

**EUROPEANIZATION OF TURKISH MEDIA: HOW ARE THE EUROPEAN
UNION RELATED DEVELOPMENTS COVERED IN TURKISH
NEWSPAPERS?**

by

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**A Thesis Submitted to the
Graduate School of Social Sciences
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of**

Master of Arts

in

International Relations

Koç University

January 2010

Graduate School of Social Sciences

This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a master's thesis by

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ABSTRACT

In this study I examine the extent to which elements of Europeanization are present in the Turkish media. Europeanization in media means going beyond predominant national discourses, developing similar perspectives and having similar levels of attention and similar amounts of news coverage on the developments about the European Union. It also refers to fulfilling the responsibility of providing an adequate flow of information about the EU related news.

While there are numerous analyses of Europeanization of member states' media in the related literature, a comparable analysis of the Turkish media is lacking. This study aims to fill this gap with a comparative analysis of Turkish dailies' coverage of two key events: the first case is directly related to Turkey's EU accession process (partial freezing of negotiation talks in 2006), the second case is a general EU development (Lisbon Treaty). I conducted a quantitative analysis on the related news and columns of six Turkish dailies within the specified time periods. This analysis reveals that Europeanization trend is only observed in the first case, whereas a prominent development about the future of the EU cannot find any place in the news. Furthermore, while news contents are similar, the same issue is reflected differently in

newspapers depending on their ideology and pro / anti government stances. Besides, newspapers do not provide sufficient information about the EU related issues except when the issue is related to Turkey's own EU agenda.

Keywords: Europeanization, European Public Sphere, Media, Turkish Press.

ÖZET

Bu çalışmada, Türk medyasında Avrupalılaşıma'yı incelemekteyim. Avrupalılaşıma, hakim ulusal söylemlerin bir adım ötesine geçerek, Avrupa Birliği meselelerinde benzer perspektifler geliştirip, AB haberlerine benzer seviyelerde ilgi göstermek ve benzer haber içeriklerine sahip olmak şeklinde yorumlanabilir. Avrupalılaşıma, aynı zamanda medyanın AB ile ilgili gelişmeler hakkında okuyucuya doğru bilgi akışı sağlamak ve gerekli bilgiyi verebilme görevini de yerine getirebilmesidir.

Literatürde, AB medyasındaki durumla ilgili çeşitli çalışmalar bulunmaktadır. Bu tez ise, Türk medyası ile ilgili benzer bir araştırmanın literatürdeki eksikliğini gidermeyi ve Türk medyasındaki mevcut durumu resmetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Savunmamı belirlediğim iki olayı inceleyerek karşılaştırmalı bir analiz şeklinde sunuyorum. Seçtiğim ilk olay, direkt olarak Türkiye'nin AB üyeliğini ilgilendiren bir gelişme (sekiz müzakere faslıının 2006'da geçici olarak kapatılması) ve ikincisi ise 2007'de onaylanan Lizbon Anlaşması'dır. Her iki olayı da, altı farklı gazetede belirli zaman aralıklarında yayımlanan ilgili haber ve makale içerikleri üzerinden incelediğim araştırmada şu sonuç ortaya çıkmaktadır: Avrupalılaşıma, benzer ilgi, odaklanılan konular ve haber sayısı açısından ilk olayda gözlemlenebilirken, Avrupa'nın geleceğini etkileyecek derecede önemli bir gelişme, Türk medyasında kendine neredeyse hiç yer bulamamaktadır. Bunun yanısıra, içerikler ve haberin nasıl yorumlandığı, gazetelerin ideolojik yaklaşımları ve hükümete yönelik görüşlerine göre belirgin farklılıklar göstermektedir. Ayrıca, gazetelerde müzakere fasıllarının kapatılması ile ilgili yeterli bilgi verilirken, genel AB gelişmeleri ve Lizbon

Anlařması ile bilgi verilmemektedir. Bu da AB ile ilgili geliřmelerin ulusallařtırılması olarak yorumlanabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupalılařma, Avrupa Kamusal Alanı, Medya, Trk Basını.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

After coming almost to the end of a long and challenging road and after writing more than a hundred of pages, I couldn't imagine that, writing this part would be the most difficult part of my thesis. Because it is very difficult to write down my feelings and express my gratefulness to all those who encouraged me from the very beginning till now.

First of all, I would like to express my deep gratitude and thank to Assistant Professor Bahar Rumelili, who believed in me and gave the biggest support to me. The idea of doing a research about my present topic came out after preparing a paper for her lecture in my first year at Koç University. Since that time, she provided me an ultimate guidance with her wisdom, helped me systematize my research and facilitated everything each time I felt things were getting complicated. Not only being my thesis advisor, she also became an adviser for me in many other aspects as well. I am very honoured to be her student and I am very thankful to her for her priceless contribution to my thesis.

My sincere thanks also go to Professor Fuat Keyman, who was so kind to accept being my second thesis advisor. When I first shared the idea of writing my thesis on this topic with him, he welcomed my opinions and he motivated me to go one step further. Apart from being my thesis advisor, he contributed so much to my individual development as well. I believe being his student is a unique opportunity and I am grateful to him for being in my thesis committee.

I am deeply thankful to Dr. Esra Arsan as well, who didn't decline my request and became my third thesis advisor. I was her student when I was at Istanbul Bilgi University and I was always impressed by her successful teaching and her charisma. I am still making use of what she taught me in her lectures and she provided a very valuable contribution for my thesis as well. Her article and the sources she advised me became some of the building stones of my study.

I would also like to thank to my long time friends, who were always the best and gave me endless support during this whole process. My thanks especially go to Esra Eseroğlu, my beloved companion in both Bilgi and Koç and Zehra Badak who became my permanent studying- partner and my motivator.

I am very thankful to David Neylan, too, for encouraging me and also for giving his valuable time and editing my thesis.

And my family... I feel greatly indebted to my father Zafer Birişik, my mother Fatma Birişik and my brother Can Birişik for all the support they gave to me. I always felt their endless love and they always trusted me, even at times I couldn't trust myself...

And my final words... When my mother had health problems years ago, I couldn't go to school and she was very upset that couldn't complete my thesis while I was about to graduate with an honorary degree. Today, I have her in my life and this time I am able to complete my thesis, and because of that, I would like to dedicate my thesis to her...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Question

The concept of the “European Public Sphere” (EPS) has emerged as a prominent subject of discussion in related literature as well as in popular debates regarding the future of the European Union and the European integration. Efforts toward integrating with Europe are sometimes regarded as an elite-driven or top-down process, rather than a common platform for all citizens to discuss political and cultural issues. Furthermore, the lack of an EPS can also be considered as a cause of the democratic deficit in the EU. In the EU context, there are two opposing views about the emergence of an EPS; while scholars like Habermas and Derrida (2003) are quite optimistic about the future of European integration and the existence of a common public sphere, there is another more pessimistic approach as well. This is due to several reasons such as the dominance of national discourses over the supra-national ones (Koenig et al., 2006) and the tendency towards an “elite policy” instead of forming egalitarian European publics for all citizens (Schlesinger, 1999).

“A common thesis in research is that a European public sphere can be constituted via the Europeanization of reporting in the national media” (Machill et

al., 2006: 57). Habermas (1974) considers the media today's public sphere. The media has the ability to form a European public sphere and it can create an effective space for communication about issues for all citizens. This idea is a very important point of discussion. While the potential for media to build a consciousness about the EU is clearly evident, the remaining national fragmentation and the dominance of national discourses in news production problematizes media-fostered EU consciousness. In this project, my concern is not actually about forming a pro-EU stance within all the citizenry because the formation of an EPS would not necessarily make this so. Instead my interest is towards the non-existence of Europeanized public sphere(s) and lack of an EU media commons which possibly conflicts with the EU's "unity in diversity" objective and illuminates the democratic deficit problem because it makes the gap between the politicians and citizens in terms of political communication clearly apparent.

There are several studies which analyze the EU member countries' media production about the EU in terms of Europeanization and emergence of an EPS, but for the purpose of my study, I will focus specifically on the Turkish media. The main objective of this study is to analyze how European issues are covered in Turkish media and discuss the similarities and differences between Turkish and non-Turkish media coverage of the EU. I am specifically using newspapers as my resource. Through this process I hope to map traces of Europeanization in the media of a country, specifically Turkey, which is a candidate member of the EU and where the EU itself is always in the agenda. Here, it should be underlined that Turkey is yet to be an EU member and applying the concept of EPS to Turkish media will not be the same as applying that concept on an EU member country. Since I will focus on a particular country, which is closely involved in the EU discussions as a candidate

state, I will put the analysis in a “comparison among the Turkish newspapers” context in order to see whether there is a tendency in Turkish media towards Europeanization even as a prospective but, as yet, non-member country.

It will be useful to re-emphasize that Europeanization does not necessarily mean pro- EU news frameworks and coverage. Europeanization of Turkish media means more than being politically Europeanized and it goes beyond being used as a fashionable term. It is rather about Europeanization of the news agenda. This includes the discourses that are predominant in the news and it is about the increasing level of attention towards the EU issues. Europeanization also necessitates providing an accurate flow of information about the EU and EU related developments. For this paper, I will use “Europeanization of Turkish media” to refer to the presence and the prevalence of the EU coverage, national/European orientation, levels of media attention on particular issues and attempt to more objectively reframe what it means to be part of the EU and how EU news is produced and circulated.

To produce thoughtful and analytical results, the main research questions will be:

- 1) Is there a Europeanized perspective in the Turkish media in terms of the news coverage of the EU related issues? If so, is this observable in overall media or is there fragmentation along the newspapers in terms of the (non)existence of Europeanized media discourses?
- 2) Are there similar levels of attention towards particular issues, and going beyond that, are there similar frames of reference among the Turkish newspapers?

- 3) How are EU- related news stories being covered and does the news coverage include a more general agenda of the EU and its institutions or is it limited with some specific issues which are, for example, mostly related to Turkey's accession process to the EU?
- 4) Do the Turkish media fulfill the basic requirement of providing adequate information while covering EU-related issues?

The original inspiration for this study was an attempt to remedy the paucity of related literature on Turkish media. Equally important for this project is to work on a comprehensive selection of data and hopefully present a reliable and detailed analysis that explores the main discourses and subjectivities that are being employed in Turkish newspapers. As previously mentioned, there are a significant number of scholarly works in the Europeanization literature as well as various research articles analyzing Europeanization of the EU media. Nonetheless, except for a very few articles about the EU reporting in Turkey¹, there is little media analysis about the Europeanization of Turkish media.

1.2 Methodology

To explore the Europeanization of Turkish media, news and columns of six newspapers representing different ideologies in the Turkish press will be analyzed, which are Hürriyet, Radikal, Zaman, Yeni Şafak, Yeniçağ and Cumhuriyet. While it would be time-consuming and less efficient to collect every newspaper and difficult to reach the old archives of every newspaper, the aforementioned six newspapers are

¹ See Saka (2008), Arsan (2007) and McLaren (2007).

selected in terms of their ideologies and their circulation rate in order to present a reliable picture that can be generalized to all Turkish press. Among these seven national dailies, Zaman has the highest circulation rate (circa 800.000) which is almost double Hürriyet (circa 450.000) which is another daily with a higher than average circulation rate; Yeni Şafak (circa 100.000), Cumhuriyet (circa 55.000), Yeniçağ (circa 51.000) and Radikal (circa 40.000)². At this point it will be also important to give the information that national media corporations dominates Turkish media and are generally owned by large media groups. Local media do not have significant power in Turkey.

Zaman (moderate- Islam) has a liberal- conservative stance and it is believed to be managed by one of the Islamic leaders from the religious community (Fethullah Gülen). In opposition to this conservative stance, it employs liberal columnists and has modern page design with a fully functioning internet portal. The newspaper has awards because of its successful page layout. It can be argued that Zaman has more liberal news and ideas than those in Hürriyet and Milliyet, but its news coverage simultaneously demonstrates the paper's sympathy for the existing ruling JDP (Justice and Development Party) government's policies.

Owned by Albayrak group, Yeni Şafak does have a moderate- Islam based ideology and it is considered as a supporter of the ruling JDP as well. When compared to Zaman, Yeni Şafak displays more explicit support for the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and more conservative discourse in both news and columns.

Hürriyet is owned by the Doğan Media Group. It is one of the oldest newspapers in Turkey, is also one of the main agenda setters with the highest

² Since the circulations are calculated weekly, average rates are given to the newspapers, by looking at the weekly circulation rates at www.medialine.com.

circulation rate after Zaman. It is one of the nationalist view- oriented newspapers and has a center-right ideology. Yet, it cannot be put into the same category with Cumhuriyet, because the former has a stricter stance and shows a higher national reflex than the latter. Radikal is also owned by Doğan Group. Nevertheless, the way it covers the news shows significant differences from Hürriyet. The mainstream nationalist ideology is predominant in Hürriyet. Yet Radikal, lives up to its name and has a more radical discourse in terms of news coverage. It also employs a wider spectrum of columnists with broader ideologies. It has a leftist tendency and has a more critical perspective towards the news agenda when compared to Hürriyet. In other words, it is more inclined towards covering news stories which may be considered taboo.

Among those newspapers, Cumhuriyet is the oldest newspaper, which has a center-left ideology. Although it does not have as high circulation rates as Hürriyet, it stands as the most secular and nationalist voice of the Turkish press. This secular stance is sometimes criticized because it includes militarist discourses. Cumhuriyet has been setting the news agenda with the Ergenekon case, in which several former soldiers were accused of planning a military coup with the support of businessmen, journalists and even academics. Within the Ergenekon investigation, some of Cumhuriyet's columnists were taken into custody and one of them (Mustafa Balbay) was imprisoned. Even though Cumhuriyet has lost a significant number of its readership over the years, it is still considered as sort of training ground for today's prominent journalists in Turkish press.

Finally, Yeniçağ (extreme nationalist right) stands as the representative of the radical right view. As well as being close to the nationalist line and Kemalism, it is

also known as being an opponent to the JDP and it has a very strong anti- EU discourse in its news.

For the purposes of this analysis, a sample of the news items and columns from these six newspapers has been selected that cover two specific cases. One is directly related to Turkey, and the other one to the EU's own agenda. These cases are the partial freezing of the negotiation talks with Turkey in 11 December 2006 and the Lisbon Treaty which was signed in 13 December 2007. The selection of these two cases will provide an ideal context towards understanding the process of Europeanization because one can compare the two cases in terms of the interest of the Turkish media on EU issues even though they are indirectly related with Turkey's own agenda. It will allow for the exploration into whether or not there are similar or divergent points in the level of attention, and the framing of news coverage about the two different cases. The related news on the first page and columns which are established one week before and after those cases will also be analyzed because both of them are at their peak and are most intense during these periods.

Regarding the case selection, the question of selecting an issue with national significance and an issue with EU significance needs to be explored. When we look at the Europeanization analyses of the EU media, we see that they usually explore how one specific issue has similar / different reflections in the different EU countries' media. Alternately, other studies focus on a specific day and analyze the news within this randomly / intentionally selected day. In this research, on the other hand, two cases are specifically selected in order to create a comparative perspective and to discuss the consequences of the two different developments. This is also the reason why there is not a random day selection. While selecting these cases, my main consideration was taking one development which is directly related to Turkey's own

EU agenda and another which is a general EU-wide issue. By doing so, I aim to reveal the converging and diverging points between the coverage of these two cases in the media. If we observe similar implications in terms of media attention, subjectivity framings and debates, this will monitor the degree to which the newspapers are Europeanized. If the results show similarity between the two cases, this will indicate that there is a trend of Europeanization among those selected newspapers. In other words, if an EU related development receives similar media interest and coverage, when compared to the Turkey related one, this will be an indicator for Europeanization. The first case, which is the partial freezing of the negotiation talks with Turkey in December 2006, is a natural “flash” development for the newspapers. Not only this, but also the previous developments such as the German-French talks on a deadline for Turkey, the foreign pressure on Turkey to open its ports and airports to Cyprus and then Turkey’s proposal and its consequences points to two vulnerable points for Turkey. These are the accession to the EU and the Cyprus issue. The Lisbon Treaty, while indirectly related to the candidate states’ accession processes, is more related to the future of the EU, which is the effort to build an EU Constitution after the double disappointments in France and the Netherlands in 2005. Thus, not only being an EU related issue, signing the Lisbon Treaty in 2007 is also a very important development concerning the future of the EU. In the light of these facts, it is remarkable to expect the reflections of that development among Turkish media as well, where the EU debates are usually at the heart of the news agenda. As a result, comparing these two cases will enable us to see clearly what constitutes the EU agenda of the Turkish media and how much the EU debates are internalized within the selected newspapers.

For the identification and operationalization of the frames and indicators, both an inductive and deductive process will be followed. Employing this methodology is beneficial so that missing the already existing ones in the literature and the case-specific frames can be avoided. In other words, while employing a deductive process will help applying the already existing schemes to this study and provide an easier grouping process and show the common results with the previous scholarly work, using it solely will prevent developing indicators which are specific to the analyzed cases and it will inevitably narrow the analysis and consequently reduce its reliability. Similarly, following an inductive process will certainly be useful for finding the relevant subjectivity frames and indicators that exist in the news and columns, and combining it with a deductive process will prove the validity of generalization.

The research consists of both descriptive and content analyses. Whilst the former will focus on the intensity of the news coverage, main news focus and the level of attention within the selected news and columns, the latter will explore which frames and meaning patterns are employed in the Turkish dailies about the selected EU-related issues. The methodology of the research will be mainly quantitative, but qualitative flesh on the quantitative bone will also complement the study by exploring the content of the news and columns. As there will be a pool of numerical data that will represent the columns, news coverage and framing of these six newspapers for the statistical measurement and comparison, qualitative research is also useful to analyze the perspectives of the journalists and columnists and the hidden discourses in their news and columns.

In the descriptive analysis chapter, the main indicators that are employed will be the total number of news / columns within the given time period, total size of the news in the front page and also with their extensions, number of the news items which

are given from the headline and total number of news items with photos on the first page and their distribution among the newspapers. This analysis will briefly present whether the EU related issues find themselves placed in the Turkish dailies in similar amounts, whether there are similar levels of attention on particular issues and whether there are similarities / differences while covering EU-related news. Moreover, it will provide a comparison of the statistics between the 2006 and 2007 cases. This is important because it will be then also possible to measure the difference in the coverage of EU related developments, one of which is directly related to Turkey's EU accession process and the other to a general EU issue.

The content analysis chapter will present the predominant meaning structures and frames in the news and columns and the similarities and differences among the newspapers will be discussed. Separate indicators for news and columns are determined for the analysis, which will be explained the next chapters in details. On one hand, for the selected news, news-orientation and informative frame analysis will be conducted. While former refers to having a national / Europeanized orientation in the news, the latter will demonstrate the current situation in the media about fulfilling the responsibility of giving adequate information about the EU issues to the public. On the other hand, three other indicators will be employed for analyzing the columns which are "reference to religion", "reference to the progress of the EU" and "EU supportiveness and skepticism". The first indicator will show the (non)existence of a "clash of civilizations" approach, the second will bring the question of emergence of a European public sphere where the EU issues and the EU itself is being discussed and finally the third will present the similar / different EU perceptions of the newspapers.

1.3 Contribution to the Literature

This media analysis is expected to contribute to the related literature in several ways. First, it will provide useful input for comparative studies which will analyze Turkish newspapers and it will also help scholars to be able to draw a general picture of Turkish media for enriching their research. Furthermore, since some of the previous studies in the related literature were being used for building the analysis, it will provide comparable results with the other similar research about Europeanization of media. In addition to that, it will also be complementary to the large-scale quantitative analyses of Turkish media for the Europeanization literature.

The thesis has noteworthy strong points which distinguish the analysis from the previous ones such as having a very large data set. The related news and columns of six different newspapers are collected within a 15-day period, which is an extensive archive. Selection of six newspapers enables a more robust analysis by taking a large spectrum of views into account. As it was previously mentioned, another major characteristic of the analysis is that it provides comparison between two different cases as one of those cases is directly related with Turkey's EU accession process, whilst the other is related to a development which points to the future of the EU itself. Not only providing a large set of data, the research also embodies both content and descriptive analyses which enriches and strengthens the research. The analysis also looks at the news from the "visibility" perspective since it also takes the (non)existence of the news on the front page into account. This basically reveals how much importance is attributed to EU related issues. Yet, the research might be insufficient about presenting the whole picture, as only newspapers are the unit of analysis and there is not any analysis of the news coverage in other media such as television, radio and internet.

Within this framework, I will first try to present the concept of Europeanization, and then requirements for the formation of a Europeanized public sphere which emerges through Europeanization of media. Next, I will present examples from the previous related case studies in the literature review section. Here I will both discuss the case studies of the European media and the few research projects conducted using Turkish media. After giving the background of the concept of Europeanization, I will present the results of my research in two sections. The first section will be the “descriptive analysis” part, which will be focused on the basic results about the number of related news and columns, the intensity of the news coverage and it will measure the level of attention of the six newspapers on the two selected cases. Here, I will mainly argue that even though there is a similar level of attention in the Turkish media on the EU-related issues, this is only significant to Turkey-specific cases, whereas any general development about the EU does not have intense news coverage. Another finding is the shift of focus from an EU issue to internal affairs and Turkey’s domestic politics. Thirdly, it will be put forward that the newspapers which have ideological polarization have more interest on a particular EU topic.

In the “content analysis” section, I will go one step further and explore the meaning structures of the news and columns on the 2006 and 2007 cases. For the news, the main actor will be presented and it will be suggested that EU- related news items do have a more national orientation than a Europeanized one. Furthermore, the informative aspect of the news will be evaluated and it will be concluded that media provide more adequate information on the EU issues which are related to Turkey’s own accession process, whereas very insufficient information is provided about the Lisbon Treaty which is an EU wide development. In addition to the news, columns

will also be analyzed with respect to “reference to religion”, “reference to progress of the EU” and “EU- supportiveness / skepticism”. In this part, it will be argued that Turkish media have a multi-cultural Europeanized approach because of not regarding cultural identities as incompatible. It will also be brought to the fore that there is a lack of a sphere in which the EU and its future is discussed and also that newspapers show differences about their perceptions of the EU.

CHAPTER 2

RELATED LITERATURE: DISCUSSIONS AND EXAMPLES

2.1 What is Europeanization?

As a new emerging concept, which has recently found itself a significant place in the literature, what do we understand from the term “Europeanization”? From a general perspective, Olsen (2002) argues that while Europeanization is a kind of fashionable term, there are no single or shared definitions about it. Despite that, he does not neglect the existing definitions, but draws attention to the lack of empirical evidence and the contestation of those definitions. Hence, he tries to go one step further and presents five uses of Europeanization which are related to “change in something”. The first one is the changes in external boundaries, which refers to the territorial aspect as becoming a single European continent through for instance enlargement. Second of all, developing institutions at the European level means forming a central authority through stimulating collective action and forming institutions that will have a legal power and will have the ability to make binding decisions. Third is the central penetration of national systems of governance which is sharing responsibility and power between levels of governance and building European norms through the adaptation of national governance. Fourthly, Olsen

notes the exporting forms of political organization, which refers to increasing the European power in the international arena through exporting governance and political organization and finally a political unification project which means the degree of becoming more unified and becoming a stronger political entity. From those definitions, Europeanization can be understood as going beyond the “national” and developing common denominators among the countries which can be either in terms of governance or forming legal institutions for creating a “European” space.

While researching how the EU institutions “Europeanized” the policies of the EU members, Harcourt (2002) brings two mechanisms of Europeanization into discussion. The first one is a top-down mechanism, in which the EU institutions shape national policies, in other words, “mandate” them. This can happen either directly (member states applying the EU mandate) or indirectly (national actors comply with the EU policies even if they are not mandated from Brussels). On the other hand, the second kind of Europeanization is a “bottom-up” mechanism wherein domestic policy debates are carried to the European level by the member states. The “bottom-up” mechanism occurs formally and informally; while the former means referring decision making to the European Court of Justice by a national court, the latter refers to influencing debates at the EU level in order to give domestic policy makers the chance to direct domestic politics.

Europeanization, in fact, can be argued from different perspectives such as the aforementioned normative and policy aspects. It can be argued that Europeanization is the goal for the formation of a common European identity among the EU member states. Creating or finding common denominators through institutionalization, developing policies and trying to achieve well operating EU level governance are the main efforts to achieve this goal. However, while considerable

effort has been given towards this goal, the gap between the citizens and the governance(s) are the main obstacle. At this point, the role and relationship between civil society agents and the media arises, in which the media may act as a mediator to fill the lack between the EU and its citizens. For this project, I focused on the Europeanization of the media in order to explore where the means of media stand in Europeanization debates. Apart from that, since Turkey is not a member state and it is still involved in an ongoing accession process, I attempted to analyze the situation of the media as the main influential factor in this process.

2.2 Europeanization of Media

Looking from the media perspective, Mihelj (2007) combines two approaches to define Europeanization. According to Mihelj's definition, Europeanization is "a multi-dimensional and gradual process that in one way or another extends public discourse beyond national spaces" (Brüggemann et al., 2006: 4) and it is observed "when nationally based mass media shift their focus away from the national political arena towards the European level" (Pfetsch et al., 2004: 4). In this view a new kind of discourse is emerging which transcends existing national ones and the common denominator of public discourse expands beyond the national frames of reference.

Media is one of the constituents of the political communication system. Within this framework, three sources of media are identified which explain the relationship with the political institutions in a political communication system (Blumler & Guretvich, 1995). First, the structural power of media refers to its ability to bring a mass audience to the politicians, which cannot be achieved by other means. Second, the psychological aspect of the power of media can be explained by the credibility

they have built with their audiences, which has a role of legitimizing the information they spread to the public. Finally, the normative power of media emerges from a combination of its structural and psychological power which enables them to “interpose themselves between politicians and the audience to intervene in other political processes” (Blumler & Guretvich, 1995: 13).

Being defined as the fourth-estate and the voice of the public opinion, the critical role of media is emphasized strongly in modern democracies. Indeed, the contribution of media to the successful democratic governance is open to debate as many scholars focus on the changing role of media as truly representative of public opinion. However, despite these hesitations, it can the media plays a significant role by creating a democratic political communication; at least it has the potential to do so. Schudson (1996:29) points out that “media should represent the public”, enable a platform for dialogue among the citizens to be a part of the democratic decision making process and to provide mutual understandings which are in line with the goal of achieving a common public sphere while filling the gap of democratic deficit as well. According to Koopmans and Erbe (2004) media have 4 critical functions in the EU process which are legitimization function, responsiveness function, accountability function and participation of citizens. While legitimization function refers to making European issues and actors visible in the public forum so that they will gain legitimacy, responsiveness means policy makers will be dependent upon the communication channels in media in order to have information about the citizens’ desires and concerns. Third, the accountability function is explained as the way the public could make their voice heard about the European issues via media since they cannot do this on their own. Finally, the participation of citizens in the EU process is directly linked with their access to the media.

Mihelj (2007:451) argues that transnational communication in Europe is not a newly emerging phenomenon. She writes that thinking Europeanization in terms of things that are related to national and taking the independent variable as nation-state and national public sphere will result in making very simplistic conclusions:

Within each country, media production and distribution are shaped to address a wide variety of different taste-publics, defined with respect to gender, age, ethnicity, political orientation, religious persuasion, leisure time preferences, etc. It is reasonable to expect that Europeanization will enter these different subnational spheres in different ways, and that at least some of these subnational differences will follow similar patterns across different European states, in spite of national inflections.

2.3 Europeanization and European Public Sphere

Going beyond national spaces and moving towards a European space, or more simply, Europeanization of media is closely related with the emergence of an EPS. For Habermas (1996:360), the public sphere:

can be best described as a network of communicating information and points of view (...); the stream of communication are, in the process, filtered and synthesized in such a way that they coalesce into bundles of topically specified public opinions. Like the life world as a whole, so, too, the public sphere is reproduced through communicative action, for which mastery of a natural language suffices; it is tailored to the general comprehensibility of everyday communicative practice.

Following this definition, Schlesinger and Fossum (2007) conceptualize the ideal public sphere as a communicative space, where the citizens have equal participation and can set their own agenda. They link the public sphere to democracy and argue that a “functioning” public sphere enables autonomy to the citizens and institutions and that when citizens exercise their rights freely, the state cannot legitimize its power without the “reasonable” discussion in the public sphere.

Emergence of a “European Public Sphere” stands at the heart of the discussions about the European integration. However, scholars like Koopmans (2007) claim that if we look for a Europeanized public sphere which has a supranational character, we cannot find so much of it. Similarly, Eriksen (2007) argues that the EU is faced with a democratic deficit problem because of not having a European public sphere.

Karadağ (2006) writes that the political integration process of the EU has deficits. These deficits are the “triple deficit of the EU” which pre-exist in the European democracy, identity and public sphere. In his extensive analysis on the EU integration and EU media, Karadağ quotes from Hjarvard’s (1993) evaluation of Habermas’ conceptualization of the public sphere. For Hjarvard, as the interest groups begin to influence the democratic process, the citizens are no more involved in public debates and become passive observers whose function as nothing but approvers of the actions of the powerful. Yet, despite this and even though the classical public sphere of the bourgeois is based on the exclusion of the majority of the population, we can still talk about an increase in the democratic opportunities for citizens in terms of widening voting rights, education opportunities and the expansion of mass media.

Arsan(2008) and Van Os (2004), on the other hand, suggest that the Europeanization of the political communication process between the EU member states is required in order to talk about the existence of an EPS. For Arsan (2008:23), “it is impossible to neglect the role of media and journalists in a study on the EPS”. In a similar vein, Trenz and Eder (2004) focuses on two mechanisms, which are increasing the political communication within the EU institutions as well as enlarging it to the civil society actors and increasing the attention and awareness of the audience about the political communication which can be achieved via media.

Similarly, according to Risse and Van De Steeg (2003:2), the emergence of an EPS is closely related to the legitimacy and democratic deficit of the EU. By concentrating on the media reporting about the European issues, they suggest that this ideal EPS can emerge:

1. if and when the same (European) themes are discussed at the same time at similar levels of attention across national public spheres and media;
2. if and when similar frames of reference, meaning structures, and patterns of interpretation are used across national public spheres and media;
3. if and when a transnational community of communication emerges in which speakers and listeners not only observe each other across national spaces, but also recognize that “Europe” is an issue of common concern for them.

They address two approaches for measuring whether there exists an EPS or not by how often Europe itself and European issues are mentioned in media and whether particular issues are being focused on such as the future of the EU or enlargement. According to Habermas et al. (1974:49), “today newspapers and magazines, radio and television are the media of the public sphere”. Likewise, Kaitatzi- Whitlock (2007) suggests that the means of media, especially television and internet are considered instruments for filling the gaps in forming a common European public sphere. With the help of media, a common platform of active information sharing is presupposed as well as enabling a space for dialogue and debate between the European citizens.

Under the framework of Europeanization of the national spheres, Koopmans and Erbe (2004) employ three forms of Europeanization of political communication and mobilization. These are the emergence of a supranational European Public Sphere, horizontal and vertical Europeanization. Whilst the emergence of a supranational EPS refers to developing a European wide mass media through the interaction among the EU institutions and collective actors, horizontal Europeanization means the communication links between the member states and

vertical Europeanization means the link between the national and European level communication in which top down and bottom up mechanisms work in terms of intervening national actors by EU institutions for the former and national actors make their voice heard and make political claims about the European issues for the latter. Like Risse and Van De Steeg (2003), Koopmans and Erbe (2004) also draw attention to the democratic deficit problem of the EU under the discussion of a possible emergence of EPS. According to them, nation state is still the focus of collective identities, so just focusing on an ideal type Europeanization concept such as a transnational media might lead to negative answers. Thus, it would be better to think of emergence of a common public sphere within the Europeanization of the national spheres of communication. In line with those scholars, Schlesinger (1999) also draws attention to the democratic deficit in the EU, and like Koopmans and Erbe, he suggests that instead of a single European public sphere, we should think about “interrelated spheres of European public”.

Following the idea of the emergence of an EPS, Koenig et al. (2006) draw attention to three criteria, which they borrow from Schlesinger (1999): The first criteria is that a dissemination in the European news agenda will occur so that it will be observed in the daily media practices. Secondly, people will begin to perceive their citizenship not only based on their national identity, but also a citizenship that goes beyond their state citizenship. Finally the emergence of a European media sphere depends on how the media frame the news. News framing works constitute an important role for forming a Europeanized perspective in the news media since it can be suggested that the frames determine the way that the news is presented to the public, shape public opinion about a specific event and affect people’s perceptions about truth .

2.4 Europeanization of the European Media: Case Studies

While there are really a few studies which specifically focus on the Europeanization of Turkish media, there are several studies about the news framework of the EU media and news reporting of journalists. These try to find a common Europeanized discourse and news-frames in the media. Whilst the results of these studies show significant differences which reveal that there is still not a consensus about the issue, we can conclude that the majority of this scholarly work reveals that there has not been a common Europeanized discourse or an EPS which has emerged through the media news-reporting because the dominance of national discourses are still evident. Thus, the role of the traditional news media in forming a European identity and changing how news is covered become important subjects of debate as the national media is still the primary information provider about the EU for the public. Drawing attention to the clear difference between providing unbiased and true information to the public about the EU and promoting specific issues about the EU, Kovacic (2005) argues that journalists' basic task is informing the public about the EU related events instead of merely promoting EU membership. This argument is somehow different from most of the other related scholarly literature which generally highlights the remaining national oriented news coverage in the media. However, their point of convergence is the role media plays in creating an accurate information flow to the public about EU related issues. Choosing Slovenia as the case of analysis, Kovacic (2005) points out that whilst Slovenian media played a crucial role in promoting EU membership and consequently accession to the EU it was not able to be a "critical observer" of both possible positive and negative outcomes of EU membership.

Machill et. al (2006) suggest that while there is an increasing tendency towards a Europeanization of the national spheres prior to the 2004 enlargement, EU topics still constitute only a small proportion of the national news agenda and news largely has a national orientation. Similarly, the analysis done by Downey and Koenig (2006) draws attention to the lack of a transformation from national to Europeanized public sphere. Similarly, Sift et. al (2007) conduct a longitudinal newspaper analysis about the news discourses in 5 EU countries and the results of their study reveal that a common discourse has not emerged and that the EU is still dependent on a “domestic processes of legitimization”.

Van De Steeg (2006) notes that public sphere in the EU consists of fragmented national spheres. According to her, there exists a European public opinion and there are already the signs of a transnational political community. In her study, she makes an analysis of a newspaper debate about the sanctions of 14 EU member states against Austria in 1999 and 2000. The results indicate that the public discourse in the EU countries’ media show significant differences from the US media and the discourses about the issue are not nationally oriented. Van De Steeg with Risse (2003) make nearly the same arguments about the existence of Europeanized public discourse and they conduct a frame analysis of the Haider debate in Austria and they come to the conclusion that there are similar news-framings, horizontal references and a collective understanding regardless of the political stance about this issue in the European media. According to them, this confirms the existence of a common discourse among publics and they raise criticisms towards those who reject the existence of Europeanization in the EU media by suggesting that “there is no reason why we should all speak the same language and all use the same media in order to be able to communicate across national borders in a meaningful way” (2003:14).

Koopmans and Erbe (2004) also confirm that there is a developing Europeanized public sphere through their research on the German media. On the basis of a political claim analysis on the EUROPUB.COM project, they look at German print media in 2000 to find the degree of Europeanization in German media. The results depend upon the field of policy issues. For example, on the European integration issue, there is an obvious Europeanization trend that actors at the EU level have a strong voice and actors from other member states are as frequent as German actors. So, a German view on this issue does not exist. About fields like education and pensions, few claims with European references can be explained with the lack of media interest and media fulfillment. On the other, hand immigration issues reflect a lack of Europeanized frame even though it has become an important topic for many member states of the EU. Thus, they come up with a different approach and conclude that the degree of Europeanization can vary among the changing policy fields.

While the aforementioned studies are claiming that there is an emerging or existing Europeanization in media, there are also other scholarly works which do not seem as optimistic. For example, Koenig et al. (2006) analyze the discourses about Turkey's accession by looking at the British, French, Slovenian, Turkish and American press. They argue that they do not fulfill the democratic deliberation standards. According to them, there are differences in the intensity of the debates and the distribution of the main frames such as ethno-nationalist or liberal multi-culturist which differs among those countries' media significantly. They explain this situation using the absence of social integration in European integration and underscore that European identity formation is based upon excluding other identities with such labels as Islamic Turkey and Christian Europe. Bijmans and Altides (2007) do not observe an evident level of Europeanization in EU countries' media and they suggest that

media reflects different aspects of the EU political process and there is a lack of information being published for the public by the media. They uniquely compare the press releases of the EU institutions and the news coverage of the EU media to find out how the EU issues are reflected in media. They analyze newspaper articles in Germany and the Netherlands and the press releases of the Commission and choose enlargement and the environmental policy as two policy fields. According to the analysis, while environmental policy has a prominent place in the Commission reports and one of the most mentioned issues in the releases, it does not get much space in the news media in Europe. Nevertheless, the enlargement issue is given much more importance by the media when compared to the press releases of the Commission. So, there are two different agendas in the EU institutions and the EU media which do not parallel each other.

Machill et al. (2006)'s meta-analysis of 17 previous research projects in different languages (English, German and French) since the 1990's examine European topics that are covered in the news. The results indicate that even though there is a tendency towards Europeanization with different degrees in the pre-2004 enlargement period, the overall picture shows that there is a nationalist orientation in the European media. They argue that while there is a lack of Europeanization in the media, there is also a lack of developing a uniform journalism and media culture as well.

The last example is Downey and Koenig (2006)'s work about the media framings regarding the Silvio Berlusconi case in 2003, in which Berlusconi addressed the Social Democrat MEP Martin Schultz as a *kap'o*, which means a concentration camp guard (from the prisoners). They look at six European countries' media and also Switzerland, the US and Canada to find out whether an EPS is

developing and whether there is a Europe wide news agenda. The data show that there is not a transcendence of Europeanization over the national public spheres.

2.5 Europeanization of Turkish Media

In light of these arguments and previous studies about the Europeanization of media, what can we say about the present situation in Turkish media? While it might not be appropriate yet to talk about a developing European public sphere in Turkey, which is not yet a member of the EU, we can still try to understand the transformation of journalism practices, news framings and news coverage of the Turkish media.. Turkey's accession process to the EU is expected to have an influential role on EU- reporting in Turkey and what we can understand from the Europeanization of Turkish media might be the change in framing the EU- related issues with a new perspective that goes beyond the national discourses, the news coverage and the intensity about much debated EU issues. Furthermore, this project can explore whether the news agenda only consists of issues that are related with Turkey's possible membership or whether a broader framework for the EU coverage is being developed. In my project, I will try to give answers to these questions with reference to the concept of Europeanization within the Turkish press.

While noteworthy studies can be found in the literature about Europeanization of the European media and the emergence of an EPS, there is less related research regarding the situation of the Turkish media and how European issues are framed in the news. The aforementioned scholarly works contribute to knowledge about the media and journalism practices in the EU countries. The literature has attempted to answer whether there is a common European discourse, and whether there are

common denominators framing the EU related news that rises above their national discourses. But while some of these studies choose news about EU- Turkey relations to analyze the extent to which Europeanization in media exists, there are few studies which analyze Europeanization in Turkish media itself and how it presents issues on the EU agenda and relations with Turkey.

Before presenting the existing scholarly examples, it will bring a useful insight to provide context for the main discourses. Nationalism has always been a major factor that affected the way news is covered and, consequently, the public opinion in Turkey. In their survey of 38 Turkish newspapers on a randomly selected day, Yumul and Özkırımlı (2000: 801) explore the daily reproduction of nationalism in the Turkish press. Considering the media as “the most remarkable part in the daily reproduction of nationhood”, they analyze the most dominant news framing and the way news is separated in the Turkish newspapers. For instance, most of the newspapers analyzed separate domestic news from the foreign news and the items which are not considered as “us” are published with different attachments on them. Apart from that, they do not specifically focus on the framing of EU related news in the Turkish newspapers, but Yumul and Özkırımlı’s (2000:795) one observation is that newspapers are identifying ‘their’ internal and external enemies:

When reading these and similar news/ commentaries, our belief in the validity of the common saying ‘the Turk has no friend but the Turk’ is reinforced. We feel the need to embrace our national identity more strongly and seek to minimize the effect of external threats by resorting to national isolation.

Even though there are a limited number of studies focusing on the Turkish media, some scholarly work still explores how the news media in Turkey cover the EU related issues and how they present the Turkey- EU relations to the public. For instance, Saka’s (2006) work provides a different perspective by analyzing

journalistic metaphors used in the Turkish press towards understanding EU- Turkey relations. Saka (2006:1) points out the role of Turkish journalists in “interpreting and articulating cultural and political transformations in the country” and suggests that they are continuing this role within the current political context as well. Saka analyzes the most commonly used metaphors in the news which refer to Turkey’s accession process to the EU. He focuses on the date of 4 October 2005, when the official negotiations started by going over 24 national daily newspapers in Turkey. He finds three clusters of metaphors which are dominant in the news discourses which are *yol* (road), *kapı* (the door) and the third cluster which includes two separate metaphors *rüya* (dream) and *başımız dik* (standing with head held high). According to Saka, the *yol* metaphor is the most dominant one and it is influencing the news discourses very much. *Yol* represents Turkey’s accession process and even though it is widely used by the journalists with a pro- EU stance, it is also a metaphor that reminds us the torturous path that Turkey is following for the full membership. On the other hand, the *kapı* metaphor somehow reflects a pessimist approach with respect to Turkey’s EU membership as Turkey is commonly depicted as a country who is waiting in front of the door of the EU. Saka (2006:8) suggests that “in most of the cases, *kapı* is associated with waiting and that is what Turkey knows best in the membership process”. The third cluster of metaphors consist of *rüya*, which represents the positive expectations from the EU membership and *başımız dik*, which stimulates nationalist sentiments and pride to emphasize that Turkey will keep its honor and pride under any circumstances. Saka concludes from the findings in the news that even though there is a division of the political attitudes of Turkish newspapers about Turkey’s EU membership which vary between having an anti-EU stance to EU supportiveness, there are some common metaphors which are

dominating the EU related news discourses and in this regard “yol” appears to be the main one.

While Saka mainly focuses on the metaphors and how they dominate the news discourses of the newspapers, Arsan (2007) presents perspectives from Brussels correspondents about Turkey’s EU struggle. This provides a very important resource for us to understand how Turkish journalists cover the EU related news and how they perceive their roles as “political actors”. She discusses the dilemma that journalists face between keeping objectivity and neutrality and being influenced by their own nationalist sentiments. One important point that is explored in the article is that reporting from Brussels gained importance just after the 1990’s and before that it didn’t constitute a prominent part of foreign reporting. There were not many reporters in Brussels and journalists were there usually because of knowing a foreign language, but not because of knowing the EU well. However, Arsan argues that after the Helsinki Summit in 1999, where Turkey was accepted as an official candidate, things began to change and especially after negotiation talks began in 2005, reporting from Brussels gained more importance and this news was moved to the front page of Turkish newspapers.

Arsan’s interviews with the Brussels correspondents of the Turkish newspapers are significant because it provides examples of how the journalists perceive the profession of reporting the EU related issues and reveals the problems in the media in terms of preparing and presenting the news. The interviews show that there is not a remarkable Europeanization of news, but they also are raising consciousness about the EU and how to inform the public about the EU related issues. Looking at the interviews, the question about the interest of the readership about EU news has different answers. While some argue that there is a surprising interest among the

readership in EU politics and media has an influence on that, others argue that their readership is much more interested in politics at national level:

It is very interesting seeing after all important meetings in Brussels in terms of Turkey's integration process, how Turkish public only interested in standardization and the future of national fast food kokoreç (Arsan, 2007:5)

In Arsan's article, another important issue that is raised is editorial-based interventions and the lack of transparency which journalists complain about. According to a journalist, "national interest" always comes first which results in wrong and misinformation about the EU in Turkish press. The article also draws attention to the difference between the EU and Turkish sources about a particular EU topic. Moreover, "nationalization of EU events" is common among Turkish journalists, which causes the EU related issues to be taken into the news agenda as long as Turkey is "in" the news.

Through those interviews with the Brussels correspondents, Arsan pinpoints perceptions of Turkish media about reporting of EU news: Reporters' and their editors' ignorance to the "objective reality" about the EU and their insufficient ability to inform the public about both pros and cons of big issues.

One of the journalists Arsan (2007:5) interviewed suggests that "editors are more likely to try to influence the position of political elites of the country, not ordinary Turks". This view is important for understanding whether the content of the newspaper reflects what is on the real agenda or what is on the newspaper's agenda. Lauren McLaren (2000) tries to find an answer to the question of Turkish elites' opinion about Turkey's accession to the EU. As the elites have a strong influence on setting the agenda and shaping the public opinion, McLaren interviews Turkish elites, including journalists, to find out their opinions and attitudes towards Turkey's

accession to the EU. Those interviews reveal one other issue, which is the difference between the Commission and the Turkish elites in terms of defining the problems about Turkey's EU membership. While Turkish elites perceive the economic problems as more important, they do not have a strong emphasis on political problems like human rights and Cyprus. These difference perceptions between Turkish agenda setters and the Commission might show us the differences of priority and news coverage between the Turkish and the EU media. While the majority of people interviewed support Turkey's accession to the EU and think that EU membership will bring a "European" lifestyle to Turkey, they do not emphasize any possible political repercussions. The general picture is that there is a demand for Europeanization, but the question of what will make us more European has different answers for Turkish elites (including journalists) than the EU. Turning to McLaren's study, the interviews also show that many interviewees believe that the EU is a Christian club which means that the will to be part of Europe contradicts the cultural differences within Turkey as opposed to Europe. Those results can be read as examples of how the term "Europeanization" is not clearly put into a framework for the Turkish people by Turkish media. Hence, while there is a desire to be a part of Europe, there is not a clear idea of how the Europeanization will occur.

Both Saka's and Arsan's studies provide a point of departure for understanding the approach and practices of the Turkish press publishing EU related news. While Saka explores common discourses prevalent in the Turkish press through a metaphoric analysis, Arsan shows how EU events are construed by Turkish journalists and how they perceive their roles as "political actors." Furthermore, she foregrounds the problem of reporting on EU-related issues from Brussels via first person interviews.

Saka and Arsan both refer to the fact that discourses of the Turkish media are mainly based on nationalist rhetoric and lack a Europeanized public sphere in which a broad-based discussion of the EU could take place. Moreover, the editorial intervention and news filtering are in evidence working to distort information moving from the EU to the Turkish readers.

Looking from another perspective, media can be also considered as Europeanized to the degree of freedom of expression it has. For instance, Duran and Arsan discuss freedom of expression in Turkish media and to what extent it complies with the EU criteria. Freedom of thought and expression are considered as the most important problem in the Turkish media. They write about the 5 big taboos that exist in Turkey. These are the positioning of Turkish military, Kemalism, the Armenian “genocide”, the Kurdish issue and political Islam. Another possible approach would be analyzing the frequency of issues like democracy and human rights in the Turkish media. However, for the purposes of this project, the possible question will be limited to whether those values are “European” values and how covering them in the news means Europeanization universalism, both of which need to be analyzed in a deeper context. Broader perspectives must be left to future research.

Both Saka and Arsan’s work are important sources for information about the Europeanization of the Turkish media. They are two of the few sources that depict Turkish media from the Europeanization perspective. Presenting a small comparison of those works with this study will both emphasize the complementary aspect of the present thesis and present its points of departure from previous related studies.

First of all, Saka makes a one-day analysis of the national daily newspapers which are published on 4 October 2005, which is the day after the beginning of the

negotiations for Turkey's EU membership. Differing from his work, this present study will cover two different cases: the partial freezing of the negotiation talks with Turkey on 12 December 2006 and the Lisbon Treaty and while the former is directly related with Turkey- EU relations, the latter is related to the EU's own agenda. Thus, choosing these two different cases will present a clearer picture of the Turkish press in terms of its Europeanization. Saka analyzes 24 national daily newspapers, while this study focuses on 7 dailies from across the political spectrum. This could bring the question of using an inadequate selection of newspapers; upon consideration of deeper analysis and efficiency, choosing seven newspapers will better present a reliable analysis of the general picture of the Turkish press and avoid selection bias. Mentioning this point is also important when taking the period of analysis of into consideration since Saka focuses on only a single day, while this study will analyze fifteen days; one week before and after the cases occur, which will be more effective in terms of observing the relatively long-term effects of those cases on the Turkish press and help to confirm the validity of all analytical findings.

Arsan's study consists of interviews that are made with Brussels correspondents of Turkish newspapers. Those interviews are very important in terms of exploring the perceptions of journalists about EU related news and moreover highlights the main problems with journalism practices in the Turkish press. The present study differs from Arsan's in terms of the methodology as it will present a wider and deeper content and discourse analyses of the newspapers which will go beyond individual perceptions of journalists. Furthermore, it will take the news as the unit of analysis, which will provide a more systematic approach and focus instead on the journalists working within Turkey; in other words all of the news produced in the

Turkish press which provides a more concrete and generalizing study, adding more to merely the journalists' self-perceptions.

Another important point about the present study is that it will offer a more detailed analysis which will be a harmonization of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. While, for instance, Saka's study is similar in terms of focusing on the front pages and headlines, this study will also look into how much space is given to EU- related news, make a grouping of all the news-framings that are specified and analyze them which will develop a more robust conclusion.

To summarize, it can be suggested that this thesis will contribute to the existing related literature in terms of expanding the methodology and by making a comprehensive analysis based on a longer time period. When regarding the smaller number of Turkey- specific scholarly works about the Europeanization of media, this study will be complementary to the existing academic studies, which are very prominent in terms of being the only examples that directly focuses on Turkish press and analyze the Europeanization of Turkish media from different dimensions.

CHAPTER 3

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS: THEIR EU AND OUR EU

3.1 Content of the Analysis and the Indicators

This chapter will explore the overall findings about the frequency and intensity of the related news and columns that are published within the specified time period in the selected six newspapers. It will also illustrate the distribution of the analyzed news and columns on a daily basis in order to reveal the amount of the EU news coverage among the newspapers and whether the prevalence and the coverage of news is similar across selected dailies. It will be useful to turn back to the previously mentioned arguments about Europeanization, specifically, how moving to a Europeanized space is closely related with the emergence of a European Public Sphere (EPS), which both gives the citizens an accurate flow of information via media and enables a platform for them to discuss European issues. One of the three assumptions of Risse and Van De Steeg (2003:2) about the emergence of an EPS was discussing European issues “at the same time at similar levels of attention across national public spheres and media”. It can be suggested that this chapter will analyze the current situation in Turkish media from this perspective and answer the question of whether the two selected cases find themselves similar amounts of place and attention in the Turkish newspapers.

As it was previously mentioned in the methodology section, two cases were selected for analysis. These are the partial freezing of the negotiation talks with Turkey on 11 December 2006 and the signing of Lisbon Treaty on 13 December 2007. These two events were carefully selected in order to reveal the difference in their representation in the newspapers. Whilst the former is directly related to Turkey's EU accession process, the latter is more about the internal affairs of the EU and future of it, not Turkey specifically. The difference between these two selected cases will be an indicator of the level of internalizing EU discussions in the national media. In a country where Turkey's EU membership and the future of mutual relation between Turkey and the EU is intensively discussed, observing the focus of media on other EU related news which do not necessarily have to be directly related with Turkey will certainly bring a different perspective to the Turkey- media- EU triangle.

The data which forms the basis of this chapter is gathered from Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, Yeniçağ, Radikal, Zaman and Yeni Şafak which are assumed to be able to represent the general picture of the Turkish press, in terms of their ideological stance and news agenda. In both of the two selected events, one week before and after periods are analyzed, giving a total of 15 days for each case. Several indicators are selected in order to focus on the news coverage and levels of attention within the selected newspapers.

In this descriptive part of the study, my main intention as a first step, is to frame the data before presenting the more detailed and in depth content analysis. Answering the questions of how selected events are discussed, how much importance is given to events and whether there are similar levels of attention among the Turkish

press will be an enlightening exercise. Furthermore, it can be regarded as a good way of systematizing the data and operationalizing it.

First of all it will be useful to point out that all EU related news and columns are selected within the given time period apart from only the two selected events. While the news coverage and content about these two specific events will be presented in detail in the content analysis chapter, including all EU related news and columns will be helpful to have a clear idea about how much the EU finds itself a place in newspapers in general. Nevertheless, it will be obvious that the selected events are the triggers of the news and columns in the analyzed newspapers.

For analyzing the data, several indicators should be used to measure the coverage and prevalence of the news and columns. One should also explore how much value is attached to the news in order to understand whether there are any signs of Europeanization in the media. Thus, I have determined the following indicators that can be searched in the news and columns to measure the degree of Europeanization in Turkish media in terms of how EU related news is placed in the newspapers:

1. Total number of news and columns: It includes all the EU related news on front page and columns during the 15-days period in both two selected cases, yet news and columns are analyzed separately. It will be a useful indicator to measure the coverage and intensity of EU related news and will give the opportunity to compare the Turkish press' interest on both two cases.
2. Total size of the news on front page: The size of the news on the front page is measured in order to see the level of attention, what place is given to the news and what their weight is in the front page and where the chief news and

most important news are published. It is important to underline that the importance of the news is also determined by the editorial values and the newspaper's own viewing of the agenda.

3. Total size of the news on front page with their extensions: Going one step further, the total size of the news including the extension is also taken as an indicator. The slight difference between the total size with and without extensions is that, although some news on the front page does not cover so much space, they can be given quite large spaces in their extensions.
4. Number of Status 1 news on the front page: Another useful indicator for measuring the significance that is attached to the selected cases is looking at how much related status 1 news is on the front pages. What is meant by status 1 is news from the headline. The numbers of status 1 news and their comparison between the newspapers can be helpful to understand the similarities and differences of the newspapers' main agenda and the value that they attach to the news.
5. Number of news items with photos on the front page: When compared to the total number of news items and their status in the front page, total number of news items with photos on the front page will neither be as the most important indicator, nor will be sufficient alone. Nonetheless, it will still have a supportive role as it can be later argued in the content analysis chapter, which people / figures / places find more space in the photos; such as comparing the number of Turkish political leaders' and EU representatives' photos.
6. Number of columns: Apart from the news, columns should be analyzed because most of the time, they present a wider spectrum of ideas which

basically helps us to understand what people think about things that happen around them. While news is expected to be written in a more formal and objective way, columns are different in the sense that their writers voice their own perspectives and when you read the columns, you get the feeling that you are in an open debate and you are listening to the different ideas of different discussants. Apart from that, even though a newspaper can have columnists who have radically different ideas from each other, most of the time, what they write in their columns indirectly reflects the ideological stance of the newspaper as well. Those issues will be analyzed in details in the content analysis chapter, but it must be underlined that taking the number of columns as another indicator is helpful for basically understanding how much focus is given to the EU related issues and how often they are covered by the columnists.

Apart from these indicators, one restriction about choosing the sample should be mentioned. While gathering the data from the newspapers, only the related news in the front page and the extensions of the news are taken in order to make an adequate sample of news which will be able to present the general picture and news coverage of the newspapers. In fact, there are other related news items which are not mentioned in the first page, but have coverage in the other pages. However, if both the effectiveness of gathering a huge collection of data and time constraints are taken into account, it would not be wrong to suggest that choosing the news on the front page will be enough to provide a robust representation of the newspapers' coverage.

3.2 Case 1: EU Foreign Ministers' Decision on Partial Freezing of 8 Negotiation Chapters with Turkey (Period of Analysis: 4-18 December 2006)

On 29 November 2006, the European Commission recommended the suspension of the negotiations with Turkey, suggesting that Turkey would not fulfill its obligations due to the Additional Protocol to the Association Agreement. The recommendations included issues such as suspending 8 of the 35 chapters and not provisionally closing the already opened chapters until Turkey fulfilled its obligations (Commission Wants Partial Suspension). On the other hand, Turkey argued that the EU should end the isolations of Northern Cyprus, which is under Turkish governance. In the following days, Germany and France were especially vocal. The German Chancellor Angela Merkel's suggestion to give Turkey 18-months time for opening airports and seaports to Southern Cyprus was supported by French President Jacques Chirac and their agreement was expressed at the Weimar meeting which took place in Saarland- Mettlach on 5 December 2006. However, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan gave the message to the EU that, if the EU took any decisions against Turkey's accession, it would be the EU who lost (Kaybederse AB Kaybeder).

Before the meeting of the EU Foreign Ministers, the Turkish government made an unexpected move and came up with a proposal in order not to freeze the ongoing negotiation process. The proposal included opening a port and an airport to Greek Cypriots in exchange for opening the port in Famagusta to international trade and Ercan Airport to international flights (EU Minded Ankara Offers Concessions). Apart from that, no concurrency was stipulated, but if no solution could be reached within one year, Turkey would end the process (Ankara AB Kuyusuna Bir Taş Attı).

As it will be further discussed in the next section, this proposal of the government led to various reactions from both the EU and Turkish side. While the Prime Minister of Finland Matti Vanhanen said “the move was not enough but that it was a ‘positive signal’ (“Turkish Offer”). Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso stated that “If it is confirmed, it is obviously a very important step in the direction of complete implementation of the Ankara Protocol (“Turkey Makes Offer”). On the other hand, the proposal caused very high tension in Turkey, where the government, military and presidency were soon involved in an open debate about whether the government took advice from the Turkish military, whether both military and presidency were adequately informed about the proposal and whether the proposal was against state policy and meant to be an indirect recognition of the Republic of Cyprus without the Turkish administration.

On 11 December 2006, the EU Foreign Ministers gathered in the Council meeting, just before the EU Leaders Summit was held in Brussels on 14-15 December 2006. The Commission recommendations were welcomed and the draft resolution of EU General Affairs and External Relations Council was approved which included suspending the negotiations with Turkey. The decisions (Council of the EU, 2006: 9) were as follows:

The Member States within the Intergovernmental Conference will not decide on opening chapters covering policy areas relevant to Turkey's restrictions as regards the Republic of Cyprus until the Commission verifies that Turkey has fulfilled its commitments related to the Additional Protocol.

These chapters are: Chapter 1: free movement of goods, Chapter 3: right of establishment and freedom to provide service, Chapter 9: financial services, Chapter 11: agriculture and rural development, Chapter 13: fisheries, Chapter 14: transport policy, Chapter 29: customs union and Chapter 30: external relations.

The Member States within the Intergovernmental Conference will not decide on provisionally closing chapters until the Commission verifies that Turkey has fulfilled its commitments related to the Additional Protocol.

The Council will follow up and review progress made on the issues covered by the declaration of 21 September 2005. The Council invites the Commission to report on this in its forthcoming annual reports, in particular in 2007, 2008 and 2009, as appropriate.

Finally, the Council decision was accepted in the EU Leaders Summit in Brussels, which took place in 14-15 December 2006. This was the brief chronology of the process, which ended with the suspension of the negotiation talks with Turkey. Below, the attention of the Turkish press to this process will be presented with the statistics that are drawn from the collected data, before going into a deeper analysis on the main focus points and how they were covered.

To begin with, the total number of EU related news published in the front pages of Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, Yeniçağ, Radikal, Zaman and Yeni Şafak was 145 between 4 and 18 December 2006. The number of Status 1 news items is 45, which implies that around 1/3 of the 145 news items are given from the “headline”, which, according to this author’s point of view, refers to a significant news value that is attached to the related news. Furthermore, 70 of the 145 news items have photos on the front page, strengthening this suggestion. Finally, the total size of news published on the first page is 27.539 cm², while the total size of the news including their extensions is 90.336 cm², which means that there is an intensive coverage of news in their extensions.

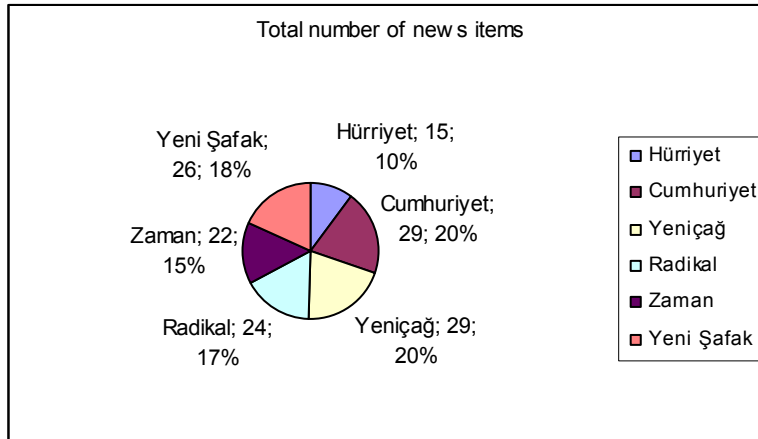


Figure 1: Distribution of the total number of news items on the front page among newspapers (4-18 December 2006)

Looking at the distribution of the total number of news items among the newspapers, a surprising result can be observed. As the biggest mainstream daily, Hürriyet, which is considered as the agenda-setter newspaper and which is expected to have more intense news coverage, has the least number of news items, whilst Cumhuriyet has the biggest number of news items, according to the results. One interesting finding is that the newspapers which explicitly reflect their own EU-stance, as well as their ideological stance in the news (such as Yeni Şafak's strong EU supportiveness as a result of supporting the policies of the ruling Justice and Development Party or Cumhuriyet and Yeniçağ who are strong Euroskeptics and criticize the JDP intensely), publish more news about the EU, when compared to the relatively neutral ones. Looking at the percentages, it can be concluded that there is a similar level of attention within the newspapers on average.

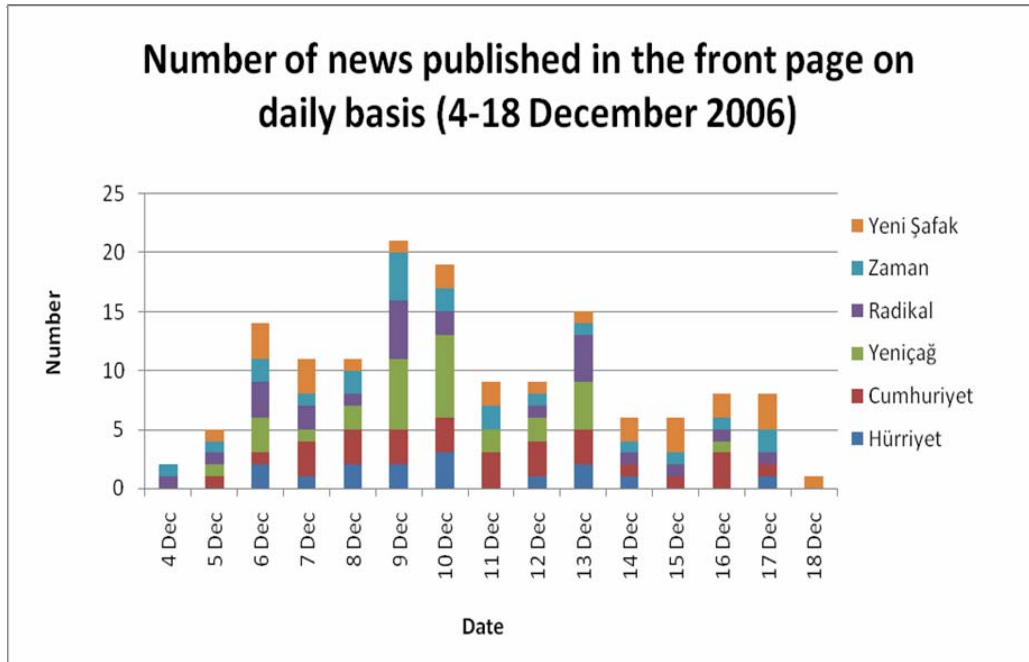


Figure 2: Number of news items published on the front page on a daily basis (4-18 December 2006)

The daily distribution of news among the papers indicate that even though there are differences between the number of news items that are published in each newspaper, there is an intense coverage of EU related news within the given time period in all newspapers, while the intensity of news varies on daily basis. Three peaks can be observed in Figure 2, which are the number of news items published on 9, 10 and 13 December. The answer to why all of the newspapers cover more news on 13 December is clear in the sense that it is right after the EU MFAs’ decision on freezing 8 negotiation chapters with Turkey. On the other hand, the question of why the number of news items is even higher on 9- 10 December is worth to paying attention. After the Turkish government offered to open one port and one airport to Cyprus to prevent any decision that will intervene in Turkey’s ongoing accession process, the debates shifted from Turkey- EU relations to Cyprus issues and the lead story became a top-state level conflict between the Turkish army, presidency and the

government about informing each other about that offer and national sovereignty. The higher number of news items on 9-10 December, when compared to the number of news published on 13 December, might point to the situation that even in Turkey-EU relations related news, the main focus of attention is the internal politics and internal dynamics of Turkey.

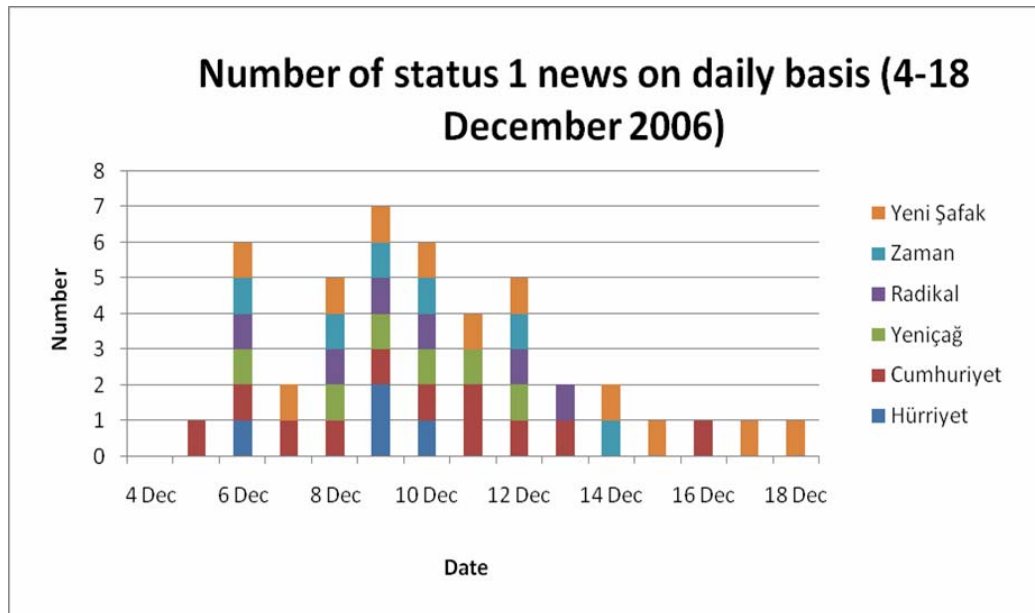


Figure 3: Number of status 1 news items on daily basis (4-18 December 2006)

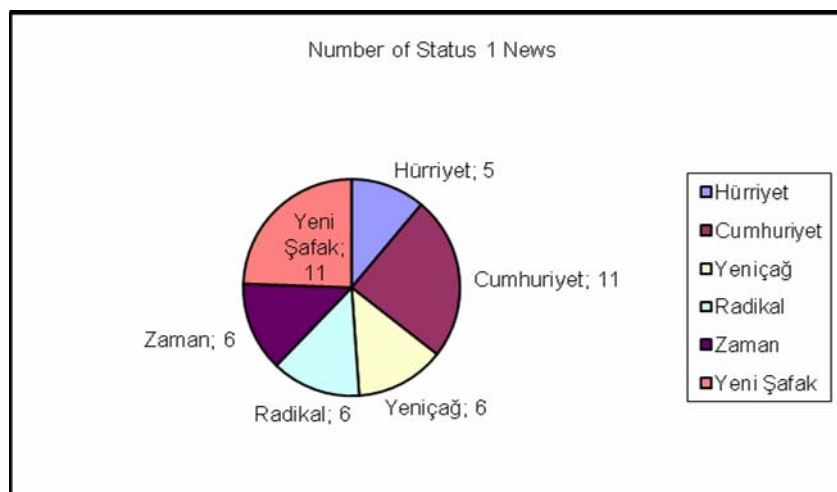


Figure 4: Number of status 1 news items (4-18 December 2006)

Figure 3 and 4 show the number of Status 1 news items and their daily distribution among the six newspapers between 4 and 18 December 2006. Again, there is a similarity between the newspapers in terms of the value they attach to the news, but Yeni Şafak and Cumhuriyet almost double the other newspapers by giving over 11 of their news items from the headline, which means that there was, at least news on the headline nearly every day during the 15 days period. The aforementioned intensity on 9, 10 and 13 December, and it can be also observed from Figure 3 that there is status 1 news in all six newspapers. This day specifically refers to the consensus of Germany and France about posing harder sanctions to Turkey such as giving a specific time for obeying the Additional Protocol obligations and opening all ports to Cyprus. Called the “German- France coalition / alliance” in the Turkish press, the efforts of these two EU member states to bring more strict rules to Turkey, or their perceived role in doing so, is one of the few consensus issues within the selected newspapers, which will also be detailed in the next chapter.

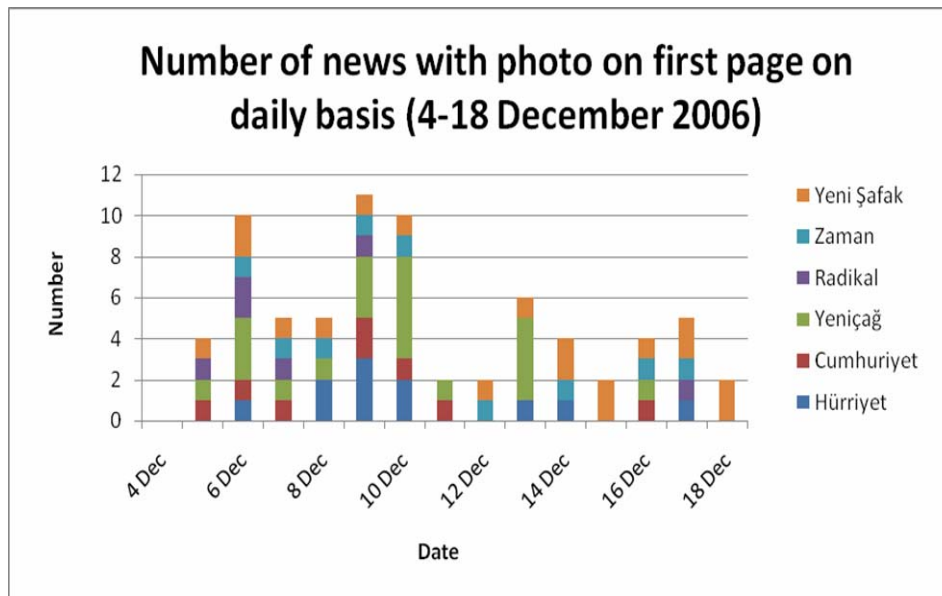


Figure 5: Number of news items with photo on first page on a daily basis (4-18 December 2006)

One other finding is the number of news items with photos on the front page. This shows that most of newspapers have a similar trend; more photos are added to the news in the days with higher news coverage. Looking at the four peaks, which are 6, 9, 10, and 13 December, the number of photos and the number of newspapers that include photos in the news are higher.

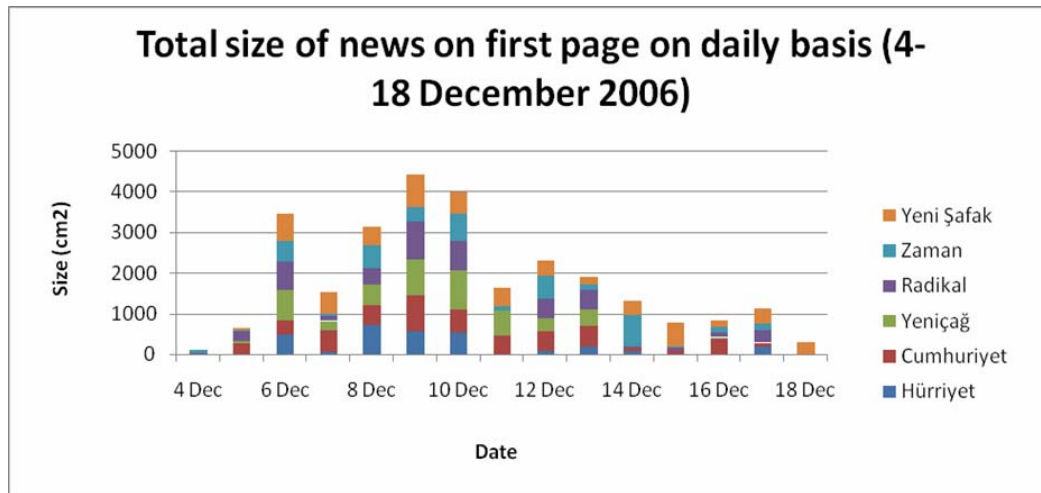


Figure 6: Total size of the news items (cm²) on first page on a daily basis (4- 18 December 2006)

Figure 6 shows the distribution of the total size of news items on first page among newspapers, again verifies previous findings. In other words, it reflects the dilemma about how to analyze the results. On one hand, there are similar levels of attention within the newspapers, though the intensity is higher in Yeniçağ and Cumhuriyet. On the other hand, the intensity on the specific dates and issues brings to light a new discussion. Specifically, what is the main focus of discussion; Turkey-EU relations, recent developments about the freezing of negotiations in general, the future of Turkey- EU relations, etc or other issues like the regime problem in Turkey and military- civil relations? The findings pinpoint 9 December as the day when there is the biggest amount of news and a more similar focus of attention in all six

newspapers. The total news centimeters (cm) on the first page are more than double the total size of news items on 13 December, which is just the day after the EU MFA approved the EU Commission’s proposal about freezing 8 chapters.

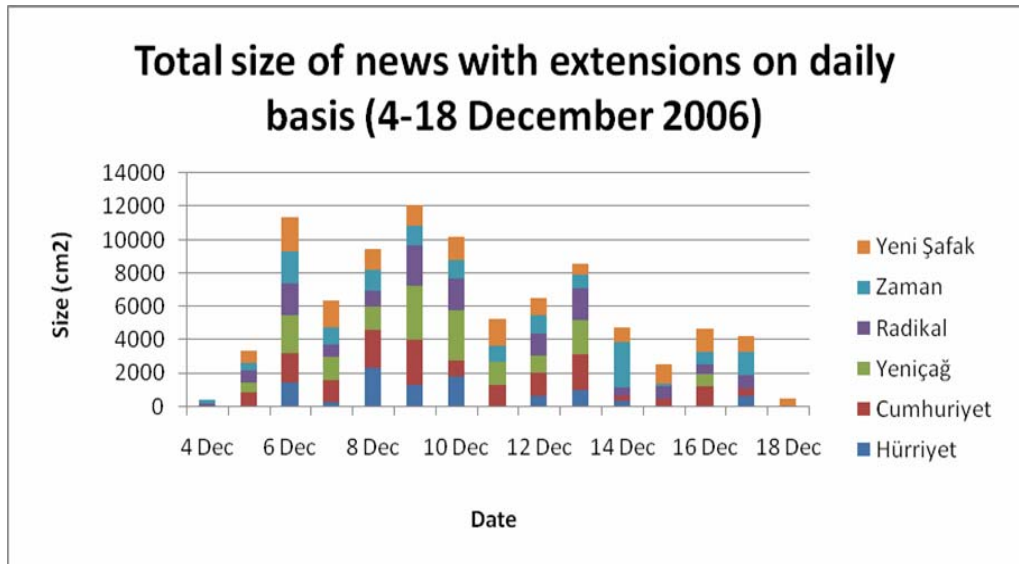


Figure 7: Total size of news items (cm²) with extensions on a daily basis (4 – 18 December 2006)

The total size of news with extensions in the selected newspapers does have almost the same trend as the previous figure. The important point is the overall distribution among the newspapers, which supports the first assumption of Risse and Van De Steeg (2003) about discussing the European issues at the same time with similar levels of attention. Except Hürriyet, whose total news cm is relatively less than the others, the newspapers have given almost equal space to EU related news in general.

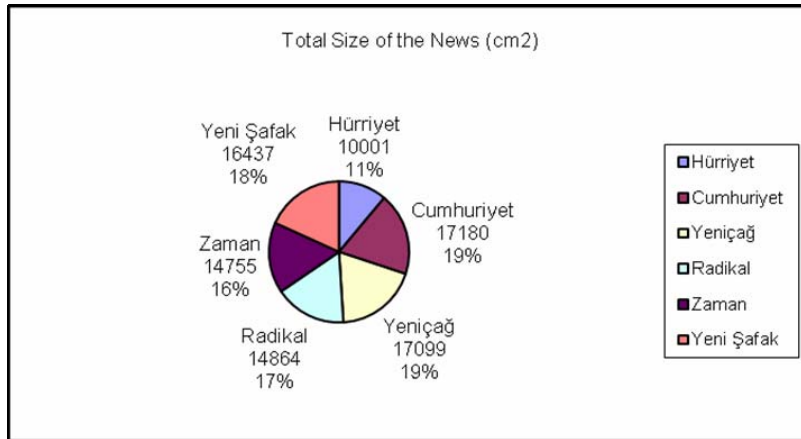


Figure 8: Total size of news items (cm²) with extensions (4-18 December 2006)

Looking at the basic findings about the columns; a total number of 84 columnists wrote 195 columns between 4 and 18 December 2006. The findings about the number of related columns and the number of columnists who specifically write about the EU- Turkey related news during the given time period shows differences from the findings about the news. While the number of columnists writing related columns can be considered similar among the newspapers, the intensity of columns is significantly different. Similar to the news, Yeniçağ and Cumhuriyet are the two newspapers whose columnists write most about the EU related issues.

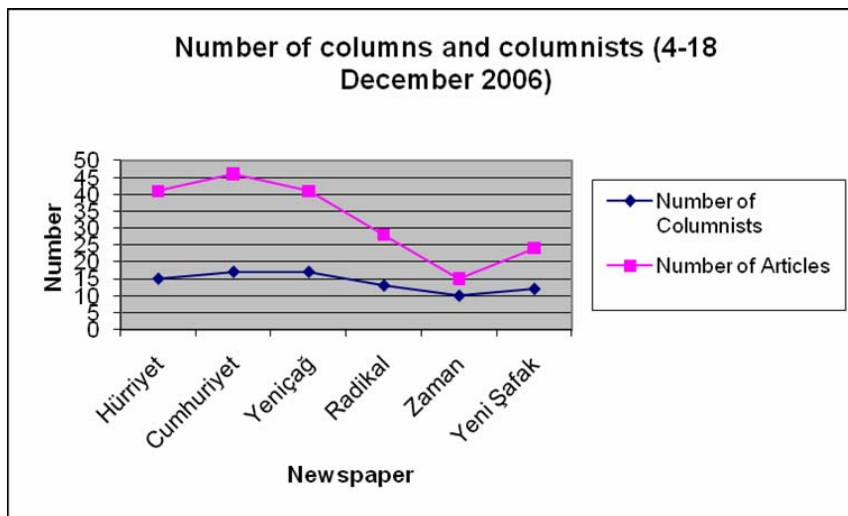


Figure 9: Number of columns and columnists (4-18 December 2006)

Interestingly, even though Hürriyet has the least news coverage, it has the highest number of columns and the highest number of columnists after Cumhuriyet and Yeniçağ. This difference between the intensity of news and columns has several explanations. One reason might be the columnists' own interest about ongoing Turkey- EU relations and the recent developments back in 2006. For example, columnists like Emin Çölaşan and Oktay Ekşi wrote substantial numbers of columns, which automatically increased the total number of columns published in Hürriyet.

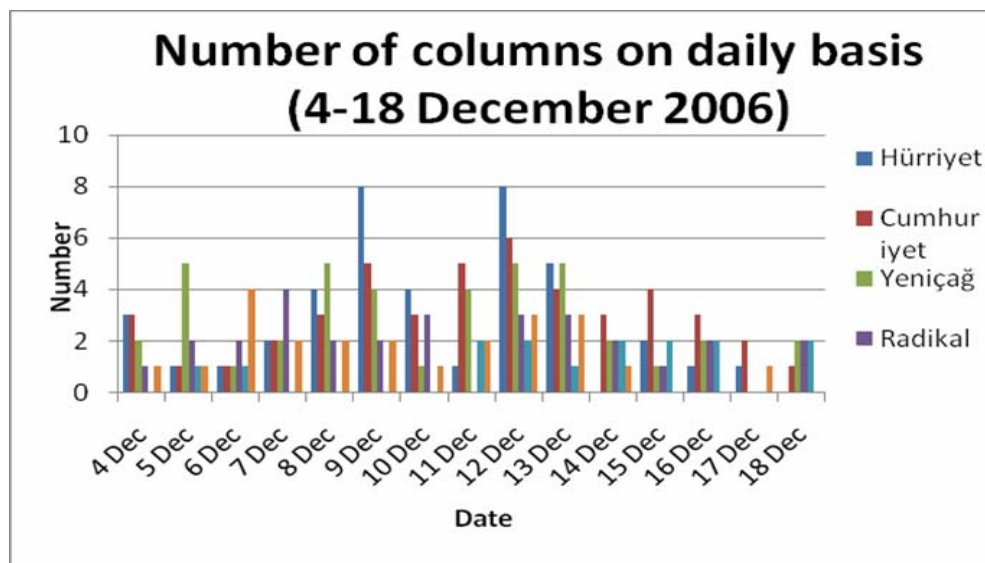


Figure 10: Number of columns on a daily basis (4-18 December 2006)

The overall findings about the EU- related news one week before and after the partial freezing of negotiation talks with Turkey suggest that there are similar levels of attention from media at the same time towards some specific issues which is in line with the assumptions of Risse and Van De Steeg (2003). There is not an enormous difference within the newspapers about the value they attach to the EU-Turkey related news. However, there are two important points that the findings reveal. The first one is that the intensity of news coverage in newspapers like Yeniçağ, Cumhuriyet and Yeni Şafak, who are more ideologically polarized, are

higher. The second one is the number of the news items about internal politics focused on news about Turkey, such as the high tension after the government's proposal for opening one port and one airport, is more than the developments in the EU such as the approval of suspension of negotiation talks with Turkey and the EU Leaders Summit itself. This dilemma between having similar levels of attention to particular issues at the same time and shifting the focus from the general Turkey- EU relations to Turkey's internal issues makes it difficult to make judgments about the level of Europeanization in the media.

Columns, on the other hand, are worth more analysis in the content analysis section, but the general picture that can be drawn from these main findings is that the subjective interests of the columnists vary from one to another and there is not a similar intensity of related columns during the given period of time. Yet, combined with the findings about the news, it can be suggested that among the six selected newspapers *Yeniçağ* and *Cumhuriyet* are the ones who cover the selected case most both in terms of news and columns. While the content of those columns and newspapers is yet to be analyzed, it seems that these two Euroskeptic newspapers cover much more news about the EU related news, which is somehow an interesting finding, and at the same time, creates another dilemma: While the interest of the newspapers towards the European issues can be considered as an indicator of Europeanization, applying the same assumption to newspapers that are more reluctant towards the EU is difficult.

3.3. Case 2: Lisbon Treaty (Period of Analysis: 6- 20 December 2007)

It was February 2002, when the former French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing began to form the draft of the EU Constitution ("EU Agrees New Lisbon Treaty"). After the rejection of the EU constitution by France and the Netherlands in the referenda held in 2005, the EU took another step to fill the lack of an EU Constitution by signing the Lisbon Treaty on 13 December 2007 in Lisbon. Signed by the 27 EU members' heads of states or governments, it amended the Treaty on the European Union (Maastricht) and the Treaty Establishing the European Community (Rome) ("Q & A: The Lisbon Treaty").

The Lisbon Treaty's main objective was achieving a better functioning EU, or in EU Commission's President Jose Manuel Barroso's words, "providing the EU with the capacity to act ("EU Agrees New Lisbon treaty"). Some of the main issues that the Treaty promises are "setting out the EU values, defining the competencies of the EU more clearly, increasing the power of the European Parliament, providing the President of the European Council for a maximum 5 year appointment, bringing a new double majority basis for allowing the Council of Ministers to take more decisions (at least 55% of the member states' votes) and appointing a High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy ("Lisbon Treaty Explained). Apart from that, the rotating six-month term presidency would be replaced by appointing a President, who would serve for a 2-year period ("EU Leaders Gather").

This event is selected as the second case for this study, because it is directly related to the EU's own agenda in order to reveal how much an EU issue is covered, and going beyond that, internalized in Turkish media, even though it is not directly about the Turkey- EU relations and Turkey's EU accession process. In fact, the

Lisbon Treaty concerns Turkey because it will begin discussing the EU enlargement again (“Avrupa Birliđi’nde Marşsız Anlaşma”) and will bring institutional changes for the new enlargement process regarding Croatia and Turkey. Hence, during data collection, the expectation was that a significant amount of Lisbon Treaty- related news would be found in the Turkish newspapers. However, among all the data that was collected, there was only one news story about the Lisbon Treaty on the front page, which was published in Yeni Şafak on 14 December 2007. The situation is not any different in columns, as there is only one column written by Hadi Uluengin in Hürriyet on 15 December 2007.

The main focus of Turkish press was again Turkey. Since the EU Leaders Summit in Brussels took place around the same time that Lisbon Treaty was signed and before the Summit was held, there were hot debates about French President Sarkozy’s efforts to exclude expressions like “accession” and “membership” regarding Turkey’s EU accession part in the Draft Summit Declaration. Consequently, most of the data collected between 6 and 20 December 2007 consist of Turkey- Sarkozy conflicts instead of discussions about the Lisbon Treaty.

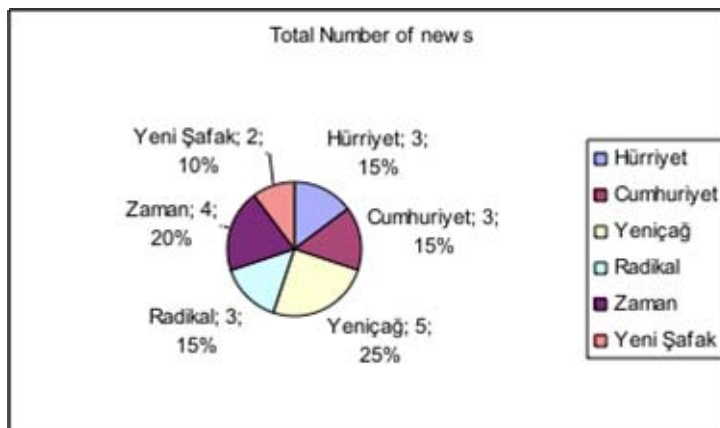


Figure 11: Distribution of the total number of news items on the front page among newspapers (6-20 December 2007)

First of all, the total number of EU related news items on the front page is 20, while 7 of them were given from the headlines and 12 of them had photos on the front page. In addition to that, the total news cm on the front page is only 3782 cm², whereas the total size of news including the extensions is 15171 cm², which is equal to a single newspaper's total coverage in December 2006.

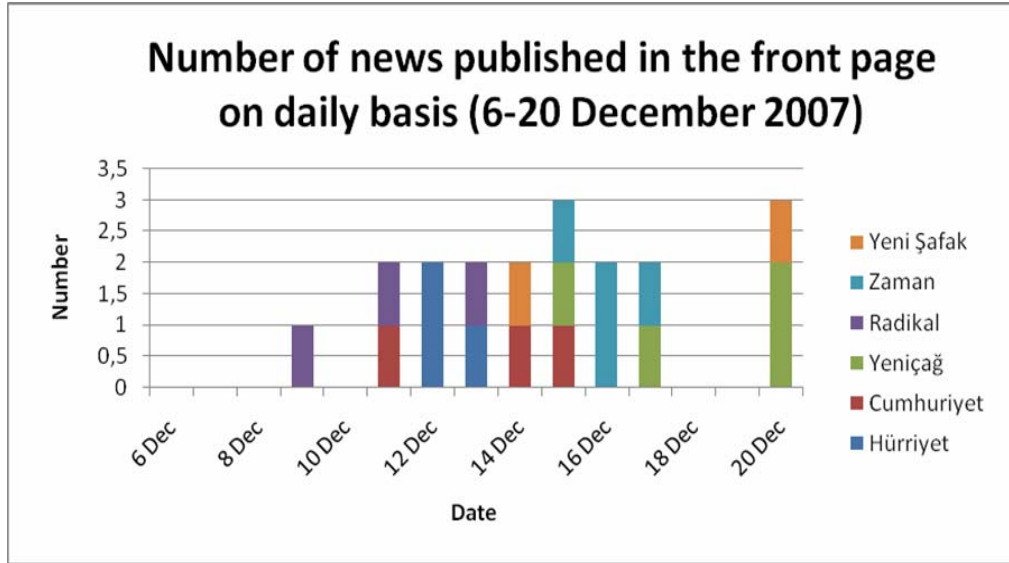


Figure 12: Number of news items published on the front page on daily basis (6-20 December 2007)

According to the findings, there is not a very significant coverage of the second selected news case among the selected newspapers between 6 and 20 December 2007. Only during the days when the debates about excluding words like “membership” and “accession”, which point to Turkey’s EU accession, were stories slightly intensified, especially in the aftermath of EU Leaders Summit. Only then was there a slight increase in the EU related news can be observed.

Despite the fact that Lisbon Treaty cannot find a prominent place in the news and that the number of news items are not high, nearly half the news published is from

the headlines, which implies that EU issues which refer to Turkey's own accession process can still find themselves a significant place in the news.

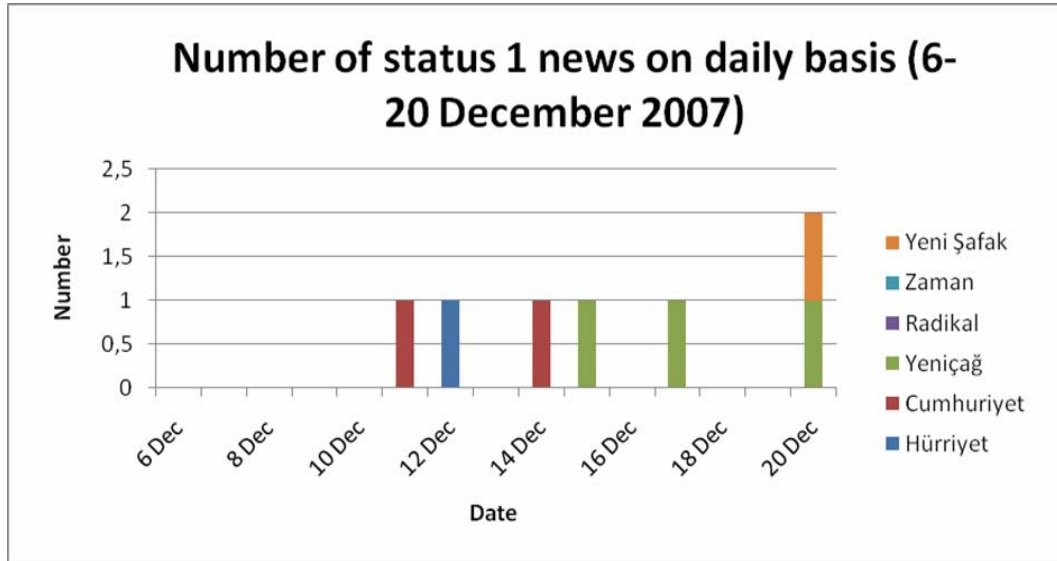


Figure 13: Number of status 1 news items on a daily basis (6- 20 December 2007)

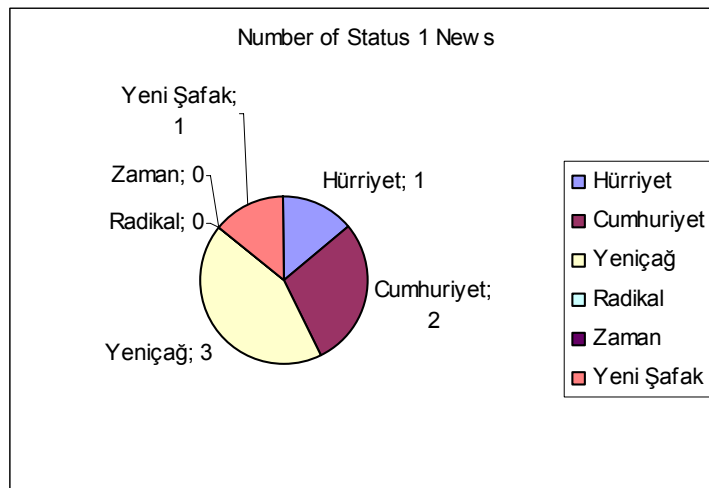


Figure 14: Distribution of status 1 news items according to the newspapers (6-20 December 2007)

Similar to the 2006 findings, Yeniçağ and Cumhuriyet stand as the two newspapers which give the biggest space and headline more often. Within the few things published, 3 of them were given from the headlines in Yeniçağ, 2 in Cumhuriyet, 1 in Hürriyet and 1 in Yeni Şafak.

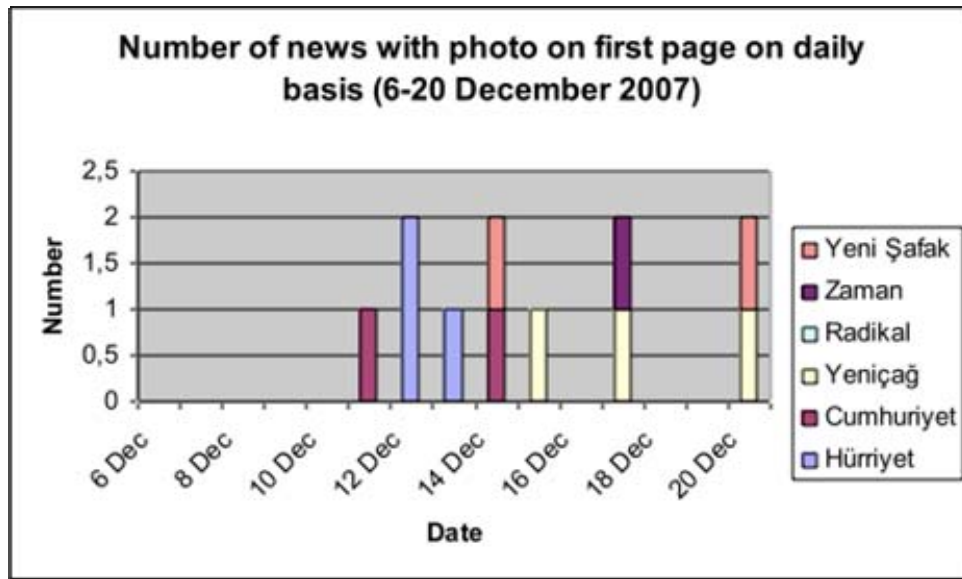


Figure 15: Number of news items with photos on the first page on a daily basis (6- 20 December 2007)

Distribution of both the total size of news items on the the front page and total news cm with their extensions do not show equality among Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, Yeniçağ, Radikal, Zaman and Yeni Şafak.

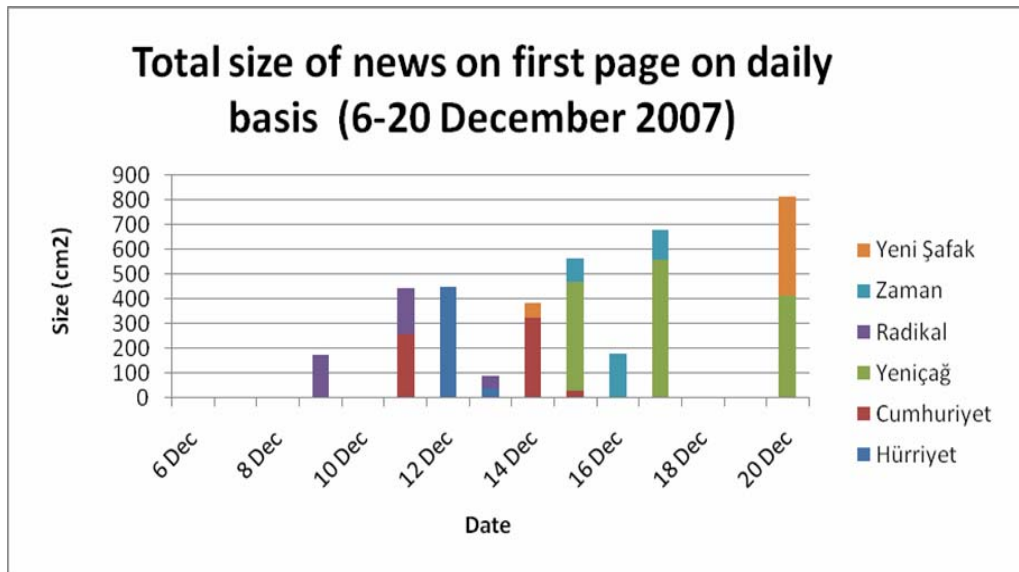


Figure 16: Total size of news items (cm²) on the first page on a daily basis (6-20 December 2007)

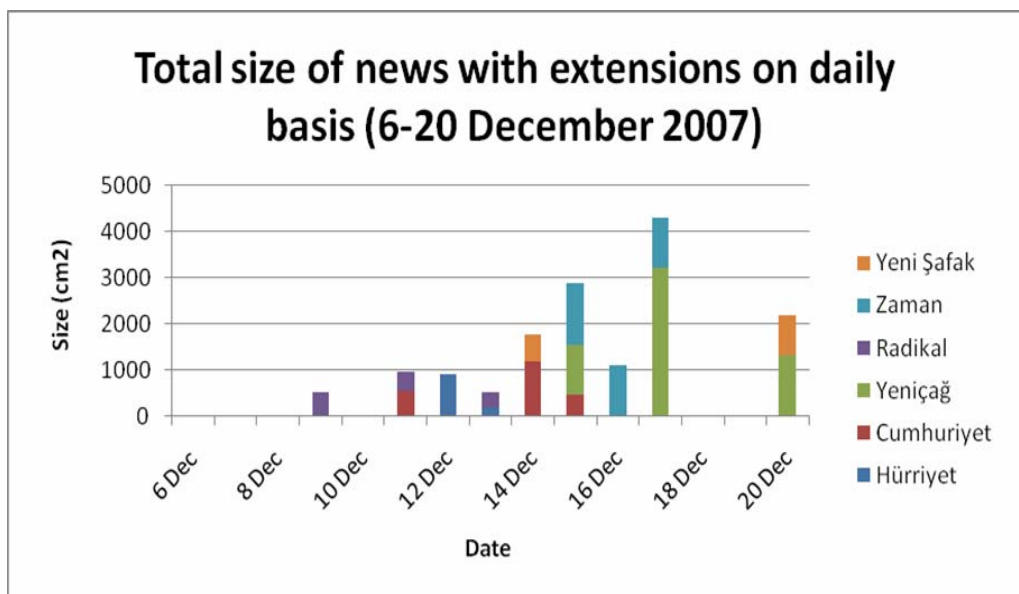


Figure 17: Total size of news items (cm²) with extensions on a daily basis (6-20 December 2007)

When compared to the news, columns do have relatively more intensity, and similar to the 2006 analysis, Hürriyet again comes up with higher number of columns while having less news. Another interesting point is that the same columnists write

about the EU-related issues (same as what?) such as Murat Yetkin from Radikal, Hadi Uluengin from Hürriyet and Ali Sirmen from Cumhuriyet.

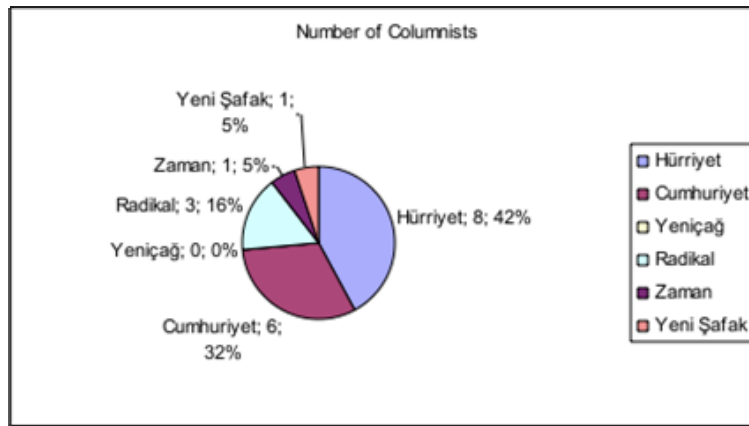


Figure 18: Distribution of the number of columnists according to the newspapers (6-20 December 2007)

Figure 19 also shows that the increase in the number of columns is significant between 14 and 15 December 2007. However, this does not refer to an interest to the Lisbon Treaty, but rather Turkey- EU relations in general and French President Sarkozy.

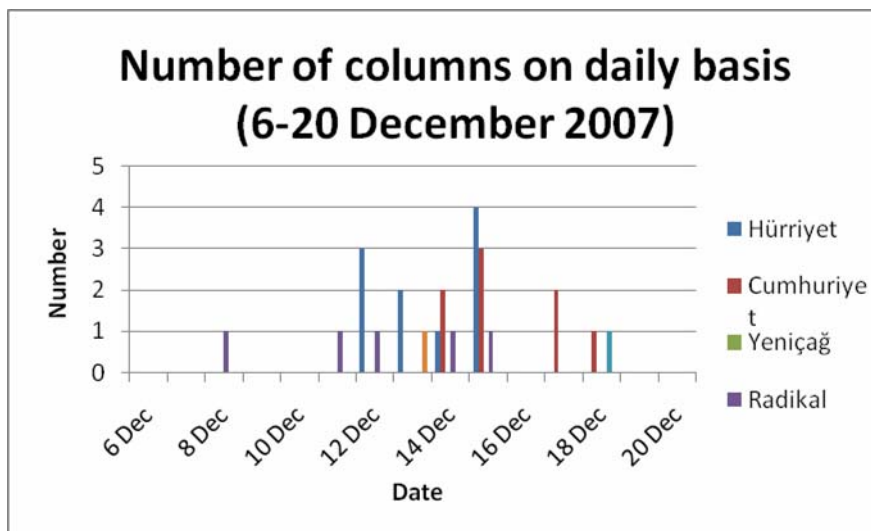


Figure 19: Number of columns on a daily basis (6- 20 December 2007)

Looking at the days where the number of columns is higher, it can be suggested that it increases soon after the Lisbon Treaty is signed, but as it will be discussed in the next chapter, the increase in the columns mostly depends on the developments about Sarkozy's insistence on not including expressions like "accession" and "membership" to the draft resolution regarding Turkey's EU accession and then its approval in the European Council meeting on 14 December 2007.

The main findings about the news and columns that are published one week before and after the Lisbon Treaty is that, it has no significant news value for the Turkish newspapers and that most of the coverage consists of French opinions about Turkey's EU accession and Sarkozy criticisms. On the other hand, the European Council meeting on 14 December 2007 finds more place in the news. However, that is mainly because of the France- Turkey tension before the summit.

3.4 Comparison of Two Cases

When suspending Turkey's 8 negotiation chapters by the EU in 2006 and the signing of Lisbon Treaty in 2007 is compared, it can be concluded that there is a very significant difference between the news coverage, prevalence and the level of attention. While there is a noteworthy amount of news and columns with similar levels of attention and news coverage in 2006, the Lisbon Treaty is far from being a part of the newspapers' agenda and getting the columnists' interest. Most of the news and the columns that are analyzed within the given time period consist of Sarkozy's attempts to exclude several expressions about Turkey's EU accession and its approval in the EU Summit and Turkey-EU relations in general, but nearly no Lisbon

Treaty news. It can be drawn out from this comparison that even though EU related issues find a prominent space and attention, the general EU agenda does not constitute considerable news value in the Turkish media. Furthermore, when an intra comparison of the 2006 case is made, it can be argued that the focus can easily shift from Turkey- EU relations in general to the internal debates about Turkish politics.

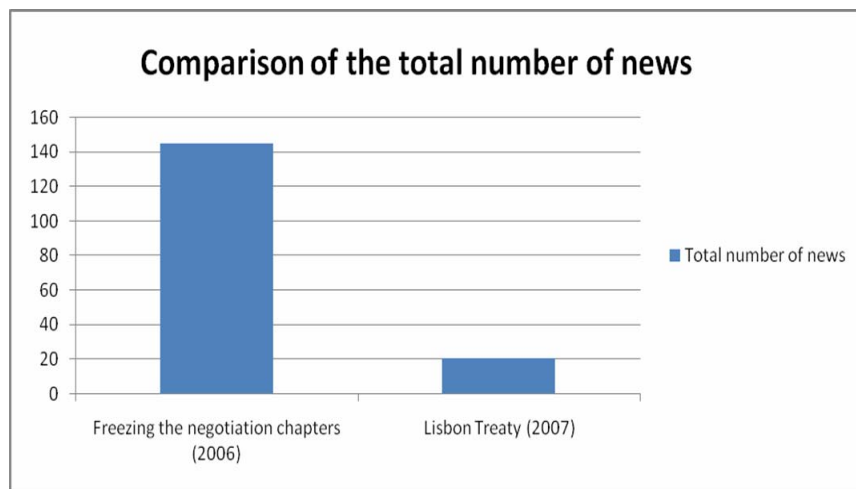


Figure 20: Comparison of the total number of news items (2006 – 2007)

Looking at the number of news items about suspending the negotiations in 2006 and the Lisbon Treaty in 2007, there are 148 for the former case, while only 20 for the latter. Similarly, the total of number of columns is 188 for 2006 and 25 for 2007.

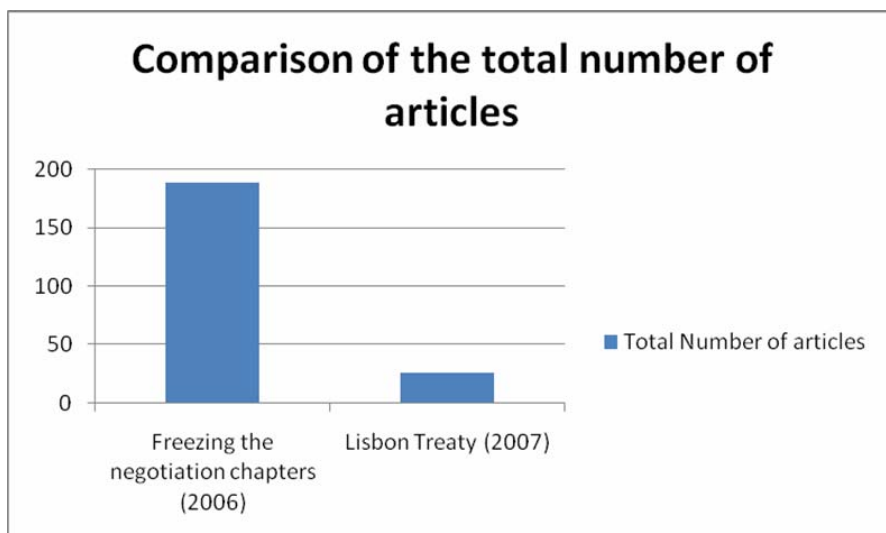


Figure 21: Comparison of the total number of columns (2006- 2007)

Another comparison can be made in terms of the number of status 1 news items. In line with the difference between the total number of news items and columns in 2006 and 2007, the number of status 1 news items in 2006 outweighs the number in 2007. Yet, it will be useful to mention that the ratios of status 1 news items to the total number news items which is $45 / 148$ in 2006 and $7 / 20$ in 2007, which is around $1/3$ for both cases.

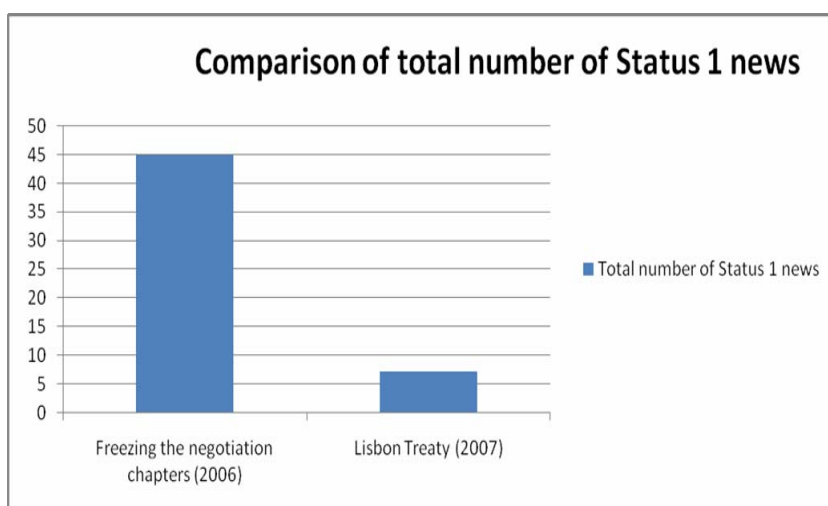


Figure 22: Comparison of total number of status 1 news items (2006- 2007)

The final comparison of the total size of the news items between the 2006 and 2007 cases also does not show any difference from the previous findings. The total size of news cm on the front page is 28077 cm² for the case of suspending the negotiation chapters with Turkey, whereas it is only 3782 cm² for the Lisbon Treaty. Looking at the total size of news on the front page with their extensions, it is 93480 cm² for 2006 and 15171 cm² for 2007. One might expect that even though the given space in the front page is not large, there might be bigger coverage in the extension, and the difference between the total sizes with extension would be smaller. Indeed it is so, but still a slight ratio difference which is 1/ 7 in 2006 and 1/ 6 in 2007.

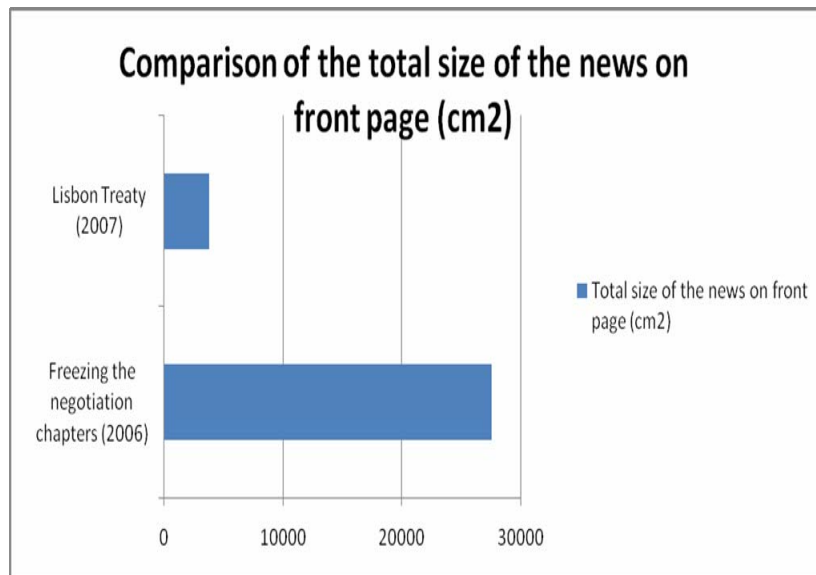


Figure 23: Comparison of the total size of the news items (cm²) on the front page (2006- 2007)

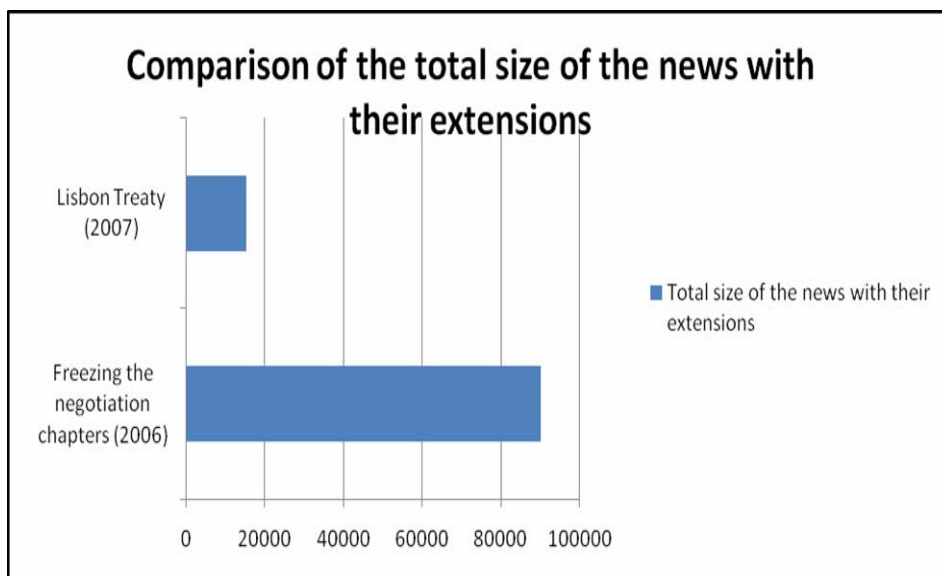


Figure 24: Comparison of the total size of the news items (cm²) with their extensions (2006-2007)

The aforementioned results reveal that Turkish media's interest in general EU affairs and the prominent developments in the EU are smaller than Turkey oriented news. This is, in fact, not a surprising finding when we take into account the smaller results about the EU media into account. Turkey is not an EU member yet and it is inevitable that the attention will be focused on the Turkey's EU accession process. Nevertheless, it is surprising that a prominent development about the future of the EU which will also affect the enlargement process and so Turkey as well, cannot find any place in the news. It is even more surprising that the single news items that is about the Lisbon Treaty is published on Yeni Şafak's front page, instead of the other mainstream dailies analyzed. It is important to express that Hürriyet published Lisbon Treaty related news, but since only the news on the front page was chosen, it was not included in the selected data.

All in all, there are three main conclusions to be drawn from the findings. First of all, even if there is a similar level of attention and news coverage about the EU-

Turkey relations in the Turkish media at the same time, the general EU agenda cannot find itself a significant place and attention in news coverage. Secondly, when there are developments on Turkey- EU relations, any internal debate or tension regarding Turkish politics counteracts the main news and they become the main focus. Finally, ideologically polarized media have a larger interest on the EU related news and when compared to the newspapers with a relatively neutral stance, total size, frequency of status 1 news items and total number of news items are much higher in those ideologically polarized newspapers.

CHAPTER 4

CONTENT ANALYSIS: NATIONALIZATION OF THE EU NEWS

“...but we were discussing Turkey’s EU accession process, not the regime³.”

4.1 Content of the Analysis and the Indicators

In the previous chapter, Europeanization of Turkish media was analyzed through exploring the intensity and prevalence of the news coverage and the media’s focus of attention on the EU related issues among the newspapers. As the second step of my analysis, I will look at the content of the news and will discuss the concept of Europeanization in terms of how the Turkish newspapers present the news and which frames and meaning patterns are employed in the news and columns. As it has been mentioned in an earlier chapter, in a sense, was seeking to analyze news and columns within the context of Risse and Van De Steeg’s first assumption on the emergence of a European Public Sphere (EPS). This chapter, on the other hand, will be focused on the second assumption, which suggests that an EPS can only occur “if and when similar frames of reference, meaning structures, and patterns of interpretation are used across national public spheres and media” (2003:2). While

³ Güven, Erdal. 2006b. “Hangi birini eleştirmeli?”, *Radikal*, December 10: 12.

this assumption refers to a comparison across the national media of the EU member states, it is possible to apply it to the Turkey- specific case. This chapter will use this perspective to explore how those frames of reference, meaning structures and patterns of interpretations show similarities and differences across different national dailies in Turkey. This Turkey- focused analysis can also be considered as valuable for comparative studies across national public spheres.

This chapter also includes an analysis of the Turkish media with respect to an informative frame in the news. It will be mainly discussed whether the newspapers fulfill the basic requirement of providing the necessary information in their EU related news. The question of the relationship between giving adequate information and Europeanization can be raised. How can being informative be related to being Europeanized? This project will be borrowing from Gramberger (1997:78), Bijmans and Altides (2007) who argue that a multilevel deliberate process in the public sphere can only occur when the political institutions and media can inform the citizens “comprehensively about policy facts and political targets”. In other words, when a discussion on a particular EU issue takes place, there is the need to provide the necessary information in order to present the true picture or at least give sufficient material to the public for deliberative discussions on that particular issue. Being one of the basic points of journalism, providing necessary information also contributes to the discussions on Europeanization. The newspapers report on the EU issues depending on how much they know about the EU and the particular issue they report. If EU issues find a significant attention in the newspapers, it should be also analyzed by what is really presented to the public by those newspapers.

Equally important to “what is being covered in the news” is “how the news is covered. Having manipulative biases, editorial concerns, filtering the news according

to the general stance of the newspaper and domination of the ideology over the actual news content turns the news into a propaganda tool and prevents an accurate flow of information via media. The present chapter will provide a detailed analysis of how EU related news is covered in the Turkish media and look at whether there are noticeable common denominators to indicate that there is a degree of Europeanization and whether the newspapers inform the public adequately about the selected cases.

The previous studies about the Europeanization of the media have employed different methods and indicators to make such an analysis. These were either frame analyses or interview-based discussions, making a combination of the previous studies, metaphoric analyses, comparative analyses, longitudinal discourse analyses and content analyses⁴. While determining the indicators for my content analysis, those previous studies provided a useful background and I modified some of their indicators for applying them to this analysis as well. The framings that are employed in Koenig et al.'s (2006) research gave inspiration for building the indicators of this analysis. Differing from other examples in the literature, their analysis included Turkey as well as some EU member countries and the US. Thus, it enabled some of the discussions and framings to the Turkey-specific research that was conducted. One of them was the “clash of civilization” framework which is one of the four frames that are employed in Koenig et al.'s (2006) research. It shows how the media perceives religion and whether they claim different cultural and religious identities are incompatible. I applied this frame to my analysis as the “reference to religion” indicator and actually the results of the both studies were similar as the “incompatible identities” discourse is not commonly used in Turkish media. Another

⁴ See Koenig et al. (2006), Arsan (2007), Bijmans and Altides (2007), Saka (2006), Siff et al. (2007), Risse and Van De Steeg (2003), Machill et al. (2006).

frame in the same column is “nationalism” frame, which is frequently used in the Turkish media⁵. Thus, having the same basis, the nationalism perspective was involved in my analysis as the “news orientation” indicator, which reveals the prevalence of national and EU- oriented news. Apart from that, the discussion about EU supportiveness- skepticism is one of the common aspects of Europeanization which finds itself a significant place in the literature⁶. Hence, this aspect is also involved in my analysis as an indicator, which seeks to explore the general attitude of the Turkish media towards Europeanization. In addition to these for the informative frame analysis, Kovacic’s (2005) discussion on the responsibility of media for adequately informing the public about the EU issues and the EU accession itself was very useful to this analysis.

As news and columns are analyzed within the given time period, separate indicators for both were determined instead of applying the same indicators for all. For instance, informative frame was only searched in the news because a column, which basically refers to the columnist’s own ideas about a specific issue do not necessarily have to include an informative aspect. In light of the difference between the content of news and columns, the indicators, which are listed below, were employed for the content analysis:

4.1.1 Indicators for News

1. News subject: This first indicator for the content analysis of the news basically determines whether the subject of the news is Turkey or the EU. Its main objective is to explore the focal point with which the news is being evaluated from by the Turkish newspapers. In other words, it mainly gives an

⁵ See Yumul and Kırımlioğlu (2000).

⁶ See Güneş-Ayata (2003) and Çarkoğlu (2003).

answer to the question of whether the news is presented with a nationalized or a Europeanized frame. It explores whether the news focuses on the developments predominantly in the EU, in Turkey and in the EU member states. To do so, five options are designated for the operationalization. First of all, if the news items were mostly or totally written by taking Turkey as the main subject, such as “Like the EU, Ankara is preparing for putting on break in its relation with the EU (“Ankara da AB Gibi”), then the main subject in the news was coded as “Turkey”. Secondly, when the subject of the news was mostly / totally the EU, such as “EU blocked the process” (“AB Süreci Tıkadı”) it was coded as “the EU”. Third, if the news were both focused on Turkey and the EU and were giving both the developments from Turkey and the EU in a balanced way, they were coded as “equal”. Fourth, when the news was mainly focused on an EU member state but did not directly refer to the EU or any EU institution itself, then it was coded as “other (EU member)”. Finally, if the news focused on neither Turkey nor the EU but still referred to the selected cases or the mutual relations, then the news subject was coded as “other”. While grouping the news according to this coding scheme, the title and the whole news body was read and they were coded mainly by taking the subject of the sentences into consideration.

2. Informative frame: One distinctive aspect of this analysis is that, it looks through the news content not only from an EPS perspective, but it also provides additional insight in terms of the media’s basic responsibility to provide required information on a specific issue. This indicator shows where each newspaper stands between the informative and propagandist spectrum. This, I believe, is another prominent indicator of Europeanization, since

media have a vital role on providing the necessary flow of information about the EU related issues, especially in Turkey, where Turkey's EU accession is one of the main subjects of discussion in the media. While discussing the current developments on mutual relations, giving inadequate information about the process and filtering or manipulating the information come to fore as some of the insufficiencies of media. Within this perspective, I employed an informative analysis for measuring the degree to which the Turkish newspapers fulfill the basic criteria in terms of informing the public about any EU-related issue. To do so, I designed a basic evaluation for both cases which consist of two separate grading figures for each selected case and I graded the newspapers over 3. For the 2006 case, I determined three basic points which had to be included in the news which were the "Council's decision on suspending the negotiations in eight chapters on 11 December 2006", "approval of the decision in the following EU Summit on 15 December 2006" and "general decisions about the EU Summit 2006". Each of them was 1 point with 3 points in total. Using 3 criteria for evaluation, I also employed several sub-topics to make a more robust calculation. I divided the first criterion into five sub-parts about the content of the decision which were "mentioning the suspension in 8 chapters", "not closing the other chapters until Turkey fulfills its obligations on the Additional Protocol", "names of the suspended chapters", "opening the other chapters within the given procedures" and "Commission reports till 2009" and I gave 0.20 points for each which were in total 1 point. I applied similar logic on the third criteria, divided it into two sub-parts which were "mentioning the new enlargement strategy" and "other general decisions that were approved in the

2006 Summit”. While the former was 0.80 points, the latter was 0.20 points, because the main focus on the 2006 Summit was the EU enlargement rather than the other issues that were discussed. The basic reason for choosing the general decisions about the EU Summit was measuring the degree of interest of the Turkish media in general EU affairs as well, which can also be considered another indicator of Europeanization. The same grading scheme was also applied to the 2007 case and I chose two evaluation criteria which were “signing the Lisbon Treaty” and similar to 2006 “the 2007 EU Summit”. While the former was divided into two parts which were “signing the treaty on 13.12.2007” (1 pt) and “content of the treaty”(1.5 pts), the latter had also two sub-parts; “EU Summit’s decisions on Turkey” (0.25 pts) and “general decisions approved in the summit” (0.25 pts). Like the first case, those were in total 3 points. The reason for assigning fewer points to the EU Summit 2007 was because the main focus on the Lisbon Treaty. Since there was very little news on this specific event, the goal was a clearer distinction among the newspapers with reference to their interest in this case.

4.1.2 Indicators for Columns

1. Reference to religion: This indicator is employed for the columns in order to explore whether Turkish media consider Turkey and the EU as two incompatible cultures and / or identities. This analysis will both show whether the previous results are re-verified or whether there is a wide spread “incompatible identities” approach in the Turkish media as well. For the evaluation four options were determined, which were “religion is the main obstacle in Turkey- EU relations”, “religion is one of the obstacles in Turkey- EU relations”, “Islamic Turkey” and “no evaluation”. While the third

assumption was not initially employed, I came up with a significant number of columns that consider religion as a threat and obstacle, but this time pointing Turkey instead of the EU. Thus, the columns which have the perspective that “Since EU is a Christian community, Turkey, whose majority is Muslim, cannot have a place in the EU” belong to the first option, whilst the ones who directly pinpoint Turkey and claim that Turkey is becoming an Islamic country belong to the third option.

2. Progress of the EU: When compared to news, columns can be considered as clearer reflectors of a newspaper’s general stance on a particular subject. Whilst news is supposed to be written in a more formal and unbiased language, columnists can discuss any topic more subjectively. Even though some newspapers like Radikal have a more diversified number of columnists, it is –except very few cases- generally unexpected from a columnist to write something that is totally not in accordance with the ideology of the newspaper he / she writes for. With respect to the EU, a more open and intense debate is expected from the columnists, which can either refer to the mutual relations, Turkey’s accession to the EU, recent developments and decisions or the future of the EU itself. If such a European sphere of discussion exists, the content of those debates, in my opinion, are closely related with Europeanization among the newspapers as well. In the light of this assumption, another indicator for analyzing the columns was chosen as the discussions about the progress of the EU. It was basically employed in order to reveal how the EU is perceived by the columnists and to see whether there is a separate discussion about the EU, its current situation and its future. To

do so, I determined three options for coding the columns which were “EU making progress”, “EU stagnating” and “no evaluation”.

3. EU –skepticism & EU- supportiveness: The third and final indicator for analyzing the columns seeks to explore the general perception about the EU by the Turkish journalists. In fact, this can be regarded a re-verification of the previous studies about EU- skepticism / supportiveness in the Turkish media as well. It should be underlined that the goal is not to show whether Turkish media support Turkey’s EU accession or not. Instead this explores the variation among the newspapers and going beyond that to reveal the motivations for having a pro or anti EU stance. An interesting finding within the columns is that the EU- skepticism is not solely a very strong EU criticism and a direct opposition to the EU. Instead, in addition to those kind of columns, there was also a noteworthy number of columns which were reflecting what Visier (2006) calls the “love and hate relationship” of Turkey with the EU. Albeit the accusations towards the EU such as being unfair, hypocritical, selfish and uncompromising, the support for Turkey’s accession to the EU was still encouraged and welcomed by the journalists. Taking this into account, four options were determined for coding, which were “EU- Skepticism (without membership vision)”, “EU- Skepticism (with membership vision)”, “EU Supportiveness” and “no evaluation”.

After giving the basic explanation about the indicators for the content analysis, in this part, the main results will be illustrated and, as with the previous chapter, the cases of suspending the negotiation talks with Turkey on 11 December 2006 and signing the Lisbon Treaty on 13 December 2007 will be analyzed separately. For

each case, first will be the content of the news and second, content of the columns will be explored with respect to the aforementioned indicators. .

4.2 Case 1: EU Foreign Ministers' Decision on Partial Freezing of 8 Negotiation Chapters with Turkey (Period of Analysis: 4- 18 December 2006)

As it was discussed in the descriptive analysis, the number of the news is trending up on some specific days due to the fact that, apart from the main event of suspending the negotiations, there are also some triggering events which lead to an increase in the number of news in those days. The selected fifteen-day period can be briefly explained as French- German talks on Turkey's situation and especially German Chancellor Angela Merkel's statement on Turkey, the Turkish government's proposal of opening one airport and one seaport to Cyprus for avoiding sanctions against Turkey and the EU Foreign Ministers' decision on suspending the negotiations in eight chapters and its approval in the EU Summit. When analyzing the results, I will focus on these three developments and how they were covered in the selected newspapers. Whilst the media's focus of attention and the prevalence of the news are similar, there are very obvious differences in the way they are presented. Dominance of nationalist discourses, a newspaper's own ideological and political stance and their relationship with the government are the main factors influencing news coverage. Yet, despite the significant differences in the presentation of the news, the very basic common denominator of all the newspapers is a shift of focus from the main topic of suspending the negotiation talks with Turkey to Turkey's internal political affairs. Moreover, the event also leads to an intense debate on the Cyprus issue, national sovereignty, and more importantly, a questioning of state- military and government relations.

4.2.1 News Subject

Figure 25 illustrates the results of news coding according to the main subject of the news. It clearly shows that Turkey is the main actor, in other words, the subject in 50 % of the news, which refers to the fact that the EU related news has a more national orientation in terms of their coverage. This result suggests that the selected news mostly includes the statements of Turkish politicians or other Turkish actors and the internal debates. The EU is the main subject of 21 % of the news, while 19 % of the news consists of news and statements of EU members, 8 % of the news equally take Turkey and the EU as subjects and 2 % of the news belongs to other countries and / or actors rather than Turkey and the EU. In fact, when we look from another perspective and take both “main subject EU” and “main subject other (EU member)” into account, we can also suggest that EU- oriented news consist of 40 % of the total news, which is still not higher than Turkey focused news, but refers to a much higher percentage. Thus, even though Turkey and Turkish political actors are the main subject of most the news, there is still a noteworthy percentage of EU or any EU-member focused news as well. Also, most of the news with “other (EU member)” as subject consists of German Chancellor Merkel and French President Jacques Chirac’s talks and statements about Turkey. The news are generally about re-evaluating Turkey’s accession process to the EU and making more strict sanctions on Turkey unless it fulfills its Additional Protocol obligations.

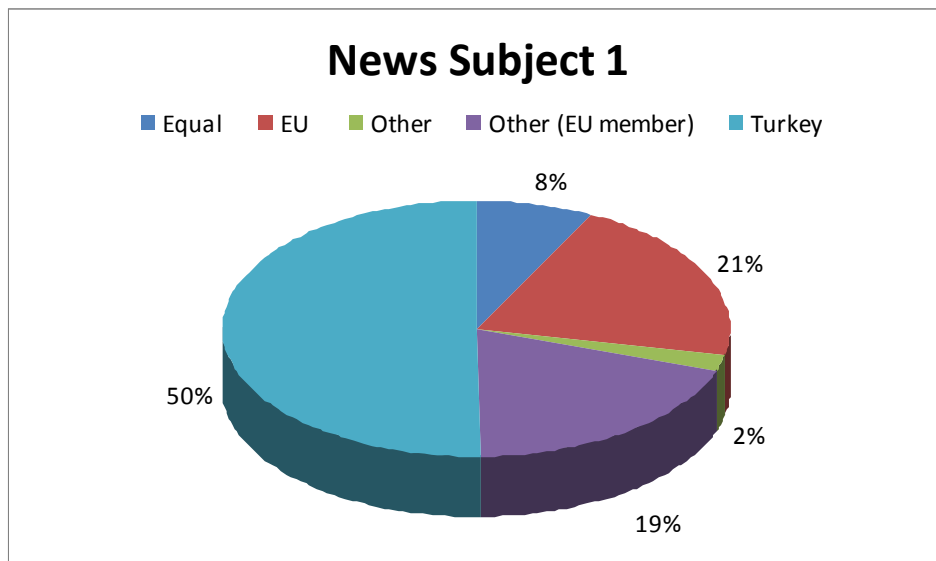


Figure 25: News subject 1 (4- 18 December 2006)

Looking from a different perspective, even though there is a significant amount of news whose subject is “other (EU member)”, still the general news on the EU itself, its institutions and its general agenda have a lower weight overall. It should also be mentioned that in a situation directly related to the future of the accession negotiations with the EU in which Turkey is faced with several risks of being exposed to strict sanctions from the EU, and the Additional Protocol and Cyprus issue are also in the agenda, it is inevitable that there will be a more Turkey- focused debate within the newspapers. Even the EU media itself is far from achieving the internalization of EU news, so it is not a very reasonable expectation of the Turkish newspapers to put an EU-focus in the news. Nonetheless, the findings confirm the assumption that domestic concerns and internal focused news are the main motivators for the Turkish media when covering any EU- related news.

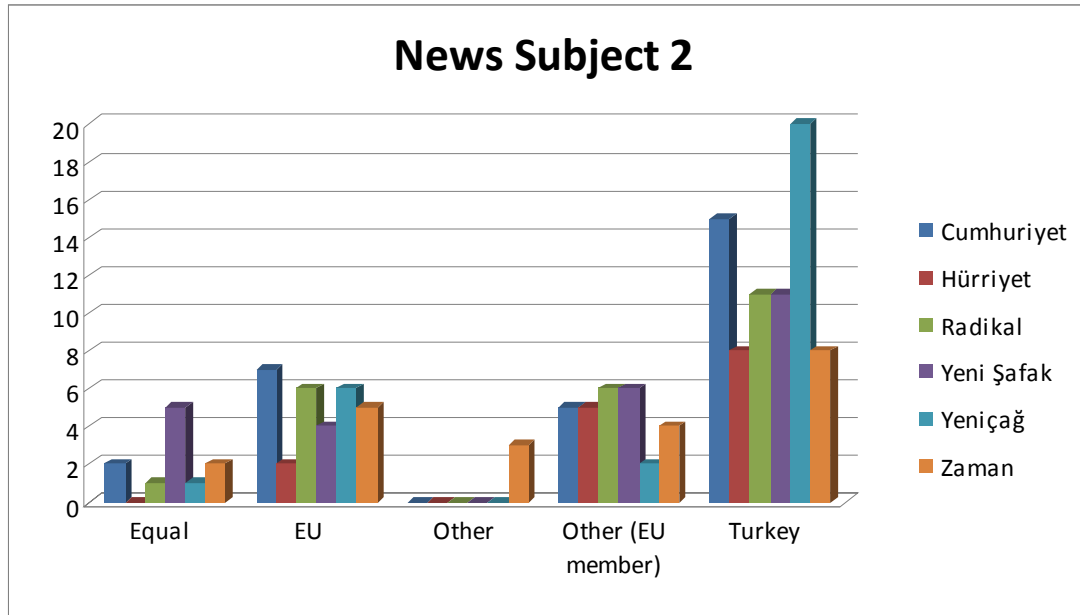


Figure 26: News subject 2 (4- 18 December 2006)

Figure 26 presents the results in line with earlier findings by showing the distribution of the news according to the news orientation. There is a visible intensity of all newspapers on the main actor- Turkey news. Specifically, national oriented news outweighs the EU- oriented news. Again Yeniçağ and Cumhuriyet, the two newspapers with the most nationalist discourses, have the highest intensity on national oriented news. Yet, Cumhuriyet is also the newspaper with the highest number of EU- oriented news as well. Both Yeniçağ and Cumhuriyet have a bigger number of related news when compared to the other four, which may explain this. In terms of Turkey and EU oriented news, they might have a bigger intensity. But, certainly, especially in Yeniçağ, the national orientation is clearly significant.

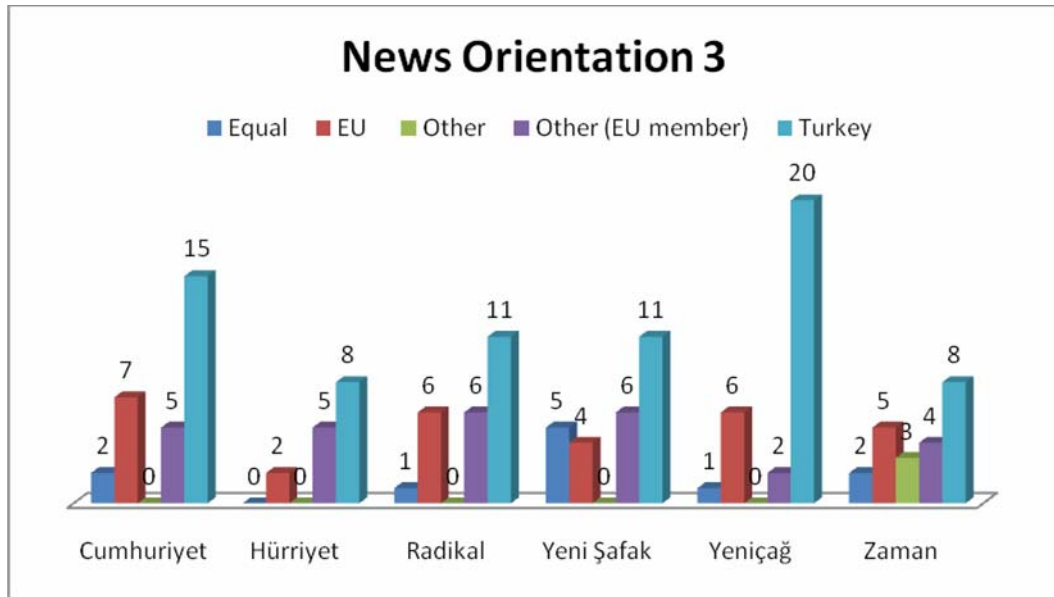


Figure 27: News subject 3 (4- 18 December 2006)

In Figure 27, the distribution of the news according to the newspapers is illustrated. With the assistance of this figure, I will attempt to make a small analyses of each newspaper to locate the similarities and differences among them in terms of news orientation and s content. A common observation for all is the predominance of national over European, yet there are differences. There is a difference between national and EU oriented news and the news perspectives within the selected newspapers.

Yeniçağ has the highest number of news with the national- orientation, followed by Cumhuriyet. This is not a surprising result when the strong nationalist discourses of both newspapers are taken into consideration. Nevertheless, there is a basic difference between the two. Cumhuriyet still has a higher number of EU-oriented news, and actually when the news about EU members are also added, the difference between the EU and national oriented news is not very considerable. This situation is the same among all of the other newspapers except Yeniçağ. Even the sum of “EU- oriented” and “other (EU member) oriented” news is still lower when

compared to the national oriented news. From these findings it can be concluded that the newspapers with a strong nationalist stance are more national oriented when presenting the news. Especially Yeniçağ, which explicitly opposes the EU, the number of national oriented news are much higher than the EU- oriented news.

News which is equally Turkey and EU oriented is not common. The newspaper with the highest number of is Yeni Şafak (5), followed by Cumhuriyet (2), Zaman (2), Yeniçağ (2) and Radikal (1). Also, only Zaman has a couple of news with other main actors apart from EU, Turkey and EU member states. Those mainly consist of news from the international press and how they assess the current situation of Turkey- EU relations and also the Iranian Minister of Foreign Affairs statements about Turkey.

Whilst the main news topics are similar within the newspapers during the selected time period, the content and news perspectives show noteworthy differences among those national dailies. As I have mentioned before, there are three main breaking points which trigger the intensity of the news and reveal the basic similarities and differences. To begin with, despite the differences, some of which can be even considered fundamental, the common denominator for all six newspapers is the “alliance against Turkey” approach. The basis of this approach is the Merkel- Chirac talks about applying several sanctions on Turkey in the aftermath of the Commission’s advice on suspending the negotiations with Turkey. Furthermore, those are mainly the ones whose subject is the “other (EU members)”. For instance Cumhuriyet gives the Weimar meeting of Merkel, Chirac and Polish President Leh Kaczysinski the headline: “Paris- Berlin wall” and mentions the support of Chirac for giving Turkey an 18-months period to open its ports to Cyprus (“Paris – Berlin Duvarı”).Elsewhere, it covers the “consensus” of Chirac and Merkel on monitoring

Turkey for those 18-24 months using the title of “This train will hardly depart” (“Bu Tren Zor Kalkar”). Radikal also gives Merkel and Chirac a title: “Respiter twosome: Chirac support to Merkel (“Mühletçi İkili”) and discusses that Merkel is pushing forward to make Turkey pay a heavier price for not opening its ports (“Mühlet: Bahar 2009”). In a similar vein, Zaman says the time imposition of Merkel and Chirac makes Turkey angry and that Merkel asks for the re-evaluation of the negotiations with Turkey before 2009 (“Merkel ve Chirac”). Another observation is that as Yeni Şafak seems to be one of the strongest supporters of the EU accession, it is also the one which is the most reproachful against the opinions of Merkel and Chirac and considers Germany and France as the “Weimar allies” against Turkey (“Türkiye’ye Karşı İttifaka Tepki”). Similar to Yeni Şafak, Yeniçağ also considers the demands of Chirac and Merkel about Turkey an “alliance against Turkey” and that the EU is getting tougher against Turkey (“AB Türkiye’ye Karşı”). Compared to the other five newspapers, Hürriyet shows a more moderate stance, and uses the headline: “No ultimatum” and underscores the basic developments prior to the EU Foreign Ministers meeting (“Ültilatom Yok”).

The second development is the government’s proposal of opening one airport and one seaport to Cyprus. This is the second case which stimulates news within the specified period and it actually lays the groundwork for shifting the focus from EU-Turkey relations to domestic politics and receives more news coverage than the actual decision of suspending the negotiation talks with Turkey. In the aftermath of the government’s non-paper submission to the proposal to the EU Term President in Finland, there is a similar news prevalence among the newspapers, which on the other hand shows significant differences in terms of how they were covered. The direction of the discussions turns to the correctness or incorrectness about the method

that was followed, not informing the military and the successful or unsuccessful action of the government. Those discussions are covered differently in the newspapers.

While analyzing the related news about this second development, three different groups appear in terms of the news content. These are supportive news, oppositional news and neutral news. *Yeni Şafak* and *Zaman* belong to the first group, which are mainly in favor of the government's proposal and consider the move a successful diplomatic maneuver to avoid heavier sanctions on Turkey by the EU. The second group consists of *Yeniçağ* and *Cumhuriyet*, which basically focus on the Cyprus aspect and consider the proposal the recognition of the Southern Cyprus administration and claim that the ruling Justice and Development Party (JDP), and especially Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdullah Gül, have ignored the intrastate dynamics and that their offer not even be taken into consideration by the EU. The last group includes *Radikal* and *Hürriyet*, which do not cover the news from those two extreme perspectives, but their tone can be considered as "balanced" instead of "unbiased". The news in these two dailies do not include very explicit pro or anti government / military stances, unlike the other newspapers.

First of all, both *Zaman* and *Yeni Şafak* consider the proposal of the government as a "proposal for solution" and a "surprise move". *Zaman* suggests that the Turkish government took a surprising step and the solution package had a huge effect on the EU agenda which drives the Greeks and the Greek Cypriots into the corner ("Türkiye'nin Çözüm Hamlesi"). According to the newspaper, the Cyprus move of the government is on the whole world agenda now ("Dünya Türkiye'yi Konuşuyor") and TUSIAD (Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association)

also supports the proposal (“TUSIAD”) Zaman suggests that the offer blocked and divided the EU and that COREPER (Comité Des Représentants Permanents) was having difficulty making a decision about Turkey (“Türkiye’nin Kıbrıs Hamlesi”). Similarly, according to Yeni Şafak, Ankara took the initiative and both shocked Brussels and drove Greek Cypriots into corner (“Sürpriz Hamleyle”). It is also reported that Brussels was locked up and that the reactions from the EU were very positive (“Brüksel Kilitlendi”). Both newspapers claim that the government made a very successful move, but the internal debates and the statements of military and the Presidency overshadowed the success of this diplomatic maneuver (“İçerideki Siyasi Tartışmalar”, “Milli Çıkarları Gölgelemeyin”).

In opposition to Zaman and Yeni Şafak, Cumhuriyet and Yeniçağ have a completely different evaluation of the developments. Cumhuriyet considers the proposal as the implicit recognition of the Greek administration in Cyprus (“Örtülü Tanıma”) and the proposal is claimed to have received a big reaction so that the state was ignored and that it was a diversion from the official ideology of the state (“Devlet Yok Sayıldı”). Similarly, Yeniçağ perceives the proposal as destructive to the Turkish administration in Cyprus (“Kimin Fikri Geldi”) and quotes from Devlet Bahçeli (leader of the Nationalist Movement Party in Turkey), who suggests that cheap bargaining over ports turned into a disgrace (“Maskaralık”).

Finally, neither Radikal nor Hürriyet have a very direct and explicit stance about the government’s proposal, but they are not very reluctant on the Cyprus issue. Yet, they also do not indicate open support to the government. Instead of the government support or criticism, their basic focus is the debate between the government, military and the Presidency about the way the proposal was made and whether the state institutions were adequately informed. It can be also suggested that

both newspapers avoid leveling direct criticism at the government, military or state institutions. This is why I consider the news coverage of these two newspapers rather “balanced”, instead of “unbiased”.

Looking at the third and the last breakpoint, they are similar to the basic differences on internal debates. There is not similar content in the news about the EU Foreign Ministers’ decision on suspending the negotiations with Turkey in eight chapters. Both Cumhuriyet and Yeniçağ consider the decision as a negative result for Turkey, and while Cumhuriyet reports that the EU blocked the process (“AB Süreci Tıkadı”), Yeniçağ states that the EU ignored the golden goal of the government and that the last minute attack of the government did not give any results (“Ofsayt Kararı”). On the other hand, Radikal notes that the government’s proposal was not taken into account and that there was a break for the EU train, but it quotes from the English Minister of Foreign Affairs Margaret Beckett and reports that there was no train crash and the train is still on the way (“Türkiye’nin Limanlar Önerisi”). With a different stance, according to Hürriyet, the EU found the middle way for Turkey and there is both bad and good news. These include the freezing of the negotiations and the softening of the isolation of Turkish Cypriots (“Bir Kötü Bir İyi Haber”). Finally, both Yeni Şafak and Zaman regard the decision as not a bad result for Turkey. In fact, Yeni Şafak does not even mention that the negotiation talks with Turkey are suspended in the first page and instead claims that despite the discussions about “whether the military and the state was informed”, there were positive results and that finally abolishing the isolation of Turkish Cypriots is in the EU agenda (“Bilgi Brüksel’den”). Finally, Zaman covers the decision as a result which is not bad and even though the negotiations are suspended, the EU train is still described as on the

way. It is also suggested in the newspaper that the decisions, according to the diplomatic circles, send a message to Turkey, which is not negative (“Sekiz Başlık”).

Those results indicate that, apart from having a national orientation in the news, there is also a significant difference in the content of the news among the newspapers. The covered issues are similar, yet the ways they are covered have basic diverging points. This, in my point of view, is dependent on h national orientation because covering the news leads to basic differences in the perception of a particular subject. The support or opposition to government and flavoring the news with nationalist sentiments causes differences on reflecting the news. Yet, these pro- and anti- government attitudes are united under a nationalist rhetoric.

4.2.2 Informative Frame Analysis for News

In this part, Europeanization of Turkish media will be analyzed from a different perspective and whether the newspapers convey the adequate information about the selected case will be explored. Siff et. al (2007) argue that while even EU matters are frequently mentioned in the media, there is still a communication deficit which stands as an obstacle against Europeanization because domestic discourses are still predominant and domestic orientation does not “contribute much to reducing the lack of public information” (2007:137). Furthermore, reporters can convey information about EU issues depending on how knowledgeable they are about the EU itself. Consequently, the public can be assumed to be only as knowledgeable as the reporters themselves.

As previously explained, several criteria were determined to make a general measurement of the sufficiency of the information that the newspapers present. For

the 2006 case; “suspension on eight chapters”, “approval of the decision in the EU Summit” and “general decisions of the summit” were selected as the three basic criteria for evaluating the news. There were also several sub- parts for those criteria which were “mentioning the suspension in 8 chapters”, “not closing the other chapter unless Turkey fulfills its Additional Protocol obligations”, “names of the suspended chapters”, “preparing Commission reports for monitoring Turkey till 2009” and “opening the other chapters in accordance with the specified procedures” for the first criteria and “new enlargement strategy of the EU” and “other decisions taken on the issues like security, environment, etc” for the third criteria. According to these criteria, Table 1 presents the evaluation for the 2006 case among the six selected newspapers:

Table 1: Results of informative frame evaluation (2006)

NEWSPAPERS	suspension in 8 chapters (1)					Approval of the decision	General decisions of the summit (1)		TOTAL (3)
	suspension in 8 chapters(.20)	not closing other chapters (.20)	suspended chapters (.20)	Commission reports till 2009 (.20)	opening the other chapters within the procedures (.20)		new enlargement strategy (.80)	other decisions (.20)	
Hürriyet	.20	.20	.20	.20	.20	0	0	0	1, 0
Cumhuriyet	.20	.20	.20	.20	.20	1	.80	0	2, 80
Yeniçağ	.20	.20	.20	.20	.20	1	.80	0	2, 80
Radikal	.20	.20	.20	.20	.20	1	.80	.20	3, 0
Zaman	.20	.20	0	.20	.20	1	.80	0	2, 60
Yeni Şafak	.20	.20	0	.20	0	1	.80	.20	2, 60

The results show that the newspapers generally give sufficient information about the decision of the Council of the EU⁷. While Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, Yeniçağ and Radikal gives relevant information about all 5 criteria about the suspension of 8 chapters, Zaman gives information about all points but not the names of the

⁷ Here, it must be clarified that, only the news in the front page and their extensions were taken into the evaluation. Because it is assumed in the analysis that news stories which are attached more importance are published on the front page. Thus, an unavoidable consequence is that the news which are not published in the front page, but still relevant are not involved in the evaluation. For instance Hürriyet includes news about the EU Summit, since they are not on the front page, they are not taken into account.

suspended chapters and Yeni Şafak lacks three of the decisions which are the names of the suspended chapters and opening the other chapters within the specified procedures. Except Hürriyet, all newspapers report the approval of the decision in the EU Summit. Looking at the last evaluation criteria, which are the general decisions of the summit, again all newspapers but Hürriyet mention the new enlargement strategy, which was one of the main decisions of the Summit. Yet, only two newspapers, which are Yeni Şafak and Radikal report another topic, which is EU's focusing on institutional reform and its new constitution. Radikal is the only newspaper which gets 3 out of 3 by reporting on all the criteria that are selected for evaluation. Following Radikal, Yeniçağ and Cumhuriyet gets 2.80 because they mention all the required information except the other decisions taken in the EU Summit. Zaman and Yeni Şafak receives 2.60 out of 3, which do not include all the decisions about suspending the negotiations, but still cover news about the EU Summit. And finally Hürriyet only reports the news about the decision and since it does not contain the other necessary information, it receives only 1 point.

Among these six dailies, it is surprising that Hürriyet does not cover the EU Summit news in the front page. It is the biggest mainstream daily and the agenda setter, while even smaller newspapers, like Yeniçağ, provide related news on the front page. The newspaper covers the relevant information about the suspension of negotiation chapters, yet there is no news about the approval of the decision in the EU Summit, nor the general decisions that were taken in the summit. Hence, Hürriyet receives the lowest grade in the evaluation when compared to the other newspapers. One other discussion about Hürriyet is that, although the issue of softening / abolishing the isolations on the northern part of Cyprus is not officially included in the final declaration of Council of General Affairs and External Relations

and it is mentioned in a separate document, Hürriyet makes a certain judgment that the isolation of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is going to be abolished (“AB Orta Yolu Buldu”), which, at that time, was not a finalized issue. This, in my point of view, might have a manipulating effect on shaping public opinion.

An interesting finding is that having an informative frame and having a nationalist discourse or going beyond that, having an anti-EU stance do not correlate. A newspaper, which is EU-skeptic can convey more information when compared to the newspapers which are promoting the EU. For instance, although the nationalist discourses dominate the news, Cumhuriyet is very comprehensive in terms of having providing information. It provides a good flow of information about related issues and directly quotes from the original document of the EU General Affairs and External Relations Council regarding the decisions about Turkey. Apart from that EU Summit, it is given as separate news. Similar to Cumhuriyet, Radikal is informative as well, and actually it is the only newspaper which fulfills all the information criteria. It also publishes the original EU documents; the final declaration of both the Council of the EU and European Council and covers the EU Summit as separate news; it mentions the efforts of reviving the EU Constitution as apart from the new enlargement strategy. Giving adequate information about the suspension of the negotiation chapters, Yeniçağ also reports on the EU Summit and the approval of the decisions about Turkey, but it does not give the summit decisions in general separately, but rather mentions the new enlargement strategy very briefly within the Turkey news. Zaman, on the other hand, provides most of the necessary information as well and has separate news on the EU Summit. Finally, Yeni Şafak, while providing information about both EU Summit in general and issues like new enlargement strategy and institutional reform, is manipulative regarding the

suspension of negotiations. Even though the main news is the EU's decision to freeze the talks with Turkey in eight chapters, Yeni Şafak reports only the success of the government in abolishment in Cyprus and does not mention anything about the main decision on the first page. The decision is only in the extension, which is not more than one paragraph and the main decisions are later mentioned in the EU Summit news.

Taking all these into consideration, several conclusions can be drawn from the evaluation of the selected newspapers. First of all, there is adequate information about the EU Foreign Ministers' main decisions on Turkey and their approval at the EU Summit, though the news perspectives are different among the newspapers. When the general EU agenda is taken into account, it can be suggested that basically the new enlargement strategy is covered in the newspapers, yet this can be because of it was the prior discussion topic in the Summit or it is closely related with Turkey's accession. The other decisions, such as institutional reform and EU Constitution, are not covered by most of the newspapers. Also, sometimes information published might have a manipulative side as well, which is observed in Hürriyet and especially in Yeni Şafak. In conclusion, the information conveyed can be regarded as adequate for the 2006 case, yet it must be also be underlined that the general decisions about the EU Summit have less coverage when compared to the decisions regarding Turkey.

4.2.3 Reference to Religion in Columns

The results of the religion in columns analysis shows a basic difference from Koenig et al (2006)'s research about the Europeanization of the European media, while confirming the results about the Turkish media at the same time. As argued in

this study, the EU media employs the “clash of civilizations” framework quite often, whereas it is not used as frequently in the Turkish media. The main findings of this analysis verifies that Turkish media does not generally have a perception that religion is an obstacle for Turkey- EU relations. Yet, although religious belongings are not regarded as an incompatible identity issue, there is still apprehension about the unfair Christian Europe who wants to exclude Turkey.

Religion presents an interesting picture. “European” media is assumed to be nurtured by values such as democracy, equality and multiculturalism, yet it appears to be less Europeanized. However, the Turkish media, which is much more national-oriented and reflects EU-skepticism quite visibly, seems to have a more Europeanized and multicultural perspective on the cultural differences. In his analysis of how the Turkish accession to the EU is reported in French press, Aissaoui (2007:14) puts forward such an observation:

Drawing on a number of Western cultural references, columns opposing Turkey’s bid often frame this debate from a perspective that pits a wealthy, complex, varied Europe rooted in modernity and able to transcend Christianity—in order to better adopt their religion as a marker of identity—against a backward, poor, Turkish nation fixed in history and Islam.

Kütük (2006) argues that “on the basis of Europeanism, the Other is the Orient the Turk” (2006: 281). This perception leads to a Turkey-skepticism in the EU media, whilst Turkish media has a more inclusive stance which often uses the “bridge between the East and the West” metaphor about Turkey’s accession to the EU. As a result, the news in Turkish dailies very rarely include the religion perspective because religion is generally not considered to as an obstacle between Turkey and the EU.

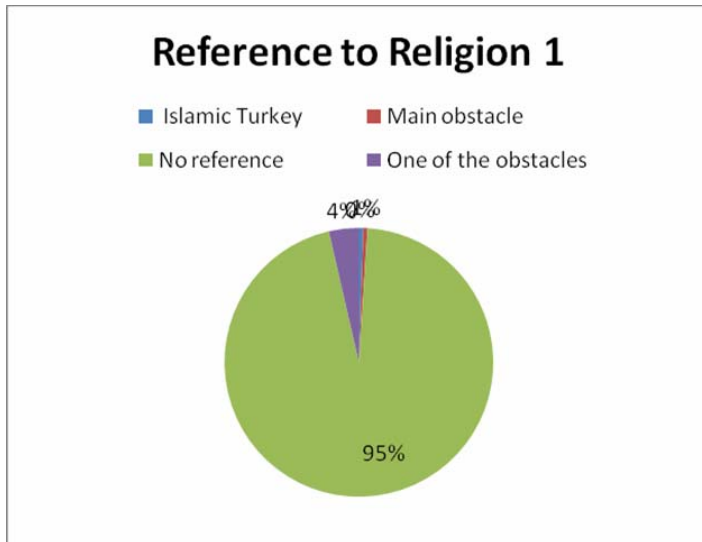


Figure 28: Reference to Religion 1 (4- 18 December 2006)

Figure 28 shows the overall picture of the columns with respect to references to religion. 95 % of the columns do not mention anything about the role of religion on Turkey- EU relations, while only 4 % of the columns consider religion as one of the obstacles for the mutual relations. Apart from that, 0.5 % of the columns views religion as the main obstacle and similarly 0.5 % of the columns refer to Islamic Turkey.

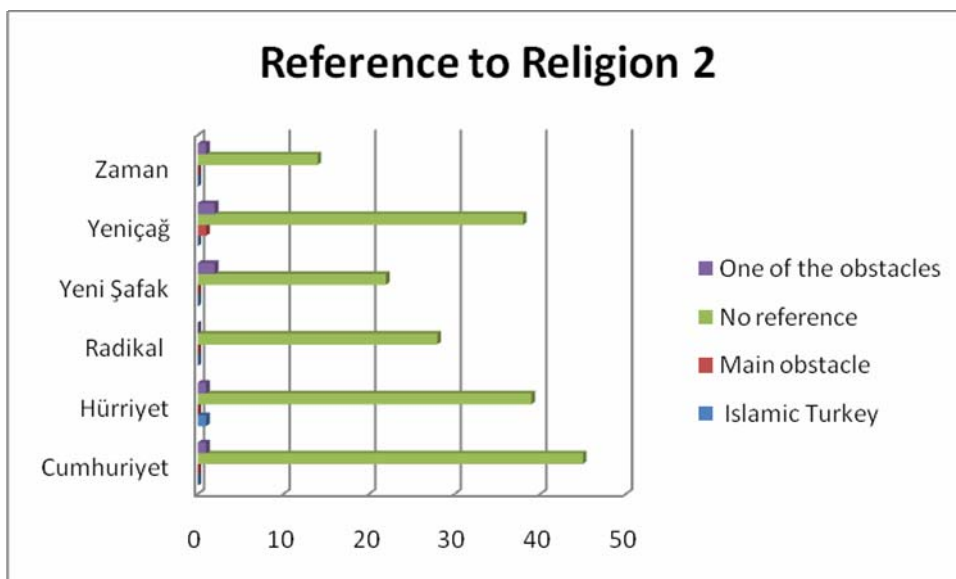


Figure 29: Reference to Religion 2 (4- 18 December 2006)

Looking at the distribution of the four options according to the newspapers, it can be suggested that despite the differences in the number of related columns, each selected newspaper basically do not make any reference to religion, while there is only a small number of columns with any reference to religion. The only judgment that religion is the main obstacle belongs to Ümit Özdağ (2006e) from Yeniçağ. He argues that Turkey can become part of the EU via strong economic cooperation rather than through a federation structure. He argues that in the case of the emergence of a federative EU, Turkey will not be a member since it cannot be part of the Christian public there. Again, in only one column is there a single reference to Islamic Turkey. It is written by Bekir Coşkun from Hürriyet. Coşkun (2006d) who discusses the efforts of Turkey to be an EU member and in an ironic way he considers trying to be a part of the EU with the imams as another smartness show of Turkey.

There are also very few columns which perceive religion as one of the (potential) obstacles for Turkey's EU membership. For instance, Etyen Mahçupyan (2006h) argues that Turkey's EU membership is more of a cultural issue and cultural perception of two cultures that have a history of perceiving each other as the "other". According to Mahçupyan, the integration refers to the self-denial of the two sides and what prevents full integration is the improved acceptance of Christianity as an indispensable element of being European. On the other hand, Cazim Gürbüz (2006f) suggests that the EU is a dictatorship of appointed people and that the EU officials have infinite authorizations and no initiatives for improving minority rights. Moreover, there is high unemployment and he blames this on Christianity by quoting the former Commission President Romano Prodi's words "Christianity has contributed a lot to the formation of the European identity.

4.2.4 Reference to the Progress of the EU in Columns

As with religion, the majority of the columns do not make any evaluation about the progress of the EU. However, the meaning of having no reference using the two established indicators is complex. On one hand, having no reference to religion refers to the fact that religion, from a multi-culturist perspective, is not perceived as a challenge or an obstacle for the mutual relations. This can be read as the idea that because the EU itself has a more negative perception, there is a more Europeanized attitude among the Turkish newspapers. On the other hand, not having so much debate about the EU itself and its progress might be perceived as a lack of a public sphere where the EU in general is discussed deeply apart from specific Turkey – EU relations.

Figure 30 demonstrates that 86 % of the columns do not have any reference to the progress of the EU, whereas a considerable amount of them (13 %) argue that the EU is stagnating. There are, however, nearly no columns which make any positive reference to progress in the EU (1 %). This may be because the newspapers have a similar attitude towards the discussions on the progress of the EU and they basically have the perception that the EU is stagnating instead of making process. At this point, it should be clarified that most of the criticisms about EU's stagnation come from Turkey's EU membership process and they do not generally refer to stagnation in the EU itself. Thus, there is a dilemma between considering having similar arguments as Europeanization or not having general arguments on the EU as non-Europeanization.

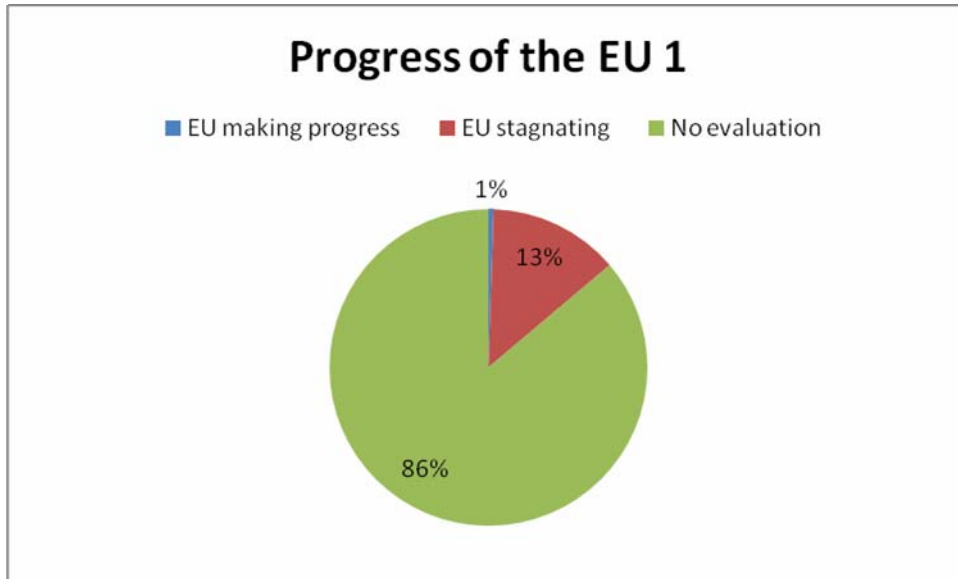


Figure 30: Progress of the EU 1 (4 -18 December 2006)

It seems apparent to me that the different path that Turkey is following during the EU accession process has triggered the “stagnation” rhetoric about the EU. Beginning in the 1960’s, Turkey began its journey to become a member of the EU., All other candidate countries have become EU members in a much shorter period of time than Turkey. The ambiguity about the year that Turkey will become an EU member and the discussions about giving a privileged partnership to Turkey instead of actual membership, might be creating an “awkward” European Union which cannot take any reformist, progressive steps in the minds of Turkish journalists.

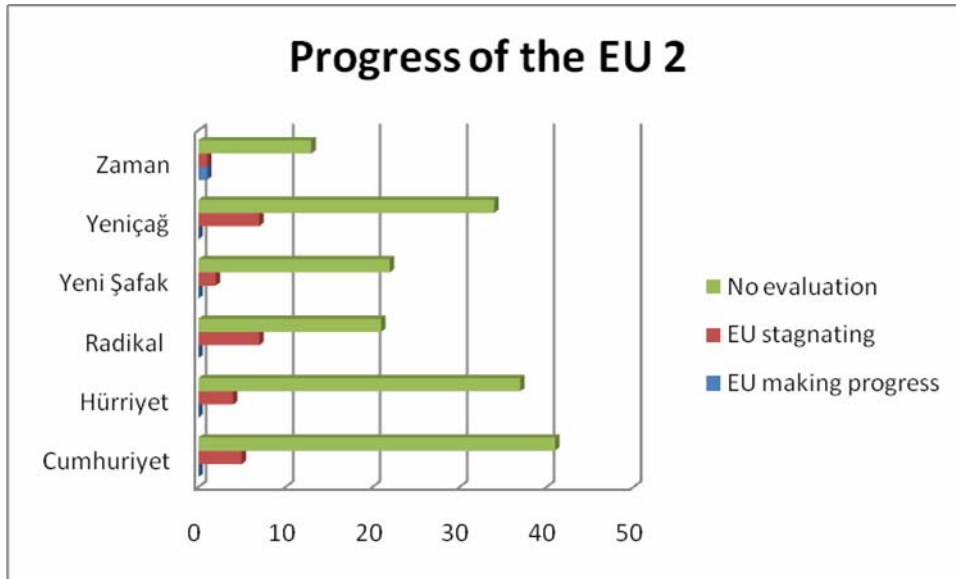


Figure 31: Progress of the EU 2 (4- 18 December 2006)

Looking at the newspapers separately, it can be argued that there is a similar frame of reference among the dailies about the progress of the EU. Whilst there are few references to the progress of the EU, there are a number of columns which have reference to EU stagnation as well as similar references within the news sections.

As aforementioned, the stagnation / progress discussions are instead focused on the EU's relationship with Turkey instead of the internal dynamics of the EU. As an example, Hikmet Bila (2006g) argues that the EU's approach to Turkey has not changed very much since the nineteenth century and that these are still the political and strategic calculations used to make decisions about Turkey. Similarly, regarding the Cyprus issue, Özcan Yeniçeri (2006f) claims that this is a process which is arrested and the opposing sides are just holding each other up. However, Mehmet Ocaktan (2006f) goes beyond the EU- Turkey relations and does discuss the present and future of the EU. In fact, from a familiar point of view: "The new European Union, which was born from the old miserable Europe, turned into a civilization project and came until today. However, the historical roots of Europe, its Crusade

background which becomes visible from time to time and the racist reflections drift Europe to a future which is full of ambiguities. In this global century, when the dialogue between the civilizations is needed most, the EU project is having a big difficulty to stand on its feet.

In conclusion, there is not an intense debate among Turkish newspapers about whether the EU is making progress and there are only a small number of columns which has reference to the progress of the EU. Furthermore, the columnists use similar meaning structures to write about the European Union, which leads them to conclude it is in stagnation, instead of making progress. This stagnation, however, mainly refers to the problems regarding specific Turkey- EU discussions, while the general situation and the progress of the EU are not as commonly discussed as Turkey- EU relations.

4.2.5 EU Supportiveness- EU Skepticism in Columns

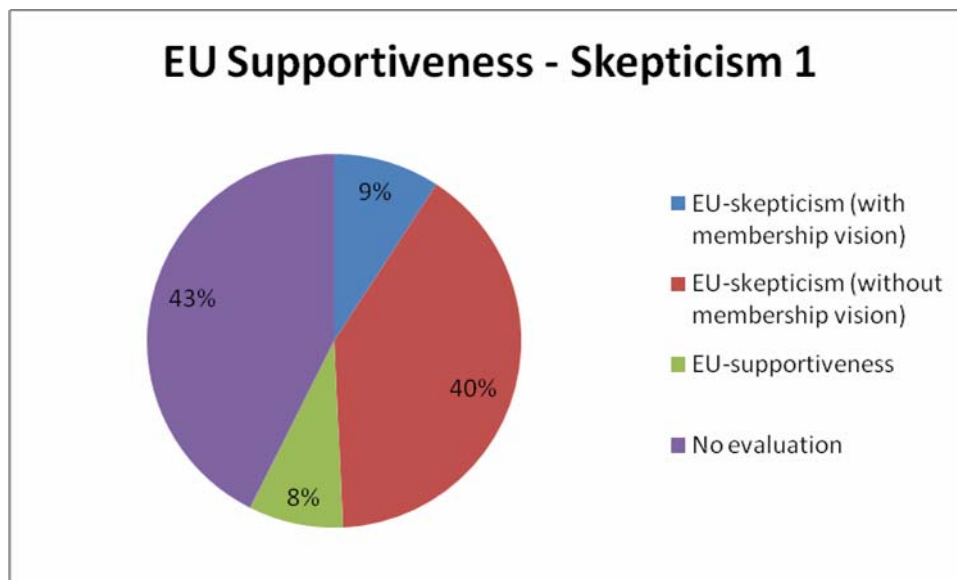


Figure 32: EU supportiveness- skepticism 1 (4- 18 December 2006)

Figure 32 illustrates the overall picture of the degree of EU skepticism and EU supportiveness in the Turkish media. Nearly half of the related columns do not make any evaluation about supporting or opposing to the EU. Nonetheless, there is a very big difference between the EU- skeptic columns without membership vision (40 %) and EU supportive (8 %) and the EU skeptic columns with membership vision (9 %). Although this result might seem to be surprising, when the general EU support in the media is considered, it must be also noted that the image of an unfair EU which continuously creates double standards for Turkey’s accession process is still a persistent perception among the Turkish media. Moreover, nationalist newspapers such as Yeni Şafak and Yeniçağ have a higher number of related columns when compared to other newspapers except Hürriyet. Since most of their columns do have an EU- skeptic stance, this automatically increases the total amount of columns with EU skepticism as well. In order to avoid misleading interpretations, I will also present how the EU skepticism and supportiveness varies from one newspaper to another separately.

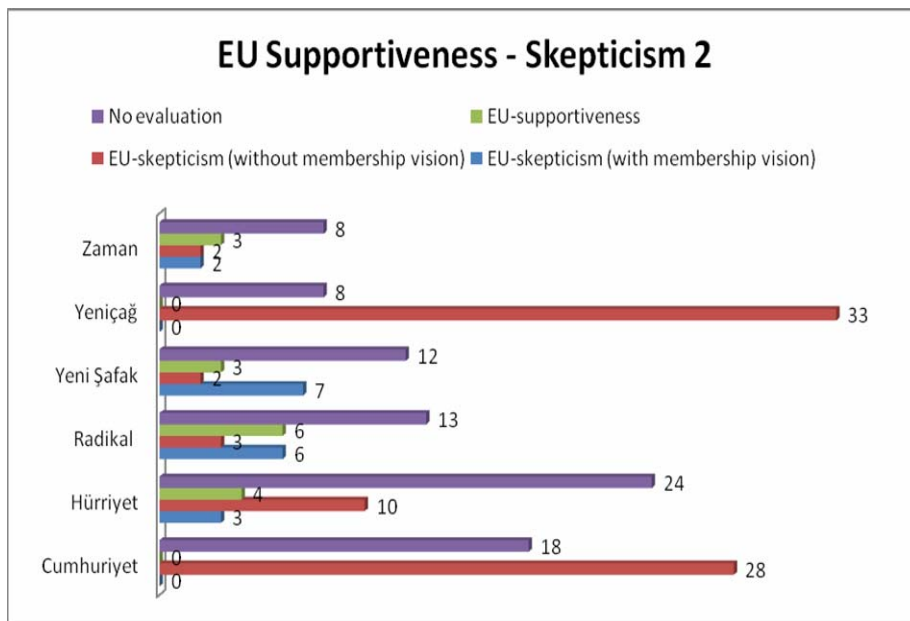


Figure 33: EU supportiveness – skepticism 2 (4 – 18 December 2006)

The distribution of the EU skepticism- supportiveness evaluation among the newspapers indicates that there is not a very similar pattern of interpretation about the EU and there is a varying degree of EU support or skepticism within the newspapers. While Yeniçağ and Cumhuriyet stand out as the two newspapers which mostly consist of EU skeptic columns and columns that are neither EU skeptic with membership vision nor EU supportive, Hürriyet generally has no evaluation about that particular issue. Even though the number of EU skeptic (without membership vision) columns is higher than the others, there is not a very significant difference between those columns with EU supportive and EU skeptic (with membership vision) columns. On the other hand, the number of EU skeptic (without membership vision) columns is lower in Zaman, Radikal and Yeni Şafak. Whilst the number of EU supporter columns is higher in Zaman and Radikal, and Radikal has an equal number of EU skeptic (with membership vision) columns, Yeni Şafak does not show an EU skeptic attitude, but the intensity of EU- skeptic (with membership vision) is higher overall when compared to Radikal and Zaman.

Table 2: The percentage of EU skepticism- supportiveness among the newspapers (4-18 December 2006)

EU Skepticism – Supportiveness					
Newspaper	EU Skepticism (with membership vision) (%)	EU Skepticism (without membership vision) (%)	EU Supportiveness (%)	No evaluation (%)	Total
Hürriyet	7%	24%	10%	59%	100%
Cumhuriyet	0%	61%	0%	39%	100%
Yeniçağ	0%	80%	0%	20%	100%
Radikal	21%	11%	21%	47%	100%
Zaman	13%	13%	20%	54%	100%
Yeni Şafak	29%	8%	13%	50%	100%

Looking at Hürriyet, it can be suggested that even though there is not a common EU skepticism among the columnists, the intense number of columns that are written by columnists like Emin Çölaşan who are strong EU opponents, increase the amount of EU skeptic columns when compared to the EU supportive ones. Yet, it is possible to observe three attitudes in the Hürriyet columns. For example, Çölaşan (2006e) criticizes the government because of their proposal and claims that one day the EU will also put our South East problem on the table as well. Oktay Ekşi (2006f), on the other hand, is reproachful about the EU, but he does not have an oppositional stance as he suggests that the exclusive behaviors of some states like Germany and France prevents optimism in Turkey and that it received a very bad grade from its Turkey examination, which it accepted as a member principally. Hadi Uluengin (2006g), who is one of the strongest EU supporters in Hürriyet, expresses his support for the EU membership through the government's move to open the ports to Cyprus and argues that everybody will see that Turkey's EU ball is on the way to make the goal.

Cumhuriyet and Yeniçağ have a pure EU skeptic stance and the dominance of nationalist sentiments and anxieties about losing national integrity or letting the EU divide the country are quite visible within the columns. As an example, while Ali Sirmen (2006h) argues that the unhealthy relations with the EU are about to break apart and everybody is aware of that, Ümit Zileli (2006i) claims that nobody wants the train to depart even if people are so stupid not to see this fact. Another columnist from Cumhuriyet, Erol Manisalı (2006j) lists the reasons why he is against the EU, which include one sided agreements that exploit Turkey, limiting the relations with Turkey only to trade, saying full membership but returning to only privileged not full

member status, its attempt to divide Turkey with Kurdistan, Armenia and Patriarchate and finally double standards and being against Atatürk.

Zaman, on the other hand, do not show an EU skeptic attitude and most of the columns do have an EU supportive and EU skeptic (with membership vision) approach. According to Nevval Sevindi (2006i) for instance, things are changing in Europe positively and Turkey must be resistant and continue to launch its European wide presentation. The picture is quite similar in Radikal as well. There are a small number of columns which are EU – skeptic (without membership vision). While columnists like İsmet Berkan have a pro- EU stance, there is, at the same time, a significant amount of columns which are in favor of Turkey’s EU membership, but which also criticize the EU because of its attitude towards Turkey. As an example, Hasan Celal Güzel (2006g) argues that even Turkey had stagnation periods during the accession process, and even so it made significant reforms as well and that the EU is still doing its best to keep Turkey away from itself. In a similar vein, Yeni Şafak mostly shows a pro EU stance, whereas the EU- skeptic columns which have membership vision are more dominant than purely EU supportive ones. As with previous arguments, Fehmi Koru (2006g) discusses the different procedure that is applied to Turkey in the accession process and claims that it is a shame for the EU and that it is having a serious leadership problem.

To conclude, the meaning structure of the EU varies among the newspapers as there are only similarities between smaller groups. While pure EU skepticism - without having any membership vision - is dominant in the nationalist newspapers (Cumhuriyet and Yeniçağ), Hürriyet also has more EU skeptic columns even though the number of pure EU skeptic columns are not as high as Yeniçağ and Cumhuriyet. On the contrary, Radikal, Zaman and Yeni Şafak have a more pro-EU attitude, whilst

there are a significant number of columns in both Radikal and Yeni Şafak which have the membership vision but still remain EU-skeptic.

4.3 Case 2: Lisbon Treaty (Period of Analysis: 6- 20 December 2007)

The previous descriptive part clearly put forward that both news and column coverage of the 2006 and 2007 cases show a very significant difference. While there is a huge amount of data on suspending the negotiations with Turkey in 2006, there is hardly any data about the Lisbon Treaty. The existing data of 2007 mainly consists of other Turkey focused EU news and columns. While making the same analysis for the Lisbon Treaty case, this basic difference should be taken into consideration.

4.3.1 News Subject

Within 20 related news items, as with the results of 2006 case, Figure 33 shows that the main actor in the news is Turkey. While the main subject is Turkey in 55 % of the news, 40 % of the news has the EU as the main subject and 5 % both the EU and Turkey are the subjects. Actually, in the Lisbon Treaty case, the difference between national and EU oriented news is smaller, but it might be due to a smaller number of news as well.

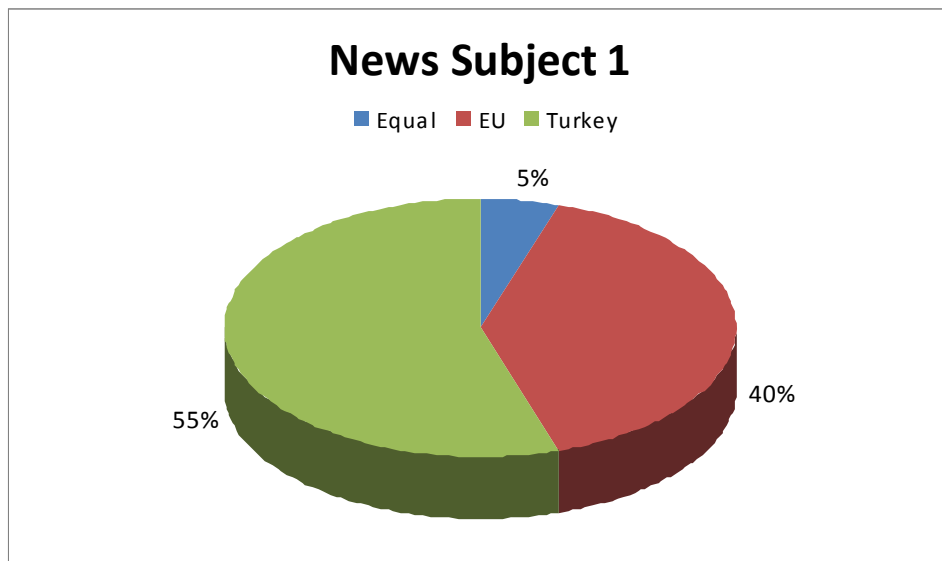


Figure 34: News subject 1 (6- 20 December 2007)

When we look at the distribution among the newspapers, we observe a different result: Having more EU oriented news in some of the newspapers like Radikal, Yeni Şafak and Cumhuriyet, but in the 2006 case all the newspapers were dominated by national oriented news. This is possibly because of the small number of related news. It may also be a result of the fact that this second case is primarily an EU development. However, since the Lisbon Treaty itself is already ignored by the newspapers, coming up with a final conclusion about the main orientation of the newspapers is more difficult with the Lisbon Treaty case.

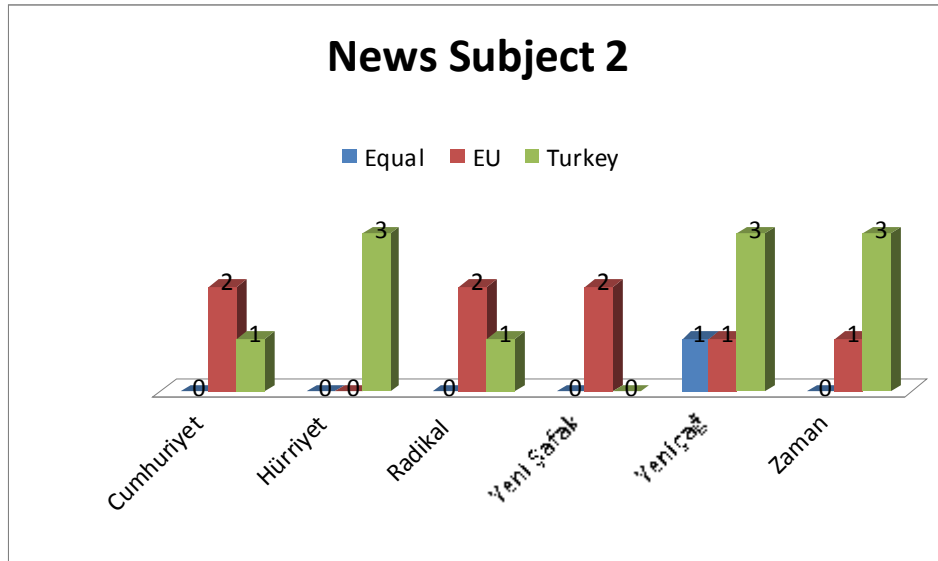


Figure 35: News subject 2 (6- 20 December 2007)

It is hard to find any Lisbon Treaty related news, as there is only a single Lisbon Treaty focused news in Yeni Şafak. Apart from that, the Lisbon Treaty is only written about in one sentence in the complete news in Yeniçağ and Cumhuriyet. Other mentions are more related to French President Nicholas Sarkozy’s efforts to exclude expressions such as “membership” and “accession” when referring to Turkey.

4.3.2 Informative Frame Analysis for the News

Table 3: Informative frame evaluation for Lisbon Treaty case (6- 20 December 2007)

NEWSPAPERS	Signing LT on 13.12.2007 (1)	Content of LT (1.50)	EU Summit		TOTAL (3)
			Decisions on Turkey (.25)	General decisions (ref to LT,etc) (.25)	
Hürriyet	0	0	0	0	0
Cumhuriyet	1	0	.25	.25	1, 50
Yeniçağ	1	0	.25	.25	1, 50
Radikal	0	0	0	0	0
Zaman	0	0	.25	.25	.50
Yeni Şafak	1	1, 50	0	0	2, 5

Table 3 presents the evaluation of how adequately informative the Turkish newspapers are. Remembering the previous results of the 2006 case, it can be suggested that the newspapers generally lack the necessary information about the Lisbon Treaty. Nearly all of the newspapers get lower points from the 2007 evaluation, except Yeni Şafak, which is the only newspaper that gives the Lisbon Treaty related news on the front page and covers the new treaty in detail. In fact, as with the previous case, Hürriyet includes Lisbon Treaty related news, however it is again not on the first page and consequently will not be part of this evaluation. Hence, both Radikal and Hürriyet receive 0 out of 3, which is a fairly surprising result. This is because in the previous evaluation Radikal got the highest score among all the newspapers. In this case, however, it has hardly any news about the Lisbon Treaty and the EU Summit on the first page. Cumhuriyet and Yeniçağ also do not give any specific information or have separate news on the Lisbon Treaty. Nonetheless, when covering the EU Summit news, they mention the Lisbon Treaty

on the first page, which is still not much, but better than having no references at all. Despite the lack of information about the Lisbon Treaty, they cover the EU Summit and report both decisions on Turkey and the general decisions that were made at the Summit. Zaman, on the other hand, does not include any expression or information about the Lisbon Treaty, and it provides only information about the EU Summit.

Very surprisingly, Yeni Şafak is the only newspaper that has comprehensive coverage about the Lisbon Treaty and gives it the front page. It both reports that the Treaty was signed on 13 December 2007 and provides relevant information about the content of the treaty. However, unlike some of the other newspapers, it does not cover any specific news about the EU Summit 2007, so receives 2.5 out of 3.

The results demonstrate that the interest of the Turkish media in a general EU issue is much less than an EU issue which is related to Turkey its EU accession. Coverage might also be due to reactions about the French President Sarkozy's attempts to exclude several expressions regarding Turkey's EU membership from the draft resolution of the Summit. Even an issue like the Lisbon Treaty, which is a basic development for the EU and which will also indirectly affect Turkey, has nearly no coverage in the newspapers. There is insufficient information about this subject in all newspapers except for Yeni Şafak.

4.3.3 Reference to Religion in Columns

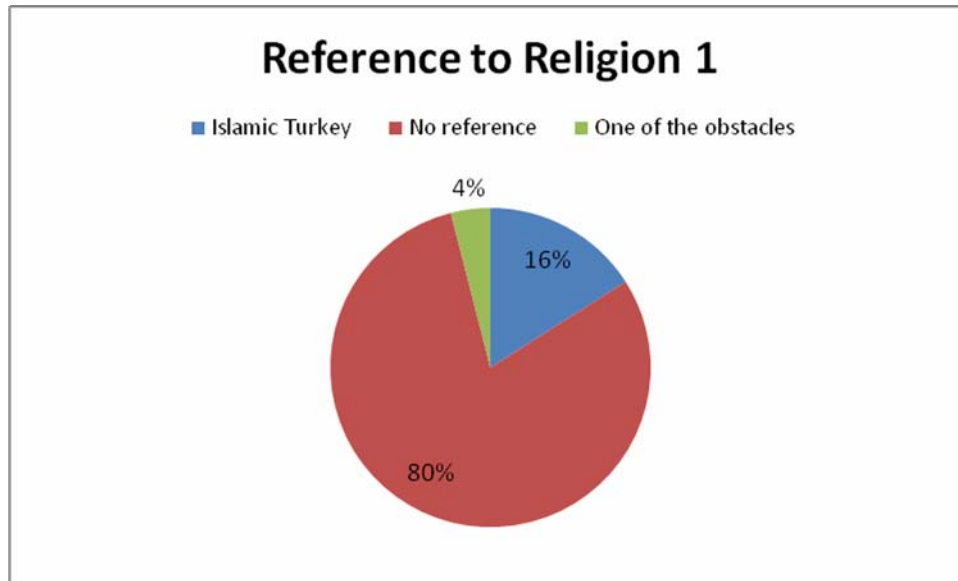


Figure 36: Reference to religion 1 (6 – 20 December 2007)

When the suspension of the negotiation talks with Turkey is analyzed, there was hardly any reference to religion in all the selected newspapers. Only a small number of columns found religion an obstacle between Turkey and the EU. Similarly, there is no reference to religion in 80 % of the columns. This is a big majority when we look at the results of the 2007. Yet, while only 4 % of the columns refer to religion as one of the main obstacles, 16 % of them, which is a noteworthy percentage, have an “Islamic Turkey” reference to religion.

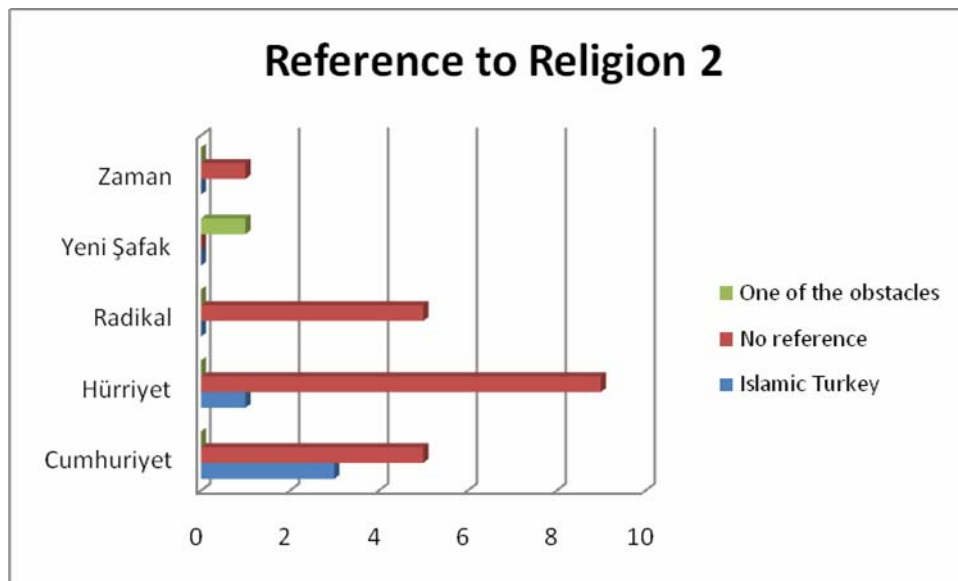


Figure 37: Reference to religion 2 (6 – 20 December 2007)

Figure 37 draws a clearer picture as results from each newspaper are shown separately. There are a significant number of columns with an “Islamic Turkey” reference to religion in Cumhuriyet and there are also a couple of columns with the same reference in Hürriyet. Only Yeni Şafak has included a column which sees religion as an obstacle for Turkey- EU relations. Turning back to Cumhuriyet and Hürriyet, there is a strong opposition to government, especially in Cumhuriyet, which cause the columnists to bring the Islamic roots of the ruling Justice and Development Party (JDP) into discussion in their columns. Apart from that, one might assume that the editorial influence on the columnists created this space for governmental criticism.

Looking at the columns, there are some criticisms made of the government of Turkey. It is mainly claimed that Turkey cannot be a member of the EU with a government that wants a regime change to make Turkey an Islamic country. For instance, Özgen Acar (2007a) questions what the country will do in Christian Europe which institutionalizes Islam and Ali Sirmen (2007b) claims that religious countries

have no place in the EU. From another perspective, some columnists argue that the EU wants to Islamize Turkey (Manisalı, 2007c) and that the moderate Islam identity in Turkey is being transformed into the liberal democrat identity by Brussels, Berlin and London (Çetinkaya, 2007d).

4.3.4 Reference to the Progress of the EU in the Columns

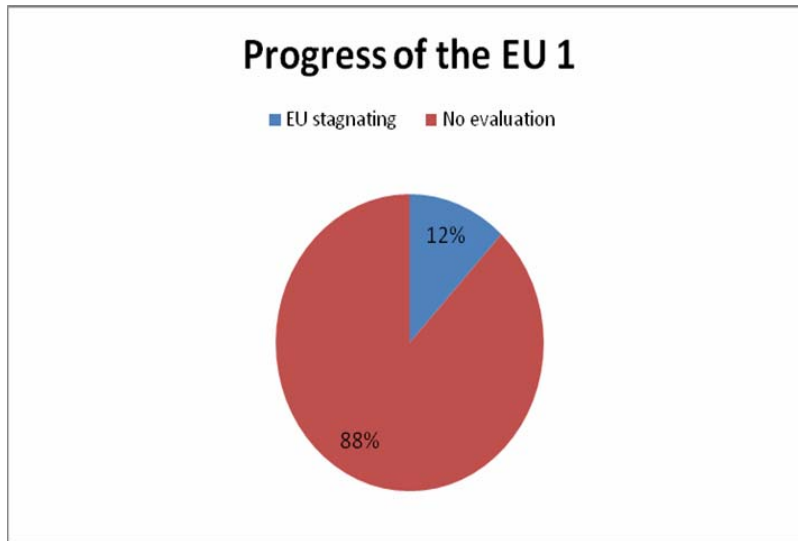


Figure 38: Progress of the EU 1 (6- 20 December 2007)

Figure 38 illustrates references to EU progress in all columns. As with the 2006 findings, there is not a significant amount of discussion on the progress of the EU (88 %), while 12 % of the columns consider the EU as stagnating entity. Again, none of the columnists argue that the EU making progress.

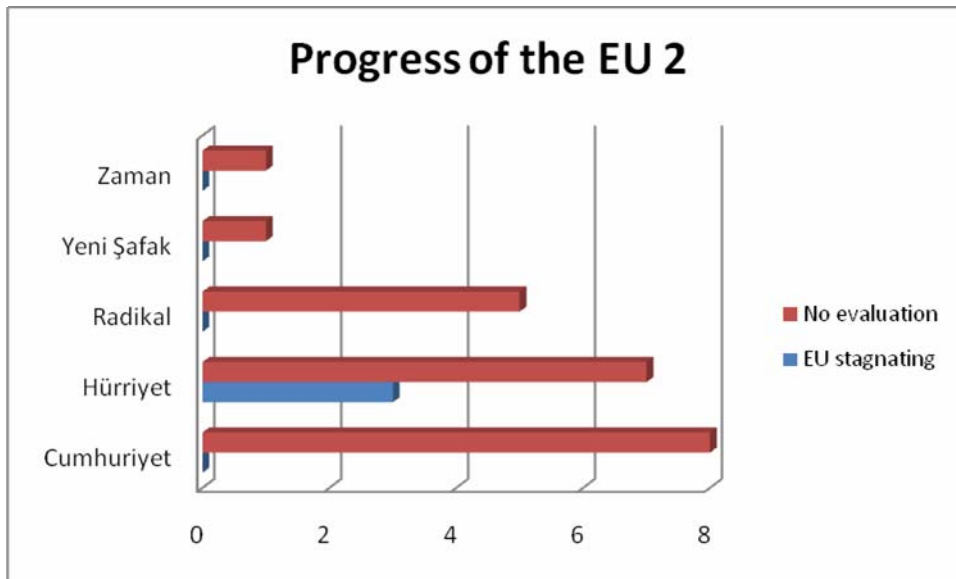


Figure 39: Progress of the EU 2 (6- 20 December 2007)

Among the six newspapers, only Hürriyet includes columns with the argument that the EU is stagnating. There is not a debate on the current situation of the EU in any of the selected newspapers.

4.3.5 EU Supportiveness and EU Skepticism in Columns

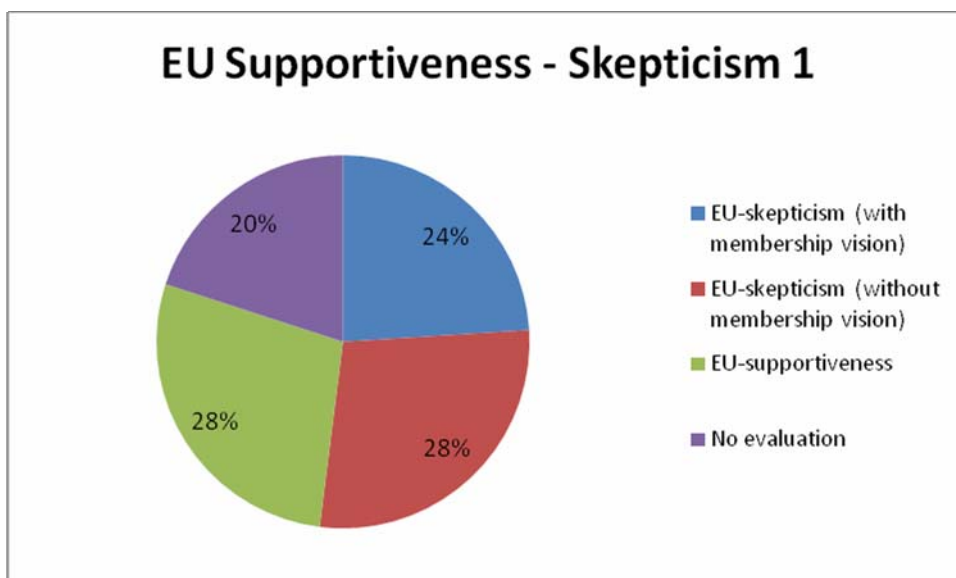


Figure 40: EU Supportiveness – skepticism 1 (6- 20 December 2007)

The main differences between the two cases are that there are fewer columns which are EU skeptic and have no membership vision. This is possibly because there are no related columns from Yeniçağ which normally have a dominant EU- skeptic framework. While 20 % of the columns have no evaluation on the issue, 28 % of the columns do have an EU- skeptic stance without opposition to the EU itself and having a membership prospect for the EU. Finally, 28 % of the columns do employ an EU- supportive frame.

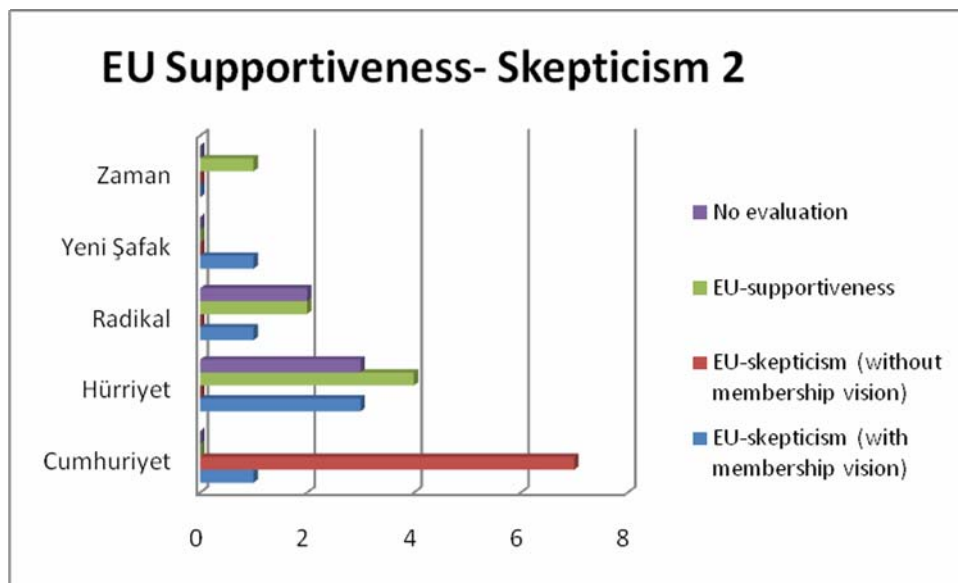


Figure 41: EU Supportiveness- skepticism 2 (6 – 20 December 2007)

Within the related columns of 2007, only Cumhuriyet has purely EU-skeptic columns, whereas the rest of the newspapers are either EU supportive or EU skeptic with membership vision. While the columns in Zaman, Radikal and Hürriyet are generally EU supportive, there are a similar number of columns in Radikal and Hürriyet which are EU skeptic with membership vision. Yeni Şafak has only one related column, which is EU skeptic with membership vision.

Even though there is a difference between being EU supportive and EU skeptic (having a membership vision), both do support Turkey's EU membership. Taking

this into account, there is indeed a more similar frame of reference in the newspapers for the Lisbon Treaty case. However, it is important to underline the fact that, very few of these columns directly or indirectly refer to the Lisbon Treaty directly, except the one or two columns that mention the new treaty of the EU.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

“It is perhaps on the sports pages that the Turkish press feels most able to deal with Europe on a platform of equality, given that Turkish sportsmen have been more successful than their politicians.”

Andrew Finkel

“The emergence of a European Public Sphere is the assumption that there is the possibility of having a European identity / perspective apart from the local and national identities through common economic, social, cultural and communicative elements” (Arsan, 2008: 9). It is widely accepted that the road towards Europeanized national spheres is via the Europeanization of media, in other words, going beyond the predominant national-oriented discourses and framings in the news. Nonetheless, Koopmans (2007: 183) argues that there is:

discrepancy between Europe’s institutional development, ... and the continuing predominance of the national space as the arena of public debates” which stands as one of the influential problems regarding the democratic deficit in the EU.

Arsan (2008) suggests that European integration affects the news coverage in the national media of the EU member states. This suggestion can be adapted to Turkish media and it can be pointed out that Turkey's EU accession process has certainly been affecting the news coverage of the media about the EU. Today, media is the main information source for the public. How the information about the EU is conveyed to the public becomes a very significant issue apart from how the EU related issues are covered in the news. Hence, distinct from having similar news coverage, showing similar levels of attention to some particular issues and employing similar meaning structures, Europeanization also requires providing adequate information about the developments in the EU while covering related news. Importantly, Europeanization should not be perceived or considered as homogenization of the news or an advocacy of sameness in all news coverage. It is both impossible (taking different ideologies and political views into consideration) and not required in an ideal public sphere where healthy public debates take place. It means instead the showing of similar attention to EU issues as issues at home and giving the EU agenda a place in national news media without filtering it according to the nationalist framings, ideological interests and the nationalist agenda of media.

Taking its roots from the aforementioned discussion on the media with respect to Europeanization, this research was an attempt to analyze how EU-related issues are covered in the Turkish media. While doing this research, I tried to provide an extensive analysis that would be able to depict the situation in Turkish media and also be a useful resource for future studies about the same topic. I sincerely hope that I have been able to contribute to the existing case studies by adapting similar research on the media of the EU member states to Turkish media. Even though there is not a consensus in previous studies in the literature, a majority of them suggest that

there is either no Europeanization or, even though there are traces of Europeanization, nationalist framings are still dominant in the EU media where a European perspective is not always observed. Taking this into account, it would be even more utopian and unrealistic to expect more of the Turkish media while Turkey is even not yet a member of the EU. Current discussions about “whether Turkey should be a member of the EU” which have continued for decades make the situation even more complicated for the Turkish media. Despite these complexities, I went ahead with the hope that I would at least be able to mirror the present situation in Turkish media.

In order to obtain robust results, I chose six newspapers and analyzed the news and columns for 15 day periods for each case. I specified two cases: The EU’s decision on freezing eight of the negotiation chapters with Turkey on 11 December 2006 and the signing the Lisbon Treaty in the EU Summit on 13 December 2007. The selection of two different cases was a very useful way to reveal the difference between the news coverage because it showed what happened when an issue is directly related with Turkey’s EU accession versus when it is a more general issue regarding the future of the EU.

The results of the analysis show significant differences in news coverage between the two cases. For the 2006 case, there is extensive news coverage in all newspapers. During the fifteen day period, there are 145 EU-related news items which are on the front page and which show a similar distribution among the dailies. The situation is the same with columns, as there are 195 total columns which focus on the 2006 case. Looking at the number of news items, their size on the first page, total size and daily distribution, it can be concluded that Turkish newspapers do have provide intensive coverage of EU news and they give almost equal space to EU-

related news. Furthermore, similarity in levels of attention is very significant among the newspapers. The issues that are discussed are the same and the peaks and increases in the number of news are observed during the same periods in all newspapers. It can be suggested from those findings that similar levels of attention and concurrent news coverage are indicators of Europeanization in the Turkish media. However, the findings also point to important points of divergence between the newspapers.

A first point of divergence between the newspapers, despite the fact that there is a similar level of attention that is observed in all six newspapers on a particular issue, there are divergent shifts in the focus of discussion in all six. The crux is the government's Cyprus proposal which leads to state-military relations, "legitimacy" and national integrity of Turkey debates. These develop differently between the newspapers, depending on their ideology and their relationship with the government. The developments during the analyzed period become apparatuses for provoking the pro- and anti- government fights between the newspapers.

A second point of newspaper divergence involves decision on the suspension of negotiations. While Cumhuriyet and Yeniçağ consider this a catastrophe, Hürriyet, Zaman and Radikal are more moderate, writing that "Turkey found the middle way". Yeni Şafak, on the other hand, views the decision as a positive result for Turkey and writes that it is an achievement in spite of the military. However, there is also point of convergence, which is the "German –French" alliance. All six newspapers react negatively to the strict criticisms of Germany and France and especially Angela Merkel's attempt to give a deadline to Turkey to open its ports to Cyprus and obey the Additional Protocol.

Third, when the case of the partial freezing of the negotiation talks with Turkey is compared to the Lisbon Treaty, a very profound difference between the two cases in terms of the news coverage and the attention of media can be found in the newspapers. There is almost no information about the Lisbon Treaty in the newspapers: Among the 20 news in total, nearly no news exists about the case within the specified period of time. Very surprisingly, only Yeni Şafak covers the Lisbon Treaty from the front page, apart from a one sentence mention in both Cumhuriyet and Yeniçağ. As with the 2006 case, the news focus is not the EU, but rather French President Sarkozy's perceived attack on Turkey that gets coverage. In other words, the news is again focused on direct Turkey- EU relations. When the upcoming EU Summit is taken into consideration, news coverage of Turkey's EU accession and Sarkozy's move is not unexpected; it is in fact quite normal. However, this does not change the fact that almost no attention is paid to a very prominent development about the future of the EU, which indirectly effects Turkey's membership situation as well. Looking at the columns, the same is observed; there are a very small number of related columns and even a smaller number of them cover or give reference to the Lisbon Treaty.

One interesting finding is that ideologically polarized media do have a larger interest in EU news and developments. Yeniçağ and Cumhuriyet are two nationalist dailies known for Euro-skepticism. Specifically, while Yeniçağ directly opposes EU accession, Cumhuriyet is more moderate, but still skeptical about possible EU membership outcomes. Both of them are also known for their strong government oppositions. Yeni Şafak, on the other hand, is a conservative newspaper, which is a primary supporter of the JDP and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. It can be said that Yeniçağ and Cumhuriyet stand on one end and Yeni Şafak on the other

extreme end of the ideological spectrum. Yet, all three have more extensive EU-related news coverage than the other three papers. This can be read as “nationalizing” of the EU.

Another research result indicates that the newspapers do have a national orientation. In both 2006 and 2007 cases, most of the news consists of statements from Turkish actors. Nevertheless, there is also a considerable amount of EU-oriented news as well which should not be neglected. Hence, it can be noted that even though the Turkish political actors have more voice in the news, EU actors are also given a place.

Using the informative frame analysis which dictates that information about the “national” be given adequately, I found that general decisions from the EU or a development like the Lisbon Treaty were insufficiently conveyed or not conveyed to public. According to the results, the newspapers adequately covered decisions about freezing the negotiations with Turkey. But the other decisions made at the Summit are covered by only two newspapers (Radikal and Yeni Şafak) out of six. Looking at the 2007 case, only Yeni Şafak gives proper information about the content of Lisbon Treaty and the rest of the newspapers give no information about the Treaty and its content. Additionally, the EU Summit is not on the main agenda of the newspapers in 2007 as only Cumhuriyet, Yeniçağ and Zaman provide information about both Turkey and the EU.

There is one challenging finding in the research which is the non-existence of the clash of civilizations frame in the columns which include EU discussions. Most of the columnists do not give any reference to religion and do not view the Muslim and Christian religious identities as incompatible. This can be read as a tendency

towards Europeanization. As the strong “clash of civilizations” emphasis is observed in the European media in Koenig et al (2006)’s analysis, this result presents an ironic situation: The EU media is less “Europeanized” than Turkish media from this perspective.

Among the newspapers, there is not considerable reference to the EU itself. The columns with references to the EU mainly focus how the EU is “stagnating” due to hardening and prolonging Turkey’s EU accession process. The scantness of the columns with reference to the progress of the EU can be perceived as a lack of a public sphere where the EU is deeply discussed with both pros and cons.

Finally, the Euro-skepticism and EU-supportiveness shows changes within the newspapers. While it points to the newspapers’ different perceptions of the EU, it is observed that there are a considerable number of columns with an EU- skeptic perspective and most of this perception stems from the “unfair” image that the EU has in the minds of many columnists. It is interesting that a considerable number of the columns include both EU- skepticism and the belief that Turkey should be a member of the EU. So, it can be suggested that EU- skepticism also has variations within the newspapers. Actually, the results are not very surprising given the fact that even the EU members are questioning the EU in several aspects. The Dutch and French rejection of the EU Constitution in 2005 Referanda is a clear example that the question of what the EU will bring leads to ambiguity in the minds of EU citizens. It is impossible to expect a rosier picture from the Turkish media and public opinion. When added to the nationalist sentiments and the feeling of unfairness, the ambiguous path that Turkey has to follow causes a skeptical stance about the consequences of the EU membership.

Taking all findings into consideration, it can be concluded that the Turkish news media show Europeanization trend in some ways. However, this cannot lead us to conclude that Turkey is undergoing Europeanization. When an EU issue is directly related to Turkey and Turkey's EU accession process, then the newspapers show interest and intensity at levels considered that might constitute an EPS. However, they are more informative about Turkey- focused EU issues. Thus, when there is a general development in the EU, even a very prominent one like the Lisbon Treaty, Turkish media has nearly no interest, nor coverage whatsoever. This results in an overall lack of information about the issue and thus a very non-EPS situation. For instance, if the selected case was a more specific EU issue, such as an environmental policy development, expectations for media attention were lower as with other EU member states. Thus, Turkey internalizing purely EU developments, at least at this pre-membership stage, is quite utopian even though the ideal would of course be an open public sphere for these kinds of debates in the media in order to familiarize the Turkish citizens with EU policies. However, it is not yet possible to attach more importance to an issue like the Lisbon Treaty which is regarded as the quest for a new EU Constitution, thus an issue addressing the future of the EU because Turkey is not directly and explicitly involved. There is a huge amount of discussion about Turkey's bid for EU membership and the Turkish media's EU agenda should ideally not be independent of what is going on in the EU. Yet *Hürriyet* gives space to the Lisbon Treaty only on the inner pages, but as the unit of analysis is the news on the front page, there is a slight neglecting of the issue. However, this still refers to the fact that, signing the new treaty of the EU is not considered as noteworthy enough to give place in the first page, even with a small space.

Another obstacle to Europeanization is that an EU development is very prone to be manipulated or differently covered by the newspapers according to their ideological stance and their government support / opposition. A particular development has different inflections within the six newspapers and what is “good” for one is considered “bad” for another. For example, while Cumhuriyet calls the government’s proposal for opening ports to Cyprus “unofficial recognition”, Yeni Şafak defines it as a prominent step for avoiding negative decisions about Turkey at the EU Summit. Apart from that there is usually a shift in focus from the European to the national while covering the EU-related news such as beginning to discuss the national sovereignty issues while the main issue is actually the EU Summit. This also happens with the Lisbon Treaty case, as the main interest of the media during that period is again Turkey, rather than the treaty itself.

The results demonstrate that there is not so much debate about the EU and its progress in the newspapers, which is an indicator that an emergence of a Europeanized public sphere is yet to be observed. There is hardly a discussion on, for example, a different EU development or the future of the EU, initiated by the columnists.

Apart from all the aforementioned concluding points, I would like to add a final remark about the Europeanization of Turkish media. The concept of an ideal public sphere offers a platform for equal participation of all citizens. Following this assumption, the existence of a European public sphere is equal to the idea that the media fulfill the mission of giving voice to the “public” and civil society actors must also be involved in public debates about the EU. Looking at the news and the news actors, they are either Turkish or European political actors. Apart from the weekly-columns of the academics that can be read in the newspapers from time to time, there

is hardly a “civil actor” or the opinions from civil actors in the news. The only exception is TUSIAD (Turkish Industrialists’ and Businessmen’s Association) whose statements are in the newspapers from time to time.

Taking all of these facts into consideration, it can be concluded that the Turkish media still follow a national-oriented perspective when covering EU developments. This is evident both in terms of the interest and the main focus of the media in the selected cases. They have little interest in general EU developments and they do not provide sufficient information on EU issues. However, the EU media itself is not much more promising and it is commonly argued that national fragmentation is predominant among EU member newspapers as well. Within this perspective, it can be suggested that, while Turkish media is still predominantly national oriented, and an ideal Europeanization is not observed, Europeanization trend is still existent within the newspapers. Despite the fact that the Turkish news media have different discourses, biased approaches, and usually shift their focus from the European to the national while not internalizing the general EU agenda, they provide some adequate levels of attention, continuous news coverage and sufficient information, at least in terms of the 2006 case. Furthermore there is hardly any reference to a clash of civilizations frame in the columns which is an indicator that Turkish newspapers do not have the “incompatible identities” approach that their European counterparts do. In this way, the Turkish media in some senses surpasses the media of the EU member states in by deploying a more progressive Europeanized, multicultural vision.

It would be “unfair” to suggest that Turkish media do not show any traces of Europeanization, especially when the Turkish media is contextualized among EU member states media operations. In previous research, I focused on the EU media in

terms of Europeanization by analyzing the case of partial freezing of the negotiation talks with Turkey in 2006. I conducted a content analysis on BBC News- Europe, Der Spiegel and Kathimerini. I found that the news framing in European media regarding the EU's decision of and their dominant discourses show significant differences. This mean that they still remain fragmented along national lines instead of making up a common European public space. I analyzed the news and columns which were published one week before and after 12 December 2006 in those dailies. As the representative of the English media, BBC News does have a relatively more objective stance, but from some of the news it can be suggested that the British support for the EU membership shows itself in the news framings of BBC. Der Spiegel has a discourse which is rather skeptical about Turkey and some of the news and articles can be regarded as in line with Germany's negative attitude towards Turkey's membership. On the other hand, Kathimerini has a very obvious focus on Cyprus rather than relations with the EU itself and the news is covered with a Cyprus- oriented frame which also illuminates the situation that the European media have not developed a common discourse about EU issues yet. The research showed that the European countries' national stances about an EU political issue forms the basis of their media discourses. Hence, while the EU media have so many divergent points about their EU agenda, the situation of the Turkish newspapers is at least not much less promising than their European counterparts.

The way to the EU for Turkey has always been full of ups and downs. The 1997 Luxembourg Summit caused a big disappointment for Turkey. Ten Central and Eastern European countries and Cyprus became official candidates, while Turkey was not regarded as "ready" for opening up negotiations. More hopefully, at the Helsinki Summit in 1999, Turkey was finally declared as an official candidate state

for full membership. According to Öniş (2007), the declaration of Turkey as an official candidate state in 1999 Helsinki Summit was a breakpoint on its Europeanization path. The Helsinki Summit turned the EU dream into a “concrete possibility”. The speed of the reform process in Turkey accelerated after the JDP came to power in 2002. In spite of its religious base, and the negative stand of its predecessors, JDP showed a very strong determinism for Turkey’s accession to the EU and successful reforms resulted with the decision of the Council of Ministers in Luxembourg to start the accession negotiations with Turkey in 3 October 2005.

While everything seemed to be on the way, the promising picture began to change in 2006. The issues which emerged from both the EU’s internal dynamics and Turkey’s own problems began to paint this rosy picture black. On the EU side, France and the Netherland’s rejection of the Constitutional Treaty and similar situations in other countries gave the impression that Turkey should not count on EU membership. The Cyprus issue also increased the tension between the two camps as Turkey believed that it had made enough compromises for the Annan Plan and that the EU had to support Turkey’s efforts and put pressure on Cyprus to solve the dispute. In contrast to these expectations, Cyprus became a member of the EU and the dispute between Turkey and Cyprus became an obstacle for Turkey’s accession to the EU. On the other hand, PKK violence increased during 2006, which aggravated the national sentiments again. Turkey experienced the EU as non-reactive to PKK’s terrorist acts (Öniş, 2007: 253-254). As a result, the enthusiastic support for the EU turned into a decreasing public support, while increasing the nationalist sentiments and EU-skepticism. From the EU side, responses from the EU towards Turkey’s various attempts at appeasement affect pro-EU and Euro-skeptic stances in Turkey. As Turkey was declared an official candidate at Helsinki it caused a

‘virtuous cycle’ which stimulated the reform process. In contrast to that, when there were negative responses from the EU to Turkey, this strengthened the nationalist oppositions, which put the reform process in a ‘vicious cycle’ (Verney, 2007)

These tensions and events increased Euro-skepticism in Turkey. While the EU supporters believe that the EU is a civilization project and will help Turkey overcome its political and economic instabilities, Euro-skeptic circles read the EU demands, such as the Copenhagen criteria, as one-sided dependence on the EU and think that some EU introduced issues will threaten Turkey’s national interests. Also, they believe that the CU is only for the benefit of the EU and enable them to exploit the Turkish market without actually granting full membership and thereby make Turkey dependent on the EU (Eylemer and Taş: 2007).

Öniş (2007) considers the Europeanization pattern in Turkey paradoxical and he defines the left and right political parties as defensive nationalists, who both support the EU membership, but also have hesitations about the main demands of the EU for full membership. In other words, they support the membership, but not the required reforms. As the Turkish Republic is regarded as a Westernization project, Öniş also argues that the EU membership of Turkey is perceived as a ‘state policy’, rather than a specific policy of any of the political parties.

“Europe constitutes a key part of Turkey’s relations with the outside world.Turkey has a long story of opposing, admiring, copying, denying, naming and judging things European” (Canefe and Bora, 2003: 134). In spite of extreme nationalist opponents to the EU, Turkey has always been in favor of being a part of Europe, whose roots are in the Kemalist ideology which is Western oriented and sees prosperity in Westernization. Yet, the same ideology always kept its nationalist

values inside, which conflicts with European norms and demands from time to time. This is why Turkey both supports the EU membership and remains sensitive to issues that conflict with EU membership criteria at the same time. Any development, which is regarded as a possible threat to national interests and sovereignty leads to a decrease in pro-EU attitudes and gives rise to nationalist sentiments. This situation is evident in the press as well. It is possible to say that the mainstream press are supporters of Turkey's membership to the EU, but disputes like Cyprus and the Kurdish issue influence the Euro-skeptic and nationalist discourses in the news.

Turkish media have been playing a very influential role on the whole EU process as Turkish television channels and the newspapers are the main information sources for the Turkish citizens about the EU and the accession process. Yet, the aforementioned paradox is also predominant in the news coverage and discourses. Öniş's conservative globalist and defensive nationalist approach can be generalized for the media as well. Whilst the conservative newspapers, which have a religious tendency, turned out to be the main supporters of the EU, nationalist and leftist newspapers developed EU-skepticism, and some of them like *Yeniçağ* even developed EU resistance. The results of this research verify these ideas, as the most intense news coverage is seen in *Yeni Şafak*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Yeniçağ*. A very conservative newspaper like *Yeni Şafak* is a supporter of the EU, while *Cumhuriyet* and especially *Yeniçağ* have an opposite attitude. Religious conservatives living in Turkey, who were once excluded and pushed to the periphery began to come closer to the core and they welcomed the EU and supported the EU accession process in order to realize their freedom more via the reforms that were made for accession. Counter-intuitively, the newspapers based on the Kemalist ideology (ironically based on a Westernization project) began to grow suspicions about the EU, because fears

such losing national sovereignty emerged around the Cyprus issue. As a result, the media did not try to understand what the whole EU issue was and the way they covered the EU was not free of ideological attachments and belongings.

Öniş draws attention to the effect of the Turkish media and press on the Turkish public opinion about the EU by suggesting that the debates and developments within the European Union were produced in an unbalanced way which increased the negative attitudes towards the EU. “The existence of considerable sources for support for Turkish membership at the elite level in the EU was not sufficiently emphasized and the critical nature of the decision to start accession negotiations was pushed into the background” (2007: 253).

It is possible to say that Turkish journalists are “confused” about the EU and the national media has a dualistic perception of the EU, which creates changing rhetoric depending on the situation. In other words it can be both “the beauty and the beast”. Finkel (2009:113) explains this blurred perception with two examples, which show that different EU images are being adapted to different situations:

When a pedestrian falls into a negligently open manhole or an MP is suspected of having an illegal but religiously sanctioned second wife, the journalistic reflex is to ask how Turkey can possibly think it deserves to get into Europe. The press conducts the inverse sort of exercise where it registers its indignation at a ‘fictive’ Europe, whose intention is to divide Turkey and keep it weak.

This suggestion can be made more concrete by reading two columnists. First on one side is Altemur Kılıç (2006g) who writes in *Yeniçağ* targets the EU and writes: “The main plan is destroying Northern Cyprus and invading whole Cyprus”. Here the EU is depicted as an actor who threatens a very vital national issue and Turkey’s dominance in Cyprus. Next on the other side is Ali Sirmen (2007b) from

Cumhuriyet discusses how Islamic governments and a regime without a judicial independence have no place in Europe. In this example, the EU becomes the representative of a secular and democratic community, which Turkey still lags behind.

While trying to understand the confusion in Turkish media, ambiguous signals from the EU also influence the present situation. The EU itself might be another obstacle against the development of pro- EU reporting and journalistic practices, as distinct from the prevalence of the national orientation in the media. It is very often discussed how the EU is still questioning the “belonging” or the “non-belonging” of a country with respect to identity, culture and even geography, when said country has already been declared as a candidate member of the EU. In this regard, Yılmaz (2007: 293) points out that “Turkey is treated as an ‘other’ in the mental maps of many Europeans” (2007:293). Opposing the results that Turkish journalists do not have the “clash of civilizations” frame, Yılmaz argues that Christian heritage is still an “identity- maker”, especially the right- wing political parties in Germany and France. This leads to a clear separation between the “European” and “Non-European”. At this point an ironic situation arises: When a country is not considered European, what does Europeanization mean exactly for the media of this country? Bek’s approach can partly be regarded as a response to that question. Bek (2003:270) argues that there is no homogenous structure called the EU and she claims that the “Turkish media, which cover the EU when there are developments about Turkey, has a big role on the perception of the EU as a homogenous structure”. Bek also claims that the political actors who make statements against Turkey’s EU membership are depicted as the representatives of the EU which creates the false perception of the EU and a separation between “us” and “they”. Yet, both the approach of EU member

states to Turkey and the Turkish media's approach to the EU direct the media to the conclusion that the EU has double standards and different rules for Turkey which strengthens the nationalist rhetoric and avoids the internalization of the whole EU process. Hence, as Finkel (2009) points out, the persistent image of the EU in many Turkish journalists' minds is the "Europe of hypocrisy".

There is no doubt that Turkish journalists do have a prominent role in igniting the entire EU process in the shape of a responsibility to report EU news on a more professional, less subjective basis. There is no need to be utopian about the exact manifestation of the ideal Europeanization or realize EPS definitions within the Turkish media while the EU media itself has not yet overcome the (non)Europeanization debates. Yet, Turkish media should be expected to pay more attention to the developments in the EU in general. The focus of a particular EU issue shouldn't shift to a completely national-oriented conflict between different interest groups and political and media actors. Moreover, journalists should not forget the fact that, as complicated as the accession process is, the outcomes and the drawbacks of that process and current developments should be adequately reported on and a "healthy" amount of information should be carried to the public. As Karadağ (2006:14) suggests, "the EU journalism, which is shaped by accidents and crises, should head towards a more technical, detailed and deeper journalism as the accession process proceeds".

My final remark will be on the possible bridge role of media between the EU and Turkish citizens. Volkan Bozkır became the Secretary General of ABGS (Secretariat General for EU Affairs) in January 2010. The New European Communication Strategy was introduced afterwards. It is based on the logic of explaining Turkey to the EU and explaining the EU to Turkey. The need for such a

bifurcated system arises mainly from lack of information. On the EU side, the citizens do not know very much about Turkey and the main debates are focused on culture and identity. Similarly, Turkish citizens do not know what will really change with Turkey's possible EU membership and what the EU actually is. Adding to the mutual misperceptions and the lack of information, a serious communication problem arises. Both public institutions and several NGO's are involved in this new EU Communication Strategy which includes the media as well. Some of the proposals for increasing the role of media include informing the journalists and columnists about the EU accession process and increasing EU coverage in Turkish media broadcasts. The results of this research project verify that currently the media cannot provide sufficient information about the EU. Even though both newspapers and TV channels recently began to employ EU representatives who report from Brussels, there is still a lack of EU expertise in journalists living in Turkey. There is a clear need for more equipped and specialized journalists and correspondents who will be a better able to grasp the EU related developments and to be more familiar with the EU agenda. This can be achieved through funding short and long term training sessions for the journalists in cooperation with the TV channels and newspapers. The increasing amount of EU funds that are given for media- oriented projects provides an important opportunity for training both national and regional media workers. Antalya Press Academy Project is one of those examples, conducted by Akdeniz University as an EU Project for training 120 journalists who are working in the Western Mediterranean region. In order to increase both the quantity and the quality of other training opportunities, the new communication strategy should promote media, especially senior positions for initiating EU education programs for their workers in order to grow EU specialists who will have a deep knowledge about

the EU and its institutions, legislations, enlargement plans and of course Turkey's own accession process. It might even include co-operation between the newspapers and ABGS in such a way that a comprehensive training program will be organized and there will be one or two journalist from each newspaper who will be responsible for the EU pages. By doing so, apart from training the journalists about the EU, standardization in news reporting can be achieved as well. The EU will continue to be in our lives for a long time; regardless of Turkey finally becoming a member of the EU. The torturous path that Turkey is going through and the painful transformation process will continue to require and demand media attention. Developing Europeanized and, more importantly, more professional and equipped news reporting will both enable the journalists to deal with the EU issues more simply and correctly and provide sufficient and correct information to citizens who are already confused about the whole EU process, which will have important implications on each and every one of their lives.

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APPENDIX

LIST OF DATA

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