, it is emphasized that categorization, which forms the backbone of Qualitative Content Analysis, is not only a theoretical system but also an inductive approach that predetermines the research material. Various studies conducted through Qualitative Content Analysis have been criticized due to the inefficiencies and defaults in observing the philosophy of the method. The critics related with the issue are mainly related with the conceptualization of the problem; there is no need to do conceptualization through Qualitative Content Analysis (see: Gökçe, 1989; Türkdoğan and Gökçe 2015). Therefore, Qualitative Content Analysis was not used as a conception in this study. Instead, considering the criticisms about the issue, an approach to develop a categorizing system focused on topic and material was adopted).

Literature Review

Obesity has been an important issue in American media particularly since the 1990s. The three reasons that Boero (2014a: 41) gave for this are as follows: obesity is a threat to financial conditions and health; the negative effects of obesity on health is being discussed both as a common sense and a scientific fact; obesity is being depicted in media as a primary problem for both children, minorities and poor people. These reasons are considered as the ways the American media present the problem

According to Nathanson (1999:446), there are three key frames to define public health risks which shape public policy responses: 1) description of the health risks and the subject who was exposed to the problem in terms of voluntariness (i.e., whether the acquisition happened voluntarily or involuntarily); 2) description of population according to whether it includes everybody (universal) who is exposed to risks or not (particular); and 3) description of the risk in terms of whether it is linked to individual responsibility or environmental conditions (as cited in Lawrence, 2004:59). Boero (2014b:125) argued that media dealt with obesity differently in recent times: rather than giving obesity in the frame of will management and self-control, media emphasizes recently that the number of fat people is increasing and obesity is due to medical, genetic, ethical and structural problems. Quite probably, this claim by Boero is based on the medical steps that are now taken in the treatment of obesity. Various medical treatment protocols, mainly the metabolic and surgical operations, have been discussed in media as a solution to obesity.

The research into the relationship between media and obesity mostly deals with how obesity takes place and is introduced in media, shortly how it is dealt with, presented and framed in media (see Lawrence, 2004; Sandberg, 2004; Saguy & Riley, 2005; Saguy & Almeling, 2008). The main argument of these studies is that media is an important factor in building up perception of a problem among people and thus it can be integrated into the fight against diseases and public health services.

Saguy and Almeling (2008) examined 20 scientific articles, 8 press releases and 120 news texts published in Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA) without referring to scientific data and concluded that obesity was presented a crisis with words recalling “epidemic” or “war”, and that individuals were blamed for being obese through the dramatized texts. Inability to manage self-control and excessive food consumption were argued as reasons for obesity in the context of “individual responsibility”, along with the systemic reasons and genetic properties.

In a study on the framing of the news in New Zealand, Jenkin and et al. (2011) found that obesity was framed in three causal frames: individual will power and lifestyle choices; inactivity/sedentary lifestyle; malnutrition based on low nutrition and high energy (e.g., fast-food and junk food consumption).

Maheshwar and Rao (2012) conducted a study into the framing of obesity in Indian national newspapers and found that a third of the news texts presented obesity as “a health risk” and 27% of them framed it as “a kind of appearance problem”.

A study conducted by Yüksel et al. (2014) into the casual framing of the news in newspapers revealed that individual /behavioural factors took place as the first while biological / genetic factors 24, 6% were placed as the second.

In a very important study that argued media frames obesity as a biological disease that can be comprehended and treated by medical and pharmaceutical industry, Lawrence (2004) examined how the news in media was framed between the years 1985 and 2003 using the content analysis method on the New York Times sample. Starting off the first legal case that claimed fast-food industry in 2001, Lawrence analyzed 136 texts released in media in the years between 2000 and 2002 in terms of the causes and recommendations for obesity, and found that the number of the statements in the news that emphasized the role of individual responsibility in obesity increased in accordance with the rise in the claims that blamed unhealthy food for causing obesity. In addition, it was found that a new framing was needed to drive authorities into action as obesity posed a health risk for everybody. In the study, the risks were grouped as structural/systematic risks, voluntary/involuntary risks and risks for all. The causes for obesity in media were listed as 1) Biological reasons, 2) Behavioral reasons and 3) Systemic reasons (Lawrence, 2004: 67).

De Brún et al. (2015) analysed the news texts in the web site of a television channel, local and national radios (N=368) along with 5 talk-show programs and 346 newspaper texts and revealed that the reasons for obesity as “self-control”, “system and late capitalism”, “genetic codes”, and “psychological structure”. The researchers also concluded that obesity caused physical and psychological diseases and economical and social problems.

This study was based on the Agenda Setting Theory (McCombs and Shaw, 1984) and Framing Theory (Dearing and Rogers 1996) and assumed that media significantly affects and shapes perception of the topics on the public agenda. These approaches argue that media creates a perception frame on what issues are important and influences the way people think through creating an agenda and defining the topics in it. Media builds up a new reality through the events and topics (Gökçe, 1988; Gökçe et al. 2004). Media does not take them into the agenda in all aspects; instead it chooses and emphasizes some of them while disregarding others consciously. This process is called framing scientifically (Dearing and Rogers, 1996). Framing means presenting the issues with some aspects in order to take the attention of the public. In this way, media defines the issues, determines the assumptions

and directs the discussions related with them (Noelle-Neumann, 1980).

Methodology

The study was conducted in the following methodology which was composed of the method, sampling group, research questions, coding form details and research questions.

Limitations of the study

The study is confined to the dates between 01 April 2015 and 31 March 2016, and the health content in the newspaper inserts was not included. It is also confined to analysing only the media agenda. The public agenda and policy agenda were not included in the study.

Research Questions

The broader aim of the study was to find an answer to the question how obesity was dealt with and presented in the national press in Turkey. As it is not easy to get an answer to this question generally, the following sub questions based on theory were developed.

RQ1. How does media deal with the issue of obesity?

RQ1.1. How frequently does media make obesity an issue?

RQ1.2. How does media relate obesity to other issues (nutrition, movement, biological factors, etc.)?

RQ1.3. Does the way media deals with the obesity vary according to seasons?

RQ1.4. Does media link obesity to a certain group or gender?

RQ2. How does media present obesity contents?

RQ2.1. What aspects of obesity (aesthetic, beauty, causes, results or effects) are highlighted by media?

RQ2.2. Does media relate obesity to individual or social behaviours (nutrition, movement/sport, eating habit, etc.)?

RQ2.3. Does media give any tangible advice or recommendations on how to prevent obesity (doctor, health institution, etc.)?

The Method of the Study

The method of the study is content analysis. In the light of the sufficient amount of information about content analysis (see. Gökçe, 2006), how the method was used and particularly how the categorizing system

was formed were presented here, rather than explanatory description of the method.

Sampling Group

In accordance with the aim of the study, the printed media web sites' in Turkey was considered as the population of the study. Considering the very large range of the population, sampling group was formed. According to the information about the circulation of daily national newspapers, the top five newspapers¹ (respectively: Hürriyet: 344.404; Sabah: 307.599; Posta: 305.169; Sözcü: 283.679 and Habertürk: 201.228) were chosen and obesity related news in their web sites were included in the study as sample of the study. The assumption that the number of the newspaper readers indicates the readability of the websites played role in determining the sample. The findings that support this assumption are in accord with data showing the most frequently visited websites and presented by alexa². Health sections in websites, along with the printed forms which also have health sections, the circulation numbers and at what order they are in the list of visited websites played role in determining the five newspapers as sample.

Obesity related news released on these newspapers between the dates April, 1, 2015 and March, 31, 2016 is the working population of this study. As such, all the texts about obesity or those that involved some information about obesity were defined as analysing unit/text and analysed through a two-step coding form.

Categorizing System

Categorizing system was conducted in two stages. Firstly, considering, the concepts/categories related with the research question were formed in the light of the finding of the previous studies. Secondly, all the materials to be analysed were revised and some changes and additions were made in the definitions and categorizing system. The texts linked to categories and found to be valid in sampling were used to determine the limits of categories, and thus categories were defined separately, by which coding was completed. Coding was made according to the coding form (Appendix-1). Codes were developed by the researchers themselves. Also, a group of health experts and the two researchers worked together to determine the final form of the codes in the case of probable ambiguity, and the settled codes were chosen to be used in the research. The ambiguous codes that cannot be agreed upon were omitted.

Coding Form

Two different coding forms were developed and applied independently in order to analyse the news related with obesity in media. The first form was related with the schematic properties of the news texts, such as titles, resources, pages, etc. The second coding form was related with thematic properties, the content of the news texts, and aimed to determine what issues obesity is linked with. The health experts and the researchers worked together to determine what texts were related with the research topic directly, and 523 texts were chosen to be analysed in.

Findings

The findings obtained from the content analysis of the texts, conducted in accordance with the aims of the study, are presented in separate headings below.

The findings as to the frequency of the news related with the issue in media

The quantitative data related with how frequently the obesity related texts took place in the sample newspapers and in what type of media they were placed are given in the Table 1.

¹ See. www.gazetetirajlari.com

² See. <http://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries/TR>

Table1 *The number and percentage of the texts according to the type of media*

Media	Number	Percentage
Habertürk	155	29,6
Sözcü	127	24,3
Posta	107	20,5
Hürriyet	76	14,5
Sabah	58	11,1
Total	523	100,0

The data in the table indicates that 53, 9% of the news was released only in two newspapers (Habertürk and Sözcü). Considering the data given by Alexa that Habertürk and Sözcü had lower level of circulation than Sabah and Hürriyet and their websites were not visited so frequently as those of Sabah and Hürriyet, it is obvious that there was a reverse relation between the number of reader visits and the obesity

related news texts. It could be argued that the newspapers editors of more widely read newspapers acted cautiously in choosing the obesity news for the reason that the news might be controversial or commercial particularly in the time when obesity is becoming more medicalized (with more health opportunities).

Table 2 *The distribution of the news texts according to the months*

Months	Number	Percentage
February	57	10,9
October	55	10,5
November	52	9,9
January	51	9,8
December	51	9,8
March	46	8,8
August	46	8,8
May	39	7,4
April	37	7,1
September	33	6,3
June	29	5,5
July	27	5,2
Total	523	100,0

The data in the Table 2 shows that obesity related news took place in the newspapers mostly in winter months with 30,5 %. As for summer months, the ratio of the obesity news in the sample newspapers was 19,5%, which seems surprising at first sight. Considering the assumption that aesthetics concerns rise in summer, the same might be expected in the amount of obesity

content in the news as well. However, as is seen in the Table 2, the frequency of obesity related news is at the lowest level in summer months.

The Schematic Presentation of Obesity

The findings related with the schematic properties of the analysed content in the news texts (the section, size, visual images, anonymity of the writer, the resource people) were presented and discussed in this part of the study.

Table 3 *The images used along with the news*

Image Topic	Number	Percentage
Women	170	32,5
Men	64	12,2
Food	44	8,4
Children	42	8,0
No Image	39	7,5
Human Masses	35	6,7
Surgery or Surgery Staff (giving information about the issue)	35	6,7
Animation/Picture/Graphic	21	4,0
Drinks	15	2,9
Instruments	12	2,3
Nature/Environment/Buildings	8	1,5
Medicine	7	1,3
Babies	7	1,3
Organs	6	1,1
Famous People	5	1,0
Couples	5	1,0
Women-Man Together	4	,8
Family	2	,4
Animal	2	,4
Total	523	100,0

Women were used as image in nearly a third of obesity news texts. Although male images came after them as the second, a great difference (nearly threefold) was found between their ratios in favour of women. The number three in the list was the food images, which were presented either something that should be avoided to maintain health or something that should be used to fight against obesity. The food used as images was usually found to be pastry. As for the children images, they were

used particularly in the warnings against energy drinks and fast food dieting, and boys were used more than girls as images in the news. The news without any images was usually about scientific research results/reports or columns. The photograph of the column writer was not taken into account as image in this study. In general, all the newspapers in this study were found to use different sorts of content with similar images repeatedly.

Table 4 According to the origin of the news

The Origin of The Texts	Number	Percentage
View/Evaluation/Comment	258	49,33
Scientific Research Findings/Reports	113	21,61
News	57	10,90
Personal Obesity Experience	40	7,65
Reports/Information(NGOs/Authorities/Institutions)	28	5,35
Research or Information based on WHO or International Health Organizations	13	2,49
Data from TÜİK (Turkish Statistical Institute)	10	1,91
Interviews	4	,76
Total	523	100,0

Nearly half of the 523 news texts analysed in the study (49,33%) were written as view/evaluation/comment and they were not based on any scientific data, research finding or explanation. The second origin in the list was scientific research findings (21,61%) but most of the research was conducted as presentations without evidence. In other words, only a fifth of the texts were based on evidence while nearly half of them were not. The “News” category (10,90%), which was defined as a way of transmitting developments in content presentation, and “Personal Obesity Experience” (7,65), which had the individual’s

obesity history, took up rather less space than the first two categories. In the study it was found that information about obesity, a very significant problem for both individuals and societies, was given in the news without any evidence, in different types of applications, and with different recommendations. These recommendations, which threatened individual and collective health, were given by different experts for various reasons and motives. Presenting the content without any reliable reference and sound evidence could be regarded as a result of the deficiencies in the inspection of the Internet.

Table 5 According to the writer of the news

News Writer	Number	Percentage
Anonymous	311	59,5
Agency (Public)	62	11,9
Women	61	11,7
Agency (Private)	50	9,6
Men	34	6,5
Agency (Foreign)	5	1,0
Total	523	100,0

The name of the writer was not given in more than half of the obesity news (59,5%). The newspapers also did not give any writer names in the news released by the agencies. Since they just gave the name of the agency, the data related with agencies were analysed as public and private agencies. Health decision makers should be concerned about how and why the news that might cause significant outcomes in people’s lives could be given without referring to its writer. The larger proportion that women had in the obesity related content (images, target audience, population) could be seen in the Table 5 and Table 13.

11,1 % of all the news texts and 28, 8% of the news with writer names were women. The percentage of male writers was 16%. As for the professions of the participants, most of the males were doctors and nearly all of the females were newspaper writers. This finding suggests that women were related with obesity news as a writer, a member of target population, the affected side and a content material. On the other hand, males were usually in the position of adviser, consultant, expert and speaker.

The thematic presentation of obesity

In this part of the study, the findings related with themes in the news texts, the ways they were presented,

and the causes and effects related with the frame were presented and discussed.

Table 6 *The themes involved in or related with the news*

Themes	Number	Percentage
Reflects	474	90,6
Does not reflect	13	2,5
Reflects the opposite	13	2,5
Reflects partly	23	4,4
Total	523	100,0
According to the theme of the news		
Risk/Threat	74	14,1
Warning/ Alerting	69	13,2
Improving Health/Preventing Diseases	61	11,7
Precaution/Recommendation	60	11,5
Problem Definition / Informing	45	8,6
Introducing or Informing about a New Application/Technique/Product	39	7,5
Outcomes	36	6,9
Causes	32	6,1
Advertising	24	4,6
Related with Appearance	20	3,8
Contradictory Recommendation/ Opinion/Application	16	3,1
Organ Loss / Related with Death	12	2,3
Shocking/Sensational Statements	11	2,1
Personal Experience	10	1,9
Diet Introduction	7	1,3
Famous Person Related	3	,6
Sport Recommendation	2	,4
Sexuality	2	,4
Total	523	100,0

As for treating obesity, it was found that 14,1% of the news dealt with obesity as a risk or threat to health. The 13,2% of the news highlighted the warning against it. Generally, a quarter of the news was interested in the health outcomes of obesity and dealt with obesity in the context of Risk/Threat.

Table 7 *Obesity and related problems*

The Other Problem (Related)	Number	Percentage
Risk for Disease / Health Problem	154	23,9
Dieting	153	23,7
Just Obesity	138	21,4
Inactivity (Sedentary Lifestyle)	54	8,4
Cancer	28	4,3
Technology	27	4,2
Stress/ Personal/Psychological State	24	3,7
Aesthetics and Beauty	23	3,6
Social Problems	14	2,2
Genital Health	9	1,4
Social Life/Definition	8	1,2
Bad Habits	7	1,1
Family	6	,9
Total	645	100,0

This table shows that an ordinary newspaper reader came across the obesity issue at least once or a few times a week. The press usually associated the obesity with such problems as “disease/health problem”, “dieting”, and “movement”. The obesity alone was seen in a fifth of the news with 138 news texts (%21,4), in which obesity was dealt with in its general meaning and the situation was determined. The rest of the news, which nearly corresponded to 80%, obesity was

presented in the frame of the causes and results, or the relationship between obesity and dieting, movement, etc. However, it could also be seen that obesity was associated with disease/health problem” and “dieting” rather than “inactivity” (Table 7). These findings suggest that media framed obesity in terms of health perspective, which made it more and more medicalized. In this study, it was found that obesity was framed in the context of disease reason, risk factor and lack of movement.

Table 8 *The reasons for obesity*

Reasons	Number	Percentage
Irregular Dieting Habits/Malnutrition	227	36,5
Sedentary Lifestyle	122	19,6
Biological/Genetic Factors	117	18,8
Systemic/Social Conditions	76	12,2
Media/Technology/Digital Developments	35	5,7
Psychological Factors	12	1,9
Family-Friend Environment	12	1,9
Drugs/Treatments	11	1,8
Result of a Disease	10	1,6
Total	622	100,0

The total number of the reasons (622) reported in the texts was more than the number of the texts (400) about them, which indicated that 1,5 reason took place in each text on average. The reason for this difference was that at least two reasons were given in some of the texts. The mostly cited reason for obesity was “irregular dieting habits and malnutrition” (%36,5), which

corresponded to a third of all the texts. This category was followed by “Sedentary Lifestyle” (19,6%). Considering that “dietary habits” and “sedentary lifestyle” are individual choices and personal attitudes/preferences, it could be seen that the total ratio of these two reasons took up a larger place than half of all the reasons (56,1%) in the table. This finding

suggests that media presented obesity related content from the perspective of the individual responsibility, and highlighted the individual choices that led to obesity.

Table 9 *The relation between obesity and malnutrition*

Malnutrition Type	Number	Percentage
None	296	56,6
Diet Based on Excessive Calorie and Energy	93	17,7
Irregular/Unbalanced Dieting	62	11,9
Instant/Processed/Industrial Food (Sausages/Salami/Corn Syrup, etc.)	33	6,3
Junk-food/Fast-food	27	5,2
Fizzy/Alcoholic Beverages	7	1,4
Not Consuming Liquid	5	,9
Total	523	100,0

Irregular dieting/malnutrition was dealt with as the main reason for obesity in 227 news texts, and in 93 of them, consuming excessive calories and energy was the mostly cited cause with 40,97% share. In 62 of them (27,3%) irregular/unbalanced dieting statement was used and no specific item was referred to. Instant, processed and industrial food (sausages/salami/corn

syrup, etc.) was also considered to cause obesity because 14,5% of 227 news texts were about this type of food. The ratio of the junk-food and fast food dieting in the list of the malnutrition based obesity was 11,9%. These findings revealed that a specific product was considered responsible in the relationship between obesity and malnutrition.

Table-10 *The results of obesity*

What is the result of obesity?	Number	Percentage
Disease Risk	251	47,4
Decline in the Quality of Life	84	15,8
Unhealthy Societies	70	13,2
Unattractive Appearance	60	11,3
Negative Psychological Results (Depression /Humiliation/Unpopularity)	26	4,9
Eating Disorders	21	4,0
Economic Links	12	2,3
Positive Results	6	1,1
Total	530	100,0

More than one result was discussed in some of the 430 news texts about obesity, which is why the number of the results was more than that of the texts. Out of totally 530 results cited in the news, 47,4% highlighted the link between obesity and disease risk. In other words, nearly half of the content framed obesity

in association with a cause to disease. This finding was in accordance with the frame of Lawrence (2004) who defined obesity as "a risk and a risk for everyone".

Table 11 *The findings presented as precautions or recommendations for obesity*

Precautions or Recommendations	Number	Percentage
Eating Habits/Dieting	245	38,2
Movement/Exercises	126	19,7
Surgical Operation (Metabolic Surgery/Stomach Surgery, etc.)	92	14,4
Changing Lifestyles/Habits/Behaviours	59	9,2
Making Systemic/Social/Cultural Changes	58	9,0
Leading People to Get Health Service/Treatment/Doctor Assistance	47	7,3
Leading People to Sell Product/Service	10	1,5
Avoiding Alternative Medicine	4	,6
Total	641	100,0

The finding that 38,2% of 641 recommendations were in the “Eating Habits/Dieting” category is compatible with the reasons presented in individual choices/behaviours category (see: Table 8). Seeing that the reasons for obesity were given as individual choices, it is not surprising that the recommendations were mostly individual oriented. In addition, the second recommendation “movement/exercises” was also in accordance with the findings related with the reasons for obesity. However,

what might be considered surprising was that “surgical operation” came the third in the list of recommendations with a quite a high ratio (14,4%).

The findings related with the target and the tone of the content

The study investigated what type of audience was addressed and what tone was used in the obesity related news. The results of the analysis were presented in the tables below:

Table 12 *According to the target*

Target	Number	Percentage
Everyone	202	38,6
The Obese	145	27,7
Children and Teenagers	82	15,7
All Adult Women	30	5,8
Specific Disease Sufferers	29	5,5
Babies	7	1,3
Another Society/Nation	7	1,3
All Adult Men	6	1,1
The Pregnant	4	,8
The Old	3	,6
The Famous	2	,4
None	2	,4
Specific Local Area Residents (Domestic)	2	,4
The Poor	1	,2
Sedentary Workers	1	,2
Total	523	100,0

Obesity is defined as a health risk that threatens majority of people. The analysis carried out with an aim to find out the target audience revealed that 38,6% of the texts appealed to everybody while 27,7% of

them addressed to the obese. In the light of the previous findings, it could be suggested that the obese were encouraged to resort to medical treatment or surgical operation. The high percentage of the content that

addressed to children and teenagers (15,7%) was contrary to the expectations, but it was thought that the previously discussed 35 news texts about the negative effects of technology on obesity (see: Table 8) might have led to this outcome. The content that addressed to women was found to be five times higher than the content that addressed to men, which revealed that women were both the target and the content of the

frame. It could be suggested from the finding that selling a product or service related with obesity might be aimed this way. Also, specific disease sufferers, mainly the diabetics, were addressed in the texts by 5,5%. In the light or the data in the table, it could be said that the first group in the target audience list was the obese, and children and teenagers were targeted with an aim to prevent obesity through obesity related news texts.

Table 13 *The tone of the news*

Tone	Number	Percentage
Informative/Reporting	297	53,8
Dramatizing/Emotional	94	17
Terrifying	70	12,7
Narrative	34	6,2
Commentary	24	4,3
Opinion of Expert/Authority/Representative	15	2,7
Comparative	14	2,6
Interview	4	0,7
Total	552	100,0

In the categorization of the Informative/reporting tone, the researchers took into consideration how obesity was defined and in what ways the causes and results of obesity were discussed. One of the interesting findings of the study was that objective discourse was the first in the list and it was used in more than half of the texts (%53,8), which differed from some findings in literature (Saguy & Almeling, 2008). In the discourse analysis conducted by Saguy and Almeling (2008, p. 57), it was found that obesity was presented as a crisis situation without any scientific data. Saguy and Almeling also found that in the presentation of the obesity related news, the content was dramatized with such terms as “epidemic” or “war”, which might recall different connotations. In our study, the presentation of the content in dramatizing tone was the second in the list by 16,3%. Terrifying tone, which was considered to provoke people to go into action with words like “fatal, inevitable end, vital harm, irreparable loss, etc.”, was categorized separately from Dramatizing/Emotional tone in this study. As for the Dramatizing/Emotional category, the statements that made obesity more tangible were taken into analysis (enemy, war, crisis, isolation from society, epidemic and emotional effect transmitted by that epidemic, huge, enormous, etc.).

Conclusion and discussion

Based on agenda setting and farming theory, this study was focused on the way how media present obesity news. It was concluded that although media paid

a significant amount of attention to obesity, it was not as sufficient as it should be. Moreover the fact that the two newspapers with a high circulation paid less attention to the obesity problem confirmed this result (see: Table 1). RQ1.1 were answered with the findings that newspapers with high circulation dealt with the obesity problem less frequently while the others with less circulation paid much more interest in it. It was also found in the study that there was a relationship between the seasons and the presentation of the news about obesity (see: Table 2). As an answer to RQ1.3, which was about whether the way media dealt with the issues varied according to seasons or not, it was found that the obesity news took more place in winter and autumn compared with less content in summer. It was not possible to explain in the scope of this research why media paid less attention to obesity related news in summer months.

Significant finding of this research was that nearly half of the obesity news had no reference. The views of people who expressed their opinions about the issue were cited anonymously. It was also found that even the ones using references such as statistics and scientific evidence did not mention the year or the institutions the research was conducted in. While nearly half of the obesity news presented by an expert without any evidence, the ratio of the news with evidence was nearly a fifth of the all data category. Such as Saguy and Riley’s (2005), this finding might suggest that frames were constructed with an aim to direct people to surgical operation, and health service, through the content that

presented intervention as a reliable way to get rid of obesity. On the other hand the finding that nearly half of the news and content was presented without writer's name could be interpreted as a result of insufficient control on the Internet as well as the lack of evidence. Another finding was that the content was presented in a threatening or alarming discourse and obesity was defined as a preventable disease (See: Table 6). In this context, obesity is presented as a risk factor that causes chronic diseases. This result was supported with the findings of similar study conducted by Saguy and Riley (2005).

The analysis which were based on the RQ2.1 and carried out to investigate the relationship of obesity with other problems revealed that the media usually linked obesity with other "disease/health problem", "dieting" (see: Table 7). Some other findings of the study (see: Table 8) were similar to those of previous research (Lawrence, 2004; Saguy & Almeling, 2008; Jenkin et al. 2011; Yüksel et al. 2014; De Brún et al. 2015) into such reasons for obesity as biologic reasons (genetic or physical tendency, biologic disorder), behavioural reasons (consuming excessive fat or calories, unhealthy eating habits, lack of exercise, and personal responsibilities), and systemic reasons (insufficient or incorrect information about nutrition and dieting). In addition to these findings in literature, this study also found that "technologic/digital developments" caused obesity as well. For the answer to the RQ2.2. "Does media relate obesity to individual or social behaviours (nutrition, movement/sport, eating habit, etc.)?", it could be said that obesity was respectively discussed in the context of personal (behavioural), biologic-genetic and systemic factors, which was supported by the findings of Yüksel et al. (2014). Similarly, Saguy and Almeling (2008) and Boero (2014b) found that "individual responsibility" was the mostly referred reason discussed in the context of insufficient self-control that led to rise in food consumption and systemic reasons came after that as the second and genetic reasons as the third. These findings and literature review showed that media organizations present obesity issue as a matter of individual choice.

Our study differed from Saguy and Almeling (2008) and Boero (2014b) in that biologic/genetic factor were the second in the list of mostly used framing in presenting obesity. It was concluded that the frame based on the role of individual responsibility in obesity increasingly became widespread, and thus people were directed to consume health service. Nearly a third of the news related with the reason of the obesity was found to present the issue in the frame of dietary habits. These result carried out to find an answer to RQ1.2; The mostly cited reasons of obesity were the consumption of

excessive fat and calories, irregular/unbalanced dieting, and the fast-food and junk-food eating habits. Even though this kind of dieting might seem to be related with individual eating habits Lawrence (2004) discussed the problem in the frame of systemic reasons, arguing that the reason why obesity was linked with malnutrition was the presentation of a specific group of food as the culprit of obesity. Similarly, it was found in this study that the reason for obesity was framed in the consumption of a certain food group (see Table 8).

As for the results of obesity, it was found that "disease risk" was a prominent framing compared to others. This finding was supported with similar studies (Lawrence, 2004; Maheshwar & Rao, 2012; Saguy & Riley, 2005), which suggested that individuals were directed to get more medical service through the media influence.

It was revealed that media usually presented obesity content to all people. As the analysis was class-based, it was found that the content usually addressed the obese. Also, as an answer to the RQ1.4 "Does media link obesity to a certain group or gender?" it was found that media firstly addressed obese people and secondly women when presenting obesity content.

The analysis carried out to find an answer to RQ2.3. "Does media give any tangible advice or recommendations on how to prevent obesity?" revealed that the texts involved at least one recommendation for prevention of obesity. The first recommendation was related with dietary habits, and it was followed by movement/sports (see: Table 11). The other following suggestions, "Surgical Operation and "Health Service, Treatment/Doctor Direction" were more medical service oriented and had 21,7% ratio together. This finding, which was in accordance with the results of some studies in literature (Pasquali, 2009; Ehmig 2009), could be considered as a framing done to medicalize media content.

An interesting other finding in the study was that obesity was framed in the context of aesthetics and beauty at a low level, which is not supported with the international research findings. According to the findings of international research, obesity was associated with aesthetics and beauty at 10-15% level (Pasquali, 2009: 128).

In the framing of obesity through presentation, "informative/reporting" tone was used in more than half of the content. While according to Saguy and Almeling (2008) the dominant tone was dramatizing, the findings of this study revealed that informative and reporting tone was mostly used. Another interesting finding in the study was that the content was presented without giving evidence. This finding was similar to the result of the content analysis conducted by Saguy and Almeling

(2008: 57) who found that obesity was framed as a crisis state without giving any scientific reference.

Differing from the previous research in literature, this study found that the percentage of the framing that obesity might cause negative psychological disorders was low. Lastly, it was a significant finding that media lead people to medical services. This is also called as medicalization. The increase of the

medicalization statements in the media content raises the question whether there is a relationship between medical health care and media contents in general. Obesity contents in media are not generally informative. Moreover these contents are lack of public responsibility. It seems that this issue requires further studies in the context of health communication and public interest.

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