T.C.

TURKISH- GERMAN UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

POLITICIZATION OF THE EUROPEAN REFUGEE CRISIS:

A FRAMING ANALYSIS OF TURKISH NEWSPAPERS

MASTER'S THESIS

Hazal Sena Karaca Gülen

ADVISOR

Asst. Prof. Dr. Ebru Turhan

Istanbul, July, 2019

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Hazal Sena Karaca Gülen

27.06.2019

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ÖZET

Kitle iletişim araçlarının durum ve olaylar karşısında bireylerin tutumlarını şekillendirme, var olan yargılarını pekiştirme noktasındaki rolü farklı disiplinlerin sunduğu perspektif ve teorik yaklaşımlar tarafından desteklenmektedir. Medya bu işlevleri yerine getirirken toplumdaki hâkim ideoloji ve güçlü seslerden beslenmektedir. Bu varsayımlardan yola çıkarak, bu tez kapsamında Türk medyasının Avrupa Mülteci Krizini aktarırken kullandığı çerçeveler ve söylemler analiz edilecektir. Bunun yanı sıra, mülteci krizi üzerinden Avrupa Birliği'nin çerçevelenmesi ve medyatize edilmesi Türkiye ve AB ilişkilerinin tarihsel ve güncel dinamiklerinden faydalanılarak sorgulanacaktır. Bu bağlamda, Türk medyasından seçilmiş beş gazetenin iki yıllık süreç içerisinde yayımladığı konuya ilişkin 644 haberin çerçeve analizi yapılmıştır. Araştırmanın sonucunda; Avrupa mülteci krizinin polarize edilmiş bir konu olduğu ve ilgili haberlerde kullanılan çerçevelerin gazetelerin siyasi ilintileri ve ideolojik duruşlarına göre farklılık gösterdiği bulgulanmıştır. Ayrıca krizin ulusal bir bakış açısıyla, Türkiye'nin yerel gündemine referansla değerlendirilme eğiliminde olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupa Mülteci Krizi, Haber Medyası, Çerçeveleme

ABSTRACT

The significance of mass media in shaping the attitudes and reinforcing judgments towards issues and events is well-documented in political communication and media studies from various perspectives and theoretical approaches. To perform this function, mass media often rely on dominant ideologies and powerful voices in society. Bearing these postulations in mind, it is clear that international issues and crises are filtered and transmitted to the audiences in line with the national lens and the positions of powerful parties. Following this logic, this thesis aims at identifying the key frames and narratives employed by the Turkish news media when reporting the European refugee crisis. Furthermore, it is also aimed to explore whether the European Union is framed and mediatized through the crisis with the focus on the contemporary and historical dynamics of the EU-Turkey relations. To address these goals, this study conducted a framing analysis of 644 news selected from five Turkish Newspapers over a 2-year period (20015-2017). The results show that the European refugee crisis is a highly polarized issue in Turkey and frames vary in accordance with the political affiliations and ideological stances of the newspapers. It is also noteworthy to point out that the coverage on the European refugee crisis is mostly produced via the lens of Turkey's own political agenda.

Key Words: European Refugee Crisis, News Media, Framing

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

CCP **:** Common Commercial Policy (CCP) Common External Tariff

CDA **:** Critical Discourse Analysis

CET **:** Common External Tariff

EAEC **:** European Atomic Energy Community

EC **:** The European Community (EC)

ECSC **:** European Coal and Steel Community

EEC **:** The European Economic Community

EU **:** The European Union

JDP **:** The Justice and Development Party

MENA **:** Middle East and North Africa

MHP **:** Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Movement Party)

NATO **:** The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

OECD **:** The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: UNFOLDING THE EU-TURKEY RELATIONS

The long-lasting relationship between the European Union (EU) and Turkey has been historically characterized by the sequent periods of ups and downs, a high degree of uncertainty and ambivalence (Tocci, 2014; Turhan, 2016; Müftüler-Baç, 2017). Although Turkey started accession talks in October 2005, today, so far 16 chapters out of 35 have been opened to negotiations and only one chapter temporarily closed making the accession process challenging journey for Turkey in which membership goal gradually has become an ambiguous idea as well as a unique case in terms of EU's enlargement history, one that requires further explanation. In this regard, this chapter starts with the historical background of the bilateral relations dating back to Turkey's first application to the EEC in 1959 and then gives the historical milestones which characterize its cynical nature. Historical outlook makes clear that Turkey's complicated background and the lack of capability to carry out the negotiations because of various factors and external and domestic actors result in the complexity of the Turkish integration to the EU.

Given this complexity, in the context of this thesis, going beyond the membership framework is highly essential in order to analyse the frames used in news on the European Refugee Crisis, which is the main goal of this study. Therefore, the second section of the chapter conceptualizes Turkey's relations with Europe beyond the EU and then tries to understand historical legacies, main actors and contemporary dynamics that affect the past and today's stalemate of the relations.

1.1 A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The relationship of Turkey and the European Union (EU) consists of a dynamic integration characterized by conflict as well as cooperation, more importantly, going beyond the both the Republic of Turkey and the EU, despite the fact that Turkey has never completely belonged in Europe nor the European Union from the perspectives of both parties. According to Tocci, Turkey has always been a part of Europe, via wars, diplomatic relations, trade, culture, intermarriage since the Ottoman era (Tocci, 2014:1). In addition to already increasing relations in the late Ottoman times, with the Republic launched in the first quarter of the 20th century, they have become much more integrated with West and Western European institutions (Zucconi, 2009:26).

Huge ideological differences during the Cold War years had been determinant in Turkey's commitment to the West. Strong relations between West European countries and Turkey were strengthened by the fact that Turkey became a member of the Council of Europe in 1949, The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1948, and The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1952. Furthermore, West encouraging the inclusion of Turkey in its organisations and institutions resulted in Turkey being more committed to integrate further with it and make it a prioritization (Aybey, 2004: 21).

The relationship between Turkey and Europe went into another level after the formation of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1958. Following Turkey's first application to the EEC as an associate member in 1959, the relationship then entered a long period which was dominated by close dialogue including conflicts and tensions. Throughout this period until today, it is very obvious that the multi-dimensional nature of the Turkey-EU relations and Turkey's integration to the EU were not affected by a single turning point, but various intertwined turning points and factors. Considering these historical milestones, I will focus on the three distinct period within the Turkey-EU relations which are marked by the signing of the Ankara Treaty in 1963, the decision of the Helsinki European Council in 1999 in which Turkey's candidate status was granted;

lastly the period which started with the opening of the accession negotiations in 2005 and has prolonged until today.

1.1.1 The Period Between 1963-1999

On July 31, 1959, Turkey made its first application for an association with the European Economic Community. The result of this application was the signing of the Ankara Treaty on September 12, 1963, which established an association between the EEC. It envisaged the progressive establishment of a "Customs Union" in three phases: a preparatory stage, a transitional stage, and a final stage. The most important thing here is that 1963 Ankara Treaty suggested that Turkey is an integral part of Europe and Europe is ready to accept Turkey as a member of the European Economic Community when the necessary liabilities of membership are met by Turkey, and this stands as the legal basis of Turkey's eligibility to join EU. Consequently, the 1963 Ankara Treaty set several obligations and processes for Turkey's association with the EU (Müftüler – Baç, 2017: 119).

Following the initial preparatory stage, Additional Protocol signed in 1970 proposed the timeline and conditions in which Turkey will eventually join the customs union and align itself with EU's Common Commercial Policy (CCP) and Common External Tariff (CET) which foresaw the gradual lifting of customs duties and various qualitative barriers in the trade. After the Additional Protocol was signed, the relationship between Turkey and EEC had seen serious fluctuations, most of them caused by Turkey's domestic issues. In the beginning of January 1982, The European Community (EC) decided to freeze relations between Turkey because of the military coups in Turkey in 1971 and 1980, and Turkey's military intervention in Cyprus in 1974. The military coup d'état on September 12, 1980, was Turkey's final domestic issue leading The European Community to suspend Ankara Agreement in 1982. Furthermore, The European Parliament stated that they would not renew the European side of the Joint Parliamentary Commission until after a general election and establishment of a parliament in Turkey.

However, Turkey has always been determined to move closer to the Community, even at the most difficult times (Narbone and Tocci, 2007: 233). Given the positive effects of Turkey's shift to the Market Economy which was driven by the adoption of the "January 24 Decisions" and holding of the general elections in Turkey on 6 November 1983 relations became to gradually normalize. After domestic stabilization and economic liberalization, on 14 April 1987, Turkey formally applied for full membership on the basis of Article 237 of the EEC Treaty, Article 98 of the ECSC Treaty and Article 205 of the EAEC Treaty.

Submitting its response on 18 December 1989, the Commission underlined Turkey's eligibility and acknowledged recent positive developments but added that Turkey was not ready for accession due to present circumstances. Because Community being focused on the completion of the Single Market and related complex tasks, it would be unwise for the Community to involve in new accession negotiations. Moreover, Turkey's economic and political problems worked against for this ambitious step (European Commission, 1989. The Commission offered the completion of the Association Agreement with Turkey which foresaw the Customs Union Agreement between Turkey and the Community instead. Eventually, the Customs Union Agreement between Turkey and the EU was signed in 1995. Turkey's liberalization efforts in economy and trade in the last decades were to benefit from the Customs Union and this union was also significant in promoting structural and democratic reforms (Öniş, 2010: 363).

However, after 'Agenda 2000' published on 16 July 1997, which foresaw the Union's enlargement strategy and path in the coming years, Turkey being excluded from the near-future enlargement strategy, tightening relations between Turkey and the EU went into a crisis again. In a 'Communication' which was published on the same day as 'Agenda 2000', the Commission stated that Turkey needed to fulfil some political pre-conditions to go beyond the Customs Union, at the same time reconfirming the eligibility of Turkey to join the Union. Furthermore, on December 13, 1997, the European Council of Luxembourg, stating that Turkey does not meet the criteria for candidacy, came up with a 'European Strategy' which foresaw further exploitation of the integration between

Turkey and the EU based on current relationship structures. This second rejection, unlike the one in 1989, was considered as obvious discrimination by the Turkish side. Accordingly, Turkey decided to freeze the political dialogue with the Union and the possibility of ending the application process and integrating the Northern Cyprus was expressed in the time of crisis (Narbone and Tocci, 2009:22).

1.1.2 Period Between 1999-2005

In line with the Commission proposal on 13 October 1999, Turkey finally obtained the candidate status in Helsinki European Council of 1999. However, negotiations were to be opened only after the successful fulfilment of Copenhagen political criteria, as The European Council stated. The European Council gave a mandate to the Commission to prepare the first Accession Partnership Document and clarify the areas to be reformed. The EU approved financial assistance to Turkey to accelerate the integration of Turkey to the EU and reforms to accomplish it. All of these developments resulted in the increased interaction between Turkey's domestic evolution and EU-Turkey ties (Narbone and Tocci, 2007: 235). Turkey, without losing any time, created its reform agenda and started political reforms mainly in line with the EU's rule of law, in order to reach the ultimate goal, the fulfilment of political criterion in Copenhagen criteria. The incentives and aids from the EU were a great help to achieve and accelerate these reforms both in the economic and political fields.

As a matter of fact, the European Council in Helsinki marked one of the most important turning points in the relations between Turkey and the EU and resulted in a great strategic mutual transformation. As a result, Turkey achieved enormous democratic transformation in a positive way after the Helsinki Council, especially between 2002-2004 (Öniş, 2006: 283). Finally, the December 2004 European Council approved the 'sufficient' fulfilment of political criteria and decided the opening of the negotiation process in October 2005 (European Council, 2005). The accession negotiations were opened in 2005.

1.1.3 Turkey-EU Relations After 2005

Paradoxically, for many, the period following the opening of accession negotiations in 2005 was characterized by a negative turn (Öniş and Yılmaz, 2009; Aydın-Düzgit and Kaliber, 2016; Müftüler-Baç and Çicek) since the earlier enthusiasm of both sides was not accompanied by favourable developments due to a multitude of interrelated problems. First, several member states started to raise their concerns regarding the effects of Turkey's accession to the Union by focusing on security, employment, human rights and migration issues (Keyman, 2017:461). This immediate response was coupled with the EU's current crises; especially pessimism triggered by the non-ratified Constitutional Treaty and discussions brought by Eastern Enlargement, all of which eventually make Turkey's membership more controversial (Aksu, 2012:30).

Cyprus' membership to the EU in 2004 also caused some issues in the relations between Turkey and the EU because Turkey did not recognize Cyprus and consequently did not expand the scope of the Additional Protocol to Cyprus. This issue stood as the biggest obstacle in the negotiation process as the Commission decided in 2006 not to provisionally close any chapter that is opened or to be opened unless the Additional Protocol covered Cyprus as well. Furthermore, the Commission suspended eight chapters relating to the freedom of movement of goods. Except the 'Science and Research' chapter which was provisionally closed in June 2016, no other chapter could be closed, and all the other chapters are open for further discussion and renegotiation (Öniş, 2009). This meant that implementation of the Additional Protocol to Cyprus has become one of the closing benchmarks in each and every chapter for Turkey's negotiation process. This multilateral decision was made for protecting the rights of the Union, however, after this turning point, preferences and standings of member states have become a very determinant in Turkey's negotiation process as well as relations with the Union (Müftüler-Baç and Çiçek, 2017: 190).

France also stated in 2007 that they would not give consent for the opening of five chapters that are directly involved in a country's membership to the Union, one of them overlapped with one of the eight chapters the Commission froze. This decision resulted in two important consequences determining the further steps in Turkey's negotiation

process. The first one is that it obviously aimed to stop the negotiation and membership process of Turkey given that these chapters are essential in further integration with the Union. The second is that it stood as an example for other member states who did not want Turkey membership (Turhan, 2016:469). Cyprus, in December 2009, further blocked the opening of six chapters.

Following the aforementioned vetoes, accession negotiations of Turkey have entered a virtual freeze stage. Consequently, there was not an opening of a new chapter between June 2010 and December 2013. Also, the pace of accession talks was made a variable of the pace of reforms in Turkey (Eralp, 2009; Aydın-Düzgit, 2016). For a long time, the expected benefits from membership and credibility of the EU provided a strong enthusiasm by accelerating Turkey's harmonization with the EU. However, as highlighted by Müftüler-Baç (2019:65), a positive correlation exists between the EU conditionality as well as financial aids and judicial reforms until 2011. After 2011, these reforms have stagnated and after 2016 they almost stopped. In this process, EU's internal multiple problems especially the Eurozone crisis, the effect of veto players and the gradual increase of political cost of adaptation are among the significant factors decreasing the EU's credibility as well as the effects of political conditionally in the eyes of Turkish political figures. Keyman and Aydın-Düzgit (2012) point out that a set of successful reforms between 1999-2005 left the stage to incompetent conditionality and consequently a stagnation in especially political reforms which would eventually harm the integration between the EU and Turkey.

Against the backdrop of these longstanding challenges, a robust upheaval in the region has also contributed to the current entanglement of the relations at least in two ways. Firstly, the strategic positioning of Ankara as a bridge was challenged by the Arab Spring, the popular social uprisings in the Middle East and Africa. Turkey's approach and reaction to these events varied from those of Western countries and furthermore, Turkey's relations with its close neighbours were at stake (Yorulmazlar and Turhan, 2015: 337). On the other hand, the EU losing its credibility and attractiveness in its enlargement policy in both economic and political terms resulted in a change in Turkey's foreign policy approach towards the EU.

Secondly, increasing security concerns followed by the Arab Spring; terrorist attacks to Europe and massive flow of Syrian refugees to Europe in 2015 led to a strategic rapprochement between the EU and Turkey by indicating that EU's stance towards Turkey going beyond the traditional forms of accession negotiations (Müftüler-Baç, 2017:118).

In fact, Turkey has been finding itself engaging with the EU beyond the key instruments of EU accession negotiations since the launch of Positive Agenda, in 2012. With the adoption of Positive Agenda in 2012, the EU foresaw coordination in foreign policy, further integration and cooperation in strategic areas with mutual positive outcomes, although Turkey was not to be accepted to the Union in some time (Aksu, 2012:45). While positive agenda aimed to re-energize the accession negotiations, it can be clearly said that it did not create a breakthrough in terms of membership prospects. Conversely, it marked the start of a new era shaped by a strategic partnership, mutual interests, and various instruments. Within this context, the EU-Turkey Readmission Agreement signed on 16 December 2013 and Visa Liberalization Dialogue have become centre of the relations between the EU and Turkey until late 2015.

EU-Turkey Summit which held in Brussels on November 29, 2015, codified the new mood of the relations with the strong emphasis with the strategic partnership as well as the newly adopted tools of High-Level Dialogues- Political, Economic and Energy. Lastly, on March 18, 2016, an agreement on the EU-Turkey Joint Statement between Turkey and the EU leaders was reached aiming to stop the irregular refugee influx from Turkey through Europe and to transform this irregular migration to replacement of refugees in the EU with legal channels (European Commission, 2016). This agreement includes steps and mechanisms to end the refugee crisis to be taken by both parties as well as articles regarding financial support to Turkey to cover refugees' cost, modernization of customs union between Turkey and the EU, acceleration in opening new chapters within the accession negotiation.

In addition to these developments, democratic backsliding and further divergence between the EU and Turkey was reported by the EU side for several times (European Commission; 2016; 2018). The unexpected coup attempt on 15 July 2016 fundamentally

changed the approach and outlook of Turkish politics. This attempt also badly affected the ongoing relationship between Turkey and the Union, even though there have been several problematic issues in the near past. The change in politics and recent events in Turkey have caused The European Parliament to adopt two different resolutions on Turkey, one of them aiming to suspend the accession negotiations if the constitutional reform package is implemented without the change (Müftüler-Baç, 2018: 120).

While there is suffering in the relations between the EU and Turkey mainly caused by Turkey's domestic political issues since 2016, the European Union has also been dealing with its own problems such as increasing populism and Euroscepticism and most importantly United Kingdom's decision to leave the EU. Thus, combining the decrease in effects of conditionality, Turkey's own internal political problems, and Europe's own problems regarding its future and integration, Turkey's possible membership in the future has been uncertain in the EU.

It is clear that Turkey's membership process has always been a challenging journey for the two sides. However, the current situation represents a notable paradox. On the one hand, while it is clear that the pace of the accession negotiation talks now is at an all-time low. On the other hand, external developments and threats show that cooperation between the EU and Turkey is necessary on its own beyond accession. Recently, relations developing around the European Refugee Crisis make it even more visible.

1.2 ACTORS AND ISSUES SHAPING THE CONTEMPORARY DYNAMICS OF THE RELATIONS

A Historical outlook makes clear that most of the complexities of the EU-Turkey relations stem from its highly complicated past and their ongoing effects that can be attributed to the multiple factors and actors both external and domestic. This unique context of history also reveals that the relationship between the EU and Turkey is much more than the formal structure of the accession process. In this regard, the literature surrounding the Turkish EU accession focuses on different aspects of the process by adopting many

diverse theoretical explanations and approaches. In order to explain both the historical patterns of the relations and today's deadlocks, they identify an array of determinants, such as expectations about economic costs and benefits, cultural characteristics, pace of the integration within the EU, external constraints and global trends as well as main actors determining the direction and mood of the relations including member states, incumbent governments in Turkey and their ideologies and preferences.

Given the interplay of the multiple factors and their antecedents which shape the current stances of both sides, this section focuses on the main actors and issues which constitute popular themes of the political narratives on the debates regarding the EU and EU related issues. By unrevealing actors and issues affecting contemporary narratives on EU in Turkey, this chapter aims to increase the understanding of necessary historical context and socio-cultural connections by analysing how EU is mediatized and framed in the research and discussion parts of this study, in which news frames are examined.

1.2.1 Member States

Because of the institutional structure of the EU, the role of member states in the enlargement policy is beyond discussions as key decisions are mostly made by the Council and the European Council that hold highly intergovernmental characters (Turhan, 2016: 473). Moravcsik and Vachudova (2003) state that enlargement is characterized as a bargaining forum between powerful member states and applicant countries as a result of this structure giving enlargement decisions mostly to member states, and the results disproportionately reflect the priorities of existing member states. In the case of the Turkish accession process, following the opening of the accession negotiations, preferences of the member states become the more evident and critical reference points to understand the deadlock in the Turkey-EU relations. According to Turhan (2016), Cyprus' membership of the EU, the routinization of member states' unilateral vetoes on Turkey accession negotiations in the Council and following the escalation of the refugee crisis in Europe, actions of Germany, such as unilateral statements and organizing mini-lateral intergovernmental consultations ahead of key EU summits, have become main determinants in the EU enlargement policy in regards with the Turkey in the post-October 2005 era.

While Cyprus's unilateral vetoes and blocked chapters by the Council as a result of not fulfilling the requirements of the additional protocol by Turkey stand as the biggest problems, Germany comes forward as an important actor both in debates and framing of EU-Turkey relations and EU-related issues. It should be noted that there a few dynamics explaining the importance of Germany in current EU-related debates and political discourses in Turkey. The first one is that Germany, seen as a European integration engine with France, has always been an effective player during Turkey's EU journey. The extent of reflection of this decisiveness as well as the degree of support of Germany to Turkey's membership vary depending on the political stance of the power in Germany in historical context.

In this context, during 1973-1998 when Christian Democrats and Chancellor Helmut Kohl was in power, Germany's opposition and sceptical approach have been challenging for Turkey. Conversely, after social democrats came to power, Germany supported Turkey's membership leading up to the granting the candidate status to Turkey (Öniş, 2010: 367). However, with the election of Chancellor Merkel in 2005, this trend has overturned.

As a second dynamic, the German leadership strengthening with Merkel in the EU, started after the Eurozone crisis, as Turhan (2016) states, has resulted in Germany being a major actor in the Turkey-EU relations after the refugee crisis. Despite the strengthening of German leadership, the crisis, started with Erdogan accused Germany of harbouring the terrorists who staged the coup attempt on 15 July 2016, has not only affected Turkey-Germany relations but also Turkey-EU relations.

Finally, the existence of 3 million Turkish-origin German citizens, the relations with Germany have always been more different than other member states. President Erdogan's recent nationalist and assertive statements against Germany addressing Turkish-origin people living abroad have acted as a catalyst in further deterioration in the relations (Tekşen, 2017). The crisis when Turkish bureaucrats were declined in the Netherlands for their election propaganda in 2017 was repeated in Germany and finally,

Erdogan accusing Germany of committing Nazi applications have further escalated the tensions between two countries (Özkan, 2019).

1.2.2 Turkey's Own Dynamics

As it was codified in 1993 by the European Council, countries need to fulfil a set of criteria –the so-called Copenhagen Criteria- to join the EU. These criteria are divided into three categories; political criterion, economic criterion, and legislative alignment. Political criterion refers to the stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, rule of law, human rights and respect for the minority. The economic criterion requires the existence of a functioning market economy and the ability to cope with the external market forces and competition once in the Single Market. Lastly, candidate countries are expected to have the ability to undertake the responsibilities of being a member of the Union in political, economic and financial terms (European Council, 1993).

During the long-lasting journey of Turkey, it has been widely discussed whether Turkey fulfils these requirements and potential problems within the EU of the structural differences. Although it was approved that Turkey fulfilled the Copenhagen Criteria in the Brussels Council in 2004, the debates are still alive. Despite the many factors caused by Turkey's internal dynamics within these debates, given the space limitations and within the context of this thesis, the interrelated factors are more evident: party politics, political transformation and recent societal events/crises in Turkey.

As Eralp (2009:170) highlights, the bipartisan support of the European vocation declined and approach towards the European Community has become a hot topic of governments and government offices since 1970. For a long time, the lack of integration between Turkey and the EU has a lot of parallelism with the lack of common voice of the European vocation of Turkey. However, the rise of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) as a secular party with religious roots opened a new stage for the EU-Turkey relations (Diez, 2005: 170). In November 2002, the JDP gained power as a single party. One of the reasons for their rise stems from their commitment to modernization, secularism, and democratization, which are among the core values of the European

Union. As soon as JDP gained power, they promoted their democratization and modernization agenda, leaving the identity politics behind (Robins, 2007: 292).

The tendency of newly elected JDP to rely on political reforms and setting the EU membership as a goal have been crucial for them to show their commitment to modernization and Westernization, because their background, Erbakan's Welfare Party, was regarded as 'illegitimate' mainly because of their anti-West and anti-European stance (Zucconi, 2009: 28). Another motivation of them was to decrease the power of the military and prevent their potential future intervention thanks to the European stance for democracy and pluralism. These are the main reasons Turkey worked so hard in such a short time to meet the political Copenhagen criteria on democracy and human rights (Diez, 2005: 170). The most important fields of reforms have been human rights, rights of minorities, restoration in the judicial system and area of activity of military (Öniş, 2006: 283).

JDP's second electoral victory in 2007 has crucial consequences, one of which is that the ruling JDP achieved more support from the society than the past and the other one is consequently became less dependent on the modernization, democratization, and westernization, in other words, the EU. After 2011, which is the year of JDP's third victory with another huge support, discussions, and concerns over the democratization of Turkey have intensified (Özbudun 2014: 2). Aydın-Düzgit (2016) states that there has been an increase in the rhetoric of de-Europeanization since 2011 according to a critical discourse study of JDP's speeches, which reveals that the EU has been seen as an 'unwanted intruder' and 'discriminatory entity' that is worse off than Turkey. Dinç Şahin also discusses that there is an adoption of a populist strategy during and after the presidential election campaign by both Erdogan and the JDP (Dinçşahin, 2012). This period also saw the divergence of foreign policies of Turkey and the EU simultaneously (Aydın-Düzgit, 2016; Yorulmazlar & Turhan, 2015).

For many, the visible break of the reforms started to slow down since 2008, and rhetoric started to change after 2011, which occurred in 2013 (Müftüler-Baç 2016: 65). Gezi Park Protests in June 2013 were interpreted as the reaction of the opposition groups against the ongoing political transformation. Measures and practices taken by the

government during and after the protests have attracted great criticism by the EU and evaluated as a shift to the conservative and majoritarian line. However, these protests were condemned by the government as a part of several international and national plans to remove Erdogan and the JDP from power undemocratically. Unknown international enemies, 'the interest-rates lobby', and their violent allies –'thugs' as Erdogan calls them (Özbudun, 2014: 158).

The failed attempted coup in 2016 carried the disenchantment to a level further by creating a new era of crises with individual member states and the EU, as well as JDP's actions in the domestic policies. JDP, in the period after the attempted coup, stating that the EU did not respond to the attempted coup in Turkey strong enough, has built its discourses in the domestic policy upon nationalism and blamed the "foreign powers" for supporting the groups threating the national sovereignty of Turkey (Erdoğan, 2017). Subsequently, the rhetoric by Erdogan, especially "Nazi Leftovers" after the crisis with Germany in 2016, and discussions upon diplomatic and refugee crisis with the Netherlands in 2017 have reflected the so-called shift and increased the already-existing divergence.

To sum up, the changing attitude of the JDP, which was seen as the architect of the 2002-2007 golden period of the relations between the EU and Turkey, and slowing down of the political reforms, and Turkey's socio-politic events in the recent years and their reflections are among the dynamics shaping today's relations.

1.2.3 External Issues and Constraints

Despite adopting an almost neutral and passive foreign policy during the Cold War, Turkey has pursued a more active foreign policy in the post-Cold War era. (Öniş and Yilmaz, 2009:7). Turkey's changing attitude towards foreign policy and especially newly established relations with MENA countries have opened the way to Turkey being a bridge between the east and the west and the birth of a "new Turkish model" which stands as a best practice for the political transformation of Middle Eastern countries (Zucconi, 2009:32).

However, Turkey's role as a strategic bridge was challenged by the popular movements known as the Arab Spring. This also affected the direction of Turkish foreign policy. Although Turkey's reactions to the Arab Spring have varied from the West, it has also put Turkey's relations with its immediate neighbourhood to a stringent path (Yorulmazlar and Turhan 2015: 337).

Müftülar-Baç (2017: 117) suggests that the decrease in the EU's credibility in its enlargement policy and possible positive economic outcomes of following the EU has impacted Turkey's foreign policy decisions towards the EU. Turkey's ongoing relations with the EU were also impacted by potential security risks in the region, particularly the Syrian civil war and the refugee crisis. Academicians and politicians have long criticized the level of cooperation between the EU and Turkey on regional issues. Finally, after the emergence of the Arab Spring, Turkey's relations with Islamist parties in the Middle East have become much more important for them (Aydın-Düzgit and Kaliber, 2016:3).

However, although it is now common sense within the EU that Turkey's diverging foreign policy does not meet expectations and Turkey is not a model for the region anymore, new problems such as security, migration, and terrorism following the regional turmoil have once again proved the necessity of the cooperation between the EU and Turkey. With the EU-Turkey agreement reached in November 2015, both sides not only codified their cooperation regarding the refugee crisis but also regional issues. However, many observers have problematised this agreement and subsequent dialogues between two parties in regards with the regional problems as positioning Turkey as a 'strategic partner' rather than a 'potential member' whose alliance in strategic areas may replace its deficit in democracy and human rights which are among the key issues in the accession (Ibid., 4). Following this line, one could argue that contemporary external dynamics come forward as always as a factor affecting Turkey-EU relations. However, it should be also noted that newly emerged external issues and problems, unlike the Cold-war period, rather than acting as a catalyst in the membership process of Turkey to EU, have caused the change in the mood of relations and a path shaped by mutual material interests in which different instruments than those of accession process are used.

1.2.4 Identity Issues

Although it is commonplace to argue that the most prominent feature of Europe is its diversity, within the context of ongoing enlargement debates, identity-based approaches in member states may have a negative impact on positions and attitudes of the electorate and other political actors, especially political parties (Hix and Lord, 1997:27). At this point, the debates over what the European identity when the topic is Turkey's potential membership to the EU are among the reasons for the uniqueness of the relationship between the EU and Turkey.

While European identity has been conceptualized in many ways, the debate about Turkey involves two differing concepts of European identity (Risse-Kappen, 2010: 216). The first concept is the modern, inclusive and liberal Europe as in its the fundamental documents which prioritize human rights, rule of law and democracy as in Copenhagen criteria which is also called the civic trait of European identity (Ibid., 217). On the other hand, the second concept is much more physical and straight-forward and based on geographical, cultural, religious and historical opinions which are the cultural trait of European identity. This conception is also distinguished from the first one as it proposes itself as a European/Western Civilization seeing Christianity as its most important common value (Delanty, 2013; Risse-Kappen, 2010). The heated debates about Turkish potential EU membership have focused on the second conception and became more visible and influential since the end of the Cold War (Öner, 2009:123).

In this critical juncture, it should be noted that history plays a great part in Turkey-Europe relations since Turkey's otherness has many facets dating back to the unique historical interaction between Turkey and Europe since the Middle Ages (Coppenger, 2011: 225). For the last several centuries, the Turks and the things they had represented have been the most important issues that the Europeans established their identity against. Today, Europeans still carry the image and collective memory of Turks as the 'other' from the past. Turks and their lands have not been considered as a part of Europe because of the distinct differences in culture, traditions, and religion. As Iver Neumann (1999:59)

has noted, “Although ‘the Turk’ was part of the system of interstate relations, the topic of culture denied it equal status within the community of Europe.”

The great changes in the world and Europe particularly after World War II have also changed the image and position of Turkey in the European stage. Turkey, geographically and culturally positioned between the West and the East (Europe and Asia), has begun to see some changes in its role in the new European order which was mainly shaped by the post-war dynamics and Cold War. Despite the concerns over whether Turkey belongs to Europe and will become a member of the European Community, the need in Turkey in the West blurred these concerns (Larrabee and Lesser, 2003: 47). Thus, during the early stages of Turkey’s EU journey, objections to Turkey’s accession were mostly based on political and economic concerns. Debates regarding Turkey's Europeanness were not yet on the table of the EU (Müftüler-Baç and Taşkın, 2007:33). However, rising political trends following the end of the cold war had an impact on Turkey-EU relations and created a crux in relations by promoting the identity problem from perceived cultural, geographical and religious differences perspectives.

Perkins (2004) points out that differences between ethnicities, nationalities and religious identities have become more important than ideological differences in the post-Cold War era. Especially, the polarity between Christianity versus Islam has become much more visible after September 11. In a similar fashion, Samuel Huntington’s (1993) famous thesis claims that in the post-Cold War era the ‘clash of civilisations’ dominates global politics. He divides the world into two homogenous civilizational blocs of Europe: The West and Muslim, through geographic constellations. They are juxtaposed against one another. Within such a divide, he refers to Turkey as a “torn” or “semi-European” country ‘with a single predominant Islam whose leaders want to shift it to the West which is an impossible task. Therefore, Turkey cannot be a part of the EU. The question of whether Turkey should become a member of the EU or not has dominated the debates after September 11 in terms of the ‘clash of civilizations’ by people who are both for and against it.

According to Mayer and Palmowski (2004: 593), opponents to enlargement and particularly Turkey’s involvement in the EU have started debates in the axis of historical

and cultural identity since 2004, the year in which Turkey's accession negotiations were started formally. More importantly, these discourses were also adopted by the public. The public opinion polls conducted in different years by Eurobarometer reveal widespread skepticism and opposition towards Turkey.

By all means, not only do debates on identity and culture shape the discourses on the EU but also the rhetoric of politicians in Turkey through the EU and the support of the public in Turkey towards the EU. According to Ahıska (2003:351) Europe has been an object of desire as well as a source of frustration for Turkish national identity in a long and strained history. At this point, it is noteworthy that, positively or negatively, the EU was evoked as a symbolic marker for the future of Turkish society. What all the parties in the ongoing discussions shared was the ambivalence about the transcendental meaning of the reforms required by the EU for membership. The reforms were not discussed as such, as solutions to present social problems, but signified as a code for the desired or feared Westernization (Ibid., 353). In other words, debates and discussions on EU membership and identity have been formed within the "Westernization" phenomenon. Dedicated literature identifies two common viewpoints regarding these debates.

The first viewpoint, adopted by many Turkish political people today, is that Westernization is the same as modernization, reaching the highest social standards as in West, and belonging to first division status in economic, democratic and other performance criteria (Öniş, 2009: 361). The natural goal is to be a member of the European 'club'. Despite it is very obvious and commonly known that Turkey's membership to the Union holds great opportunities for inter-civilization dialogue, trade, and economic development, possible solutions to the European security issues, EU's potential and possible contributions to Turkey's own national transformation and development are among the prominent motivations.

On the other hand, another viewpoint is that Westernization is the abandonment of culture and past and admission of inferiority, according to many Turks (Öner, 2009: 158). Serif Mardin (1991) states that justice and legitimacy are among the essential concepts in Islamic or folk culture of Turks, while Western is seen as foreign, unjust and against the traditions. Parallel to this, 'unfair treatment' by the EU has been mostly seen

as a result of Europe being a Christian Club. This means that even if Turkey fulfils all of the necessary criteria that are needed to be a member of the Union, it would not be a full member because Europe is a Christian Club. Various Turkish politicians are still using this reference to ease the way for full membership (Eralp, 2009; Öner, 2011). According to this viewpoint, Europe would be pronounced as being exclusively Christian, if they do not accept Turkey into their union even if Turkey meets all the needed criteria full membership.

When we look at today, despite their intensity and duration over the decades, Turkey's relations with the EU still invoke similar debates in both sides. The ever-increasing populism in EU member states and the crisis sustaining this populism result in the framing of Turkey's EU membership within identity and perceived differences, and even threats. In a similar fashion, all of the recent crisis with the EU and member states have been interpreted within the context of identity differences and discrimination by politicians, media and the public in Turkey. Similarly, heated debates the EU have still been shaped by the themes of Europeanness, European identity and discrimination.

1.2.5 The EU's Internal Dynamics

The current dynamics in the EU-Turkey relations have been affected by developments and crises within the EU in a great manner as they always been. These effects can be examined from two different perspectives; in a general manner within the context of EU enlargement policy and within the context of results affecting Turkey.

Besides the internal problems of Turkey regarding relations with the EU, the EU's own problems have also been very determinant in the relations between two parties since 2005. Prominently, failed Constitutional Treaty and Eastern Enlargement have fundamentally impacted the Union's stance towards enlargement. The following euro crisis also fostered the hesitations. Consequently, increasing hesitations towards enlargement, the rise of far-right political parties have affected Turkey's membership prospects, which was already discussed on political and economic terms for many years, now cultural and economic terms included (Aydın-Düzgit and Kaliber, 2016:2).

Moreover, UK's decision to leave the EU in 2016 and ongoing Brexit problems, problems caused by European Refugee Crisis both within and between member states, expansion and rise of populist parties and Islamophobia in member states due to recent developments have direct and indirect impact on the Turkey's membership process and the nature of the relations. Successive crises have also impacted the widening dimension of European integration.

As the EU became immersed in its own problems, it became difficult to focus on Turkey's accession process. Turkey's bid to membership has become, as Tocci (2014:1) stated, a journey in the unknown, due to the facts that EU's public statements not foreseeing a new enlargement in the foreseeable future (Juncker, 2015), lessening enlargement credibility because of blurring prospect of membership, and loss of attraction of being a member to the union with a crisis-driven image.

1.3 THE EUROPEAN REFUGEE CRISIS

Uprising started in 2011 in Tunisia, in the form of anti-government and pro-democracy protests, has spread into other Middle East and North Africa countries in a very short time and started to be called 'Arab Spring' in the literature, a wave of demonstrations and protests, which brought far-reaching economic, political and social outcomes worldwide. Syrian Conflict resulted in the killing of hundreds of thousands of people (during the armed conflicts) in Syria, Libya, and Yemen, which has created the largest refugee crisis of the 21st century. According to a 2018 United Nations report, more than 5.6 million Syrians have fled the country as refugees during the conflicts, and another more than 6 million people are displaced within Syria, which was marked as the greatest refugee movement after Rwanda (UNHCR, 2018).

While neighbourhood countries including Turkey felt the effects of the crisis immediately, it has remained largely a "non-European" crisis for Europe until April 2015 (Turhan, 2017: 279). Starting from the second half of 2015, hundreds of thousands of

refugees looking for safety after being displaced from their homes because of war and oppression, mainly from Syria, Europe has started to feel the challenge. According to the European Commission (2016b), the number of people crossing the Mediterranean Sea for resettlement in the European Union in 2015 was more than a million. As a result, the EU has started to face the challenge of how to manage this stream of refugees. For many, the EU could not be able to find a satisfactory solution to this problem at a European level (Bordignon and Moriconi, 2017; Maani, 2018) due to the fact that there have been conflicts both within and between the EU countries over the willingness and capabilities for humanitarian assistance (Pamment, et.al, 2017: 322).Therefore, debates over the EU's asylum policy have surfaced. The legal basis of asylum policy of the EU is the Charter of Fundamental Rights and the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, which the EU is also a part of (European Parliament, 2017). "Refoulement" of refugees is prohibited by Article 33 of the Convention; meaning it is not possible to send them back to places or countries where their lives or freedom are at risk because of their nationality, religion, race or membership of a social or political group. The convention also imposes states to equal treatment for refugees" (UNCHR, 2011).

The EU, a party of these international binding contracts, has established its own asylum policy in consistency with these contracts. The Dublin regime stands as the main reference in the EU's asylum policy with its direction of allocating the responsibility of how to deal with asylum seekers in the EU. The Dublin Convention (1990), which was an intergovernmental treaty, was incorporated into the EU law in 2003 (Bauböck, 2018:143-145).

The Dublin regime clarifies that only one member state is responsible for dealing with asylum seekers, that country usually being the first country asylum seeker enters the Union (Gil-Bazo, 2018). However, after the Refugee Crisis has gone to the European level, the dysfunctionality of the Dublin system emerged. However, the countries that received the most immigration waves acted on their own and incoherently to decrease the negative effect of immigration.

Some of these actions are building solid barriers in the borders as in Hungarian-Serbian border and temporary suspension of the Schengen visa agreement in Austria. Germany and Sweden adopted the policy to welcome asylum seekers while Central European countries were stricter in immigration issues. Thus, the refugee crisis in Europe in 2015 has become much more complicated, considering its enormous dimensions, lack of equally burden-sharing, increasing populism and anxious public opinion towards asylum seekers.

1.3.1 The Effects of European Refugee Crisis on the EU-Turkey Relations

In the face of deterioration of the refugee crisis each day, it became inevitable to find a solution that includes Turkey, which became a transit country for refugees fleeing to Europe through the Aegean Sea. Thus, the effective application of Readmission Agreement, signed in 2013 before the Refugee Crisis turned into a European Crisis, and the implication of visa liberalization dialogue has become much more crucial (Turhan, 2017: 653). In this context, in the 15 November 2015 EU Summit, the Common Joint Plan, foreseeing the revitalization of accession negotiations with Turkey, was approved, alongside the cooperation with Turkey to stop the irregular migration (European Council, 2015). This action plan came into force in 29 November 2015 Turkey-EU summit. Reached agreement guaranteed 3 billion Euro for the care of Syrian refugees in Turkey, and also committed to the opening of 17th Chapter in the negotiations and revitalization of visa liberalization process (European Council, 2015).

The EU-Turkey Statement agreed on 18 March 2016 following the Joint Action Plan foresaw better conditions for refugees in Turkey and opened the way for legal and safe replacement of Syrian refugees (European Commission, 2018). This agreement, which was highly criticized by human rights organization and blamed for being illegal, foresaw the readmission of all new irregular migrants crossing the border from Turkey into Greek islands as from 20 March 2016 and resettlement of another Syrian, taking into account the UN Vulnerability Criteria, in exchange for every Syrian being returned to Turkey from the Greek islands. Moreover, the agreement has acted as a roadmap for not only European Refugee Crisis, but also for the deadlock in Turkey-EU relations via

containing elements in regards to the re-energization of the accession process, modernization of Customs Union and realization of the visa liberalization.

Turkey's progress report published by the European Commission in 2018 showed the successful outcome of the successful implementation of The March 2016 EU-Turkey Statement in reducing the number of irregular migration and consequently saving of many lives especially in the Aegean Sea. The report also stated that Turkey successfully secured and increased the living conditions of more than 3.5 million Syrian refugees and 365 000 refugees from other countries (European Commission, 2018).

However, alongside the impact of this partnership on the solution of European Refugee Crisis, it is important to stress out that European Refugee Crisis led to a strategic rapprochement between the EU and Turkey by indicating that EU's stance towards Turkey going beyond the traditional forms of accession negotiations (Müftüler-Baç, 2017: 118). Turhan (2017:647) claims that the above-mentioned dialogue mechanisms show high similarity with the mechanisms established between the EU and its official strategic partners. This claim was also supported by the fact that Turkey has been defined as a key strategic partner in current official EU documents.

Moreover, in the context of this thesis, developing EU relations within the context of the European Refugee Crisis contain other important dynamics. The German leadership becoming more evident within the EU, also vis a vis relations with Turkey, the use of the agreement by Turkey as a political tool against the EU (sometimes as a pressure, balance and even threat element), the critics of the agreement by certain groups and debates on whether Turkey is being turned into a refugee camp are some of the prominent dynamics.

This thesis strongly believes that these dynamics directly affect the media frames, rather than only affecting political discourses and public opinions. Thus, they will be covered in detail in the research part.

1.4 AIM AND STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis aims to investigate how Turkish media frames the European Union Refugee Crisis. By doing so it is also aimed to explore whether the European Union is framed through the European Refugee Crisis. Thus, this study, besides how European Refugee Crisis is framed, also tries to reveal the complex relationship between modern and historical dynamics of EU-Turkey relations and news discourses.

This thesis consists of six chapters. By realizing the necessity of covering all aspects of the EU-Turkey relations, the first chapter starts with the historical background and then continues with the actors and issues shaping the contemporary dynamics of the EU-Turkey relations. European Refugee Crisis and its effects on the EU-Turkey relations are also covered in this chapter.

In Chapter 2, the theoretical framework and literature review on framing theory are presented.

Chapter 3 includes the research model and hypotheses.

Chapter 4 covers the research design and methodology as well as the data collection method, sampling, and the coding procedure.

Data analysis and findings of the research are given in Chapter 5.

Chapter 6 includes the discussion concerning the outcome of the study, limitations, and suggestions for further researches.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter starts with the unveiling of the framing theory. This is followed by an examination of how framing theory applies to the news media. Prominent theoretical approaches within the framing theory are also discussed to provide a rationale for the methodology of this thesis. After the introduction of the theoretical framework, the second section covers the literature review.

2.1 FRAMING THEORY

Framing is the process which is based on selecting and raising of the particular aspects of reality (thereby excluding others) and organising those aspects around a central idea to encourage target audiences to develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking, feeling and deciding about an issue (Chong & Druckman, 2007, Entman, 1993; De Vreese, 2005). Framing theory was first conceptualized in 1974 by Sociologist Erving Goffman under the title of 'Frame Analysis'. Goffman speaks of frames as 'Schemata of interpretation' (Goffman, 1974: 19) and identifies the type of usage of them and offers a context enabling people to 'locate, perceive, identify and label' (ibid, 21) the information in order to understand and interpret situations and events.

Following the early attempts of Goffman (1974), framing is being used as a useful paradigm by a diverse range of disciplines to understand and explore how social reality is constructed, communicated and shaped. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) introduced the frames in a larger concept of 'media packages' .The frame and 'condensing symbols', easing the display of packages as a whole with slogans or symbolic tools, compose the main organizing body (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989: 3).

The method of frame analysis has been increasingly used since the 1990s in communication and media studies in order to comprehend the elements shaping media interpretations of reality and their possible effects on audiences. Studies and researches on new media are especially critical among these studies because politicians, interest

groups and scholars acknowledge that news poses critical significance in the political process and in shaping public opinion.

2.1.1 Framing Theory and News Media

As a significant and powerful mode of mass communication, news media play a crucial role in terms of disseminating the information, shaping the attitudes and ideologies as well as exerting influence over societies to "meaningfully structure the social world" (Reese, 2001:61). To perform this function, news media uses different presentations and interpretations techniques which can be best understood through the concept of framing. Thus, framing aids the study of how media coverage of events is formulated and established in the news (Matthes, 2011:251).

Definitions of frames on news vary vastly in both theoretical and empirical studies. Gitlin (1980: 7) defines frames as 'the way of comprehension, interpretation, and presentation of processes such as selection, emphasis, and exclusion in which discourses are used as routine regulators.

Despite the variety of definitions of news framing, it simply refers to the selection, organization, and emphasis of a particular subject with the aim of attracting particular attention to a news story in a positive, negative or neutral manner. In other words, it is the process in which information is selected, organized, packaged and presented in the public discourse to make accessible and encourage a specific interpretation of a given issue (McCombs and Gilbert, 1986:23).

The effects of news media frames can move beyond its time-frame. As a part of the framing process, individuals may store their interpretation to decode future information regarding the relevant events (D'Angelo and Kuypers 2010). In other words, news frames organize reality for individuals and change the interpretation of future knowledge or phenomena (Scheufele, 1999:105).

The potential of framing lies in focusing on the communicative processes. It is a dynamic process containing frame-building (how frames emerge) and frame-setting (the

relationship between media frames and audience tendencies). Entman (1993) states that frames have various positions including transmitter, message, receiver, and culture. These elements are inseparable parts of the framing process which consists of different stages including the frame-building, frame-setting and individual and societal level consequences of the framing (d'Angelo, 2002; de Vreese, 2002) as illustrated Figure 1.

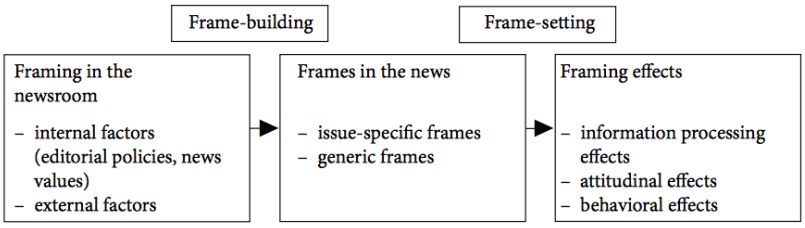

Figure 1.1: An Integrated Process of Framing

Given the multi-level and integrated dynamics of the framing process as illustrated in Figure 1, frames can be both independent variable (IV) and dependent variable (DV). For example, while frames in media can be analysed as a dependent variable as a result of a production process including institutional pressure, journalism routines and elite discourse, it can also be analysed as an independent variable as an antecedent of audience interpretation.

According to the integrated process model of framing, frame-building is the process that structural qualities of the news frame are shaped by some factors. Internal factors of journalism define how issues are framed by news organizations and journalists. On the other hand, with the same level of importance, external factors of journalism have an impact as well. Journalists, elites (Gans, 1979; de Vreese, 2002) and social movements are the two parties whose ongoing interaction determines the frame-building process (e.g., Cooper, 2002). Finally, the frame-building process results in the frames manifest in the text.

Frame-setting refers to the interplay between the individual's pre-determined tendencies, knowledge and media frames. People's learning, comprehension, evaluation of issues and cases are affected by frames. Not only does framing have an impact on an

individual level, but also on a societal level. An individual's exposure to a particular frame can result in a change of attitude regarding an issue or event. However, on the societal level, political socialization and collective actions may be affected and changed by frames (Jamieson and Capella, 1998).

Despite the variety of classification in news frames, two significant types come forward in the related studies; issue-specific and generic. Regarding the issue-specific frames emerge during particular issues or events. Related studies focus on the consequences of these frames such as individual's issue perceptions, cognitive responses, and support for policies (Nelson et.al, 1997). However, generic frames are used in a greater range of topics, without any thematic, cultural or time limitations (De Vreese and Boomgaarden, 2003: 363).

The frame scheme, which consists of 5 different types of framing and was used by Valkenburg and Semetko (2002) in examining the news containing EU related issues, is frequently used in the literature as well. These frames are as following;

1) Attribution of responsibility framing burden government or an individual or a group with the responsibility of causing or solving a problem or issue.
2) Conflict framing narrates the conflicts between individuals, groups or institutions in order to attract its audience.
3) Human interest framing focuses on stories regarding human lives and emotionality.
4) Morality framing handles the issues and problems within the perspective of religious belief and moral principles.
5) Economic framing focuses on the economic results or costs of issues in regards to the individuals, groups, institutions, regions or countries.

2.1.2 Revealing Frames in News Media

News framing has been studied within various types of news coverage including political communication campaigns, domestic events, international issues, and crises. Studies using frame analysis as methodology have benefited from different theoretical and

methodological approaches which have resulted in frame analysis used to be flexible and tentative to the content and aim of the study. This means that the way operationalizing and detecting frames in the news is not done in a particular way. However, framing studies focusing on news media, generally, refer to studies aiming to reveal the structure of discourse and building of the meaning and how issues/events are structured (Tankard, 2011; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

There are broadly two categories in the methodological approaches to frame analysis; inductive and deductive. Analysing the news without existing and defined news frames in mind is called the inductive approach. This approach is based on extracting frames from the text. However, studying with a relatively smaller sample and being difficult to replicate are among the main criticizes towards this approach (Gamson, 1996; D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010).

On the other hand, the deductive approach refers to embracing predetermined framing categories in the news stories. Deductive approaches use quantitative content analysis and measure the frequency of frames. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) came up with one of the most used deductive analysis during their studies on the news framing of European politics. Five frames come forward; conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality, and responsibility frames.

There are also other deductive approaches relying on coding for manifest indicators, such as keywords or framing mechanisms (Tankard, 2001; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). Gamson and Modigliani (1989) study on 'framing devices' combining information and offering a 'media package' of an issue. According to them, metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions and visual images are framing devices. Similarly, according to Entman (1993: 52), some methods are to be used to identify and clarify the frames in the news by analyzing the information sources, images, keywords that hold the potential to reinforce judgments or clusters of facts. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), taking the devices Gamson and Modigliani (1989) used to one step further, come up with a set of framing techniques including the use of metaphors, contrasts, stories, traditions, spins or artifacts. Within this methodology, another approach to detect the media frames was introduced by Tankard (2001:101). He offered a list of framing mechanisms to identify

the presence of the news frames including; paragraphs and statements in the conclusion parts, selection of quotes, headlines, subheadings, statistical information, photos, photo captions, and leads.

Despite using different techniques, the common characteristic of these deductive approaches is that they interpret frames in a broader context -grammatical, social or cultural eg.- by analyzing every component of news content in textual, discursive or visual level.

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Before studying further on the framing in news media, it is critical to cover key ideas, concepts, and related literature that shape and guide this thesis. In this section, the key concepts that are significant with regard to this study are reviewed. An overview of previous studies examining how the EU related issues are presented and reshaped in the news media through discourses is given.

The literature review further focus on the existing literature that is essential to comprehend the three primary concepts which make up the theoretical framework of this study; ideology, discourse and framing in media studies. Because frame analysis is fundamentally considered as a method within discourse analysis, focusing on the relationship between media, discourse and ideology will be highly beneficial in order to understand framing theory, which I will focus on in the following sections of this part, framing analysis and critical discourse analysis, which I will use as the methodology of this study. I will also include in the coming sections prominent studies explaining how the EU related issues are presented through news media.

2.2.1 Ideology, Media and Discourse

According to the Turkish Language Institution, ideology is defined as ‘the set of political, legal, academic, religious, ethical and aesthetical thoughts that create a political or societal doctrine and give direction to behaviours of a government, a party or a group’.

Similarly, Oxford Dictionaries defines ideology as 'the set of beliefs characteristic of a social group or individual'. Concept of ideology, a quite important concept for political theory and policy, provides a critical lens to understand the logic and the way of working of 'media', referred to as one of the 'ideological devices of a State' by Althusser (1971).

Dennis McQuail (2010) defines ideology as a set of values or an organized belief system that is distributed by the communication process. He further adds that intended selections can be observed in most media content in order to emphasize certain norms and values to deliver or reinforce these ideologies (2010:466). Thus, channels of communication and the media are considered as a tool to reinforce and spread a particular ideology. One of its other ways of use is to maintain social control by regulating and affecting social opinion in line with the ideology of power. In fact, public opinion refers to the voice of power rather than being the voice of society. It tries to exploit anything in order to regulate, format and control the society. Althusser (1971) states that media, as an ideological state device, facilitates as a linkage between society and sovereign power via communities' will rather than pressure. Thus, newspapers, as a part of the media, hold great importance in affecting the production of consent.

In other words, media can affect individuals very easily and direct them towards or against an ideology and various thoughts. It can set an agenda and gather millions of people around these agendas. Because of this feature of media, it has a powerful connection with ideologies. Sovereign or opposite ideologies are easily transmitted to individuals easily on a daily basis. It is tried to gather followers around these ideologies.

The identity and ideological structure of media are also reflected in the broadcasting policies. The process of selection of media organization, news, comments and visual materials in the broadcasting period in accordance with the identity and broadcasting policy of media is called 'gatekeeping'. Gatekeeping is applied in every level of media organization even by correspondents and editor in chief (Rigel, 2000: 22).

Discourse is critical in understanding the relationship between ideology and media. According to Foucault, sovereign power relations cannot be established, strengthened or even produced without the existence of production, accumulation, and

circulation of discourse. Discourse is the primary tool for establishing and representation of sovereign relations. Ideology relates discourse with sovereign relations and acts as a mediator (Mumby, 2004:237-240). In other words, discourse reveals the ideology encrypted into language.

Fairclough states that discourses are shaped by the structure and at the same time help structures to be shaped, re-shaped, reproduced and transformed. These structures are naturally discursive and ideological -order of the discourse, codes, and words and obtaining a promise and their elements- they all also include mediation; in the relations between political and economic institutions, relations in the market, relations between genders, relations in the state or education institutions (Fairclough, 2003:159). In short, discourse contributes to the creation of relations in the society, to the creation of subjects and objects and the recreation of these continuously.

The concept of discourse in media studies, together with ideology, stands as a zero point in explaining the role of the news (media texts) on the establishment of the societal ruling power. News texts are discourses in terms of content. Discourse in the news is determined by the news sources, society's and newsrooms economic politics, news professionals and editorial processes. In other words, the process of news creation is not direct or passive. They are determined by controlled and structural strategies created socially and ideologically. Each newspaper is produced with the impact of social representations including culture, ethnicity, societal gender, nation, political ideology (Van Dijk 1988: 27). Moreover, the history of the society is also influential in ideologies as well as values shaping the news production.

2.2.2 Framing of the EU Related Issues

Framing studies have shown how individuals receive an issue from news depending on which issue is highlighted. The literature covering the news framing on EU related issues is intensive. Starting from the 2000s, scholars have been using news media framing to understand and analyse public support for European related issues such as European

integration, European problems, and crises, representation of candidate countries in member states.

Euroscepticism in news media discourse is the most documented subject in these studies (Anderson, 2004; Hooghe and Marks, 2009). Recipients' reasonings about EU issues has been guided by the valence of news frames (de Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2006; Inthorn, 2006).

Vliegenthardt and Schuck (2008) stated that there is a positive correlation between the framing the EU with possible potential benefits and support for the EU. On the other hand, De Vreese (2007) shows that framing EU politics with conflicts refers to the opposition to the EU. Moreover, Schuck and De Vreese (2006) and De Vreese and Kandyla (2009) showed in their studies that framing the EU issues with risk factor rather than opportunity is associated with low levels of support, especially with the ones that have a low level of knowledge regarding the EU most affected. According to De Vreese and Boomgarden (2006), state that individuals in information-rich environments can be more properly educated and approach to the EU may be affected by news media, especially in terms of changing people's perception of EU's performance, benefits and problems.

Some studies in the related literature have tried to analyse the impact of news frames on Eurosceptic voting. For example, rejection of the Constitutional Treaty in the Netherlands has been found linked with being interacted with particular strategic framings in media (Elenbaas & De Vreese, 2008). Van Spanje and De Vreese (2014) state that the results of the 2009 European Parliament elections were affected by the frames used in news about EU-related issues during the campaign process. According to their study, a voters' tendency to cast a vote for a Eurosceptic party decreases as he or she is exposed to positive evaluations of the EU, on average.

Studies have found that European related issues are transmitted to the audiences in the member states via filters through their national media and general ideology and position of each member states' mainstream parties are structurally more represented in national news media. Thus, press' positions about an EU-related issue are influenced by

political orientation and party affiliation. According to Katsourides (2014), the position and opinion of print media in Cyprus towards the EU are mainly influenced by their level of politicization and affiliation with political parties. Consequently, citizens of Cyprus receive almost all of the European issues through a national filter. Other studies show that domestic politics and domestic news agendas are also highly influential on news media reporting on EU related issues (eDowney and Koening, 2006; Koopmans 2007). Care and Burton (2004) found that in the British context when information is filtered through the lens of political parties, attitudes towards the EU were influenced by newspaper coverage. Hawkins (2012) analysed the framing of the EU during the negotiation of the Lisbon Treaty in British media. He examined the formation of individuals' attitudes and government policies towards the EU within the discursive context. According to his study, a dominant discourse which is Eurosceptic that aims to discuss broader EU issues was identified. The EU was viewed through the lens of the nation-state by this discourse. This discourse also frames the relations between the EU and the UK with concepts of separation and threat.

Some studies have shown that opinions regarding EU enlargement and citizens' approach towards candidate countries have been affected by framing (Schuck and De Vreese, 2006). De Vreese and his friends (2011) conducted a media content analysis to examine the impacts of news framing on support for Turkey's membership to the EU. Their study results show that people's level of support for Turkey's membership varies significantly between those who are exposed to positive frames and those who are exposed to negative frames. According to the study, citizens' approval of Turkey's membership is highly linked with how issues are covered by elites and media in interaction with individual characteristics. They observed five frames including threat frames regarding the culture, security and economy and advantages frames for geopolitical security and national economy.

Claiming that the media messages have a significant role in shaping European identities, Intorn (2006) analyzed the British and German news media with the specific focus on their coverage on Turkey's and Central and Eastern European countries' membership. The study reveals that Central and Eastern European countries are seen and

framed as ‘natural’ members of Europe while Turkey is represented as other because of its cultural identity.

Before focusing on the studies in Turkey, it should be noted that the media system in Turkey can be classified as a Mediterranean model. Within this model, political elites are highly effective and media professionals usually take their sides (Arsan, 2015). Thus, examining the media coverage paves the way for an environment suitable for socio-political analysis by easing the creation of connection with the political context in a broader sense.

Until now, a few studies focused on the framing of the EU in Turkish media outlets. These studies mainly deal with the media coverage on Turkey’s membership process and possible effects of the membership.

Regarding the EU issues, Gencel-Bek (2004) argues that Turkish media have been swinging between the pro-European or Eurosceptic attitudes when it comes to framing the EU and EU-related issues. She also adds that due to the tabloidization process and lack of professional and quality media coverage from the EU official institutions, EU-related news is usually presented by the lens of domestic issues and debates which are mainly triggered by the political and social interests. By focusing the media and power relations, Kaya and Marchetti argue that EU-related news coverage in Turkish media mostly depends on the relationship between the government, political parties and media ventures (Kaya and Marchetti, 2014:15).

Employing the content analysis, Kılıç (2014) argues that the media’s interest has been decreased to a large extent when Turkey’s EU membership process has obstructed and has increased considerably when the process was progressing in a positive way.Also, his study reveals that the presentation of the news regarding the process and the viewpoint of the columnists shows parallelism with the developments within the process.

While focusing on a crucial milestone of Turkey's bid of accession to the EU, Kejanlıoğlu and Taş (2009) show that an orientalist approach which points to the seeing Turkey through a European lens by the Turkish press is dominant in news and commentaries, and that the EU-Turkey relations are presented in the context of cultural

politics and economic and strategic pragmatism. According to the results of the study, there are differences in newspapers regarding the framing of EU and positive evaluations towards the support of EU membership.

By analyzing tones of the news frames regarding the focus on important milestones in EU-Turkey relations, Toker (2012) finds that the majority of the news coverage had a negative tone. However, she also argues that the negative tone of the articles might not be the sole reason to explain the decrease of the Turkish public support, but it could be one of the contributing factors.

In another study, the way Turkey-EU relations are presented in press media has been evaluated in the light of the 'westernization' concept by Aslan (2016). As a result of this study, it has been found out that the EU is presented as a 'higher authority', 'a set of values' or 'an ideal target to be reached'. Furthermore, conclusions like the fact that the EU is considered as an issue of internal Turkish politics are also reached.

The study of Kavaklı (2016) aims to reveal how the EU and the refugee deal between Turkey and the EU are framed in online media and which actors are dominant in this news. The results of the study show that the agreement between the EU and Turkey is dominantly framed in accordance with the EU's and Turkey's own agendas. Within this scope, Kavaklı shows that primary issues are framed in accordance with Turkey-the EU relations and internal affairs of the EU countries.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH MODEL AND HYPOTHESES

This section presents the research model and hypotheses that emerge from the literature and are pertinent to this study.

3.1 HYPOTHESES

As it has already been stressed in other parts of the study, the mass media have a crucial role to produce and reinforce dominant perspectives and attitudes on issues and events (Entman, 1991: 9). The reason for that is the great importance of commentary-oriented journalism in characterization, such as the polarized perspectives of an issue when the media is not objective and the parallelism between press and parties is significantly higher.

In relation to the context of this thesis, previous studies came up with strong arguments and research results suggesting that common European input that depends on the national media outlets is filtered in line with the national lens and the perspectives and positions of powerful parties are more visible in news media (Katsourides, 2014; eDowney and Koening, 2006).

In a similar fashion, studies conducted in Turkey reveal that Turkish media can be classified as a polarized pluralist model which can be characterized with high level integration into politics as well as low journalistic professionalism (Baybars-Hawks, 2015). Correspondingly, by focusing on the Turkish newspapers, Kaya and Marchetti (2014) and Gencel Bek (2004) found that, while reporting the EU-related issues, media coverage depends highly on the relations of media ventures with the government in particular, and with the political parties in general. In line with the related literature, thus, I formulate the following hypothesis:

H1: Ideological stances and/or political affiliations of newspapers affect the valance of the news. Newspapers, relatively closer to the government, have a tendency to use negative valance towards the EU in regard to European Refugee Crisis.

H2: Frame reasonings used in the news with the dominant theme 'Turkey-EU Agreement' vary depending on the ideological stances and/or political affiliations of the newspapers.

Many studies also show that domestic politics and agendas are main determinants of how EU issues are reported in news media -independent from their political affiliations- and being used as the national lens (excluding the EU wholly showing it as an outer institution) (Downey and Koening 2006; Koopmans 2007). With great parallelism with this study, Kavaklı (2016) reveals that the agreement between the EU and Turkey regarding the Refugees is dominantly framed in accordance with the EU's and Turkey's own agendas and within the news primary issues are framed in accordance with Turkey-the EU relations and internal affairs of the EU countries.

Thus, I hypothesize the following:

H3: European Refugee Crisis and related news are mostly produced via the lens of Turkey's own political agenda with references to the EU-Turkey refugee deal and its consequences for Turkey.

Affiliated with two hypotheses above and the literature, several studies also note that the dynamics of a country's relations between the EU play a crucial role in the coverage of the EU and the EU-related issues in national news media. Especially in candidate countries, while positive frames increase during progressive periods, the interest of media on EU-related issues decreases during stagnant periods and negative frames increase in crisis periods during relations suffer. Thus, considering both historical legacies and dynamics of Turkey-EU relations surrounding the European Refugee Crisis, it can be clearly said that relations with member states have crucial importance. The leadership of Germany in the EU and in the relations with Turkey especially after the European Refugee Crisis and diplomatic crises between the two countries are among the main determinants of this period (Turhan, 2016). So, I propose the following hypotheses:

H4: The valance of news varies as time passes.

H5: As time passes, the visibility of individual member states and their leaders' increases; leaving official EU institutions and their leaders in the shadow.

H6: As time passes, the use of conflict frame increases.

Historically, debates on Turkey-EU relations give particular importance for the identity questions. Similarly, in the area of communication studies, scholars figure out that concepts "us" and "other" are among important frames in media in both member states and Turkey regarding the candidacy process and other relations. Specifically, as some scholars, especially Huntington (1993) states, concepts of "us" and "other" manifest themselves as the divide between the East and West. This divide is also seen in the framing of the European Refugee Crisis. So, drawing from both EU-Turkey integration literature and communication studies I propose the following hypothesis:

H7: Use of frames 'us' and 'other' increases as time passes.

3.2 RESEARCH MODEL

By mostly drawing the scheme proposed by Entman (1993), the model below is suggested in explaining the process of the news framing within the frame of the discussion above. The conceptual model is depicted in Figure 2:

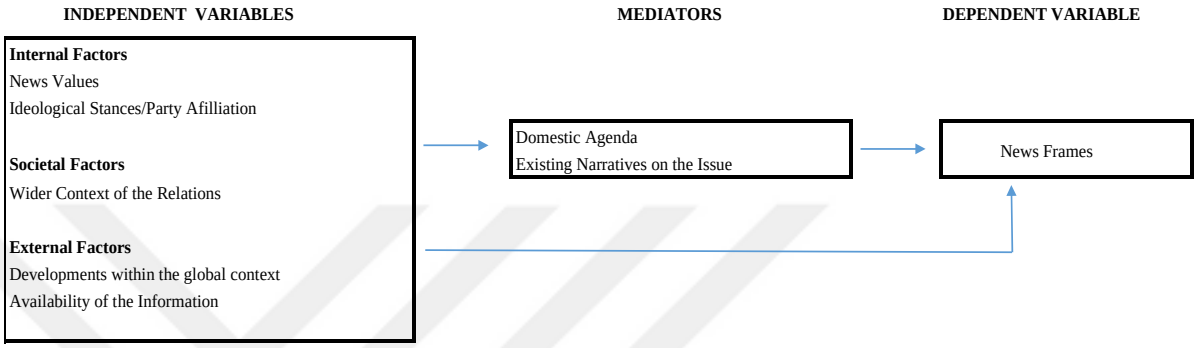

Figure 3.1: Research Model

Independent variables consist of internal, societal and external factors. The first group of independent variables includes the news values and party affiliation/ideological stances of the newspapers. Since journalists' decision-making schemes are naturally affected by the historical memories of their society and nation (Jamieson, 1998), under the second group of independent variables, historic references of the EU-Turkey relations are proposed as an independent variable in a wider context. Lastly, external factors; developments regarding the European Refugee Crisis in the global context and availability of the information and information sources will be evaluated. Turkey's own agenda and prominent narratives of the Turkish political leaders on the issue are the mediators. News frames, on the other hand, are considered as an independent variable.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the main research questions that are aimed to be answered within the objectives of this study and details about the research methodology, sampling and data collection procedures are discussed in detail.

4.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

This study aims to investigate how Turkish media frames the European Union Refugee Crisis. By doing so it is also aimed to explore whether the European Union is framed through the European Refugee Crisis. Thus, this study, besides how European Refugee Crisis is framed, also tries to reveal the complex relationship between modern and historical dynamics of EU-Turkey relations and news discourses. Following research questions are produced to guide this study:

RQ 1: Does the use of themes and frames vary depending on newspapers and time period?

RQ 2: What are the internal, societal and external factors determining the selection of specific news frames?

RQ 3: How do Turkey's own domestic agenda and dynamics of relations with the EU affect the news frames?

RQ 4: By which actors and attributes are the EU mediatized and framed with the frames used?

4.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study will use the content analysis and discourse analysis methods to answer the aforementioned research questions and test the given hypotheses.

Vreese et. al (2001:108) stated that content analysis can act as a pre-supposition for framing effect studies and it can coherently portray complex and infrequent news components. There are two possible approaches to conduct the content analysis of the news framing (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000: 94): Induction and deduction. Many studies in the literature review of this study employed content analysis with a deductive approach (Anderson, 2004; de Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2006; Inthorn, 2006). Following a similar line, this thesis also uses the deductive approach that relies on predetermined framing categories to analyze the news coverage and reveal the frames. With this aim, the aforementioned five different generic new themes, developed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), will be used: the human interest frame, the responsibility frame, the conflict frame, the economic consequences frame, and the morality frame.

As stated before, the responsibility or attribution of responsibility frame burden government or an individual or a group with the responsibility of causing or solving a problem or issue. The conflict framing narrates the conflicts between individuals, groups or institutions in order to attract its audience (Neuman et al., 1992). The human interest frame focuses on stories regarding human lives and emotionality. In the presence of crisis, human interest frame stimulates the emotional responses of the individuals, which eventually leads them to develop a negative attitude towards the issue (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). Morality frame, on the other, handles the issues and problems within the perspective of religious belief and moral principles. This frame is mostly employed indirectly by the use of quotations and inference and presents the issues within the moral, religious or social context. Lastly, the economic frame, which is the most used frame by the news media, focuses on the economic results or costs of issues in regards to the individuals, groups, institutions, regions or countries (Neuman et al., 1992).

After the content analysis, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is used as a secondary research methodology to provide additional information that will be useful for evaluating the previously obtained results from the content analsysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a cross-discipline that focuses on social problems, and especially on “the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination” (van Dijk, 2001:96). Thus, CDA investigates the relationship between language and power. There is not a single approach within this methodology,

instead, CDA includes many facets and numerous different theoretical and methodological approaches (Wodak, 1999:186). The most prominent scholars who made a great contribution to this methodology are Fairclough, Wodak, and van Dijk. The framework of Fairclough's model (1995) includes three-level analysis, namely; textual, discursive and social practices. This framework provides a lens to reveal the overlaps between language and social practices and puts the discourse in the context of social and political structures by analyzing the links between the language and significant forces in the society which ultimately shape the characteristics and objectives of any discourse.

In line with Faircloughs' approach, the socio-cognitive approach was developed by Van Dijk. He identifies discourse as a form of social practice. Therefore, Van Dijk focuses on social cognition as the mediating part between society and text. Within this approach, there are two levels of analysis: macro and micro. Language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication determine the micro-level of social order, while the macro-level refers to power, dominance and inequality between social groups (van Dijk, 2003).

Wodak's discourse-historical approach, on the other, views discourse as a form of social practice and concentrates on the interdisciplinary nature of the methodology. For the analysis of the interrelationship between discursive and other social practices and structures, Wodak (2001) refers to the principle of triangulation. This principle implies different methods of collecting data (Wodak, 2001).

In this study, Fairclough's three-level framework is used because it provides a comprehensive framework to analyse social and historical and ideological dimension of the news.

On the textual level, by focusing on the meaning and form of written or spoken language, lexical choices, as well as metaphors and other structural elements regarding the text, help us to understand the construction of phenomena (Fairclough, 1995).

Regarding the discourse practice, the existing discourses are analysed to understand how authors make use of them to create the texts and how receivers of those

texts employ these discourses within the consuming and interpreting process (1995, 2003).

Lastly, the 'social practice' dimension will attempt to contend with the broader implications of the discursive event. Social practice analysis will focus on the other factors within the scope of EU-Turkey relations, and the constitutive/constructive effects of these factors on the news discourse. In other words, the social practice analysis of the news coverage will highlight the normative aspect of the news and social consequences of discursive practices.

4.3 SAMPLING

This study analyses the EU-Refugee Crisis new coverage of the Turkey media with the time frame of 1 August 2015 – 1 August 2017. This time frame contains significant events regarding both the European Refugee Crisis and the EU – Turkey relations, including the finding of the body of refugee boy Aylan Kürdi, the EU-Turkey refugee deal, crises with France and Germany, etc. The reason for the broad time frame is to examine whether the other crises than European Refugee Crisis or other elements in the relationship have an effect on the framing of the European Refugee Crisis or not and to examine the discursive shifts during these incidents.

The newspapers were selected in accordance with their political affiliation as well as their circulation. Considering these two criteria, following Turkish newspapers were analyzed in this study: Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, Habertürk, Sabah, Sözcü, Yeni Akit. Information regarding these newspapers is as follows:

Hürriyet is one of the major newspapers in Turkey. It was founded in 1948 by Sedat Simavi. Hürriyet has a mainstream, liberal and conservative outlook. Until 2018, it was a part of Doğan Media Group. On 21 March 2018, it was sold to Demirören Holding that was known for its pro-government stance. However, it can be said that the stance and contents of articles of Hürriyet are more in-between and neutral comparing (or compared) to that of other four newspapers in the study.

Yeni Akit is an Islamist and socio-conservative national daily newspaper active in Turkey. Yeni Akit, founded on 12th September 1993 as 'Akit', is an extreme right-wing newspaper.

Cumhuriyet is a national daily newspaper in Turkey founded on 7th May 1924. The secular newspaper Cumhuriyet is considered one of the opposition newspapers in Turkey and known for its affiliation with Republican People's Party (CHP) that is the main opposition party in Turkey.

Sözcü is a national daily newspaper founded on 27th June 2007 in Istanbul. Because of the increase in political polarization, Sözcü is now among the top-selling newspapers in Turkey through its critical and anti-government stance. Sözcü has a more populist, nationalist and Kemalist orientation than Cumhuriyet.

Sabah was founded on 22 April 1985. Sabah was handed over to TMSF in 2007 and then sold to Turkuvaz Media Group. It is known for its pro-government stance.

4.4 CODEBOOK AND CODING PROCEDURE

The coding procedure is as follows: First, themes of the news were defined at the start of the coding procedure. Because there may be more than one theme in the news, the most prominent one is considered as the theme of the news. The time period of the news of the study, 1 August 2015 – 1 August 2017, was divided into four periods as following and it was coded in accordance with the dates of publishing of the news.

Period 1: 01.08.2015- 15.02.2016

Period 2: 16.02.2016- 31.08.2016

Period 3: 01.09.2016, 15.02.2017

Period 4: 16.02.2017- 30.09.2017

To detect the frames, a comprehensive framework which was developed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) was used. This framework includes five key frames as stated before; the human interest frame, the responsibility frame, the conflict frame, the morality frame, and the economic consequences frame.

During the coding process, the presence and content of the preceding frames were analysed with the use of a list of 19 questions, which each characterise one of the five news frames (see Appendix A). The answers to these questions are 'yes' or 'no', which means there may be more than one frame in each article. The intensity of frames is calculated via the intensity of the answers 'yes' to the question of each frame category. For example, the frame intensity of the news answering 'yes' to all of five questions of responsibility frame is one, while the frame intensity of news answering 'yes' to one of the five questions of responsibility frame is 0.20.

Besides Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) frame scheme, frames of 'us' and 'other', in line with the aims of the study, were also analysed. Discourses hold the potential to create a dichotomy between the positive 'Self'and the negative 'Other' (van Dijk, 1993: 263). Considering this dichotomy, I will focus on the representation of the EU or Europe as negative 'other' through the emphasis on the perceived differences or biases and stereotypes. The presence of the 'Us' and 'Other' frame is coded as 0 or 1.

Thereafter, in order to determine the prominent actors in the articles, actors mentioned in the articles were coded. In line with the aim of this study, without further details, actors were categorized in three different categories as European Union, Individual member states or their official representatives and others.

Finally, the valance was coded. Valance can be defined as, "where an attribute, object, or event is framed either positively or negatively" according to Levin (1987: 85). Through the valance, a judgment can be exerted to influence people's decision making or attitudes towards any issue and event. For the valance, keywords, photos, headlines, the tone of the news and other elements which constitute the text were considered and a three-point 'tone' scale was used; -1, 0, 1. This scale ranges from negative to positive.

The news that avoided subjective and emotional statements, strong emphasizes and wording were coded as neutral.

4.5 DATA ANALYSIS AND HYPOTHESES TESTING

The data analysis is divided into two sections. Because the time frame is wide and manually classifying the huge volume data may give wrong results, the first step of the content analysis was performed via a computer-assisted software. For this purpose, I used the MAXQDA which is a software program designed for computer-assisted analysing of the different kinds of data. After the news was transferred to MAXQDA, keywords were searched in the data, memos and coded segments, then coded into thematic groups. After this coding, the data document was first transferred to excel, then to SPSS.

As mentioned above in the coding procedure, the sample was analysed with a coding framework to determine themes, valance, actors and frames in coverage as well as time period. Linear regression analysis was used to test the hypotheses.

After the hypotheses testing; specific examples were analyzed by utilizing the critical discourse analysis to examine the frames in-depth and reveal social, political and historical dynamics that shape the selection and use the detected frames and other results.

4.6 INTER-CODER RELIABILITY

The level of agreement between independent coders, coding the same content with the same instruments, is called inter-coder reliability. Besides the author, another coder who has a bachelors and master's degree in New Media involved in the coding process. After coder training, Intercoder reliability tests were conducted for the randomly selected ten news from the five newspapers (n = 50). The Cohen's Kappa coefficient value (0~1) was selected as a statistical measure for this test. According to the results, the Kappa value of us and the other frame is 0.7219 and all of the other coding results was above 80%. Since above the 0.80 is acceptable in most situations and 0.70 can also be acceptable in some

studies (Neuendorf-Kimberly, 2002) the level of reliability scores of this study meets the standards in terms of the coding process.

Table 4.1:Inter-coder Reliability Scores

VARIABLES	KAPPA VALUE
Theme	0.8853
Valance	0.9210
Responsibility Frame	0.8133
Human Interest Frame	0.8514
Conflict Frame	0.8722
Economic Consequences Frame	0.8091
Us and Other Frame	0.7219

CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This chapter starts with the content analysis in which hypotheses are tested and then moves on to critical discourse analysis to interpret content analysis results with an additional perspective. The first part of the study is content analysis. This analysis aims to trace the clues that would reveal the subjective experience of the content producer in the content. Content producer reveals it via words and sentences. Whether content is produced ideologically can be understood from the selection of words and characteristics of grammar. Selection of words, use of modals, possessive suffixes and pronouns are analysed to understand the ideological pattern. The second part is to determine the 'interaction value' of the content. Discourses are generally produced upon other prior discourses. Prior comments (what is said, what is meant, what is approved) are parts of an individual's personal experiences and comments. Third part is to contextual analysis. This analysis aims to reveal the social positioning of the content producer. Fairclough calls this part as 'expression value' (Fairclough, 1995).

5.1 CONTENT ANALYSIS

5.1.1 The frequency of news

A total of 761 news has been found after a search in the online archive of news websites using keywords; European Refugee Crisis, Refugee Crisis, the EU-Turkey Refugee Agreement, the EU-Turkey Refugee Deal, European Union, Refugees, and Refugees in Europe. After the removal of news that is not related to the European Refugee Crisis, a total of 644 news remained.

Table 5.1: The Frequency of News on the European Refugee Crisis in Five Turkish Newspapers

Newspaper	Number of News	Percentage (%)
Cumhuriyet	128	19.9
Hürriyet	220	34.2
Sabah	118	18.3
Sözcü	90	13.9
Yeni Akit	88	13.7
Total	644	100

As Table 5.1 shows, Hürriyet published the highest amount of news (220) on European Refugee Crisis and related issues from August 1, 2015, until September 30, 2017 (34.1%); Yeni Akit published the lowest amount (88) of the news during the period.

5.1.2 Dominant News Themes

After the qualitative content analysis, a total of 13 prominent themes was detected. News without any prominent theme was coded as 'other'. Themes in 644 news published by Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Sabah, Sözcü and Yeni Akit were categorized in Figure 5.1.

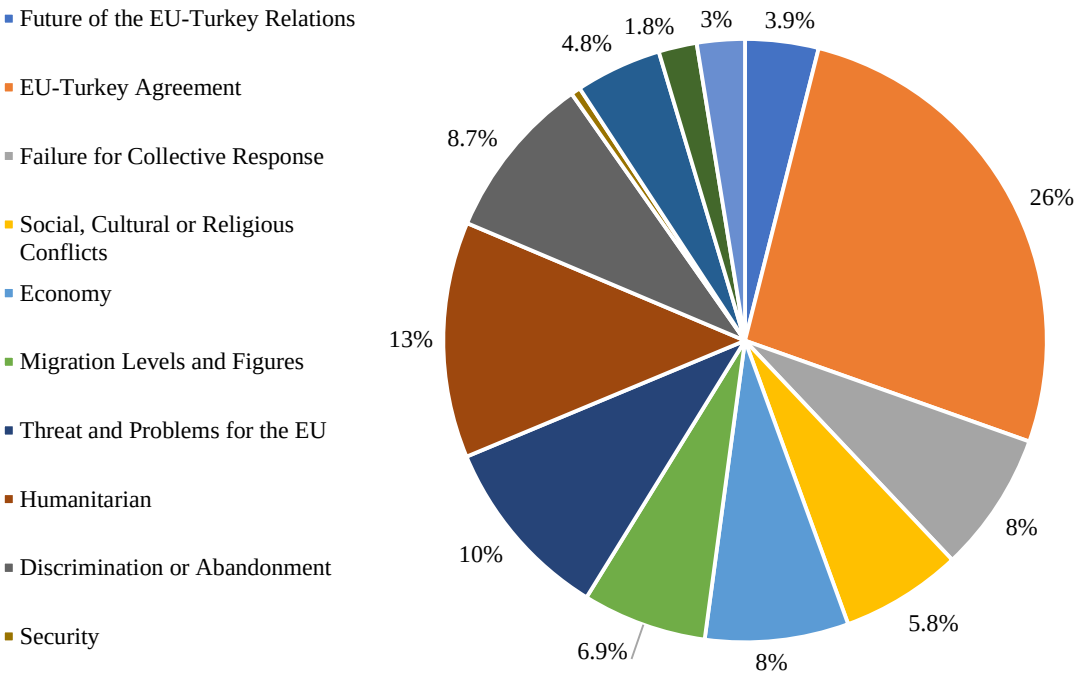

Figure 5.1: Dominant News Themes

As it is shown in Figure 5.1, the most prominent theme in 644 articles published by 5 different newspapers between 1 August 2015 – 1 August 2017 is the EU-Turkey refugee deal. The EU-Turkey refugee deal, the theme of 155 articles, accounts for %26 of the news covered in this study.

Besides the EU-Turkey refugee deal being the most used theme, it is also the most used theme in the articles in four of the newspapers in this study except Yeni Akit as can be seen in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Dominant News Themes in Newspapers

Theme	***Cumhuriyet***	***Hürriyet***	***Sabah***	***Sözcü***	***Yeni Akit***
1.	The EU-Turkey Refugee Deal	The EU-Turkey Refugee Deal	The EU-Turkey Refugee Deal	The EU-Turkey Refugee Deal	Discrimination or Abandonment
2.	Humanitarian	Humanitarian	Discrimination or Abandonment	Threats and Problems for Turkey	Social, Cultural or Religious Conflict
3.	Economy	Threats and Problems for the EU	Humanitarian	Crimes Committed by Refugees	EU-Turkey Agreement
4.	Threats and Problems for Turkey	Migration Level and Figures	Threats and Problems for the EU	Threats and Problems for the EU	Humanitarian
5.	Failure for Collective Response	Failure for Collective Response	Economy	Economy	Threats and Problems for the EU

The ratio of articles with EU-Turkey Agreement dominant is %40 in total 220 news published by Hürriyet. It is %30 in 128 articles, %19 in 118 articles, %17 in 90 articles and %15 in 88 articles published by respectively Cumhuriyet, Sabah, Sözcü and Yeni Akit.

As stated before, the theme of the EU-Turkey refugee deal being the most used theme supports the hypothesis 3 which claims that European Refugee Crisis and related news are mostly produced via the lens of Turkey's own political agenda with references to the EU-Turkey refugee deal. So, H3 is accepted.

The following table shows the prominent three reasoning device these five newspapers use when framing the EU-Turkey refugee deal.

Table 5.3: Reasoning Devices Used in the EU-Turkey Refugee Deal Theme by Newspapers

Frame Reasoning	***Cumhuriyet***	***Hürriyet***	***Sabah***	***Sözcü***	***Yeni Akit***
1.	Secret Negotiation, 3 Billion Euros	Turkey's crucial importance in the solution.	The EU being dependent on Turkey	Turkey becoming a refugee camp, Socio-economic threats for TR	EU breaking the rules
2.	Turkey becoming a refugee camp, Socio-economic threats for TR	Informative, Neutral	Visa liberalisation	Secret Negotiation, 3 Billion Euros	EU being dependent on Turkey
3.	EU holding the upper hand in the negotiations.	Material benefits and outcomes of the deal for Turkey	EU breaking the rules	Polemics of Turkish authorities with European leaders	Material benefits and outcomes of the deal for Turkey

It was analysed that Hürriyet holds a more neutral and objective position comparing with other newspapers and includes factual information frequently. Cumhuriyet and Sözcü, known as opposite newspapers to the JDP Government, mostly contain the concept of 'secret negotiation', meaning that the refugees ware accepted because of the financial support from the EU. Other important opinions included in the articles of these two newspapers are that Turkey has been tried to become a refugee camp and refugees are a threat to Turkey's socio-economic structure. Another trend in these two newspapers is that refugees within the agreement were framed negatively and as a threat to Turkish society.

On the other hand, Sabah and Yeni Akit, known as supporters of the JDP government, have been observed to frame both the Agreement and steps taken in the Refugee Crisis between Turkey and EU positively stressing the material benefits (mainly visa liberalisation) of this agreement for Turkey. For example, while Cumhuriyet frames the EU as the superior actor and main decision-maker in this agreement and Turkey as an actor trying to gain material benefits in the short term but to be the real victim in the long term, Sabah and Yeni Akit frame Turkey in their articles as the sole actor with the capability of solution to this issue for the sake of future of the EU and EU is in need of Turkey in this issue.

While 137 of 218 articles published in Cumhuriyet and Sözcü have negative tones, 64 of 206 articles published by Sabah and Yeni Akit have negative tones. %81 of articles having negative tones published by Sabah and Yeni Akit were framed by reasoning in regard to EU delaying the financial support, visa liberalisation and EU breaking the rules.

These findings confirm that frame reasonings used in the news with the dominant theme 'Turkey-EU Agreement' vary depending on the ideological stances and/or political affiliations of the newspapers. So, H2 is accepted.

5.1.3 Valance

As in Figure 5.2, 136 of the 644 articles include negative valance towards the EU, while 10 of 644 include positive valance.

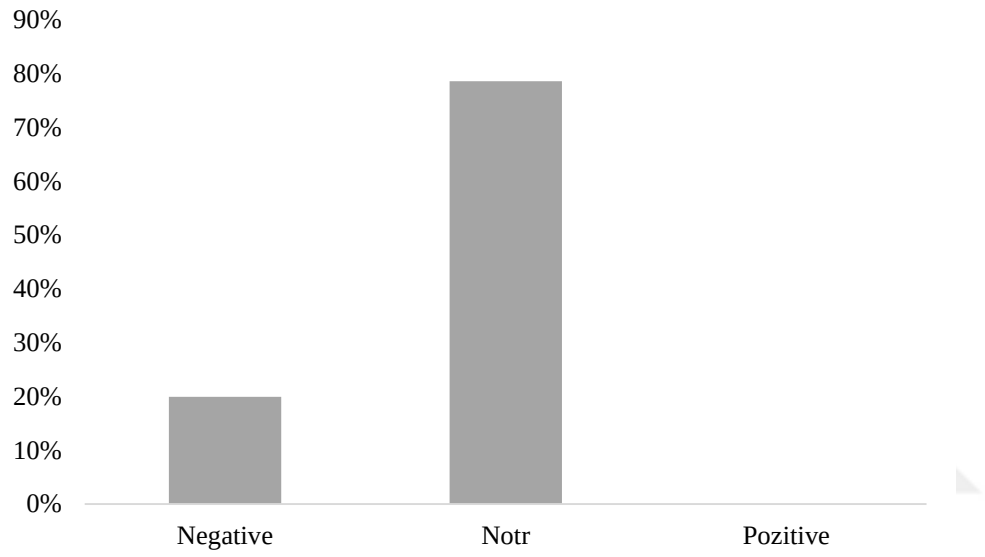

Figure 5.2: Valance of the News

The distribution of negative valance to newspapers is shown in Figure 5.3.

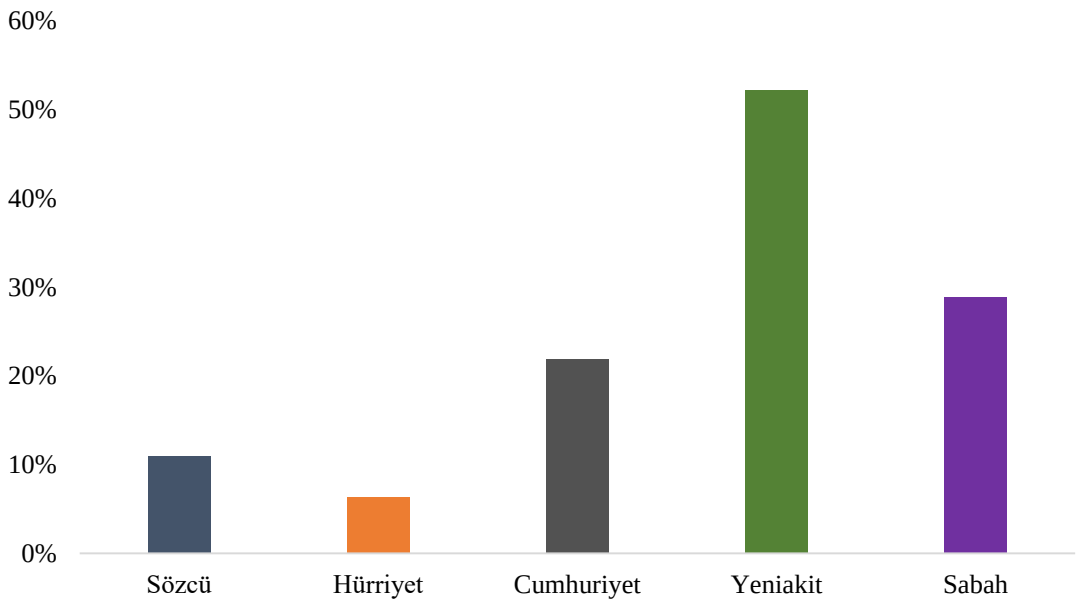

Figure 5.3: Use of Negative Valance by Newspapers

As it can be seen in Figure 5.3, Yeni Akit uses negative valance most (%52), while Hürriyet uses it the least (%6). The use of positive valance is observed in equal percentages in all of the newspapers.

Table 5.4: Percentage of Negative Valance in Newspapers

Valance	***Cumhuriyet***	***Hürriyet***	***Sabah***	***Sözcü***	***Yeni Akit***
Negative	28 (%22)	14 (%6)	34 (%29)	14 (%11)	46 (%52)
Pozitive	2 (%1)	4 (%2)	2 (%2)	-	2 (%3)

Table 5.5 shows that there is a significant relationship between the use of valance and ideological stance/political affiliations of the newspaper. The use of negative valance in Sabah and Yeni Akit, known as and conservative-right wing newspapers with pro-government stance, is higher than other newspapers.

Table 5.5: Relationship Between the Valance and Stance of the Newspaper

	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)		5,158	0,000
Stance of Newspaper	0,285	-3,531	0.001*

a Dependent Variable: Valance

R = .285 R square = .081

Adjusted R square = .075

* p<0.05

** p<0.10

This result confirms the hypothesis 1 which says the ideological stances and/or political affiliations of newspapers affect the valance of the news. Newspapers, relatively closer to the government, have a tendency to use negative valance towards the EU in regard to the European Refugee Crisis. So, H1 is supported. On the other hand, Table 5.6 shows that the results of the regression analysis reveal that there is no statistically significant relation between the valance of news and time change. So, H4 is rejected.

Table 5.6: Relationship Between the Use of Valance and Time Change

	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)		0,994	0,322
Period	-0,115	1,375	0,171

a Dependent Variable: Valance

R = .115 R square = .013 Adjusted R square = .006

* p<0.05

** p<0.10

Moreover, Table 5.7 shows that there is a significant relationship between the use of human interest and morality frames and negative valance. This result is very important in answering the research question 'How the EU is framed through the Refugee Crisis'

to be discussed in the conclusion part. While the use of human interest and morality frames increases the likelihood of negative valance, such a relationship was not found between other frames and the valance.

Table 5.7: Relationship Between the Valance and Frame

	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)		0,9	0,369
Responsibility	0,09	0,866	0,388
Human Interest	-0,258	2,874	0.005*
Conflict	-0,107	1,178	0,241
Morality	-0,314	3,509	0.001*
Economic	0,057	0,731	0,466

a Dependent Variable: Valance

R = .494 R square = .244

Adjusted R square = .217

* p<0.05

** p<0.10

5.1.4 Frames

The percentages of frames used in the articles were calculated by using two different techniques, and two results were obtained. 5.4 shows the existence of a frame, as a result of coding 1 (exists) or 0 (not exist). For example, in order to detect a responsibility frame in an article, five questions in regard to responsibility from were asked, and if at least one of the questions were answered ‘yes’, it was coded 1 meaning that it had responsibility frame and coded, if none of the questions were answered ‘yes’, it was coded 0 meaning that it had no responsibility frame. Because there may be more than one frame in an article, all of the detected frames were coded. As a result of this coding, the human interest frame was observed to be the most used frame, while the economic consequences frame was observed to be the least used one.

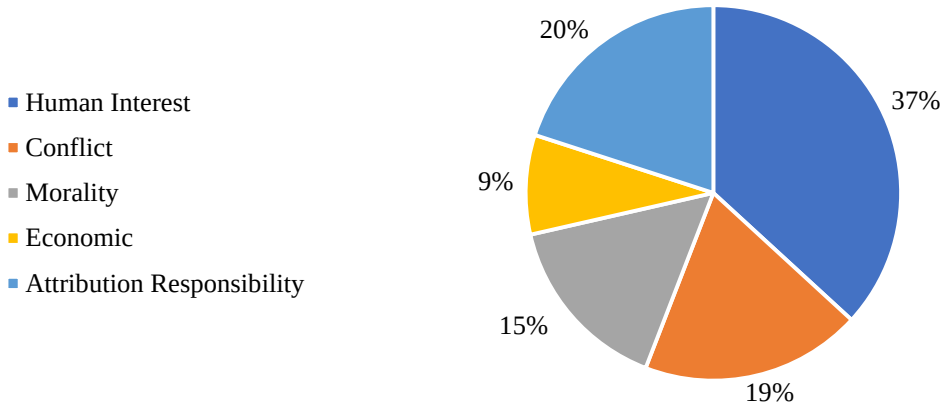

Figure 5.4: Percentage of News Frames

In accordance with this calculation method, the percentages of frames used in each newspaper are given in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: Use of News Frames by Newspapers

Frames	**Cumhuriyet**	**Hürriyet**	**Sabah**	**Sözcü**	**Yeni Akit**
Human Interest	50 (%46)	42 (%54)	44 (%36)	46 (%36)	58 (%31)
Conflict	21 (%19)	13 (%17)	26 (%21)	22 (%17)	22 (%12)
Morality	10 (%9)	4 (%5)	20 (%16)	18 (%14)	42 (%23)
Economic	11 (%10)	7 (%9)	8 (%7)	16 (%13)	16 (%9)
Attribution Responsibility	18 (%16)	12 (%15)	24 (%20)	26 (%20)	46 (%25)
Total number of frames	110	78	122	128	184

However, since some scholars stress the importance of intensity of a frame used, the intensities of frames, in line with the answers given to the reasoning questions in the

codebook, were calculated with a second calculation method. According to this method, if one of five questions in regard to the responsibility frame was answered 'yes', this made the frame intensity in this article 0.20, while if all of five questions answered 'yes', the frame intensity of this article was accepted as 1. In other words, the main focus is not the usage of each frame, but the intensity of that usage. According to means of each frame in each newspaper, as shown in Table 5.9, the most used frame is again the human interest frame. The second most used frame is the conflict frame, while the least used frames are morality and economic consequences frames. According to results, Yeni Akit uses morality frame most, while Sabah and Hürriyet use human interest frame most. Cumhuriyet and Sabah use conflict frame and responsibility frame most respectively.

Table 5.9: Use of News Frames by Newspapers (Weighted)

		Frames				
Newspaper		Responsibility	Human Interest	Conflict	Morality	Economic
Yeni Akit	Mean	0,4435	0,413	0,4565	0,5217	0,1159
	Std. Deviation	0,30723	0,27807	0,33416	0,42434	0,19092
Sabah	Mean	0,3638	0,4483	0,3276	0,3563	0,2874
	Std. Deviation	0,29547	0,3299	0,32115	0,32035	0,68848
Hürriyet	Mean	0,2619	0,3452	0,2857	0,1429	0,2857
	Std. Deviation	0,28452	0,2971	0,29514	0,23447	0,3257
Cumhuriyet	Mean	0,271	0,3468	0,3468	0,129	0,2581
	Std. Deviation	0,26102	0,26361	0,33959	0,23847	0,35182
Sözcü	Mean	0,4111	0,4028	0,375	0,1296	0,2222
	Std. Deviation	0,33235	0,29876	0,2608	0,20256	0,25565
Total	Mean	0,3325	0,3846	0,3462	0,2424	0,2448
	Std. Deviation	0,29683	0,29337	0,31389	0,32182	0,40911

In this study, it was also expected that the tendency to use conflict frame increases as time passes. Table 5.10 shows that there is a statistically significant relationship between the use of conflict frame and time progression. Thus, hypothesis 6 which argues that the likelihood of use of conflict frame increases as time passes is accepted.

Table 5.10: Use of Conflict Frame Over Time

	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)		3,895	0,000
Period	0,176	2,118	0.036*

a Dependent Variable: Conflict Frame

R = .176 R square = .031 Adjusted R square = .024

* p<0.05

** p<0.10

As it can be seen in Table 5.11, this may be attributed to the fact that the use of conflict frame is most when the theme is EU-Turkey agreement and the increase in the articles covering the EU-Turkey agreement as time passes.

Table 5.11: Use of Frames in the EU-Turkey Refugee Deal Theme

Theme		Frames				
The EU - Turkey Refugee Deal Theme		Responsibility	Human Interest	Conflict	Morality	Economic
	Mean	0,3676	0,3649	0,4392	0,1532	0,2432
	Std. Deviation	0,35123	0,1918	0,3699	0,23033	0,27942

5.1.5 Us and Other Frame

The use of frame ‘us’ and ‘other’ in each newspaper is given in Table 5.12 within the given period of time. While this frame is used by Yeni Akit most, it was never used by Sözcü.

Table 5.12: Use of 'Us' and 'Other Frame by Newspapers

	Cumhuriyet	***Hürriyet***	***Sabah***	***Sözcü***	***Yeni Akit***
Number of News	4	3	11	-	19
Frequency				-	

Lastly, just like in the conflict frame, the likelihood of the use of frame 'us' and 'other' increases as time passes. Thus, hypothesis 7 is accepted.

Table 5.13: Use of 'Us' and 'Other' Frame Over Time

	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)		0,626	0,532
Period	0,164	1,979	0.050*

a Dependent Variable: Us and Other Frames

R = .164 R square = .027 Adjusted R square = .020

* p<0.05

** p<0.10

5.1.6 Actors

The visibility of actors over time in the news is given in Table 5.14. The linear regression also shows that as time passes, visibility of individual member states and their leaders' increases; leaving official EU institutions and their leaders in the shadow. This confirms hypothesis 5.

Table 5.14: Visibility of Actors Over Time

	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)		0,872	0,385
Period	-0,228	-2,787	0.006*

a Dependent Variable: Visibility of Actors

R = .228 R square = .052

Adjusted R square = .045

* p<0.05

** p<0.10

Table 5.15: Overall Results of Hypotheses

H1: Ideological stances and/or political affiliations of newspapers affect the valance of the news. Newspapers, relatively closer to the government, have a tendency to use negative valance towards the EU in regard to the European Refugee Crisis.	Accepted
H2: Frame reasonings used in the news with the dominant theme 'Turkey-EU Agreement' vary depending on the ideological stances and/or political affiliations of the newspapers.	Accepted
H3: European Refugee Crisis and related news are mostly produced via the lens of Turkey's own political agenda with references to the EU-Turkey Refugee Deal.	Accepted
H4: The valance of news varies as time passes.	Rejected
H5: As time passes, the visibility of individual member states and their leaders' increases; leaving official EU institutions and their leaders in the shadow.	Accepted
H6: As time passes, the use of conflict frame increases.	Accepted
H7: Use of frames 'us' and 'other' increases as time passes.	Accepted

5.2 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The content analysis of the study shows that ideological stances and/or political affiliations of newspapers affect the framing of the EU and the European Refugee Crisis. It was found that newspapers, relatively closer to the government, have a tendency to use negative valance towards the EU in regard to the European Refugee

Crisis by reflecting the government's position during the period. Additionally, statistical analysis reveals that morality and us/other frames are mostly used by the newspapers which can be characterized as the conservative-right wing. To provide an understanding regarding these results, one news was selected from each newspaper and analyzed using the Norman Fairclough's (1995) critical discourse analysis.

5.2.1 Example 1

Newspaper: Yeni Akit
Date: 14th January 2017
News Headline: Damn your civilization, Europe!

The Lead Paragraph*: "So-called 'civilization' of Europe, who always talk about human rights but does not value the people who are not among them even as animals, is once again revealed. "*

On a textual level, the author used the words of 'so-called' to describe the 'European civilization'. The words used to describe a photo, said to be taken in Beograd, Serbia, is 'human tragedy'. The photo said to be taken in Serbia is narrated with the generalization of 'Europe', and 'Europe' was used as the subject in the news. Caricature given with the photo in the news, without citing a source, equates Europe with 'death'.

Figure 5.5: Yeni Akit, 14th January 2017

"So-called 'civilization' of Europe, who always talk about human rights but does not value the people who are not among them even as animals and tries to get rid of refugees all the time, is once again revealed."

"The 'human tragedy' surfaced by a photo shared on social media clearly showed how European countries, who always promote their civilization, value human and humanity."

He textual choices 'who always talk about human rights' and 'who always promote their civilization' make references to common European discourses in regards to human rights. The discourse of *'Europe who tries to get rid of refugees all the time'* is consistent with the criticisms against Europe during the Refugee Crisis. The textual choice '*once again'* yields an interpretation that this attitude of Europe is not new, they were also included in similar issues in the past.

In general, the discourse here attempts to generalize all Europe and claims the EU is hypocrite in its discourses such as human rights, equality and so on. Characterizing Europe as '*who does not value the people who are not among them'* is related to other common discourses claiming Europe is discriminate and racist. Regarding the social

practice levels, criticisms towards *'Europe who always promote their civilizations'* and *'Hypocrite Europe'* can be evaluated through the historical dynamics of Turkey's relations with the EU. The concept of 'Westernization' is useful here.

As stated before, Europe has been an object of desire as well as a source of frustration for Turkey since it was evoked as a symbolic marker -positively or negatively- for the future of Turkish society (Ahıska, 2003). There is no doubt that the membership prospect holds a significant place in this imagined future. Achieved political and democratic transformations in a positive way, especially after the Helsinki Council, to meet the EU's criteria can be associated with this membership prospect. However, the reforms required by the EU for membership have been formed within the "Westernization" phenomenon (Ibid., 353). 'Westernization', shaped by inability, lagging behind and desire to catch the modern, has become one of the main ideologies of the Republic and paradoxically defined as 'taking Western as a model, preserving own culture and outrun the West in terms of civilization'. Serif Mardin (1991) states that justice and legitimacy are among the essential concepts in Islamic or folk culture of Turks, while Western is seen as foreign, unjust and against the traditions.

Parallel to these attitudes, 'unfair treatment' by the EU during the accession process has been mostly seen as a result of Europe being a Christian Club. This means that even if Turkey fulfils all of the necessary criteria that is needed to be a member of the Union, it would not be a full member because Europe is a Christian Club. So, describing the EU or Europe as a *Hypocrite and* characterizing it as '*who does not value the people who are not among them'* are related to other common discourses which explains Turkey's never-ending journey with the EU and perceived unfair treatment.

5.2.2 Example 2

Newspaper: Sabah
Date: 06.12.2016
News Headline: The real face of racist Europe

The Lead Paragraph*:"Europe who always attempts to teach democracy and human rights to other countries ignores what happens in his own continent. Attacks on thousands of refugees draw attention besides rising racism. Refugees, that are attacked, humiliated, and wanted to get rid of, are in a great tragedy in Europe. "*

"Each day, attacks on refugees are increasing in Europe. Refugees are being stabbed, peed on and in a great tragedy."

The descriptor used to describe Europe in the headline of the news on 'the real face of racist Europe' by Sabah is 'racist'. The discourse 'real face' refers to that Europe has another face, a mask. As in the article above, the use of 'Europe' in this article as the subject is a generalization. Refugees are described as 'being attacked, being peed on, wanted to get rid of, being stabbed denoting a sense of victimness. The words 'thousands of refugees' were used to clarify the multitude of refugees. As a textual choice, the situation the refugees are in is defined as 'a great tragedy'.

Figure 5.6: Sabah, 6th December 2016

The news includes infographics regarding data on crimes against refugees in Europe. The main image of the article is that a refugee father and his child are being tripped trying to cross the border in Hungary.

In its discursive dimension, alleged behaviour towards the refugees in Europe is being related to 'the rise of racism in Europe'. It was also supported by discourses claiming the rise of racism in Europe with some indicators in recent years. The discourse of Europe 'ignoring' this issue refers to that such actions are legitimized in all over Europe and it increases the tendency to raise negative attitudes and hatred.

Similar to the article above, Europe 'trying to teach human rights and democracy to other countries' can be associated with the historical dynamics of the EU-Turkey relations. Besides this, the discursive level of the text can be analyzed through the lens of contemporary debates. As stated in the first chapter of the thesis, there has been an increase in the rhetoric of de-Europeanization since 2011 according to a critical discourse study of JDP's speeches, which reveals that the EU has been seen as an 'unwanted intruder' and 'discriminatory and 'racist' entity' (Aydın-Dizgit, 2016). For instance, at the times of diplomatic crises with the Netherlands and Germany, President Erdogan accused Germany of committing Nazi applications. Similar statements for different European countries were also given by different political figures within the time period of this study. Thus, it can be said that analyzed news discourses so far are intertwined with the discourses' political elites as expected.

5.2.3: Example 3

Newspaper: Sözcü
Date: 19.03.2016
News Headline: Mr. Çetin from MHP: The EU sending refugees back to our country is a disgrace for humanity

The Lead Paragraph *: "MHP Deputy Leader Şefkat Çetin, stating that Europe has failed once again in refugee crisis issue, said that 'JDP government signing the agreement to stop the refugee influx to the European Union has made a crucial decision that affects both today and tomorrow of Turkey."*

"...Refugee Agreement is an agreement protecting the European Union against refugees. What did Turkey gain with this agreement? EU sending refugees back to Turkey rather than sharing Turkey's responsibilities on refugees is hypocrisy in terms of humanity and their civilization. It is a great disgrace and shame for European civilization that they try to stay away from the human tragedy in the Middle East and close their borders. Europe, so-called 'great and prosperous civilization', has once again failed in the Refugee Crisis issue. "

The headline of the article published by Sözcü defined the European Union sending refugees back to Turkey as 'hypocrisy'. The opinion that 'the EU has failed' was given in both the introduction and content of the article. The attitude of the EU was criticized with expressions such as 'great disgrace' and 'shame'. European civilization was described as a 'so-called great and prosperous civilization'.

On a discursive level, the article includes direct quotations to *MHP Deputy Leader*'s speech. As in other articles above, the hypocrisy in the discourses of the EU on human rights is stressed. The discourse of 'so-called great and prosperous' use twice in the article is a sign of occidentalist discourse. Unlike Sabah and Yeni Akit, the article also includes negative valance towards the JDP government and refugees besides the European Union. The discourse of the potential impact of this agreement on the future of Turkey refers to threats of refugees. The discourse of 'threat for Turkey' in the article, in general, reflects the discourses of opposition regarding this issue and ongoing discussion and conflicting opinions in Turkey on Refugee Agreement.

5.2.4:Example 4

Newspaper: Cumhuriyet
Date: 03.09.2015
News Headline: The cruel and shocking truth of European's Refugee Crisis

The article with the headline ***The cruel and shocking truth of European's Refugee Crisis*** published by Cumhuriyet includes the headlines of British newspapers after Aylan Kürdi. Although the headline of the article, there is not negative valance

towards the EU or member states in the article. A sense of responsibility was attributed to the Refugee Crisis by using possessive suffix in 'European's Refugee Crisis'.

Figure 5.7: Sözcü, 3rd January 2015

The article uses an image containing security guards on the coast rather than the body of Aylan Kürdi. In terms of discursive strategy, the emotions stemmed from the death of Aylan Kürdi and the severity of the case were given via references to articles in the Guardian and Times.

"…Times states that the photograph devastates."

"…Guardian's headline over the photograph is 'The cruel and shocking truth of European's Refugee Crisis."

There is not any generalization towards the EU and references in a social context.

5.2.5: Example 5

Newspaper: Hürriyet
Date: 03.10.2016

News Headline: The results of the ‘refugee’ referendum in Hungary are in – a European country forgets its conscience

The Lead Paragraph: “*%98 of the voters in the referendum yesterday said ‘no’ to the placement of 1294 refugees within two years by the European Union. However, the election turned is %43 and since it is below the threshold of %50 turnout requirement, the result will not be valid.”*

Figure 5.8: Hürriyet, 3rd October 2016

“The results of the ‘refugee’ referendum in Hungary are in – a European country forgets its conscience” was used as headline in the article published by Hürriyet.On a textual level, the subject is singular using ‘a European country’. Although stressing the country being ‘European’, no other nominalization or generalization were made towards Europe.

“Hungary is a transit country for refugees trying to arrive in Germany and other EU countries.”

“Right-wing Prime Minister Orban says that he sees refugees as a threat for EU’s security and future.”

"This result, supported in the country, caused harsh criticisms from human rights organizations."

On a discursive level, the article includes the low turnout of election and reactions of human rights organizations, and references to Hungary PM Victor Orban in regard to not wanting refugees without generalization.

On the societal level, it was stressed that Hungary is a transit country for refugees and Victor Orban is a right-wing politician. Under that stressing lies the social reality that right-wing in Europe is less welcoming through refugees.

5.3 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The Arab Spring, started in 2011 in Tunisia and spread to other Middle Eastern and North African countries in a short period of time, caused one of the biggest humanitarian crises in the world after exacerbation of civil war in Syria as well as the death of many civilians and displacement of hundreds of thousands of people.

Starting from the second half of 2015, hundreds of thousands of refugees, mainly from Syria, have begun to flee to Europe for better living conditions and security and consequently European Refugee Crisis has emerged. The dimension of the crisis and deficiencies of the EU in its asylum policy worsened the situation and eventually a solution plan including Turkey became inevitable. Refugee Deal, signed on 18th March 2016 between Turkey and the EU, is the most significant part of this solution. However, following debates have increased the attention of public and Turkish media on European Refugee Crisis and it became a prominent issue in Turkey's agenda.

Building on research into how conflicts and issues regarding the EU are represented in the news media, this study explored the news framing of the European refugee crisis by Turkish newspapers. The proposed model of this study, which is based

on the integrated process of framing (Entman, 1993; d'Angelo, 2002; de Vreese, 2002), suggests that internal, societal and external factors can be considered as independent variables which define how the European refugee crisis is framed by different newspapers. Regarding the interplay between the first group of independent variables (values and political affiliation/ideological stances of the newspapers) and news framing, results show that there is a statistically significant relationship.

The newspapers, which can be characterized as the conservative-right wing, have a tendency to use negative valance towards the EU in regard to the European refugee crisis. This result points out the existence of an ongoing interaction between newspapers and elites and social movements, as framing theory suggests. Thus, the facts that Yeni Akit and Sabah are pro-government newspapers and the stance of the JDP government towards the EU is negative throughout the time period of articles in the study justify this relationship. This result is consistent with that press's positions about an EU-related issue are influenced by the press' political orientation and party affiliation. Moreover, the results reveal that there is a relationship between the use of 'us/other' frames and ideological/political stances of the newspapers. While this frame is used by Yeni Akit most, it was never used by Sözcü. It was also proven that the use of the conflict frame and 'us'/ 'other' frames increases as time passes.

Moreover, after an analysis of 644 articles, it was detected that the human interest frame is the most used frame to frame the European refugee crisis. The most used theme is the 'EU-Turkey Agreement'. In other words, in accordance with the results of related studies in the literature, the European Refugee Crisis and related news are mostly produced through the lens of Turkey's own political agenda with references to the EU-Turkey Agreement and its consequences for Turkey.

It is also noteworthy point out that frame reasonings used in the news with the dominant theme 'the EU-Turkey Refugee Deal' vary depending on the ideological stances and/or political affiliations of the newspapers. Cumhuriyet and Sözcü, known as opposite newspapers to the JDP government, qualified the agreement with expressions such as 'secret negotiation' and focused on the potential social and economic problems

of the deal and used this deal to criticize the foreign policy of the government. On the other hand, Sabah and Yeni Akit, known as pro-government newspapers, have been observed to frame both the agreement and steps taken in the crisis between Turkey and the EU positively stressing the material benefits (mainly visa liberalisation) of this agreement for Turkey. Besides, the European Union was framed as its future, security and integrity are dependent on Turkey using the EU-Turkey Agreement.

However, it is hypothesized that the valance of news varies as time passes depending on the crisis and other ups and downs with member states. Contrary to that, in the context of the model of this study, statistical analysis did not approve of this suggestion. There was not a statistically significant relationship between time period and valance. On the other hand, the linear regression analysis shows that as time passes, visibility of individual member states and their leaders' increases; leaving official EU institutions and their leaders in the shadow. Considering the significance of member states in the case of the Turkish accession process, recent diplomatic crises with some of them and the leadership of Germany during the European refugee crisis, salient visibility of member states in the news coverage was expected.

By employing a critical discourse analysis as a secondary methodology, this study also offers an insight to explore whether the European Union is framed and mediatized through the crisis with the focus on the contemporary and historical dynamics of the EU-Turkey.The analysis shows that the discourse of some news attempt to generalize all Europe and claims the EU is a hypocrite in its discourses such as human rights, equality, etc. Characterizing Europe as 'who does not value the people who are not among them' is related to other common discourses claiming Europe is discriminate and racist. Regarding the social practice levels, criticisms towards 'Europe who always promote their civilizations' and 'Hypocrite Europe' can be evaluated through the historical dynamics of Turkey's relations with the EU. The concept of 'Westernization' is useful here.

From the EU side, it is clear that identity questions and Turkey's problems regarding human rights and democracy are among the reasons for the objections to

Turkey's membership. From the side of Turkey, on the other hand, the idea of 'unfair treatment' by the EU during the accession process and seeing the EU as a 'Christian Club' are the historically constructed answers for both EU's criticisms and never-ending journey of Turkey in the membership process. In other words, describing the EU or Europe as a *Hypocrite and* characterizing it as '*who does not value the people who are not among them'* are related to other common discourses which explains Turkey's never-ending journey with the EU and perceived unfair treatment.

However, the analysis also shows that newspapers with anti-government and secular stance have no Eurosceptic attitudes and rarely employ the negative valance towards the EU. Instead, they framed the European refugee crisis as a way to criticize and attack the JDP's policies. Their news reflects the discourses of opposition regarding this issue and ongoing discussion and conflicting opinions in Turkey on the EU-Turkey refugee deal. Binary attitudes of Turkish newspapers towards the Crisis and the EU support the idea that the bipartisan support of the European vocation declined and the debates on the EU and related issues became highly polarized in line with the polarization of the Turkish politics and society. Unlike Sabah and Yeni Akit, the news from Cumhuriyet and Sözcü also include negative valance towards the JDP government and refugees. The discourse of the potential impact of this agreement on the future of Turkey refers to threats of refugees. The discourse of 'threat for Turkey' in the article, in general, reflects the discourses of opposition regarding this issue and ongoing discussion and conflicting opinions in Turkey on Refugee Agreement.

In conclusion, this study reveals that the news coverage of the Turkish newspapers on the European refugee crisis is about much more than reporting an international/humanitarian crisis. In order to interpret frames and discourses in the news; historical patterns of the relations and today's deadlocks, external constraints as well as main actors determining the direction and mood of the relations including member states, government's policies in Turkey and their ideologies and preferences should be considered.

This is because frames and discourses in general, are shaped by the structure and at the same time help structures to be shaped, re-shaped, reproduced and transformed. They all also include mediation; in the relations between political and economic institutions, relations in the state, society, and history.

5.4 LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

This study tries to reveal, by examining a total of 644 articles published by Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Sabah, Sözcü and Yeni Akit, how the European Refugee Crisis is framed by Turkish newspapers and what the social, political and historical dynamics affecting these frames are. The same study should be conducted with larger data to validate relationships shown in this study and it can be transformed into a comparative study by adding another country and national newspapers of that particular country. Additionally, within the aim and limitations of this study, critical discourse analysis was used with a very small sample and as a supportive method. Further studies also may consider using critical discourse analysis as the main methodology. In terms of limitations, because the main methodology of this study, framing analysis, and secondary research methodology, critical discourse analysis, require a manual coding and analysing by the researcher, personal characteristics of the researcher, values and dynamics of society she/he is in may have affected the coding and interpretation. Thus, coding of the framing analysis, was also conducted by another coder and the inter-reliability results were satisfactory.

APPENDIX

A: CODEBOOK

Content analysis measure for frames (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000)

Attribution of responsibility

– Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?
– Does the story suggest that some level of government is responsible for the issue/problem?
– Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?
– Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue/problem?
– Does the story suggest that the problem requires urgent action?

Human interest frame

– Does the story provide a human example or "human face" on the issue?
– Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy, or compassion?
– Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?
– Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?
– Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy, or compassion?

Conflict frame

– Does the story reflect disagreement between parties/individuals/groups/countries?
– Does one party/individual/group/country reproach another?
– Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?
– Does the story refer to winners and losers?

Morality frame

– Does the story contain any moral message?
– Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?
– Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?

(Economic) consequences frame

– Is there a mention of (financial) losses or gains now or in the future?
– Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?
– Is there a reference to (economic) consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?

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