ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE PROGRAMS
EUROPEAN STUDIES MASTER'S DEGREE PROGRAM

EUROPEANIZATION ONLINE: THE CASE OF TURKEY

AYŞEN ARIKAZAN
118608003

Prof. Dr. EMRE ERDOĞAN

ISTANBUL
2021

Europeanization Online: The Case of Turkey

Çevrimiçi Avrupalılaşma: Türkiye Örneği

Ayşen Arıkazan

118608003

Tez Danışmanı : Prof. Dr. Emre Erdoğan (İmza) .....

İstanbul Bilgi ..... Üniversitesi

Jüri Üyeleri Prof. Dr. Pınar Uyan Semerci (İmza) .....

İstanbul Bilgi ..... Üniversitesi

Juri Üyesi: Prof. Dr. Mine Eder (İmza) .....

Boğaziçi ..... Üniversitesi

Tezin Onaylandığı Tarih : 20/01/2021

Toplam Sayfa Sayısı: 121

Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)

1) Avrupalılaşma
2) Dijital Kamusal Alan
3) Dijital Sınır İnşası
4) Otomatik Veri Analizi
5) Hiper Bağ Ağ Analizi

Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)

1) Europeanization
2) Digital Public Sphere
3) Digital Bordering
4) Automated Content Analysis
5) Hyperlink Network Analysis

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP	Justice and Development Party
BSC	The Black Sea Convention
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
ÇASGEM	Labour and Social Security Training and Research
EC	European Commission
EESOP	Employment, Education and Social Policies
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
FRONTEX	European Border and Coast Guard Agency
HRD	Human Resources Development
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IPA	Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance
IPARD	Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance in Rural Development
IS	Islamic State
LPS	Land Parcel Identification System
MEMUR-SEN	Confederation of Public Servants Trade Unions
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party
PYD	Democratic Union Party
SEA	Strategic Environmental Assessment Directive

SETA	Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research
SNS	Social Networking Service
TAIEX	Technical Assistance and Information Exchange
TEMA	Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion
TUBİTAK	Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey
TÜDAV	Turkish Marine Research Foundation
UKO	National Coordination Office of Turkey
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNGA	General Assembly of the United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UN	United Nations
URL	Uniform Resource Locator
YPG	People's Protection Units

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ABSTRACT

This study examines the Europeanization of Turkey's online communicative spheres, conceptualized as web spheres, collections of websites and hyperlinks bound together by context. It focuses on six areas of European policy, agriculture, security, migration, the environment and climate change, human rights and democracy, social policy and education, all areas of interaction between the EU and Turkey. The Europeanization of national web spheres here has been conceptualized as both the possibility of connectivity between a country's web spheres and EU and EU member states as well as the visibility of the EU, EU institutions and member states in online media content. The study of these communicative spheres has been done through a visual analysis of hyperlink network graphs combined with a quantitative content analysis of web pages.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'nin, çevrimiçi iletişimsel alanlarının Avrupalılaşmasını incelemektedir. Bu alanlar bu çalışmada "web sphere", kontekstleriyle birbirlerine bağlı web sayfaları ve hiper bağlar, olarak kavramsallaştırılmıştır. Tarım, güvenlik, göç, çevre ve iklim değişikliği, insan hakları ve demokrasi, sosyal politika ve eğitim olmak üzere, Türkiye ve Avrupa arasında etkileşim konusu olan altı adet politika alanına yoğunlaşmaktadır. Ulusal web sphere'lerin Avrupalılaşması, ulusal iletişimsel alanlar ile AB ve AB üye ülkeleri arasında potansiyel bağlar kurulması, aynı zamanda çevrimiçi medya içeriğinde AB, AB kurumları ve AB ülkelerinin görünürlüğü olarak kavramsallaştırılmıştır. Bu çevrimiçi iletişimsel alanların araştırılması, hiper bağ ağlarının görsel analizi ile web sayfalarının içeriğinin nicel analizinin birleşmesiyle yürütülmüştür.

INTRODUCTION

" I'm lying, Haji Baba, at the very bottom of the Atlantic,
leaning on my elbow
and looking up.
America and Europe are separate just on the surface,
not at the bottom of the Atlantic."

Nazım Hikmet

Nazım Hikmet wrote his epic, spanning five books, Human Landscapes from My Country, during the years of the Second World War, while serving a sentence as a political prisoner. Book Four, which includes the lines above, treats, among others, the subject of globalization and its processes. Laying there at the bottom of the ocean, Hikmet then meets two soldiers that come out of submarines, one from Münich, the other from Liverpool, and converses with them before leaving. Ever a fan of the industrial revolution and its machinery ("my iron propelled soul," he writes in the same poem), Hikmet lays there and looks up, unaware that in around thirty years - in exactly 1974, according to Greenwood and Yörükoğlu (1997) - a new age would begin, the information age. And soon, the cables the submarines and ships were using to communicate, telegraph and telephone cables lain in the colonial era, following colonial routes, would begin to carry the information of the world wide web (Thorat 2019).[1]

With the vast improvement in information and communication technologies brought on by the wide use of the internet,[2] globalization took on a new form. Appadurai argued that the process of globalization would entrain five kinds of flows: people, technoscience, media/information, political ideologies and capital (1990). Globalization is materialized in the technology of the world wide web,

[1] A large scale map is available at: https://submarine-cable-map-2015.telegeography.com
[2] The internet and the world wide web are not different things. Whereas the internet is the communication infrastructure, a network of networks, the world wide web, or the web, is the totality of information it holds, available via the internet. However, hereinafter the two will be used interchangeably, as is done in everyday speech.

which makes up the most pertinent communicative, informational infrastructure of the 21st century and encapsulates the globalization of a number of these flows. However, the idealized global community did not materialize even with the advent of the globe-spanning communications infrastructure, with communications between individuals, citizens of all states, waning as a result of social, linguistic and other various differences, differences that were the results of being a part of separate nation states. The borders that separate one nation state from another, the cultural, social, economic and political consequences of these separations are carried over and reflected onto the global internet.

If Europe and the US are not separate on the bottom of the Atlantic, what about Turkey and the EU at the bottom of the Aegean, or the Mediterranean Sea? This study examines the relationship between the European Union, a project that has historically aimed to come over the importance of nation state borders, one that is based on transnational transfers of people, things, science, information, politics and capital, and Turkey, a state situated at the borders of the EU and a candidate for accession for over 21 years, since the 1999 Helsinki Summit. A crucial relationship that has, for a long time, both aided and tested European integration as well as the construction of a European identity (Morozov and Rumelili 2012). The relationship has been marked by periods of rapprochement as well as contention. It wouldn't be wrong to contend that in recent years, it has been more the latter than the former (Hauge et al. 2016). After 2005, it can be said that the Europeanization process of Turkey slowed down as a result of both domestic challenges and the weakening of the EU's conditionality regime, characterized as a process of de-Europeanization (Yılmaz 2015). More recently, especially after the migratory flows that intensified in 2015, the relationship is thought to be one that exhibits functionalism (Saatçioğlu 2019). However, the focal point of this study is the Europeanization of Turkey's public sphere, more specifically, partial public spheres that appear in online communicational spheres.

Research on the Europeanization of national public spheres has traditionally focused on print mass media outlets, with few exceptions (Pfetsch and Heft 2014). The study of the Europeanization of news media discourses is undoubtedly vital, as "the proactive role of the national media in Europeanization relates to their editorials and commentaries and the question of whether they actively promote or restrict European scopes and angles" (ibid.: 46). On the other hand, it could be argued that the media (which conflate communication and information) have moved to online spaces with the internet becoming a crucial information and communication technologies (ICT) tool and the go-to communicative infrastructure. Furthermore, with the internet becoming commonplace, the spheres of politics, economics and culture have become increasingly mediated. Varied communicators can have their specific agendas in competition, which may or may not be covered in news media outlets, leading to omissions of viewpoints that have been neglected by a news media which is subject to agenda-setting practices. Additionally, if the aim is to measure the monitoring of and engagement with European actors, the internet, with its feature of potential connectivity regardless of distance and at a significantly reduced cost, presents a heightened prospect of transnational communications. In this way, material or temporal constraints of transnational media discourse is (in theory) almost eliminated, reducing the territorialization of communicative spheres to a matter of preference, or, more likely, agenda. Accordingly, a study of communication flows relating to Europe would do well to focalise online communication and interaction.

With regard to the vast content of the internet as well as the variations in the natures of different topics relating to the EU, the study focuses on six areas of European policy. These are agriculture, security, migration, the environment and climate change, human rights and democracy, social policy and education, all areas of significant interaction and policy transfer between the EU and Turkey. These considerations in mind, this study aims to answer the question, to what degree are the web spheres of Turkey Europeanized? In order to provide a more

pronounced answer, it's supplemented by two sub-questions. What discursive networks in different policy areas did the EU and Turkey form? And in which areas and at what intensity did communicators in Turkey provide visibility for European actors?

To answer these questions, the study first entails an exploratory section, aiming to conceptualize and explain first how Europeanization can be conceived of in online communication, then how online communication can be approached, ending in the conceptualization of web spheres. The methodology chapter outlines the research design and methods used in the analysis of these web spheres, detailing the processes of network and content analyses employed in the study. After that, the fourth section of the study presents the results and deliberates on their connotations. Finally, the study and its findings are summarized and reflected on in the conclusion section.

CHAPTER ONE
EUROPEANIZATION AND ONLINE COMMUNICATION

The following section will discuss the advent of a cyberspace brought on by the wide-use of the internet, how Europeanization of online communication can be understood then moving onto a second subsection on how the public sphere can be conceptualized online, finally ending with a description of web spheres.

1.1 EUROPEANIZATION AND THE INTERNET

llustrating the global understanding created by the internet, John Perry Barlow opens his Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace by addressing the statelessness nature and the nonexistent power of governments on the internet, announcing, "Governments of the Industrial World, you weary giants of flesh and steel, I come from Cyberspace, the new home of Mind. On behalf of the future, I ask you of the past to leave us alone. You are not welcome among us. You have no sovereignty where we gather" (1996). Similarly, Michael Ogden writes:

> "Cyberspace is a conceptual 'spaceless place' where words, human relationships, data, wealth, status and power are made manifest by people using computer-mediated communications technology. It has been variously described as a new universe, a parallel universe created and sustained by the world's present and future computers and communication networks. A world in which the global traffic of data and knowledge, facts and lies, entertainment and alter-human agency take on form with tens of millions of voices and twice as many eyes in a silent, invisible concert of inquiry, deal making, dream sharing, and simple beholding. It is accessed through any computer capable of linking into the network; a place, one place, multidimensional, limitless, everywhere and nowhere, a place where nothing is forgotten and yet everything changes".[3] (1994: 715, cited in Aurigi 2016)

[3] The term "cyberspace" was coined by cyberpunk author William Gibson, who envisions a much more dystopian future brought about by technoscience.

The conceptualization of a global network making the basis for ICT infrastructure as a space, as in “cyberspace” is important in this context.

1.1.1 Cyberspace and Borders

The internet is experienced as a space in the way its users relate to it, through its interface. The duality between technology, a mechanism and its interface is a false one in terms of human cognition. As most people that interact with the internet are unaware of the specific configurations of their mechanisms, they interact with the web through a mediation of its interface. As George Lakoff and Mark Johnson have argued, “our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (1980: 3). In a similar vein, interface researcher Judith Donath contends that "information is fairly formless, so almost everything we do online we do with some kind of metaphor” (Dzieza 2014). This is how and why we perceive the internet as a space. This stems from what Lakoff and Johnson have described, the condition that “most of our fundamental concepts are organized in terms of one or more spatialization metaphors” (op. cit.: 17). Hence, in the way it is experienced - via metaphor- the internet (or cyberspace) takes a spatial form.

With this forethought, and without resorting to digital dualism - i.e. arguing for the mutual exclusivity of the digital/nondigital, online/offline - it’s possible to make the case for the digital geography of the internet. Geographer Boris Beaude contends that the internet is its own reticular space and that it’s not to be inscribed over world geography; referring to those that insist on approaching the internet by grounding in physical topography as “matérialistes territoriaux” (Dupuy 2013/4). However, geography, the very space we are surrounded by every day and its effects are not done away with so easily, the internet exists solidly in geopolitical

and economic power relations and cannot be separated from them (Robine and Salamatian 2014). Conversely, it's possible to argue their transfer to cyberspace.

Taekke considers cyberspace as colonized space by humans and considers it a parallel to geographical space (2002). "Cyberspace is not technology but a space that emerges with technology as its ontological basis. It is a parallel space for pursuing the intentional object and for fulfilling social needs under conditions, which do not exist in geographical space" he argues (ibid.: 44). Taekke considers this as the overcoming of geographical distance for communications. This could also be seen as another step in the direction of an internet that hosts communicative linkages that span the globe, between spatially separated individuals, institutions and organizations. Yet it's crucial that one considers that in a lot of cases, communications can remain localized for a number of reasons. The mere existence of a parallel space that renders geographic distance obsolete does not warrant the erasure of the impact of neither the cartographic division of that geographic space along nation state borders, nor the differentiations among societies.

This can be best approached through an understanding of borders as proposed by Étienne Balibar (2012). In his essay, Balibar acknowledges the theoretical complexity of borders, but makes it a point to acknowledge the concrete nature of them before addressing the history of territorial boundary drawing (ibid). In this sense, national borders can be viewed as the modern elaboration of categorizing and quantifying in a chain of identifying, separation practices that states have undertaken since the Enlightenment. In Seeing Like A State (1998), for example, James Scott demonstrates how statebuilding entailed a process of categorizing and quantifying areas and the people that inhabit them in an effort to control their environments and subjects, through plots, occupations, ethnicity with devices like surnames, passbooks, criminal records, cadastral maps and more. Furthermore, Scott posits that "...modern statecraft is largely a project of internal colonization,

often glossed, as it is in imperial rhetoric, as a 'civilizing mission'" (ibid: 82). Likewise, Balibar touches on the overdetermination of borders in the 21st century, on how no border is the simple demarcation between two nation states; making a connection between the crisis of the nation-state and the persistent effects of colonial orders and demarcations in state institutions (op. cit.: 79-80). Balibar also addresses the polysemic nature of borders, meaning they could be experienced differently by different social classes and groups in nation states, due to the differentiation of individuals (ibid: 80). To refrain from a homogenization of the experience of borders, Balibar underlines their heterogeneity, namely:

> "the fact that the tendency of borders, political, cultural and socioeconomic to *coincide* - something which was more or less well achieved by nation-states, or, rather, by some of them - is tending today to fall apart. The result is that *some borders are no longer situated at the borders at all-* in the geographico-politico-administrative sense of the term." (emphasis in original) (ibid: 84).

However, national borders keep their deterministic role. Balibar writes ''Without the world-configuring function they perform, there would be no borders - or no lasting borders" (ibid: 79). To return to a parallel, geographical cyberspace, it becomes easier to grasp how borderings, territorialization can be carried over to the space that was supposed to supersede them. This is potentially the effect of a third kind of space - cartographic, measured space, the site and result of border drawing. In the same line, Dix et al. also conceive of three kinds of space, real, measured (cartographic) and virtual, in constant interaction (2005). Languages, affiliations, class, ethnicity and the mere practice of citizenship - as results of state making processes that had territory as both their point of departure and result - are reconstituted / reflected in online spaces.

It's imperative we recognize that territorialization takes place in this cyberspace, online as well. Sassen refers to a re-territorialization, one that partly takes place in the digital sphere. She writes,

> "Territory is a complex category with embedded logics of power (that is, the state) and of claim-making (citizenship); that is to say, territory is not simply land, or space, or terrain or ground. I identify a type of re-territorializing even in digital space, a trans-boundary space that in principle should be non-geographic and escape all territorial authority" (2015: 36).

Like Sassen, researchers Ouvrard-Servanton, Salesses and Squalli, conceive of borders on the internet through employing Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's notions of smooth and striated space, as well as touching on imaginaries. They write that on the internet "there remain some uncrossed or hard-to-overcome barriers - such as language and cultural barriers or barriers having to do with interests, ethical considerations, fears, etc." (2018: 7).

To sum up, it's possible to contend that the internet, a new advance in communication infrastructure has served the purpose of a parallel space, a cyberspace for its users. This could be seen as a new step in the ongoing inclination of humanity to colonize spaces as well as the work overcoming distance, establishing new communicative areas. However, geographical distance itself is more than just distance, it has been the basis of (as territory) demarcations and separations throughout history, social and political separations that are not easily left behind as humans move through a cyberspace. A variety of differentiations are experienced online, perhaps most determinately those that are reflections of state borders - borders that resonate beyond territorial state borders but are nevertheless repeatedly defined by them. These territorializations and borders make for a cyberspace - regardless of its globalizing purpose and promise - in which historical-cartographic separations still manage to keep their relevance.

1.1.2 Europeanization Online

The exact definition and connotations of the term Europeanization is imprecise, even though it is a widely studied phenomenon in the field of European studies.

Studies of Europeanization is thus widely understood as transfers of policy, or interaction between the state and the EU. There are three identifiable approaches to the study of Europeanization that are commonly employed. These are bottom-up, top-down and more recently, circular approaches (Wach 2015). Studies that employ a bottom-up approach, also referred to as uploading, are those "in which the dynamics and the outcome of the European institution-building process are the main dependent variable" according to Börzel and Risse (2003: 1). Research that studies top-down, or downloading, processes examine the impact of Europeanization and European integration on domestic politics and social changes in European states, "the impact of European integration and Europeanization on domestic political and social processes of the member states and beyond" (ibid). Finally, the circular approach, cross-loading, constitutes "an attempt to create a holistic concept, both description and explication, assuming mutual linking of these processes, and at the same time combining two hitherto prevailing research approaches - bottom-up and top-down" (Wach 2015: 15). However, the Europeanization of states that are candidates for accession is considered a solely top-down process, as the candidate is not in a position to directly take part of EU decision-making (Güney 2016).

One of the more seminal definitions of Europeanization that of Ladrech, in a case study on the Europeanization of France, in which Europeanization is: "an incremental process reorienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making" (1994: 69). Seen this way, Europeanization appears to focus solely on EU-ization, which is separated from Europeanization because "it is predominantly concerned with 'political encounters', where specific political entities such as the EU and Member State representatives engage in the transfer of institutional and organizational practices and policies" (Flockhart 2010: 790). However, these terms are often used

interchangeably and furthermore, social processes of change are not so clearly separated from institutions.

By definition, the study of Europeanization implies cross-border processes of decision making and transnational interactions. This can be viewed as parallel to the paradigm of globalization, however, studies of Europe focus more on transnationalism than on globalized interactions. Jürgen Habermas writes about a "postnational constellation" that would be a feature of democratic legitimacy, as there was a clash between national institutions and globalized resources of power (2001). James Casteel characterizes a "transnational turn" in studies of the recent past and the move to historicize the nation-state (2011). Zygmunt Bauman writes about the inadequacy of the nation-state as a self-contained actor in a world going through globalization (2013a). States exist in a world that has its resources, territories, power relations - all interconnected. Saskia Sassen historicizes and periodizes the move to global assemblages (2008). And according to Manuel Castells, states have become network states, as globalization has created and is a result of network relations and societies (2010a).

Noticeably, what studies of transnationalism have in common is that they have European integration and the EU as their point of departure. Habermas sees the EU as an exemplary case of politics beyond the nation-state (op. cit.: 88), Casteel historicizes the nation-state in the context of the European past and Castells characterizes the EU as "a 27-member network state" (2010b: xxii). Transnationalism and transnationalization are at once ideas that flow from Europe to the periphery and that form the basis of European integration in this sense. Arguably, the process of Europeanization, which entails the diffusion of policies, governance, identity that are understood as European across nation state borders and territories is one that is closely related to borders. Helen Wallace writes:

> "Experience and practice have made western Europeans relatively adept at managing their cross-border connections. There has been a cumulative process of

> institutional inventiveness in terms of European-level regime-building, accompanied by adaptive behaviour within countries to retain domestic identities, even in small countries. Territoriality has not disappeared as a domain for practising political and social differentiation" (2010: 381).

What can be gathered here is that the project of European integration is closely related to that of overcoming borders and de-territorialization. Likewise, Balibar approaches the phenomenon as the response by European nations to the processes of globalization, as the transfer of institutions to the supra-national level (op. cit.: 91). Therefore, studying Europeanization can be designated as studying the level of border-crossing, transnational flows. Writing on European border politics, James W. Scott contends, "the bordering perspective in European border studies can be related to phases of EU integration, enlargement and post enlargement, as well as the political rationales and discourses they have brought forth" (2016: 88). Scott categorizes five types categories of bordering most commonly employed in studies of borders: discursive, practical, conceptual and representational and argues that these can be seen from the perspective of phases of European integration, enlargement and post-enlargement (ibid.).

Here, the communicative aspect of bordering comes to the fore, as transnational communications, transfer and interaction between ideas and imaginaries appear as an integral part of Europeanization. As Craig Calhoun argues, "If Europe is not only a place but a space in which distinctively European relations are forged and European visions of the future enacted, then it depends on communication in public, as much as on a distinctively European culture, or political institution, or economy, or social networks", adding that public communications create spaces, public spheres in a Habermasian sense (2004). Building communicative linkages, networks of communication, form the basis of Habermas' conceptualization of the public sphere. A number of researchers have studied the transnationalization / Europeanization of national public spheres as well as the emergence of a European Public Sphere (Machill et al. 2006). On the scope of communication,

“If transnationalization is global in scope, Europeanization has a more restricted, regional focus in terms of the topics discussed and publics involved”, write Bossetta et al (2017: 62).

Accordingly, if we are to see Europeanization, not as a progressional and teleological series of harmonizing steps, implemented by institutions and state organs, but as a process rooted within discourse, or “as discourse” as put forward by Marie-Eve Bélanger in her constructivist approach (2014), the Europeanization of public spheres or the materialization of a European Public Sphere then, is in itself, Europeanization. Bélanger proposes to sideline institutional, governmental actors in studies of Europeanization and to move beyond causal theories, inviting researchers of Europeanization to:

> “expand the meaning of Europeanization, to consider the possibility that it not only be assessed as a process, but as the measure of political integration. Political change could thus be measured by the degree of Europeanization within the discourse in different political spaces within (and outside) the EU territory” (ibid: 32).

The transnationalization, Europeanization of these discursive spaces, or Habermasian public spheres, is characterized by the Europeanization of national public spheres, entailing border-crossing flows of communication. The Europeanization of national public spheres can be grasped as “a dynamic interaction of segmented or transnational publics” (Pfetsch and Heft 2014: 40) or as the presence of transnational communicative flows (Koopmans and Statham 2010: 35-43). These flows of communications, understood here as discursive deborderings, have their analogues in cyberspace, in online communicational spaces, as discussed above.

As has been established, online communication has its own borderings. Sassen gestates one type of digital borderings as coming to be when “local social actors geographically dispersed yet increasingly part of a global digitally articulated space that is not necessarily centred in direct communication” (op. cit.: 36). To

juxtapose this with a definition of a transnational public sphere, adopted by Michailidou (2007) in her study on the Europeanization on public spheres on the internet: "a space in which both residents of distinct places (states or localities) and members of transnational entities (organizations or firms) elaborate discourse and practices whose consumption moves beyond national boundaries" (Guidry et al. 2000: 6).

Here, the connotations become more explicit: if non-communication constitutes the re-materialization of a border, then the proliferation of communicative spheres online that move across borders, extra-territorialization of communication, is the coming over or crossing of a border. Consequently, Europeanization (via or as discourse) through the appearance of transnationalized spheres of communication constitutes not only a spatial affair, but an adjustment of borders, or their dispersal. Transnational communications across territorialized geographies of cyberspace allows for the overcoming of distance and implies the removal of the discursive border between spatially dispersed parties.

Bordering, or territorial/spatial relations are notions that are shaped in and thus inseparable from modernity, more specifically carrying aspects of Bauman's conceptualization of heavy modernity, a paradigm in which was heavily oriented on spatial relations (2013b: 114). In this way, Europeanization online is deeply entangled with the modern paradigm. This is especially interesting as the internet is more widely associated with the fluid, liquid modernity that Bauman contrasts to the heavy era, the fluidity that came with "software capitalism" (ibid: 116). This notion of fluidity also brings to mind Castells' configuration of "space of flows", a concept that came about with the spatiality of information in the information age, "the material support of simultaneous social practices communicated at a distance. This involves the production, transmission and processing of flows of information" (2010a: xxxii). Ostensibly, the internet is a

space where the dichotomous paradigms of modernity, liquid modernity and postmodernity coalesce or clash, just as in the phenomenon of bordering.

Beichelt et al., through the inclusion of postcolonial perspectives in the conceptualization of Europeanization, define it "as historical and current processes of negotiating modernity" (2020: 5) and outline three dimensions where its ambivalences can be observed and studied empirically: "time, normative expectations, and space and empire" (ibid.: 18). Seeing and studying Europeanization, transnationalization online through discourse as the disintegration of borders or drawing new ones, allows for the study of the dimensions and of space, borders and their intrinsic ambivalences in this context.

1.2 THE INTERNET AND PUBLIC SPHERES

The connective characteristics of the internet have been at the forefront of the discourse surrounding it since access to the world wide web from private homes and computers became widely available. For the most part, the discussions situate around online media's capacitation or curbing of self-expression and interaction on the internet. Widespread use of the internet and software technologies, coincided with the corrosion of representative democracy and in this context, spurred comparisons to the public sphere (Dahlgren 2009: 150). With the emergence of web 1.0, comprising websites, forums and discussion boards, becoming more accessible in the 1990s, a decade in which a "democratic deficit" was of concern and voter turnout was diminishing; a politically engaged cyberspace hosting an alternative and constituting a solution was an idea that seems to have presented itself naturally (Dekker and Bekkers 2015: 496).

Furthermore, in conjunction with this, it was a time marked by a crisis in material spaces. In 1992, Gilles Deleuze wrote on the circumstances of society, "We are in a generalized crisis in relation to all environments of enclosure - prison, hospital,

factory, school, family. (...) everyone knows these environments are finished, whatever the length of their expiration periods." (4). Arguably, the transition to diffused control that Deleuze was conceiving of, brought with it a search for analogues of the environments of these institutions online. The decay of public spaces and institutions was also a crisis of the modernist ideal of the city and of free to roam public spaces spurring critical discourse. This deterioration of spaces accessible by the educated individuals, the true subjects of modernity is what led to the internet and digital spaces as backdrops for the utopian imaginary, according to Alessandro Aurigi (2016: 15-21). "Cyberspace looks like the place where it can be possible to 'build' the ideal, rationalised city which modernism failed to produce for real," he writes (ibid: 18).

The decline of public spaces and thus publicity could be seen as the heart of the search and building of these online, paralleling the periodization of Jürgen Habermas on the emergence of the public sphere and defines as a "digital transformation of the public sphere" (Karatzogianni et al. 2017). Before the emergence of the rational public sphere, publicity (Öffentlichkeit) was at the behest of monarchs and their courts for the most part, according to Habermas. As a tug and pull started to take place between the sovereign powers, the church, the aristocracy and the newly developing bourgeoisie, alongside the adoption of capitalist production methods, this civil society that is pertinent to Europe in this epoch came to be (1991: 16-20). Gaining authority over its own spaces and shifting the "status attribute" of publicness onto itself, these classes came together as private citizens as a public to discuss state related issues and confront each other politically. Thus, in the coffee houses of London, the salons of France, German table societies (Calhoun 1992: 12) would constitute what Habermas in 1973 summarizes as:

> "a sphere which mediates between society and state, in which the public organizes itself as the bearer of public opinion, accords with the principle of the public sphere – that principle of public information which once had to be fought

for against the arcane politics of monarchies and which since that time has made possible the democratic control of state activities" (cited in Papacharissi 2008: 232).

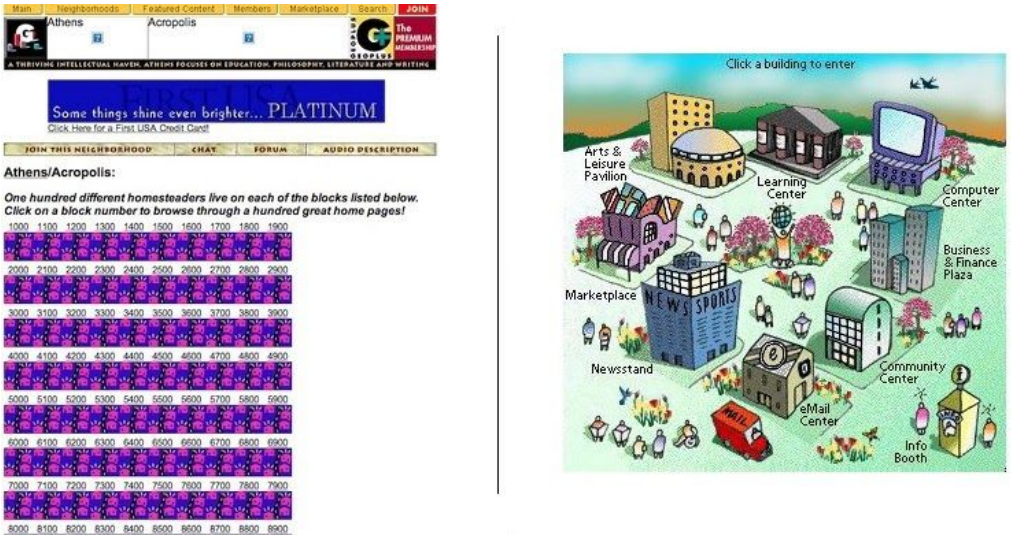

Figure 1.1 Two examples of the city metaphor in online interfaces. Geocities website for the Athenian Acropolis on the left and Apple's eWorld service, which operated between 1994-1996 on the right.

The salons, coffee houses and public squares as the public spaces in which the public sphere came to be are extremely relevant in the case of the internet. Cities, markets, squares as well as hangouts such as social clubs and coffee houses constituted some of the main metaphors projected on the internet in its early days (Badger 2013). In the 1990s, Geocities, which portrayed the internet experience as a kind of navigational city, was the third most visited website (Vijgen 2018).[4]

Of course, a virtual space alone does not a digital public sphere make. Soon, these spaces would be colonised and walled off, by companies and social networking service (SNS) sites, accompanied by more pessimistic views on the potentials of online spaces. With the end of comparisons to the city, even the death of the modern, rational dweller of them would be addressed as the death of flânerie, the

[4] Geocities is today archived and is reachable through a number of mirror sites.

death of the cyberflâneur (Morozov 2012). In this chapter, the digital public spheres, its promises and shortcomings will be discussed and communication online will be conceptualized.

1.2.1 Cyber-Optimist Perspectives

In the preface of The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, Habermas writes that the bourgeois public sphere is typical of that specific era and "cannot be abstracted from the unique developmental history" of this certain epoch and its context, being dependent on the "civil society" that existed in this time (op.cit.: xvii). Seeing a potential for a new, virtual or digital public sphere on the internet appears to revolve around perceived historical and conjunctural parallels between the 18th and early 19th centuries and the emergence of online communication technologies. For instance, Dounia Mahlouly directly points out similarities between the 18th and 21st centuries to argue for historical and contextual parallels. She posits that the economic parameters that shape the communication technology of today are akin to the interests that motivated the creation of a public sphere in the 18th century and that 21st century culture of connectivity enables amateurism and the expression of subjectivities just like in the 19th century (2013).

Perspectives that appear to underline the positive aspects of the internet in the context of democracy and the cultivation of a public sphere can be referred to as *cyber-optimist* (Schäfer 2015). Scholars that subscribe to this approach make a variety of arguments for the democratizing potential of online communication technologies. There are observable parallels between the features of the public sphere on the web as viewed by cyber-optimists and those Habermas outlines in his work.

Firstly, the ease with which people can access information online is a point made by these scholars. Internet users are able to educate themselves on any topic with

unprecedented speed and with relatively low cost and required wealth compared to pre-widespread internet use days. They can learn about the goals, activities and political leanings of political institutions, NGOs, politicians and writers. Even beyond these opinions and positions, arguably, people can access data and facts and can then shape their own positions and opinions, or can decide to self-align with a number of positions on any given topic based on these. Ralph Schroeder writes that this heightened availability of information, brought about by a "deepening and broadening" of the information infrastructure, an infrastructure that includes and interpolates to other media, can even be characterized as an information "revolution." (2018: 102). The widening of trade routes, mercantilism, coupled with print journalism lead to the dissemination of news along trade routes, according to Habermas (op.cit: 15-17). In this way, news dissemination leads to opinionated and informed publics, just as information sharing and its wide availability arguably do on the internet.

Even today, the novelty of seeking and being able to find information on the Web is remarked upon and felt quite often in everyday life, even by those whom by Marc Prensky's grouping (2001) would be deemed digital natives. This abundance of information and the relatively comfortable and simple, "user-friendly" ways of acquiring it have "been argued to lead to more reflection about own and others' standpoints, to more care in discussing issues, and to better public debates," according to Schäfer (2015: 325).

Another argument of the cyber-optimist camp is the ability of individuals to communicate with each other, relatively without constraints, on the web. Individuals possess the ability to communicate with each other in a manner that transcends distance and borders. Furthermore, more people are able to make their voices and opinions heard, as posting personal views of any sort online is, more often than not, a simple task, allowing for a kind of amateurism. These would then arguably permit the inclusion of more people in public debates, especially those

who were kept out of these discussions prior, be it due to their social or political category in their state, the feebleness of traditional media or the disparity of public debates between states and regions in the Global South and the countries assumed "Western", between central, peripheral and semi-peripheral states.

Jürgen Habermas postulates that in the salons and coffeehouses, beyond a horizontality of status, status was overlooked completely. "The parity on whose basis alone the authority of the better argument could assert itself against that of social hierarchy and in the end can carry the day meant, in the thought of the day, the parity of 'common humanity'" (op.cit: 36). Moreover, he writes that even though these publics that populated these spheres did not have universally attainable status, they could never form closed cliques or become completely impenetrable. The sphere was populated with "... persons who-insofar as they were propertied and educated-as readers, listeners, and spectators could avail themselves via the market of the objects that were subject to discussion" (ibid.: 37).

Anonymity, ease of use and the overcoming of geographical distance allow more opinions to be shared, for more reciprocal discussion and debate to take place and therefore aid the proliferation of virtual spaces where rational debate is possible. James Bohman argued in 2004 that thinking about publicity online allowed one to grasp the democratic potential of cyberspace. On the internet, there could be a variety of publics, dispersed throughout, creating a public of publics wherein lively discussion and reasoning would take place, and in turn, some of these would exist in spaces wherein direct contact with democratic institutions would be made possible (this, of course, depending on the willingness of these institutions to adopt an innovative spirit in the coming years).

Like Bohman, Peter Dahlgren also positions his argument for the potential of online communication to serve as a backdrop for the heightened political engagement and interaction of netizens on the basis of a Habermasian public

sphere materializing online through deliberation, aiding further democratization. Referring to this as "a major development in the contemporary history of Western democracy," Dahlgren posits that "the internet is at the forefront of the evolving public sphere (...)" (2005: 160). These positions are in line with Habermas' idea of a rational/critical discourse emerging in these spheres and a political discussion forming the basis for questioning the authority of the sovereign. This discourse promoted the positioning of these spheres against this authority, advocating for themselves as the primary sources of impersonal laws that they would be subject to (Calhoun op.cit.: 13-14).

Finally, an optimistic idea that can be put forwards is that different and innovative ways of communication and self-expression can exist online. These can take the form of collaborative projects as Wiki pages, private forums and other modes of communication that can be excluded from the commercialization of the Web. Pirate culture in the digital sphere can be proposed as an example of this. Writing about pirating in Nigeria, Brian Larkin demonstrates the new and fluid ways of communication that takes place through the swapping and remixing of pirated digital content. "Pirate infrastructures create their own modes of sociability and affect their own spatial networks that link places like Nigeria into larger cultural and economic networks," he writes (2007: 83).

Remixing as an online form of communication can be observed as well in internet memes, another communicative method that can be considered (for the most part) outside of commercial or market interest. Based on the conceptualization of the meme by Richard Dawkins, in the vernacular of the internet, an internet meme is jokes, videos, image formats that are shared and commented on, changed and applied to different contexts online. Memes are a participatory form of communication and use remixes of cultural artefacts (including other memes). Emphasizing the collective characteristic of memes Ryan Milner posits that internet memes "depend on collective creation, circulation and transformation"

(2018: ch. 1 para 6). More importantly, according to Limor Shifman, they are a means of political participation because they can be considered as "forms of persuasion or political advocacy" as demonstrated in recent elections, as "grassroots action" as they make for the association of the personal and political topics and motivate civic participation and as "modes of expression and public discussion" since meme-making is a low-cost and open method of expressing one's politics (2014: 122-123). Manuel Castells sees remixing as an integral part of communication online, and contends that it is remix culture that "characterizes the world of mass self-communication" (2013: 132). Likewise, copying and remixing in what he refers to as the "literary public sphere" were common practice, making for innovative communications as well as experimentations in newfound subjectivity, according to Habermas. He writes that letters by strangers were often borrowed, copied and repurposed often (op.cit.: 49).

Following the 90s, the 2000s, especially the early 2000s appear to be the years where the cyber-optimist school of thought was most prominent. Although both cyber optimism and pessimism existed simultaneously and that the cyber-optimist takes continued to be reiterated widely even into the early 2010s, the early 2000s period and web 1.0 still seem to be where this idea was most widely acknowledged. It can perhaps be argued that this approach was perhaps mostly abandoned in the mid-2010s, with the platformization / colonisation of the internet and the rise of what Millner and Phillips call the Ambivalent Web.

1.2.2 Cyber-Pessimist Perspectives

The forums and message boards and websites of the 90s and early 2000s being replaced with platforms (also referred to as "platformization") and creating the so-called web 2.0 and later what is now being dubbed web 3.0[5] also altered the

[5] According to Rudman and Brewer, Web 3.0 or the Semantic Web, the Transcendent Web or the Web of Things is positioned on information and data management, creating personalized

perceptions of a democratizing internet and its ability to provide a space for transformative and/or deliberative discourse. Initially, internet communication becoming more interactive through social media was interpreted favourably. Digital technologies coinciding with significant protests and social movements spawned theories of a democratizing web 2.0. Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg write of a logic of connective action and online activism being driving forces of social movements (2012). Zeynep Tüfekçi underlines the utility of digital communication technologies and especially social media for movements like Occupy, the Arab Spring, Gezi, the Indignados (2017). Nevertheless, the advent of web 2.0 has been predominantly associated with its shortcomings and failed promises. The internet, currently, is associated more with media manipulation, bots, scandals, a site where the far right organizes itself and recruits, a site of competing political influence (Nadler et al. 2018). Cyber-pessimist standpoints question the digital public sphere and its democratizing capacity.

One is able to contrast the pessimistic arguments with those made by the cyber-optimists topically. To start off, the idea of greater access to information provided by the internet leading to more informed publics who then shape politics with this acquired information is questionable. To quote Neil Postman's speech 1990 to the German Informatics Society (Gesellschaft für Informatik), "The tie between information and action has been severed. (...) [Information] comes indiscriminately, directed at no one in particular, disconnected from usefulness; we are glutted with information, drowning in information, have no control over it, don't know what to do with it" (2013: 12). What Postman calls the "information-action ratio" (2005: 69) is echoed in David Weinberger's book, Too Big to Know (2012) in which he writes about the paralyzing side effects of "too much information" (ch. 1. para 2). Furthermore, according to Rob Nixon, this

experiences online. The transition to Web 3.0 is ongoing and includes the elaboration of data harvesting and cataloguing with the purposes of ameliorated marketing practices and information management.

accelerated flow of information coupled with the sheer amount of information we are subjected to via news media and the 24-hour news cycle blinds most people to mechanisms and narratives of what he refers to as "slow violence" (2013: 10-11). Since the experience of receiving news, for most people, has been reduced to scrolling through headlines, one after the other and (with Twitter's updates, eliminating the chronological timeline of the website for example) in no particular order in rapid succession, it becomes almost impossible to discern of and react to longer narrative arcs of political events.

Habermas describes a mass media that becomes more culture oriented, writing that papers started "eliminating political news and political editorial on such moral topics as intemperance and gambling," and that the consumption of culture replaced the discussion of politics in the public sphere (op. cit.: 169). While it is certainly evident that cultural media is widely consumed on the internet, it seems that the problem today is more the sheer amount and flow speed of information.

Even though communication on the internet has sidelined geospatial and even temporal distance, there are still multiple digital divides that researchers underline. Access to the internet is largely influenced by existent power asymmetries on national and international scales. The digital divide can be defined as "inequalities in access to the Internet, extent of use, knowledge of search strategies, quality of technical connections and social support, ability to evaluate the quality of information, and diversity of uses" (Wheeler 2011: 198). Moreover, access to the internet is not the only problem. According to the data provided by the World Bank, more than 90% of individuals use the internet in 25 countries in the world and the number is ever-increasing. However, even after internet use becomes universal in a country, second-level digital divides such as disparities in internet skills and type of use remain and even grow (van Deursen and van Dijk 2010).

Anonymity online, which makes up a basis of freedom of self-expression online (Akdeniz 2002) and a state which "by negating some aspects of the legally

identified and physically embodied persona" transfers political views into the public sphere (Asenbaum 2018: 469) has also been subject to erosion. Anonymity on the internet is fast disappearing as a result of defamation lawsuits, intellectual property advocates, the accumulation of private data of citizens by states and social media platforms such as Facebook where there is a "real name only" policy in place (Bodle 2013: 22).

Considering these developments, it's easy to assert that the relatively horizontal communications brought on by the internet are questionable and that the initial (albeit limited) instances of coming together on equal ground are on the verge of extinction, at least on the Indexed Web[6], which unquestionably makes up the daily internet use of a majority of the world population. Habermas argued that the inequalities that had been kept out of the public sphere and discourses later became its very subject matter due to an increase in the severity of these asymmetries as well as more people being able to participate in the public sphere and that this had damaged the rational critical discourse (op.cit.: 172-174), "the occupation of the political public sphere by the unpropertied masses led to an interlocking of state and society which [contrary to Marx's expectations] removed from the new public sphere its former basis without supplying a new one" he writes (ibid: 177). One can observe parallels in online spheres. In terms of amateurism, contemporary counterparts like citizen journalism appear to come with their own problems, such as impairing trust in news media as a whole (Noor 2016: 73).

The deliberative and rational characteristic of online discourse is also questionable. Filter bubbles as theorized by Eli Pariser (2012) and echo chambers (Sunstein 2009) keep internet users in environments where they are most likely to encounter people and opinions they are already in alignment with, as this is more profitable for the platforms that make up web 2.0. Just as the public sphere had

[6] The section of the web that has been indexed and accessible via search engines, also referred to as Surface Web", "Visible Web" or "Lightweb."

been commercialized according to Habermas, so was the virtual public sphere. The sort of tribalism this infrastructure creates is touched upon by postmodernist philosopher Michel Maffesoli, a seminal researcher in tribalism. Maffesoli considers the internet a locale, and argues that it constitutes to the public today "what the Agora was to the Greek cities, or the public squares to the villages and towns of the traditional world. The hollow place where being-together works itself out" (cited in Tyldesley 2010: 66). The internet fits in with his theory of a return to tribalism and the medieval modes of sociability in postmodernity. Writing on the Yellow Vests, a movement that organized heavily online, Maffesoli observes that the movement was observable "on social networks, in discussions in the Café du Commerce; in short, where people live" (2018). This equivalence of social network websites as virtual versions of sites of public space is fitting, as the characteristic of the interaction in these spaces carries with it another aspect Maffesoli deems central to neotribalism: emotionality. While it's true that coffee houses and salons were the blueprints of the first socialization software online, the discussions that are had on them can be far from rational or critical. Cyber-pessimists underline the emotional and confrontational nature of online debates (Schäfer 2015: 327).

In recent years, the online discourse on social networking sites has come to be more associated with trolling, aggressive behaviour and far-right politics. The alt-right's use of memes has also warranted some researchers to even attribute Donald Trump's 2016 electoral victory in the US presidential race to these online circles (Phillips et al. 2017). Furthermore, the spread of media circulation of the far-right to French politics[7] (Toor 2017) illustrates that this is not only an American phenomenon. In a 2017 book, the idea that the current internet communications have become mediums where one is unable to ascertain another's intentions, meaning has become less and less definitive and antisocial behaviour

[7] Pepe the Frog, a cartoon green frog that came to be embraced by the alt-right in the US, becoming a symbol of hate, had come to be diffused on far-right spheres during the election.

has become rampant is tied to a periodization of internet communication deemed the ambivalent internet, where it's "ambivalence all the way down" (Phillips and Milner: 201). This is, perhaps most relevant to current politics, intrinsically tied to Poe's Law, the idea that it is difficult to separate extremism from the satire of extremism in online exchanges (except in the case that there is a clear statement of purpose). In online discussions, one is unable to even ascertain the other's genuineness, let alone have reasoned, deliberative conversations that shape politics.

Habermas states (op.cit.: 169):

> In relation to the expansion of the news reading public, therefore, the press that submitted political issues to critical discussion in the long run lost its influence. Instead, the culture-consuming public whose inheritance derived from the public sphere in the world of letters more than from that in the political realm attained a remarkable dominance.

To compare, in her book on trolling online, Phillips (2017) traces connections between mainstream media and trolling culture, pointing to trolling behaviour being a result of capitalist mass media. Moreover, she asserts the claim that trolling behaviour replicates and reiterates tropes of cultural mainstream media such as gendered and racialized domination, colonial and expansionist viewpoints and a sense of entitlement (Ch. 1 para 23). It could be argued that the attained dominance of a culture consuming public can damage political discussions in these ways.

Finally, it's important to stress the stratification in public spheres online. Power hierarchies online are easily and commonly replicated online and this hinders the potential of a coming together on equal grounds. Online discussions are not among equals but are dominated by public actors who already hold power.In an analysis of the Eurocrisis Twitter behaviour in 2015, Asimina Michailidou has found that even though a platform like Twitter may create a level playing field in theory, "in practice, the voices that tend to have the most clout in times of crisis are those of

established public actors (journalists or news media sources, celebrity politicians, experts and less so Twitterpreneurs)" (2017: 259). In light of these elaborations, it can be observed that the Habermasian public sphere's direct adaptation to an online space is not without its problems, spanning a number of dilemmas.

It's worth pointing out that it's questionable if the ideal, equalizing and rational image of the normative public sphere ever materialized. Nancy Fraser, for example, points out the exclusionary aspects of the Habermasian public sphere and makes a distinction between strong and weak publics, namely publics that can influence decision-making and those that have no access to these processes, respectively (1992: 132-136). Furthermore, Fraser makes the case for counterpublics. She writes, "virtually from the beginning, counterpublics contested the exclusionary norms of the bourgeois public, elaborating alternative styles of political behavior and alternative norms of public speech" and proposes to deem groups like "women, workers, peoples of color, and gays and lesbian" subaltern counterpublics (ibid: 123). Another example would be Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, who theorize of a proletarian public sphere that historically counters the bourgeois public sphere (1993: 54-58). Therefore, we can also conceive of public spheres as sites where contention among multiple publics take place. Likewise, Schroeder proposes to refer to public arenas on the internet (2018: 9), due to the existence of counterpublics.

Bernard Miège, in parallel with others cited in this paper, believes in the ongoing applicability of the public sphere in societal research today (2010: 12). In the contemporary public sphere, it's more appropriate to separate societal aspects on the basis of partial spheres, the political public sphere and to place these two components of the public sphere in relation to political power and the state apparatus it controls, he argues (ibid: 205). He proposes a three-tiered, hierarchical model of the public sphere. The first tier is made up of state organs (able to exercise executive and legislative power) and the corporate elite. In the middle is

what he refers to as the political public sphere, populated by actors like parties, politicians and other influential voices and is situated in mainstream media. At the bottom is the tier he deems the societal sphere where individuals live their daily lives and are politicized via communicative links to the upper tiers, but are distanced from decision-making or political processes (ibid: 196-205). This approach's importance lies in its applicability to online spheres, as it is largely elite biased, and often communication is one sided, or a site where one to many modes of communication prevails in political issues.

If we are to take the public sphere as a milieu of communication between varying political actors, as the summary by Habermas at the beginning of this chapter suggests, it becomes the most pertinent blueprint for studying online interactions, as noticed by various scholars cited here. However, as the various arguments put forth by the more pessimistic approach suggest, online communication is far from being exempt by political hierarchies and state influence. This move from a more traditional media, to a more mediated space of communication carries with it asymmetries of power relations. Schroeder approaches this phenomenon from the basis of mediatization theory, which posits that societies come to be more and more dependent on media and media logic and media comes to be the basis of interactions between institutions and society (2018). Schroeder constitutes media as autonomous, but only a subsystem that makes the basis of the increased mediation of three spheres, which he separates as politics, culture and economics; with technoscience as designated as part of the cultural sphere. As a result of the internet, Schroeder argues, politics (broadly defined by any issue relating to the state) has come to be mediated online, but the agenda-setting power of the state continues (ibid.: 10-11). Agenda-setting, the media's designation of determining what the public things about, was defined by Mccombs and Shaw, who in their work on political campaigns, posited:

> "In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given

> issue, but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. In reflecting what candidates are saying during a campaign, the mass media may well determine the important issues—that is, the media may set the "agenda"of the campaign" (1972: 176).

Schroeder compliments the agenda-setting approach with the theory of a limited attention space and constitutes politics on the internet as a combative space where rivals (states, elites, publics, counterpublics) compete for the finite resource of visibility and attention to wield agenda-setting power (op. cit.: 15-17). Political public space has become widened with the advent of the internet, according to Schroeder, as there are more chances for the visibility and agenda-setting practice of actors that are traditionally exempt for state power. "The internet extends the mediation of politics, from above, such that political elites can target and respond more directly to their publics, and from below, such that people or citizens (or civil society) can engage in more diverse ways with politics", he writes. (ibid: 7).

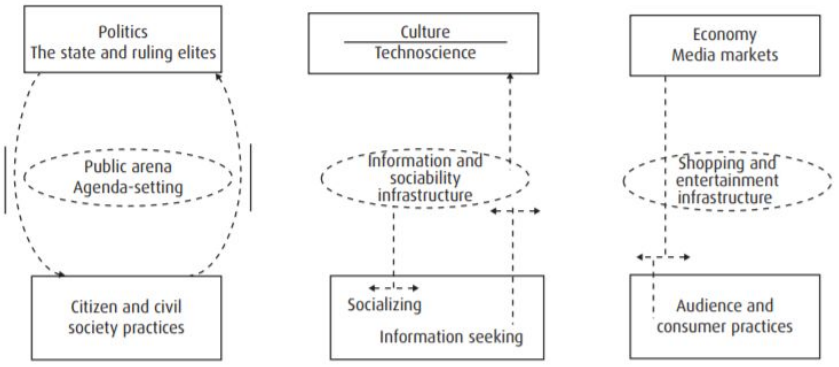

Figure 1.2 Three spheres or powers (politics, culture, economy) and how dominant institutions and people's everyday practices are shaped by digital media technologies (dashed arrows). Source: Schroeder, 2018.

Even with the departure from the normative function of the public sphere, it's possible to contend that it maintains its value as a tool for approaching political communication, and public political communication as it has become increasingly mediated and moved to spatialized spheres with the internet. Furthermore, within

the public sphere as such is deeply ingrained in Europe and presents itself as a beneficial framework for understanding Europeanized communications and discourses. In their many entanglements with political dynamics and action, online communications can be regarded as "an integral part of the European public sphere" (Hepp et al. 2016: 10). However, the relegation of public communication to cyberspace has not been without its novelties and as such, calls for a different conceptualization.

1.2.3 Web Spheres

To conceptualize and study these online communicative spheres, this study will adopt the approach of web sphere analysis. As elaborated by Steven Schneider and Kirsten Foot, a web sphere is defined as "a set of dynamically defined digital resources spanning multiple web sites deemed relevant or related to a central event, concept or theme, and often connected by hyperlinks" (2006: 157). The online sphere is populated by innumerable web spheres, varying in size, content and are contextually, topically bound. In this way, they are comparable to the ideas of fragmented public spheres. For instance, Nancy Fraser makes the case for a "multiplicity of public spheres in stratified or egalitarian societies" (op. cit.: 137). She has this in common with Eric Neveu, who opposes the idea of a singular public sphere and proposes partial public spheres, fragmented and diverse communicative groups that are issue or specialization based (1999). Furthermore, Dahlgren writes that Habermas shifted his views in this direction in the years after his initial conceptualization of the public sphere as well and now "understands the public sphere as consisting of a seemingly ungraspable myriad of distinct but also overlapping, interweaving, communicative spaces" (2001: 39).

Seeing as the internet is not only a tool, or a space that is outside of society but one that is partial to it, these power structures are reflected in online communicative spheres, as is argued by the normalization hypothesis (Klinger and Svensson

2020). The amorphous, numerous societal sphere constitutes a similar structure to the mass/elite dynamics online. For instance, Stefanie Walter, through differentiation of different public sphere models in EU media, finds them to be fairly elitist (2015). Similarly, after a study on the Europeanization of online communication, Koopmans and Zimmerman come to the conclusion that "Europeanized communication on the Internet faces similar limitations, and it is characterized by strong elite biases comparable to those found in offline media" (2010: 194). Furthermore, the study of web spheres allows for examination of groups of counterpublics, and their communications, that can be overlooked by studies on the Europeanization of national mass media outlets, as the websites are not limited to online news media and can include institutional, governmental, civil society or any other websites, grouped by a common theme or topic.

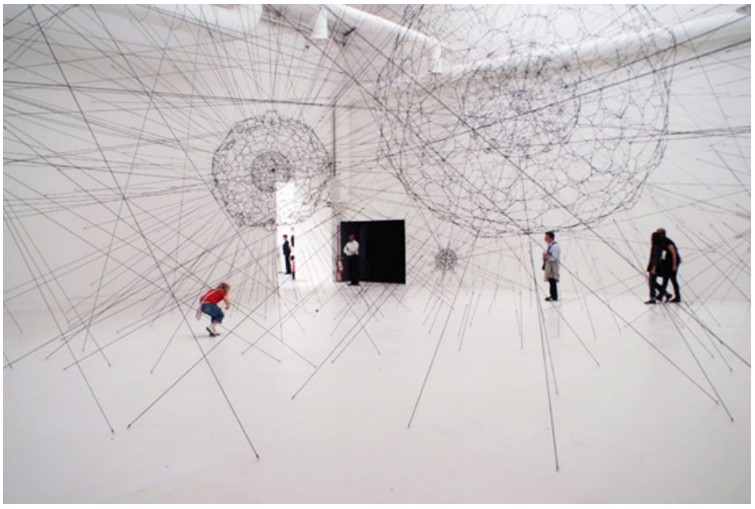

Figure 1.3 Tomas Saraceno, Galaxies Forming along Filaments, Like Droplets along the Strands of a Spider's Web, 2009. Source: https://www.e-flux.com/journal/23/67790/some-experiments-in-art-and-politics/

Here, one definition becomes tricky. Web spheres contain networks, are built through them, make up networks, but are nonetheless spheres themselves. The societal sphere, as conceptualized by Miège, interacts with one another and diffuses artefacts online via networks and still constitutes a sphere in itself. Michel Maffesoli also characterizes communication in the form of networks and these

networks form tribes, which are in themselves networked. Danah Boyd argues that social networking sites host "publics that are restructured by networked technologies; they are simultaneously a space and a collection of people" (2010: 41) creating, to be more precise, "networked publics". Castells chooses to employ the definition of the Habermasian public sphere that designates it as "a network for communicating information and points of view" (op. cit.: 12). This contradiction implies intrinsic dichotomy. However, both the sphere and the network appear to be indispensable notions. As Bruno Latour describes, "while networks are good at describing long-distance and unexpected connections starting from local points, spheres are useful for describing local, fragile, and complex "atmospheric conditions..." (2011). Inspired by an installation by Tomas Saraceno, Latour proposes to view them together; not contracting one another, but as compositions, writing:

> "I have come to use the word "composition" to regroup in one term those many bubbles, spheres, networks, and snippets of arts and science (...) It allows us to move from spheres to networks with enough of a common vocabulary, but without a settled hierarchy."

Viewing web spheres then, as compositions from this frame then becomes very helpful. Web spheres both contain networks, exist as part of them and as part of a larger sphere. Moreover, the examination of the internet, as well as the communicative spaces contained in it, has shown to be characterized by the duality of both modern and postmodern (or medievality attributed to the postmodern condition). The internet has proved to hold aspects of heavy and fluid modernities as conceptualized by Zygmunt Bauman. Whereas cyber-optimists projected the conditions of an 18th century society to the virtual spaces pointed to for public spheres, Web 2.0 / 3.0, with its many complications and asymmetries, invite postmodern - medieval analogies. Just as Habermas had written of a "refeudalization" of the public sphere (1991: 195), its digital counterparts appear to have undergone a similar transformation. Latour offers the composition as a

solution to this divide as well. “Composition may become a plausible alternative to modernization. What can no longer be modernized, what has been postmodernized to bits and pieces, can still be composed”, he writes (op.cit.). With this outlook, one can form an understanding of the internet, its power dynamics, the interactions it contains, its politics as well as the infinite web spheres it encompasses as compositions of both networks and spheres; simultaneously sedentary and flowing, connected but self-contained.

The public sphere’s online mass self-communication (Castells 2013) constitutes it as just that, masses. However, a study of web spheres can illustrate which online artefacts have been most shared, viewed, discussed; which topics and contexts have been most present in online spheres and interacted with; which connections they have established with other actors. In this way, a study of web spheres, even if / when they are marked by elite biases, is a study of public discourses. In this way, the Europeanization of communicative spaces can be studied via web spheres, their networks and their relative boundary crossing or boundary surpassing of these networks, topics, contexts and artefacts - ie their transnationalization. Having conceptualized Europeanization of online as well as the public political communication on the internet, here we’re able to designate Europeanized national web spheres as ones that feature a heightened debate, monitoring on Europe, the EU and member states in terms of content; as well as those in which border, transnational interactions with the actors within EU territory are visible through linkings. These are defined as web spheres that allow for the dispersal of the digital border that appears through the territorialization of cyberspace. Thus, Europeanized web spheres are communicative spheres that constitute a digital, communicative debordering in a bordered cyberspace. The next section will detail the research design that would allow for examination of these web sphere compositions.

CHAPTER TWO
METHODOLOGY

This study sets out to examine the Europeanization of Turkey's online communications, the spheres and networks they have produced. As has been discussed, the internet has created a cyberspace where communication circulates, yet is nevertheless potentially territorialized by borderings. Europeanization, which has historically involved transnational/border-crossing transfers of goods, ideas, practices, policy, people and ideas is thus characterized by communications that cross the borders that are replicated in this cyberspace. Public spheres of nations, segmented, contested and hierarchical, appear on the internet as well. The forms of public communication online have been conceptualized as web spheres and their Europeanization is defined by their transnational connections to the EU.

The study, with the purpose of analyzing Europeanized communications online, has made use of digital methods, defined as "research strategies for dealing with the ephemeral and unstable nature of online data" and "techniques for the study of societal change and cultural condition with online data" (Rogers 2019: 3) for the study of web spheres. Rogers situates the digital methods approach in the recent computational turn in the humanities and social sciences by its method and data, underlining that digital methods treat data that is natively digital as opposed to digitized data (native data is described as content that's been created for the online medium rather than migrated to it) and that it uses methods that are natively digital (ibid.: 6-9). By relying on methods and data "native" to the digital, the techniques used in this study fall in this category. In the following section, the study's research design is outlined.

2.1 WEB SPHERE ANALYSIS IN EUROPEAN POLICY FIELDS

This study embraces a web sphere analysis method. As Schneider and Foot write, "web sphere analysis provides a framework for investigating relations between producers and users of web materials as potentiated and mediated by the structural and feature elements of web sites, hypertexts and the links between them" (op. cit.: 158). Thus, through web artefacts, public communication can be examined with a view to the parties that produce them and how they interact with one another. Web spheres can span various contexts, topics, events and crises and can vary in size. They are defined as "website features produced in relation to an event or topic by a range of sociopolitical actors" and interactions between actors can be better examined, as their structure "affords users with opportunities to act and to associate" (Foot et al. 2009: 41). However, this approach does not overlook the notability of news media either. As has been touched upon, news media elites still carry a significant amount of influence on online political debates and online presences of news outlets make up central attributes of a lot of web spheres.

Web sphere analysis also presents itself as a well-suited method for the Europeanization of online communication via an examination of their transnationalization. Dennis Nguyen applies a web sphere analysis approach to a study of European online communication on the Eurozone crisis, arguing that it prompted the emergence of a European web sphere on the issue (2017). On the empirical analyses of web spheres, he argues that they aid in grasping the structure and substance of online discourses, adding:

> "Analysing the content and networks of web spheres enables identification of who is talking to whom in what contexts for what purposes; it opens the path for the evaluation of how affiliations, identities, and politically loaded concepts such as 'Europe' are communicated and discussed. This can further determine the societal and political relevance of web based public discourses" (ibid: 116).

Nguyen approaches from the standpoint of the crisis web sphere as a whole, identifying sub-topics as integrated web spheres, as well as their networks in the European public discourse of the crisis. However, as the Eurozone crisis (in and of itself as well as its causata) was an EU-wide event, constructing the very same approach for the web spheres of Turkey would be ill-advised. Turkey is not a member state of the EU but a candidate state. The intensity and content of engagement and interactions between the Turkish state, EU institutions and bodies, member states and the various actors that together devise publics diverge from topic to topic, policy area to policy area due to the nature of the enlargement regime of the union. Koopmans and Statham, in their study on the Europeanization of public spheres, propose to separate between policy areas, writing "because we expect degrees and forms of Europeanization of public spheres to vary with different institutional settings, our study focuses on seven policy domains" (op. cit.: 48). Their domains are agriculture, monetary politics, troop deployment, immigration politics, retirement and pensions, education and European integration (ibid: 49). The researchers base this selection as representative policy fields of the Three Pillar structure, which has since been abandoned with the Treaty of Lisbon. However, even if the strict differentiation does not continue, the interaction between a candidate for accession and the EU still differ from area to area. Therefore, adopting a similar approach of differentiating between policy areas, this study examines the Europeanization of six areas in the web spheres of Turkey: agriculture, national security and terrorism, migration, climate change, human rights and democracy and finally, social policy and education. These domains all constitute European policy fields as well as topics that have formed the basis of EU-Turkey interaction throughout its candidacy. Furthermore, they have been picked with an eye to the EU's and Turkey's priorities as well as to their differences in modes of interactions. In this way, web spheres, which are context and topic bound and the separation of these areas are complementary. Instead of investigating the gargantuan topic of

"Europe" in Turkish web spheres, the study looks into the Europeanization of prominent policy domains.

2.2 NETWORK AND CONTENT ANALYSES

Schneider and Foot outline a number of approaches to studying web spheres. One of these is the discursive analysis of the web sphere, which is "more concerned with the content of a web site than its structuring elements" (op. cit.: 162). The research done here has combined this with another one of their proposed methods, studying "multi-actor, cross-site action on the web" (ibid: 163). Therefore, web spheres can be studied as compositions, as outlined in the previous section. Both the content of the spheres of online communication regarding these fields, and their structures are of interest here. The structure of the web is the structure of interlinked hyperlinks, which create networks. Thus, the study adopts the method of hyperlink network analysis, which can be defined as "an extension of traditional communication networks in that it focuses on the structure of a social system based on the shared hyperlinks among websites" and which operationally focuses on "websites which represent Individuals, Groups, Organizations, Nation-States" (Park 2003: 51). The analysis of these hyperlink networks is done through their visualizations as graphs. Furthermore, the content of the websites that make up these networks is examined via a quantitative content analysis.

Web spheres include hyperlinked, context-bound content. Therefore, the webpages that make up the hyperlink networks constituted the subjects of the content analysis. A common method used in the study of the Europeanization of public spheres in the media, Machill et al. write that content analyses are useful as they can "answer questions about which topics occur, when, in which media, about which states and how frequently. In this way, it is possible to examine which information on EU politics is made available to the citizens of Europe via the media" (op. cit.: 59). In order to observe the vertical and horizontal

Europeanization of the textual content of webpages, a quantitative content analysis was applied, defined as a method in which "features of a text are systematically categorized and recorded so that they can be analyzed" and the text in question can be understood as "text-based printed or electronic media" (Coe and Scacco 2017: 1). The textual content of each topical sphere was analysed for frequencies of webpages that contained indicators of horizontal and vertical Europeanization, as discussed above.

The examination of networks is rooted in their visual analysis. While networks can be viewed purely mathematically[8], with their visualizations, their analysis has come to facilitate qualitative and in-depth approaches. Decuypere designates visual network analysis as a form of sociomaterial research and outlines a method which includes "visualizing network diagrams through software, analyzing the form of these diagrams and interpreting the resulting visualizations by offering narrative readings of these forms" (2019: 73). This study adopts a narrative approach to networks as well. Venturini et al. argue that even though the narration of networks is nothing new, the technique has been neglected in more recent studies (2018: 167). In their study they argue that "meaning can be construed from visual properties of network graphs such as topology, density of connections, absence of connections, size, position and colour of nodes" (ibid); and outline three ways of story-telling for the analysis of networks which can be mixed and matched: ranging from those that address the entire network comprising a panoramic view of the network (including the clusters and gaps in networks and their imbalances in size or density), single nodes (authorities, hubs and bridges between nodes), and routes in the network (a "grand tour" of the perimeter of the network, or shortcuts) (2017). These are the techniques and

[8] Network densities, indicators of how connected the actors in the network are have also been included in the analysis.It's calculated as: actual connections/potential connections, with the number of potential connections calculated as n.(n-1)/2, with n as the number of nodes in the graph.

approaches that will be utilized to evaluate the Europeanization of the hyperlink networks.

The research design then combines two methods of analysis for an overall examination of web spheres. Pfetsch and Heft point out that when studying the Europeanization of public spheres, the shortcomings of a single method "can be overcome with combining strategies of analysis" (op. cit.:39). Likewise, Trenz proposes a similar approach, as:

> "Networks and the public sphere refer to different interactive and communicative modes of interlinkage. Unlike networks, the public sphere is not necessarily built on interactive relationships between a given set of actors. Through the monitoring effects of public communication, an additional mechanism of linkage comes into effect, which is based on the diffusion of meaning and the exchange of material and ideational interests across languages and different lives" (2010: 25).

His approach is resonant of Habermas' separation of transnational networks which make for a "functional integration" versus transnational lifeworlds, which create "social integration" (2001: 82). However, since both of these forms of integration have become increasingly mediatized in terms of the EU and on the internet (Michailidou and Trenz 2010), they can be analyzed as components of web spheres. Nguyen adopts a similar approach of combining network and content analyses in his study on the Eurozone crisis websphere (ibid). Overall, with a combination of two strategies and approaches, the study aims to portray the web spheres at hand in a more accurate manner.

With the qualitative analysis of networks combined with a quantitative content analysis, the study embraces a mixed-methods approach, challenging the importance of the separation between the two. King, Keohane, and Verba argue that the difference between the two traditions is methodologically and substantively negligible and that most research doesn't adhere to one particular style (2007: 3). The authors posit that the same project could include some data

that is easily quantifiable, and is more suited to be studied in its quantified form, while other meaningful information may elude quantification, being better suited for a qualitative examination, writing, "If we are to understand the rapidly changing social world, we will need to include information that cannot be easily quantified as well as that which can" (ibid.: 4). Doing research on online communication, as well as the very nature of transnational flows on the internet, inescapably generates both of these kinds of information and necessitates both their study. Likewise, Baumann and Scherer argue that studies with a focus on communication employ a synthesis of the two traditions, writing that "processes of communication are always about the mediation of meaning. To get access to manifold meanings, applying qualitative methods becomes on the one hand indispensable. On the other, carriers of meaning [i.e. media] are produced in large quantities, distributed in large quantities, and consumed by large audiences" (2012: 29, cited in Nguyen 2017). Therefore, the choice of methods as well as the approach of mixed-methods in this study is based on pragmatic concerns, pragmatism being the philosophical underpinning of mixed-methods research (Denscombe 2008: 273). Pragmatism here is viewed as a "third alternative", as neither a purely quantitative nor a qualitative approach appears to allow for a comprehensive inquiry to the Europeanization of web spheres. In sum, with regard to recommendations and practice in the field of communication, public sphere and web sphere research, the study has opted for a strategy of combining content and network analyses in a complementary manner, allowing for the examination of both the structure and content of web spheres in terms of their Europeanization.

2.3 OPERATIONALIZING THE EUROPEANIZATION OF WEB SPHERES

As has been established, the analysis of Europeanization can take two approaches, based on two components/features of web spheres. The first is the structural component, the hyperlink networks of a web sphere. Hyperlinks can signify the degree to which an actor is integrated in a topic, and establishing a hyperlink from a website can be viewed as an act by the author (individual, organisational or institutional) of the website in establishing a relation, an affiliation with another website and the actor it represents (Koopmans and Zimmermann, 2010:175). In their study on the hyperlink networks of European issue publics online Bennett, Lang and Segerberg consider the capacity of online networks to bring publics in contact "with EU institutions and decision makers, on the one hand, and fellow Europeans (organizational or individual), on the other" as a marker of Europeanization. This study takes a similar approach. With hyperlinks representing interaction and communication between actors, transnational network connections with the EU also represent the possibility for the Turkish public to come into contact with EU institutions and Europeans. However, since the hierarchical organisation of politics is present in these spheres, the linkings can be horizontal and vertical as well. In fact, Koopmans and Erbe's framework of three modes of Europeanization in the public sphere is applicable here. This includes a supranational European public sphere, "constituted by the interaction among European-level institutions and collective actors"; vertical Europeanization, "which consists of communicative linkages between the national and the European level" and horizontal Europeanization, "which consists of communicative linkages between different member states" (2004: 101). Thus, supranational, vertical and horizontal linkages that move across borders and territories in web sphere networks are indicators of Europeanized networks. Furthermore, nodes, sized according to the inlinks and outlinks they recieve and

appear in terms of their connectivity to other webpages, present themselves as actors that have been prominent in the battle for attention space, a condition to exert the power of agenda-setting in the sphere.

For the second component of the composition of web spheres, the Europeanization of the content of websites is analyzed as media content. As discussed, debating Europe is an indispensable part, even the foundation of processes of Europeanization, and media content is indicative of an openness to debate the EU and European policies (Machill et al. 2006, Hepp et al. 2015: 71-73, Risse 2010:12-13). In a similar process of quantitative content analysis, studying the Europeanization of media content, Hepp et al. outline three dimensions of Europeanization, vertical and horizontal Europeanization and European Identification (op. cit.: 76). Since the indicators for the dimension of European identification include referrals to the EU as "we" this dimension has been omitted in this study, as it appears to ontologically necessitate the perspective of a member state. The indicators for vertical Europeanization are the "visibility of EU institutions (and its speakers) and a focus on EU policies" while the indicators for horizontal Europeanization are "visibility of EU countries" as well as "speakers from EU countries" (ibid.). In this way, media monitoring of the EU, Europeanization of content is also vertical and horizontal, and can be analyzed by the frequency of content that comprises vertical or horizontal transnational monitoring.

2.4 DATA COLLECTION AND PROCESSING

In order to retrieve the data on the networks of the web spheres, the web crawling tool Issue Crawler was used. The Issue Crawler[9] is a tool by the Govcom.org Foundation based in Amsterdam, and the goal of the project is put forward by Rogers as "to give users the capacity to map networks on the web" (op. cit.: 52).

[9] More information on the tool and documentation available at: https://www.issuecrawler.net.

Web crawlers like the Issue Crawler instrumentalize the networked structure of the internet and websites, as they follow hyperlinks embedded in source codes. Rogers writes that while a big portion of network mapping is concerned with "making structures of social relations visible", the Issue Crawler, through hyperlink network mapping, has the additional purpose of putting on display "the normal 'politics of association' in evidence through public displays of connection (links)" (ibid.).

The construction of a hyperlink network necessitates the designation of seed URLs. In this case, Google search engine queries were employed. Each of the six topics were queries in three keywords (see Appendix A), and the top 50 results were retained in each search. In cases of complete irrelevancy the URL was replaced with the result further down. Furthermore, advertisements, sponsored content that appear at the top of search results were disregarded. Thus, with repeated searches and readjustments conducted between 21-23 July 2020, N=900 (n=150x6) seeds were defined. In order to eliminate the effects of cookies and personalization to a maximum degree, a separate research browser was installed and the searches were conducted in incognito mode with the Google search engine region settings set to Turkey. The search results included civil society organisations, online news media platforms, governmental websites, blogs and commercial websites to varying degrees. These were included in the crawls, as the relevance and impact of various types of content must be taken into account. Nguyen writes that from press releases on government websites to blog posts on company blogs, "many professionalised information services from the private and public sectors, ranging from news media websites to corporate blogs, shape the direction and content of online discourses" (op. cit.:96). Therefore, in favor of refraining from reductionism or omission, the networks and their content include a diversified range of communicators.

As the crawls involved a heuristic and iterative process, with websites that could be considered "spam" being involved, the crawls took place between 25 July and 3 August 2020. In order to keep the networks from becoming too large and complex to analyze, the settings for crawl depth as the degree of separation had to be specified. The crawls employed a setting of snowballing, which has been described as "the most intuitional, inclusive, and nonrestrictive method to capturing the interlinking structure of an a priori unknown assemblage of websites" (Waldherr et al. 2016, cited in Maier et al. 2018: 7). As the seeds were relatively numerous, the degree of separation was set to 1, which, in this case means that the distance from URLs in the network to the seed URLs is not more than one hyperlink. With these settings, the Issue Crawler crawls the starting points, capturing the linkages from them and retains them.

The output of these crawls can be in the form of directed graphs after they've been analysed for centrality measures. These have been the bases of the visual analysis. [10] These graphs have been at times very difficult to read and examine, and in these cases they have been selectively simplified on the basis of the specificity of ties, in which the qualitative strength of ties is instrumentalized to cluster nodes.

For the content analysis of the URLs that are the output of the crawled networks, a web-scraping tool created by the author was used.[11] Scrapers extract textual data from websites (more specifically their source codes), and can both collect and analyse data. In terms of its application for social research, Marres and Weltevrede write that viewed metaphorically, web-scraping "structures data collection as a 'distillation process,' which involves the culling of formatted data from a relatively opaque, under-defined ocean of available online materials" (2013: 317) but add that it also constitutes an "analytic practice" (ibid.).

[10] The interactive versions of these graphs can be found at:
https://aysenarikazan.github.io/index.html
[11] Software documentation available at:
https://github.com/aysenarikazan/transnational-monitoring-turkish

Employed here as a means of content analysis of online textual data, the texts of the URLs that constitute the networks of topical web spheres has been utilized to check for frequencies of and quantify references to the EU, its relevant institutions, bodies and member states (see Appendix B). As the Issue Crawler is language-independent and crawls websites across territories as well as languages, the resulting network URLs included results in a number of languages. As the transnational linkages are analyzed in themselves and as the study sets out to examine the Europeanization of web spheres of Turkey (and the search engines queries having been conducted in Turkish), the content analysis was applied to websites in Turkish. Furthermore, the scraper could not analyze non-html content, webpages that only comprised PDF (The Portable Document Format) were omitted. A total of N=12.484 web pages were studied.

2.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The approach adopted here is fit for the research in many ways. However, it is not without its shortcomings. The first is that, measuring the impact and audience of these webspheres is almost impossible, as even ranking sites such as Alexa.com can potentially mislead (Schroeder et al. 2020: 494). Audiences are assumed audiences from the perspective of the authors of websites. Furthermore, as the web infrastructure has moved from web 1.0 (websites) to web 2.0 (interactive platforms), websites have arguably become dated. However, the study assumes that since the discursive formations on these websites replicate elite biases, the website content represents much of what's being shared and commented upon. Additionally, since the initial seeds for the networks were the top results of Google searches, they reflect websites that have been most linked to, as Google's algorithm for hierarchizing results - inspired by the academic citation system- PageRank, is highly dependent on the "attention value" that webpages have, determined by a range of factors, including but not limited to visits and links

(Pasquinelli 2010). In this way, it could at least be said that the discursivity in these platforms, kept off of search engines, is reflected in the networks.

Furthermore, the cross-sectional nature of the study is a definite shortcoming. Babie writes that cross-sectional studies are inherently problematic, as the observations characterize only one time but aim at understanding processes that occur over time (2012: 106), while Pfetsch and Heft argue that cross-sectional data make only for a "snapshot of 'Europeanness'" (op. cit.:37). However, a longitudinal study, addressing the ebbs and flows of the changes of these web spheres has not been possible due to time and technical constraints.

Finally, it could be argued that quantitative content analysis is a rudimentary way of studying Europeanization in the media, since it doesn't account for framings and attitudes. As such, contention, discord or conversely, accord, harmony and concurrence in the analyzed topics is absent from this study. As a consequence, the context of media content between the EU and Turkey in the six topical web spheres is overlooked in the overall analysis. This is certainly a serious shortcoming of this study, as well as a shortcoming of quantitative content analysis as a method, as, for example in this study, it looks at the frequency of content and disregards context. However, one thing to keep in mind is that conflictual and contentious media content, with nationalistic or critical positions vis-a-vis the EU can still be considered Europeanized (Risse 2010: 117-118), as they arguably still point to Europe and the EU being discussed and debated, albeit contentiously or in an antagonistic context. Nevertheless, the absence of a qualitative analysis of the nature of media content must be viewed as a definite limitation of the study. In the following section, the results of the studies are presented and discussed.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EUROPEANIZATION OF TURKEY'S WEB SPHERES

In this section, the web spheres of European policy areas will be examined for their Europeanization. Beginning with a condensed review of the six policy fields the study focuses upon, the section then presents the study's findings in terms of network connections and media content, before moving on to a discussion of them.

3.1 TURKEY-EU RELATIONS IN THE EXAMINED POLICY FIELDS

A long-time candidate for accession, Turkey and the EU have elaborate ties in different policies. To start off with the area of agriculture, it can be said that Turkey is a fertile country in terms of agricultural production. As an agricultural exporting country, it is also trading partners with many of the EU countries, most importantly Germany, France, Italy and Bulgaria (Eurostat 2020). Outside of trade of agricultural goods, Turkey and the EU benefit from cooperation in the field dating back to Turkey's preparation towards accession and the adoption of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). To this end, Turkey has been receiving technical and financial aid from The Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance in Rural Development (IPARD), which provides support to Turkey in its alignment with EU structures in the future implementation of CAP. The EU and Turkey have also cooperated towards further development of rural areas and the agricultural sector with assistance from the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA). This amounted to a total of 250 million Euro solely from the IPA budget as well as infrastructure and institution building efforts like the establishment of a Land Parcel Identification System (LPIS), Control and Eradication of Important Animal Diseases, Establishment of Key Information Systems, strengthening the Official Food Control System laboratory infrastructure, the introduction of Stock Assessment in Fisheries Management System (EU Delegation to Turkey 2020a).

The IPA II program, starting from 2014, had allocated around 912 million Euro towards agricultural and rural development (European Commission 2014a: 46).

In conjunction with IPA II, the IPARD II programme was set to provide a more capacity building and skills development oriented approach with the introduction of the LEADER programme initiative for Turkey as well as support for the development of renewable energy infrastructure and agri-environment measures (European Commission 2017: 42). Since the introduction of the initial LEADER framework in 2008, Local Action Groups have been formed that operate within the sector alongside local chambers of agriculture, producer unions, and agricultural and village cooperatives (ibid.: 52).

In terms of security, looking back at the last decade, the nature of EU-Turkey security dynamics has seen moments of both rapprochement and contention. On paper, the two parties are primed to share common interests in this area. They enjoy fruitful trade relationships, are NATO partners and depend on cooperation for stability in the Balkans and the Middle East. In practice however, Turkey has not seen eye to eye on a number of substantial issues with the EU.

Turkey has historically served a buffer role between countries of the North Atlantic Pact and the Middle East and Russia for decades. Nathalie Martin approaches this role in connection with the accession process, writing, "geostrategy has played a major part in maintaining Turkey's place within the accession process, although real progress has only been made when there was evidence of meaningful constitutional reform." (2015: 140). Martin also argues that the period starting with the Arab Spring vastly augmented Turkey's partnership value concerning security (ibid.). The EU also appears to be dependent on Turkey in the face of the growing humanitarian crisis that landed on its borders in the aftermath of the Arab Spring. Martin goes on to say that EU also needed Turkey maintaining its role model position, in an ever unstable region, as a stable Muslim country championing a liberal system of governance (ibid.: 151).

Throughout the Arab Spring however, both parties ended up alongside opposing actors. As Özel et al. explain, overall the EU was left with a distant Turkey and new security risks in the region in the aftermath of the Arab Spring (2017).

Vis a vis Russia, the EU experienced a new threat to its security following its intervention in Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea. While the US and the EU established embargos and expressed unified stance towards the developments, Turkey did not follow suit with the embargos, moving closer to Russia (ibid.:18). More recently Turkey ended up putting more distance between itself and its western allies by purchasing an S-400 defence system from Russia and by its rapprochement her and Iran along the Astana Process, which, as Lindgaard et al. point out, was bound to result in grievances between Turkey and its western allies, if not particularly with the EU (2018: 3).

Furthermore, on the refugee crisis, as Turkey took in upwards of 3 million refugees fleeing Syria, the EU's reluctance in taking in refugees, arguably in relation with the rising waves of xenophobia and right wing politics resulted in a bigger divide and "Europe bashing" in domestic politics in Turkey, Özel et al. explain (op. cit.: 18). This went on until the situation peaked when in 2015 Turkey opened its borders as refugees started moving towards Europe, often under dangerous circumstances. The authors argue that the relations between the EU and Turkey, in the area of security, has come to be characterized by a "trans-actionalism", most evidently exemplified in the Refugee Deal of March 2016 (ibid.:22).

Lastly, Turkish government's stance on terrorism as it pertains to the Kurdistan Workers' Party's (PKK) activity on the south-eastern region of the country has proven to be a point of contention between itself and the EU. By the early 2010s the government made an effort to improve basic rights and to acknowledge, represent the Kurdish minority in the political spectrum. Today the situation has again regressed to a state of low intensity warfare, only now the presence of the

YPG and PYD in Syria, both organically linked to the PKK and allies of the North Atlantic community, drives a wedge between Turkey and its NATO allies (ibid.: 9). From the European standpoint PYD/YPG serves a crucial role in fighting the IS in Syria, yet Turkey's security concerns about a region controlled by the PYD/YPG, however legitimate, is not as appreciated in the same degree by the EU.

Tangentially related to the area of security, is migration. Turkey's geostrategic position has long served as an opportunity to preserve its importance in the region. As a border neighbor to the EU, the relationship between the two parties in regards to irregular migration has intensified in time. Moreover, the dependence of the union on Turkey has increased, such as it is today, and has declined depending on the intensity of the number of people looking to migrate to Europe (Dimitriadi et al. 2018: 1). By 2015, Turkey's importance as a host country and a country of transit rose amidst the refugee crisis, with the EU starting to prioritize its political relationship with Turkey. This meant the basis of a new negotiating position for Turkey in regards to accession talks and general cooperation with an emphasis on migration (ibid.: 5). Prior to the emergence of a South-eastern migratory corridor between 2006 and 2010, border control in the region was dependent on the cooperation between Greece and Turkey, with assistance provided by the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (FRONTEX) onward from 2009. The first big step towards addressing the new migratory influx that was the result of the Arab Spring was the EU-Turkey Readmission Agreement signed in 2013 and fully implemented by 2016 (ibid.: 10). Next significant steps were the Joint Action Plan, announced in 2015 and the migration accord that was signed in March 2016, which would see an exchange of regular and irregular migrants between Turkey and EU states, cooperating with Greece and Bulgaria in particular and regulating crossings via the Meditteranean more strictly (Garde 2016). In turn Turkey was to receive 6 billion Euro for the care of refugees in the country as well as visa liberation for Turkish citizens by the end of June 2016 if Turkey would meet the

necessary 72 criterias (ibid.). Currently visa liberation has yet to pass while only 3.2 billion of the promised aid has been delivered. At this point it can be said that Turkey has been increasingly bargaining its position to reinvigorate accession talks and visa liberalisation with the EU. It's also worthy to note that Turkey, by de facto allowing border crossings, was using its unique position to put pressure on the EU (Dimitriadi et al. 2018: 11). According to numbers released from the EU Delegation to Turkey, the EU, since 2011, has allocated a total of 10.9 billion Euro from the EU budget and member states combined to provide humanitarian aid and developmental assistance (2020b). Furthermore, the Facility for Refugees in Turkey was established in 2016 which works on cooperating in humanitarian assistance, education, health, municipal infrastructure, socio-economic support and migration management (ibid.).

More recently, on 28 February 2020 following an attack that killed 33 Turkish soldiers in Idlib, Turkey partially ceased to stop refugees looking to reach Europe by land or sea. The following day, Erdoğan's statement marked a frustration with the relationship between the EU and Turkey. "What did we do yesterday? We opened the doors (...) We will not close those doors... Why? Because the European Union should keep its promises," he said (Al Jazeera 2020). Evidently, the relationship between the EU and Turkey on migration has had a transactional characteristic as well, with sporadic instances of contention.

Climate change and environment efforts are another domain of cooperation between the EU and Turkey, with the EU stepping up to a more central role in climate change policy after the withdrawal of the US from the Paris Agreement (Colantoni et al. 2017: 1-2). Under the IPA I programme, structural funds programmes that are projected for EU member states were implemented for Turkey, with around 706 million Euro have been allocated for said efforts between 2007 and 2013 (EU Delegation to Turkey 2020c). From 2014 on, the IPA II Programme brought a focus on climate change, disaster management, sustainable

development and energy as well as waste management and building capacity to sustain water and air quality and natural resources. While part of the resources go to developmental works, the rest contribute to alignment projects that bring the Turkish national policy and legislation on environment on par with those of the EU (European Commission 2014a: 26-27). Some projects in this area are the Implementation of the Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) Directive, which aims to produce EU grade SEA reports in Turkey while providing experience for Turkish experts in the field. Another is the one with a goal to protect the natural habitat and the biodiversity in the Central Anatolia Region, host to many endemic species and habitats. Lastly, the EU has capacity building efforts on climate change, towards improving Turkey's framework to enable stronger climate action (EU Delegation to Turkey 2020c). Finally, Turkey and the EU cooperate on reducing and fighting marine pollution, through the The Black Sea Convention (BSC) that took effect in 1994 and the Barcelona Convention of 1995, dealing with the Mediterranean coastal region.

Next, there's the area of human rights and democracy. In the aftermath of the Helsinki Summit in 1999 Turkey, as a candidate for European accession, entered a period of swift change on judiciary and human rights domains. Framed by the requirements of the Copenhagen Criteria, this period entailed numerous amendments to the 1982 constitution, reform packages on human rights, women's rights and rights of minorities (Kalaycıoğlu 2011). However, this era of positive change arguably ended in 2007, as reforms stalled and the EU's influence over Turkey started to wane, while the country's ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) shifted interests from EU accession towards further consolidation of its power (ibid.: 273). The EU's 2004 enlargement didn't show any prospects for Turkey's accession, and the downturn of the 2005 negotiations by the suspension of eight chapters in 2006 arguably further complicated the situation, fueling Euroscepticism (Yilmaz 2011). These conditions, together with the general weakening of the EU's conditionality had an impact on the Turkish government

which by then was seeing increased opposition to their rule both politically and socially, resulting in the government's consolidation of increasing power and authoritarian tendencies, further undermining past efforts towards accession (Müftüler-Baç 2016: 13-17). From 2011 onward, judicial and fundamental rights reforms even started to regress as domestic political concerns for AKP continued to grow, culminating in the Gezi protests of 2013 (ibid.: 18). While AKP was putting out fires domestically, in 2014 the EU moved further away as the then newly appointed president of the EU Commission Jean Claude Juncker eliminated any idea of enlargement until 2019 (European Commission 2014b). These developments, coupled by a new privileged partnership rhetoric, were the beginnings of a period of worsening relations between Turkey and the EU in terms of legislative reforms in the field of fundamental rights and democracy, arguably one that is ongoing today (Tekin and Deniz 2019: 4-6).

Practically, the EU has been financially supporting the judicial reforms in Turkey with the IPA I (2007-2013) and II (2014-2020), while providing capacity building and technical assistance via twinning mechanisms and the Technical Assistance and Information Exchange (TAIEX) programs that Turkey started participating in 2002, of which the biggest focus were on the domains of judicial reform and democracy building (Müftüler-Baç 2016). Furthermore, the EU Delegation to Turkey has been cooperating with local human rights defenders as well as monitoring their situation and providing assistance under the guidelines of the EU Local Strategy to Support and Defend Human Rights Defenders in Turkey, adopted in 2011 (EU Delegation to Turkey 2018).

Finally, there is the field of social policy and education. The IPA Programme includes a development and social policy component that frames the cooperation between the EU and Turkey in the social policy and education fields. Main goals of this initiative include promoting gender equality in the work environment and women entrepreneurship, eradication of child labour, enhancing services for

disabled people, improving the services of the Centre for Labour and Social Security Training and Research (ÇASGEM) (Directorate for EU Affairs 2019).

The EU's programme for Employment, Education and Social Policies (EESOP) aims to address three targets of the Europe 2020 Strategy, namely increasing employment rates, reducing school drop-outs by investing in education, and reducing poverty and social exclusion (EU Delegation to Turkey 2020d). There are also joint projects of the Turkish government and the EU, for example on human resources development (HRD). The HRD Programme, coordinated by Ministry of Labour and Social Security, aims in improvement in areas such as higher and vocational education, lifelong learning, social inclusion, job creation, industrial competitiveness, poverty reduction, entrepreneurship as well as skills and capabilities needed for accession to the EU (European Training Foundation 2014: 9-10). Likewise, modeled after the Europe 2020 strategy guidelines, the Employment and Social Reform Programme facilitates the cooperation between the two parties in the field of employment, social inclusion and social protection (ibid.: 26).

In addition to the effort towards the improvement of vocational education programmes and providing women and young girls with further education, the EU has flagship cooperation programmes with Turkey on the education domain. These include the Jean Monnet Scholarship programme, in place since 1989, for postgraduate students. Furthermore, since 2004, there have been programs like the Lifelong Learning Program which aimed to incentivise learning experiences in the form of study visits, networking activities and exchanges; the Youth Action Programme aimed to promote mobility for the youth participating in Turkey and Europe; the flagship cooperation programme between the two parties, the Erasmus Programme provided exchange and work opportunities for students and a cooperation framework for the participating institutes of higher education and lastly, the Boosting Participation in the European Research Area initiative, which

operated, in cooperation with the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBİTAK) and the National Coordination Office of Turkey (UKO), to create networking and cooperation opportunities between European and Turkish scientists and researchers (EU Delegation to Turkey 2020d). In 2014, all EU programs in this field became part of the newly established Erasmus+ program (ibid.).

3.2 FINDINGS

3.2.1 The Agriculture Web Sphere

Figure 3.1 The network of the agriculture web sphere. Interactive version available at: https://aysenarikazan.github.io/assets/agriculture.svg

The graph of the agricultural network is the least dense of the six areas, with a density of 0.009, indicating a relatively loosely connected network. The complete graph contains 272 nodes with 348 linkages connecting them, however for purposes of improved discernibility, the graph has been filtered, with the top 50% of specifically (quantitatively) tied nodes kept in the graph, containing 139 nodes.

Starting with a panoramic view of the graph, it's possible to notice central clusters around the large nodes of the Bursa Agriculture Fair (burtarim.com), the Chamber of Commerce and Industry for the city of Kars (karstso.org.tr), the provincial directorate for culture and tourism of the city of Amasya (amasya.ktb.gov.tr) and OpenStreetMap (osm.org) a website using local data for mapping. Then there are clusters that are placed more marginally in the graph, loosely connected or completely disconnected from these clusters. Some of these are clusters of local and commercial pages. On the top left is a website for the city of Kayseri (kayseriden.biz), focusing on the culture and history of the city, linking to local pages and organizations and otherwise disconnected from the rest of the network. It's neighboured by a cluster of local news websites like Erciyes TV (erciyestv.com.tr), again, disconnected from the network with interlinkings in the cluster. Kemal Balıkçılık (kemalbalikcilik.com), an aquaculture company and exporter of seafood creates its own cluster. The website of the company cites EU member states it has ties with, as well as the Health and Consumers Directorate-General of the European Commission. The cluster is connected to the network by way of linking to SNSs, Twitter and Facebook. Likewise, on the left of the graph, a cluster with Malkaram (malkaram.com), a local news website, in the center is visible, linking to local agricultural websites as well as other businesses. Above is Hedef Balık (hedefbalik.com), a commercial website for fishing, with outlinks to other commercial websites. Upwards of that is a small cluster of governmental websites, linking to the Agricultural Forest Council (tarimormansurasi.gov.tr). A final commercial cluster has just two nodes, the blog

of Decathlon (blog.decathlon.com.tr), a company that sells outdoor and fishing gear, linking to the main website.

Online presences of news media websites appear to be inlinking on their platform or their presences in other states. Hürriyet, a major mainstream news publication (hurriyet.com.tr), is visible near the node of Facebook linking to its sister sites as well as Facebook. With CNN Türk making up its own cluster of CNN presences by links to the Spanish, Arabic and US websites of the company.

Finally, at the bottom of the graph is a cluster around TÜDAV, the Turkish Marine Research Foundation (tudav.org), whose website proclaims working in unison with UN bodies like the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as well as the EU. TÜDAV links to the website of the Agreement on the Conservation of Cetaceans of the Black Sea, Mediterranean Sea and contiguous Atlantic area (accobams.org), an intergovernmental agreement with the purpose of reducing threats to cetaceans; The Mediterranean Science Commission (ciesm.org), a network of marine researchers based in Monaco; The Deep Sea Conservation Coalition (savethehighseas.org), a coalition that works with scientists, NGOs, intergovernmental organizations and governments to engage the UNGA for the protection of deep seas; the International Maritime Organization (imo.org), the United Nations agency for the safety of shipping and lessening of marine pollution by ships; The High Seas Alliance (highseasalliance.org), a partnership of more than 40 NGOs for the protection of the high seas and other intergovernmental and civil society organizations with similar purposes. Notably, a number of these sites link to the National Antarctic Scientific Center (uac.gov.ua), a state institution of Ukraine, which has become the "main organization for conducting research expeditions in Antarctica, coordination of scientific research" according to its website.

The central nodes of the Bursa Agriculture Fair (burtarim.com), the Chamber of Commerce and Industry for the city of Kars (karstso.org.tr), the provincial directorate for culture and tourism of the city of Amasya (amasya.ktb.gov.tr) and OpenStreetMap (osm.org) appear to be well connected among themselves, with the Social Security Institution (gk.gov.tr) serving a bridge role. Furthermore, these are all connected via linkages to and from local authorities like the website of the municipal office of Bursa (bursa.bel.tr) or the governor's office of Kars (kars.gov.tr). From these nodes span numerous local and governmental pages, dominating the network. Commercial and local pages, as well as small news media and mass media clusters appear to be isolated and marginal.

Media outlets don't appear to be establishing outlinks, neither national nor transnational. Transnational ties are established by the network of CNN, however these are solely ties to its corporate counterparts. It can be said that commercial, aquaculture companies like Kemal Balıkçılık mention ties to the EU, both in terms of member states and regulations set by the Commission.

The most significant border-crossing, horizontal linkages take place via the network of NGOs, with the cluster that has TÜDAV in the centre. These NGOs and research groups all affirm being parts of larger international networks, emphasizing working with both the UN and the EU. The ties here, in terms of subject matter, concern the protection of sea life and curbing pollution in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Although not directly in the purview of agriculture, these issues are connected to the topic in terms of ecological production practices. The ties with Ukraine are interesting, however, these explicitly appear to concern a station in the Arctic that researchers benefit from.

Overall, the network appears territorialized for the most part, apart from the ties established by the network ties established by the network of research groups and NGOs. Furthermore, governmental websites as well as some local organizations make up the central authorities of the network, with hosting an important majority

of the nodes, and are connected, while others appear on the margins, and thus, the territorial tendency of the graph is dependent on the state websites. The network of research organizations and NGOs, on the other hand, appears to be modestly Europeanized.

Vertical Europeanization	Europe and the EU	12,45% (n=219)
	Europe	10,80% (n=190)
	The EU and EU-institutions	1,64% (n=29)
Horizontal Europeanization	EU member states	11,48% (n=202)
	Germany	1,42% (n=25)
	Bulgaria	1,53% (n=27)
	France	1,19% (n=21)
	Italy	1,76% (n=31)
	Greece	1,98% (n=35)

Table 3.1 Europeanization of the content of the agriculture web sphere. 1759 web pages were examined in total.

In terms of its content, the agricultural web sphere appears moderately Europeanized, both vertically and horizontally. What's of note here is the discrepancy between references to "Europe" and the EU and its institutions. Although it's the case in a lot of the areas studied here that the number of webpages referring to Europe exceed the number of those mentioning the EU, the ratio of 10,8% to 1,64% is by far the highest. Furthermore, the sphere is more vertically Europeanized than horizontally Europeanized. Among the countries that are prominently featured in the sphere are neighbouring states like Greece and Bulgaria, as well as Western European states like Germany, Italy and France, indicating a rather distributed representation of states.

3.2.2 The Security Web Sphere

Figure 3.2 The network of the security web sphere. Interactive version available at: https://aysenarikazan.github.io/assets/security.svg

The hyperlink network of the national security web sphere is on the denser side considering all the networks, with a density of 0.046. The network is host to 64 nodes, with 87 linkages between them. The whole graph is represented here.

Looking at the whole of the network, it's possible to first notice two camps juxtaposed to one another. On the bottom-left of the graph, one camp includes a cluster around the websites of the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey (avrupa.info.tr), the SETA Foundation for Political, Economic and Social

Research (setav.org.tr), Hürriyet (hurriyet.com.tr) and the Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences of Yeditepe University (iibf.yeditepe.edu.tr). Located across from this camp is the cluster with the police office for the city of Elazığ in Eastern Anatolia (elazig.pol.tr). These have no connections with each other. There are other, marginal and smaller clusters. On the lower right of the graph, a cluster around CNN Türk and its other country offices, with interlinkings, is visible. Interestingly, a cluster of websites from Northern Cyprus is at the top of the graph. It includes The Cyprus Association of Turkish Culture (kibristkd.org.tr) and local media websites like Kıbrıs Postası (kibrispostasi.com). Under this is a two website cluster of a directory website for services (firmasec.com) and a forum website (mynet.com). Furthermore, the graph has an empty centre, implying an authority gap in the hyperlink network of the security web sphere.

Taking a closer look at the interconnected clusters and nodes, located at the lower left of the graph, it's possible to start with Yeditepe University's website. The Faculty website links to other sister sites of the University, and is connected to other clusters here through its linking to the Facebook page of the SETA Foundation. Also linking here is the web publication of Hürriyet, the website of SETA itself and the EU Delegation to Turkey. This cluster is worth examining, as it hosts both supranational and vertical linkages. The node at the centre of this cluster is a page in the Delegation's website pertaining to the list of organisations that the EU considers to be terrorist organisations (avrupa.info.tr/tr/ab-terorist-listesi) and details the criteria and the process of designations of these organisations. From here there are supranational linkages to the multimedia centre of the EP (europarltv.europa.eu), the press releases of the EU Newsroom (europa.eu/newsroom/press-releases/databases/index_en.htm), a page in the website of the Commission on neighbourhood policy and enlargement negotiations, a declassified document from the website of the Council, detailing the discussions and endorsements of Coreper with regard to methods of designating terrorist groups, individuals and organisations

(data.consilium.europa.eu), a press release from the Council on the suspension of sanctions against FARC (consilium.europa.eu) and the archives of the European Union External Action Service (eeas.europa.eu). In terms of vertical linkages, the Delegation links to Yerelde AB[12] (yereldeab.org.tr), a website tied to the Directorate for EU Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The website is host to projects, publications, news and resources tying the EU presence to local affairs and various provinces.

Aside from the Delegation linking to the Facebook page of the SETA Foundation, SETA and the Delegation both link to the Youtube channel of the latter, comprising numerous videos detailing the EU enlargement regime and EU-Turkey relations. The SETA Foundation is a think-tank that is known for its close ties to the government, and its Facebook page serves as the bridge between the EU Delegation to Turkey, Yeditepe University and Hürriyet. The SETA Foundation links to its joint project with the EU, European Islamophobia Report (islamophobiaeurope.com), a project financed by the EU, which aims to "document and analyze trends in the spread of Islamophobia in various European nation states". It links to its Arabic publication and to the Twitter presence of Hürriyet.

The cluster around the police office for the city of Elazığ, links to a number of other governmental websites, like a website for individuals wanted in connection to terrorist activity (teroraranlar.pol.tr) or the Directorate General for Migration Management (goc.gov.tr). It must be pointed out that a number of the websites it links to are out of service.

The media outlets, even though inlinking for the most part, appear to have connections outside of themselves, with Hürriyet linking to SETA's Facebook page and SETA's linkings to Hürriyet's Twitter page. Furthermore, while the governmental websites appear localised and territorial, the network has

[12] "EU in the local".

border-crossing connections to Europe and the EU. These are supranational linkings by the website of the EU Delegation to Turkey, providing connections to EU websites and press releases. However there is also vertical Europeanization here, with linkages between Yerelde AB, a website of the Directorate for EU Affairs and the EU Delegation. In sum, it can be said that structurally, the web sphere of security hosts connections to Europe, crossing borders. Even though the state tendency appears to be toward territorialization, the EU Delegation website, nestled in a network engaging with other national actors, provides the opportunity for public contact with the European Union. Additionally, it's possible to observe that while state websites and the clusters that host the EU Delegation appear disconnected with an empty space between them, the EU Delegation website does interact and is connected with actors that are close to the state.

Vertical Europeanization	Europe and the EU	5,24% (n=32)
	Europe	4,09% (n=25)
	The EU and EU-institutions	1,14% (n=7)
Horizontal Europeanization	EU member states	6,88% (n=42)
	Germany	0,98% (n=6)
	France	0,98% (n=6)
	Italy	2,62% (n=16)

Table 3.2 Europeanization of the content of the security web sphere. 610 web pages were examined in total.

Viewing the content of the security sphere shows that it's the least Europeanized among those examined in this study. While Europe is mentioned to a higher degree than the EU, websites with references to both of these still make up a very small proportion of the sphere (5,24%). On the other hand, the sphere is also weakly horizontally Europeanized, with the highest frequency of transnational referrals being those to Italy.

3.2.3 The Migration Web Sphere

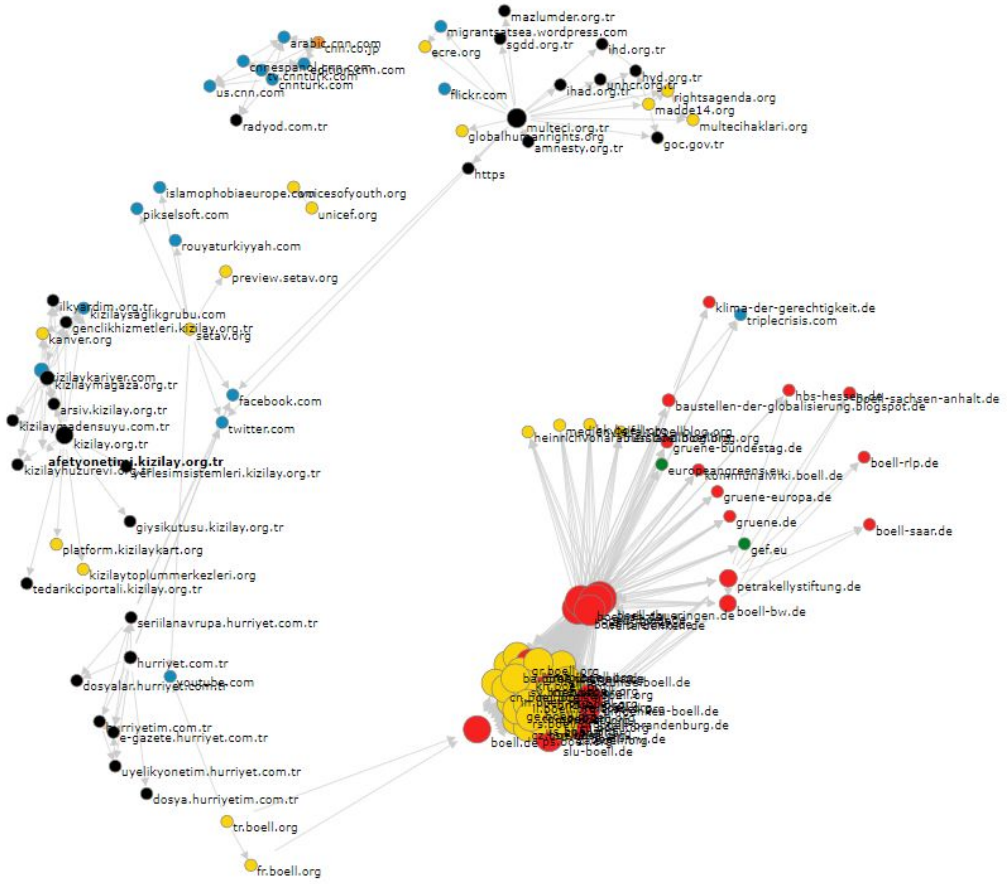

Figure 3.3 The network of the migration web sphere. Interactive version available at: https://aysenarikazan.github.io/assets/migration.svg

The network of the migration web sphere is the densest network in the study, with a network density of 0.38. The network contains 121 nodes, connected to one another with 2767 linkages. In order to make it easier to discern, the graph has been clustered on a specificity basis with the top 50% of nodes that are qualitatively tied to each other clustered together in the graph. However, with the high density of connections, this hasn't led to a decrease in node numbers that are visible.

Viewed panoramically, the migration network is similar to the security network, in the sense that it has no central authority and two camps, distributed widely in the graph, are noticeable. The migration sphere displays a relatively sparse network. The first noticeable cluster, making up other clusters, is that of the Heinrich Böll Stiftung, starting with the website of the Turkish office (tr.boell.org) linking to the Stiftung's presence in France (fr.boell.org), and making up a cluster of the foundation offices in different parts of Germany, which then links to more expanded cluster. Across from it are loosely connected clusters, spread out along the graph. A cluster of Turkish NGOs, working in the field of migration, are situated at the top, with Mülteci-Der, the Association for Solidarity with Refugees (multeci.org.tr) at the centre. Part of this camp is also the SETA Foundation (setav.org.tr), again at the centre of its own cluster as well as Hürriyet (hurriyet.com.tr), establishing interlinkings with its own platform, but also to the rest of these three connected clusters.

There are also unconnected and marginal clusters in the graph. On the left, there is a cluster by CNN Türk (cnnturk.com), linking to other CNN offices around the world, Arabic, Spanish and CNN Japan. This cluster is completely disconnected from the rest of the actors in the network. Below, the website of the United Nations Children's Fund (unicef.org) is linking to Voices of Youth (voicesofyouth.org), a UNICEF initiative, creating its own two node cluster, isolated from the network.

On the left of the graph, a big cluster can be observed, with the biggest node being Kızılay, the Turkish Red Crescent (kizilay.org.tr). It appears very distant from the rest of the NGOs and is linking to its different services. Kızılay differs in scope of issues and legal character from the rest of the NGOs in this network, which are almost exclusively working on migration, and it is also a non-profit that is subject to special provisions by the Turkish state.

To take a close look at the two big clusters that make up the network, it can be observed that the Turkish office of Heinrich Böll Stiftung links to the website to the French presence of the stiftung, with both of these websites then linking to the main website (boell.de). From this main website, numerous outlinks and inlinks point outward and inward, but make up a large cluster of national websites of the Heinrich Böll Stiftung. These then lead to a second cluster. From here, more visible linkages connect to websites like that of the Alliance 90/The Greens (gruene.de), the European Greens (europeangreens.eu) and the European Green Foundation (gef.eu). Furthermore, blog entries from the websites (like heinrichvonarabien.boellblog.org) link to other blogs and websites focusing on climate change, globalization and environmentalism (triplecrisis.com, klima-der-gerechtigkeit.de for example).

Looking across the graph, the connected clusters include, at the top of the graph, a cluster of Turkish NGOs, around the Association for Solidarity with Refugees (multeci.org.tr). Some others included here are the Citizens' Assembly (hyd.org.tr), the Human Rights Foundation (ihd.org.tr), Human Rights Agenda Association (rightsagenda.org), The Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (sgdd.org.tr) and Mülteci Hakları Koordinasyonu (multecihaklari.org) a coordination platform for NGOs working on migration and refugees in Turkey, whose website states that it has been renewed thanks to a project financed by the EU. There are also links to Directorate General for Migration Management (goc.gov.tr), a directorate established under the Ministry of Interior in 2013 as part of a law renewing Turkish migration laws, to address migration from Syria. In the cluster, horizontal linkages across borders can be viewed. The blog Migrants at Sea (migrantsatsea.wordpress.com) is linked to, a blog that “follows migration by sea from Africa to or towards Europe and other significant maritime migration routes which end in the European Union, such as Turkey to Greece and Albania to Italy”. Additionally, there is linking to the European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ecre.org), a European alliance NGOs in 40, whose mission is, “to promote

the establishment of fair and humane European asylum policies and practices in accordance with international human rights law." Additionally, there are also linkages to the Turkey offices of intergovernmental organizations like United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (unhcr.org.tr) and international civil society organisations like Amnesty (amnesty.org.tr).

From this cluster, linkages connect to the SETA Foundations social media presences, both Facebook and Twitter. These nodes are at crucial positions, connecting Hürriyet, SETA itself and the NGO clusters, with numerous outlinks directed at them. Unlike the security network, the camps of clusters are not completely disconnected in this graph. The node that establishes the connection between the SETA Foundation's website and Heinrich Böll Stiftung's Turkey office, is the Youtube channel of the latter, it's again an important bridge node in the graph.

Notable in the migration network is the dispersal of the clusters of Turkish NGOs working on migration, the Turkish Red Crescent and UNICEF. It appears that the Red Crescent, working closely with the government, sticks to its own network and doesn't engage with other national NGOs. UNICEF's isolation is perhaps partly explained by its differing field of work, whereas UNHCR has connections to the cluster of NGO websites. The SETA Foundation is again an important cluster in the network, but more importantly serves as bridge here.

For the sum of the migration network, it can be said that it establishes horizontal connections with the European public, through transnational civil society networks and border-crossing linkages. Some of these are established by the presence of Heinrich Böll Stiftung and its highly interrelated network of offices around Europe as well as websites of the Greens and the party's counterparts. Here, it's definitely possible to speak of horizontal linkages and Europeanizations. Even though the large cluster is mostly made up of inlinking, the initial connectivity between the Turkish office and others still holds merit. Furthermore, horizontal connections are

established by national NGOs linking to European NGO networks as well as other European websites working in the field of migration.

Unlike some of the other networks, governmental websites aren't very visible here in the migration network graph, and so it's difficult to speculate on their efforts of territorialization. It does appear, however, that the state and NGOs are not interacting in a significant sense, a tendency also exhibited by Turkish Red Crescent's isolation. Overall, it can be said that, structurally, the migration web sphere is highly Europeanized, with numerous transnational linkages, connecting publics in Turkey to those in Europe.

Vertical Europeanization	Europe and the EU	40,41% (n=236)
	Europe	21,4% (n=125)
	The EU and EU-institutions	19% (n=111)
Horizontal Europeanization	EU member states	69,69% (n=407)
	Germany	14,21% (n=83)
	Bulgaria	4,28% (n=25)
	France	6,16% (n=36)
	Italy	4,45% (n=26)
	Greece	19,69% (n=115)

Table 3.3 Europeanization of the content of the migration web sphere. 584 web pages were examined in total.

The content of the web sphere around migration is quite strongly Europeanized, by far the most Europeanized sphere in the study. While around 40,41% of webpages entail references to either Europe or the EU and its institutions, 69,69% of them make connections to one or more member states. Some of the countries most mentioned are those on the Mediterranean shores, Greece, Italy and France; neighbour state Bulgaria and Germany.

3.2.4 The Environment and Climate Change Web Sphere

Figure 3.4 The network of the environment and climate change web sphere. Interactive version available at: https://aysenarikazan.github.io/assets/environment.svg

The environmental network immediately appears very crowded. It's density is relatively low compared to others, with 0.029. The hyperlink network has 474 nodes, with 3334 connections between them. To make it easier to study, the network actors have been grouped here on a scale of specificity, meaning the most qualitatively have been clustered. However, even with the top 15% of actors clustered and specified, the graph is still quite compact. Of the total of 474 nodes, 338 are visible here.

Approaching the whole of the graph, it's first possible to notice that in the graph, there are numerous large clusters, some tightly and some loosely connected to

each other. It's not as easy to identify significant camps with holes between them, as for the most part, the clusters appear connected to one another. However, it is possible to discern clusters around various actors.

The biggest visible node in the graph is that of the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (dsi.gov.tr), placed at the upper right of the graph with a large number of outlinks, placed at the centre of its own cluster. Situated to the left of this cluster is another one, with Boğaziçi University Center for Climate Change and Policy Studies (climatechange.boun.edu.tr) at the centre. At the bottom right of the graph one is again greeted by TÜDAV (tudav.org) forming a large node, and at the centre of a large cluster. On the very bottom of the graph is a dense cluster without a central node, rather made up of several larger nodes in the centre, then linking to other pages. This cluster is made up of pages of the The Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning (csb.gov.tr), with numerous out and inlinks to and from the web platform of the ministry.

Aside from these clusters that appear to hold authoritative positions in the graph, there are several more smaller and marginal clusters in the network. On the left of the network of the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning's cluster, it's possible to see Heinrich Böll Stiftung (tr.boell.org), linking to the French office. Above, on the lower left of the graph is a cluster around the Department of Energy Efficiency and Environment (yegm.gov.tr), a department under the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning. On the upper left and very top of the graph are three clusters of University websites. These appear to be on the basis of academic publications, as there are numerous university libraries and their databases linking to one another, like those of Istanbul Technical University (itu.edu.tr), Çankaya University (kutuphane.cankaya.edu.tr), Marmara University (library.marmara.edu.tr) and Gazi University (lib.gazi.edu.tr). The cluster at the top of is only around Hacettepe University (hacettepe.edu.tr) and inlinks to its own platform. Below this cluster are two more small clusters that are worth

mentioning. One is around The TEMA Foundation, the Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats (tema.org.tr), which, similar to the Kızılay, is a non-profit that is connected to the Turkish state as a legal entity. It links to several websites like iklimdegisikligi.net, which appears to be out of service as well as Adım Adım (adimadim.org), a charity organization raising money for various organizations. Interestingly there's a separate cluster of websites that had been included in the Heinrich Böll Stiftung cluster in the migration network. Baustellen der Globalisierung (baustellen-der-globalisierung.blogspot.com), links to Klima der Gerechtigkeit (klima-der-gerechtigkeit.de), two blogs on global warming and climate justice, both in German, that make up a cluster of their own in this case.

It's important to examine the top clusters of the graph. The cluster of the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (dsi.gov.tr), has linkages to national, European and global actors. The national connections include universities like Ege University (ege.edu.tr) and Boğaziçi University (boun.edu.tr), the website of the office of the Prime Minister (basbakanlik.gov.tr)[13] and numerous regional branches of the directorate. There are links to The European Climate Adaptation Platform (climate-adapt.eea.europa.eu),"a partnership between the European Commission and the European Environment Agency", as well as the European Environment Agency (eea.europa.eu). These make for vertical linkages between the Turkish state and the EU. Furthermore, there are also connections from the directorate to international organisations and other states, like UNDP (undp.org), The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (unesco.org), UN Water (unwater.org) and the United States Environmental Protection Agency (epa.gov). Interestingly, the Directorate also links to the English version of its website (en.dsi.gov.tr), which makes up a cluster of its own, visible on the top right of the graph. Here there are linkages with international organisations like International Commission On Large Dams (icold-cigb.org) and

[13] A website that is no longer in use, due to the seat being abolished in 2018.

the World Water Council (worldwatercouncil.org) as well as to Europe with vertical linkages with Euro-Mediterranean Information System on know-how in the Water sector (emwis.org).

The cluster of Boğaziçi University Center for Climate Change and Policy Studies (climatechange.boun.edu.tr) is placed close to this cluster, but there are no direct linkages between the two. The Center links to numerous research centres, blogs and universities in various states. These include, The Stockholm Resilience Centre (stockholmresilience.org) "an international research centre on resilience and sustainability science", Conserve Energy Future (conserve-energy-future.com) a blog on climate change and energy, Environmental Pollution Centers (environmentalpollutioncenters.org) an informational website of texts and pollution. There are also links to international organizations and NGOs like Greenpeace (greenpeace.org) and the website for the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (fao.org), as well as links to Turkish websites like Enerji Beş (enerjibes.com) a portal for clean energy and Tech Worm (tech-worm.com), a publication on issues like technology and science.

To examine the NGO network, centred by TÜDAV at the bottom right of the graph, with a higher number of outlinks than its cluster in the agriculture network graph. In this network, TÜDAV is much more connected to other actors. In terms of national actors, there are the websites of municipal authorities in the cluster, like Sarıyer (sariyer.bel.tr) and Antalya (antalya.bel.tr) as well as linkages to news media websites like T24 (t24.com.tr), Radikal (radikal.com.tr)[14] and Hürriyet. There's also the website of Gökçeada Marine Park (gokceadasualtiparki.org) in the cluster, again with the logo and indication in the website that this is a project jointly financed by the state of Turkey and the EU. There are horizontal linkages to Europe, like to the European Marine Board (marineboard.eu), the website of the project, Marine Litter in European Seas - Social Awareness and Co-Responsibility

[14] Radikal, a daily liberal newspaper, ceased publication and shut down in 2016.

(marlisco.eu) and the Anemone project on the vulnerability of the Black Sea ecosystems to pollution (anemoneproject.eu). Furthermore, the cluster also is host to vertical linkages with the EU, linking to the Commission's website on the subject of environmental undertakings.

In the cluster to the left around the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning websites, the website of the environmental branch of the ministry (cygm.csb.gov.tr) established linkages with national organisations as well as the Turkey office of UNDP. The Department of Energy Efficiency and Environment (yegm.gov.tr) links to international, intergovernmental organisations like OECD, The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (oecd.org), International Energy Agency (iea.org) and the The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (ipcc.ch). It also established a vertical connection with the EU via its linking to the EU website (europa.eu). These clusters are not disconnected from each other, and some nodes serve the important purpose of connector, or bridge. TÜDAV, which was isolated in the agricultural network, is connected to in this graph and to the cluster of Boğaziçi University's research center via mutual linkings to the Turkey office of the World Wide Fund for Nature (wwf.org.tr). The research center is also connected to the Department of Energy Efficiency and Environment's cluster via mutual linkings to the European Marine Energy Centre (emec.org.uk), a commercial website for marine energy. There are also bridge nodes between the governmental clusters, with the Instagram page for the Zero Waste initiative of the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning connecting the dispersed nodes. Here there is also the Twitter page of the TEMA Foundation, establishing a link between these clusters.

In terms of its Europeanization, the network supplies high connectivity with both the EU and Europe as a whole through horizontal and vertical cross-border linkages. Governmental clusters appear to be making vertical connections with the EU, while civil society clusters host both vertical and horizontal linkages to

Europe, establishing the possibility of connectivity between publics. In this network, national efforts to territorialize the issue can't be observed, however there is a significant disconnect between civil society actors and the state, with the exception of the TEMA Foundation. While it's easy to contend that the network is Europeanized, there is also an argument to be made that it is in fact, globalized. With connections to Europe certainly in place, these transnational linkages are surpassed by the sheer amount of global connections in the network. While all the networks in the study are somewhat globalized (every linkage to a SNSs is a link to the USA, after all), the amount appears to be more significant in the environmental network.

Vertical Europeanization	Europe and the EU	17,01% (n=369)
	Europe	12,11% (n=262)
	The EU and EU-institutions	4,94% (n=107)
Horizontal Europeanization	EU member states	25,38% (n=549)
	Germany	1,29% (n=28)
	France	1,29% (n=28)
	Malta	14,05% (n=304)
	Greece	1,29% (n=28)

Table 3.4 Europeanization of the content of the environment and climate change web sphere. 2163 web pages were examined in total.

As for its content, the web sphere regarding the environment and climate change is on the stronger side in relation to others. There is again a discrepancy between the amount of pages referring only to Europe (12,11%) and those referring to the EU (4,94%), however it is not as dramatic as in the agriculture sphere. Aside from its relatively high vertical Europeanization, the sphere appears highly horizontally Europeanized as well. Interesting here is the fact that more than half of the references to EU member states (25,38%) are mentions of Malta (14,05%). Malta is followed by Germany, France and Greece (webpages with references to each making up 1,29% of the sphere).

3.2.5 The Human rights and Democracy Web Sphere

Figure 3.5 The network of the human rights and democracy web sphere. Interactive version available at: https://aysenarikazan.github.io/assets/rights.svg

The network created by the sphere of human rights and democracy appears to be on the lower side in terms of density, with a network density of 0.014. The graph includes 176 nodes, connected with 222 hyperlinks. It has been clustered with the top 50% of qualitatively connected nodes kept, leaving 114 nodes in the final graph.

Panoramically approach, the first thing to notice about the graph is that it's quite sparsely distributed, like the security network. Furthermore, there are significant empty spaces between the clusters, indicating actors that rarely engage with one another. There are a few large clusters. First is at the top of the graph, around

İzmir Demokrasi University (idu.edu.tr), includes linkages between other faculties of the university as well as its events and conferences. Another cluster is centred around Educational Informatics Network (eba.gov.tr), a governmental website for materials for primary and secondary education, linking to other such websites of the government. Another big node, in the centre of a cluster with linkages to it, is that of Resmi Gazete, the Government Gazette of Turkey (resmigazete.gov.tr), in which legislative decisions and changes are published, on the lower right of the graph. The node is linked to by numerous websites of local governors and district governors. Below, a large node is OpenStreetMap (osm.org), again linked to by websites of local authorities. Finally, on the lower left of the graph, a cluster around the governor's office of the city of Malatya (malatya.gov.tr) is visible.

Of course the graph also includes smaller and marginal clusters. On the upper right of the network is one around The Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (tepav.org.tr), a think tank that holds the purposes of "conducting data-based policy analysis and policy making contributions". In the cluster, there is a node of the European Union Division of The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (tobb.org.tr), and the website of Turkey's National Agency (ua.gov.tr), a division of the Directorate of EU Affairs, working on implementing EU projects in the field of youth. Below, a blog, olaganustukanitlar.com, covering various issues links to a small number of websites, including Wiki Zero (wikizero.biz), an alternative to Wikipedia and included a large number of content from it, excluding the pages contested by the Turkish government, that was highly in use during the ban. On the lower right of the graph, a small cluster around Hürriyet and D&R (dr.com.tr), a commercial entity and an important retailer of music and books. These are connected with linkages to each other's pages on SNSs.[15] On the upper left of the graph, there is a cluster around the governor's office of Kastamonu (kastamonu.gov.tr), surrounded

[15] The connectivity here is unsurprising, as these entities were previously owned by the same business group (Bostanoğlu 2018).

by other local websites and linkages with the Ethics Committee for Public Servants (etik.gov.tr). Below is a small cluster of three websites, Ekin Yayinevi (ekinyayinevi.com), Website of Turkish Constitutional Law (anayasa.gen.tr) and Website of Administrative Law (idare.gen.tr), which link to each other. These are not civil society websites but are made up of law books and texts and Ekin Yayinevi is a publishing house selling these law materials.

Below this is the cluster of NGOs and other civil society organizations linking to each other. At the center is Human Rights Joint Platform (ihop.org.tr), a platform that aims to connect NGOs working in the field of the protection of human rights and states on its website (which states that it was financed as part of a EU project) that the candidacy status of Turkey to the EU and the reform process that followed were the foundations of the platform's genesis. Also in this cluster are organisations like Human Rights Agenda Association (rightsagenda.org), Kadınlar İçin Hukuk (kadinlaricinhukuk.org) a women's rights organisation, Evrensel Periyodik İzleme - a monitoring organisations for humans rights processes as well as the Turkish office of Amnesty International.

In terms of connective nodes and bridges, the clusters that are connected with one another in the network of human rights and democracy appear to be mostly governmental websites. In the very centre of the graph, the node of the legislation information system of the office of the President (mevzuat.gov.tr) serves as a bridge. Furthermore, the website of the Innovation and Educational Technologies General Directorate (yegitek.meb.gov.tr) serves as a bridge between the cluster of the Ministry of National Education (meb.gov.tr), Educational Informatics Network (eba.gov.tr) and the cluster around the Vitamin platforms, which includes governmental websites such as that of the Information and Communication Technologies Authority (btk.gov.tr). Other than these, the network is made up of highly disconnected clusters.What is also interesting here is that the graph shows that the topic of human rights and democracy is highly associated with primary

and secondary education and governmental resources for these. Academic networks around publications and university research centres are visible in other networks and topics but the educational component seems significant here.

The graph displays a network around human rights and democracy that is almost completely territorialized. It is also overtaken by governmental websites, be it ministries, governors or other local authorities. Furthermore, the NGO cluster appears territorialized as well, even though in terms of content, Europe is shown to be important. In sum, it can be argued that the network is not Europeanized structurally, as connectivity to the EU or Europe is absent.

Vertical Europeanization	Europe and the EU	19,39% (n=251)
	Europe	10,04% (n=130)
	The EU and EU-institutions	9,35% (n=121)
Horizontal Europeanization	EU member states	11,82% (n=153)
	Germany	2% (n=26)
	Bulgaria	0,85% (n=11)
	France	1,39% (n=18)
	Greece	0,85% (n=11)

Table 3.5 Europeanization of the content of the human rights and democracy web sphere. 1294 web pages were examined in total.

The content of the sphere around human rights and democracy in Turkey appears to be relatively highly Europeanized. Like the agriculture web sphere, the contents of this sphere indicate a higher degree of vertical Europeanization compared to horizontal Europeanization, with the difference between much more pronounced in this sphere. References to Europe, as well as to the EU and its institutions are close in number. In terms of mentions of EU member states, the most mentioned one is Germany, with 2% of the web pages including references to the state, followed by France (1,39%), Bulgaria and Greece (with both of these accounting for (0,85% of pages).

3.2.6 The Social Policy and Education Web Sphere

Figure 3.6 The network of the social policy and education web sphere. Interactive version available at: https://aysenarikazan.github.io/assets/social.svg

The network for the web sphere of social policy and education is one of the least dense networks in the study. The network comprises 552 nodes with 1910 linkages between them, with a density of 0.012. With its high number of nodes, the network is the largest in the ones that have been examined. For this reason, its graph has been rendered to cluster and include nodes on the basis of strongest qualitative ties, with the top 15% kept. The final graph is made up of 257 nodes. Viewed as a whole, the network appears crowded, with a high number of clusters. Furthermore, large clusters with large nodes appear at the margins, leaving the centre of the

network for smaller clusters. These structural holes indicate actors that have not established discursive linkages among one another.

To examine the large clusters the graph contains, a tour of the perimeter of the network seems appropriate. At the very top of the graph, slightly to the left, one large cluster is around the Ministry of National Education's Directorate for the city of İzmir (izmir.meb.gov.tr), connected with local websites as well as other provincial directorates of the ministry. On the right of this cluster, a cluster with the Turkish Statistical Institute (tuik.gov.tr) is visible. The website is linking to other platforms of the institute, and is linked to by different governmental websites like that of the The Official Statistics Programme (resmiistatistik.gov.tr). Neighbouring this cluster is one around the website of Mülkiye, the Faculty of Political Science of the University of Ankara (mulkiye.org.tr), which includes information on the foundation and society around the faculty and their activities, links to other websites with the same theme. Below this cluster is one around the large node of the Istanbul Chamber of Industry (iso.org.tr), linking to connected platforms of the chamber. On the right of the network are two clusters made up of large nodes, connected to one another. These comprise websites of trade unions for various public servants, seemingly all members of the Confederation of Public Servants Trade Unions, MEMUR-SEN (memursen.org.tr). Situated below these two clusters, is one around Vatan (gazetevatan.com),[16] with linkages to and from its own web platform. On the lower right of the graph, a cluster of large nodes, pertaining to Yıldız Technical University and its websites is visible. The largest node here is the Faculty of Education's website (egf.yildiz.edu.tr), there are also linkages to different faculties. On the bottom of the graph is a smaller cluster made up of webpages of the Education Reform Initiative (egitimreformugirisimi.org), an "independent and not-for-profit think-and-do-tank that contributes to systemic transformation in education for development of the child and society". Neighbouring this cluster is the cluster around the largest node of the graph, the

[16]A daily newspaper that has ceased publication but still continues its online presence.

website of Directorate of European Union and Financial Assistance of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (ikg.gov.tr). On the bottom left of the graph, a cluster is situated around the website of the Lifelong Learning Action Plan (hbogm.meb.gov.tr), an initiative of the ministry of education. Above is a cluster around İstanbul Electric Tramway and Tunnel Establishments website (iett.istanbul), a branch of the municipality, with linkages to other municipality websites. Across from it on the left margin of the graph is the İstanbul Directorate of the Ministry of Education (istanbul.meb.gov.tr) with connections to local platforms of the ministry. Above these, the two clusters of CNN Türk and Hürriyet, inlinking and isolated, are visible. Placed upwards of the CNN network is another large cluster of Gazi University, with the webpage for the Erasmus Exchange Program in the middle (erasmus.gazi.edu.tr). Finally, on the upper left of the graph, a cluster around the Vitamin Platform can be observed.

There are also smaller clusters of connected websites in the graph that can be examined. On the lower left of the graph the cluster of the SETA Foundation is again visible, but appears isolated from the rest of the network in this case. In the centre of the network, a number of modestly sized clusters can be observed. A lot of these are between the website of the Ministry of National Education, its projects and local directorates. There is also a cluster of three websites, which appear to be made up of two that are religious in nature, one focusing on the Last Prophet (sonpeygamber.info), and linking to the Wikipedia page for the University of Basel. Another smaller cluster is placed on the upper right margin of the graph, with the The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey in the centre (tobb.org.tr). Finally, there is the cluster around the Erasmus Exchange page of Ankara University (erasmus.ankara.edu.tr), which is both at a bridge position and the centre of a cluster. From here, there are horizontal linkages to the Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs of Austria (bmeia.gv.at), Foreign

Affairs, Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation of Belgium (diplomatie.be) as well as with the Embassy of France (tr.ambafrance.org).

It's difficult to characterize camps in the network, due to the large number of actors and their clusters. On the upper right of the graph, the clusters of Mülkiye and the University of Ankara appear naturally connected, with the Faculty of Political Science (politics.ankara.edu.tr) as an important bridge. The clusters of trade unions and public servants unions appear tightly connected to one another, as well as to ministry websites with outlinks from the public servants unions. For example, the Health and Social Service Workers' Union (sagliksen.org.tr), links to the Ministry of Health (saglik.gov.tr). Another interesting bridge is the Twitter page of The Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (twitter.com/tepav), establishing a connection between Education Reform Initiative and Vatan, connecting news media and civil society.

To examine the linkages of large nodes, the most important, and the only one establishing transnational linkings appears to be the cluster around the Directorate of European Union and Financial Assistance of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (ikg.gov.tr). From here, there's a horizontal link established via a hyperlink to the Council Regulation establishing an Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance on the EUR-Lex website (eur-lex.europa.eu). There are links to governmental websites like that of the Directorate of EU Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ab.gov.tr), the Technical Assistance Project for Strengthening the Capacity of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services for Public-CSO Cooperation (kamusiviltoplum.com), a project jointly funded by the EU and the Turkish state as well as to the list of EuropeAid funding and tenders for projects (ihale.ikg.gov.tr).

The case for the connections between civil society and the state is interesting in the network on social policy and education. The civil society networks here aren't made up of NGOs but rather trade unions and professional associations,

sometimes connected with state websites. Likewise, as opposed to other clusters of NGOs which are the source of border-crossing linkages, here these are mostly territorialized. Governmental websites establish vertical linkages with the EU, on the other hand. Moreover, university exchange programs link to European countries, establishing horizontal, transnational connections with Europe. In terms of its Europeanization, it can be argued that the social policy and education network is Europeanized, due to the existence of vertical and horizontal linkages producing the conditions for connectivity across borders.

Vertical Europeanization	Europe and the EU	12,77% (n=776)
	Europe	3,65% (n=222)
	The EU and EU-institutions	9,12% (n=554)
Horizontal Europeanization	EU member states	22,07% (n=1341)
	Germany	2,22% (n=135)
	France	1,61% (n=98)
	Spain	1,33% (n=81)
	Italy	1,79% (n=109)
	Romania	1,51% (n=92)

Table 3.6 Europeanization of the content of the social policy and education web sphere. 6074 web pages were examined in total.

In terms of its content, the web sphere of social policy and education is, relative to others examined in the study, moderately Europeanized. Interestingly, it is the only sphere in which the amount of web pages with references to the EU and EU institutions (9,12%) surpasses those which mention Europe only (3,65%). In terms of horizontal connections via mentions of EU member states, the sphere displays a high number of web pages with references to Germany (2,22%), Italy (1,79%), France (1,61%), Romania (1,51%) and Spain (1,33%).

3.3 DISCUSSION

This study set out to examine the breadth of Europeanization in different web spheres, consisting of European policy fields, in Turkey. To provide an answer to

that question, the web spheres were analyzed in two dimensions, their content and their structure, indicating the level of debate of Europe in a given policy field, and who speaks, with whom, in border crossing online interactions. The findings present results that are worth reviewing.

To briefly go over the findings, the agriculture network is territorial for the most part, with a lot of local web pages as well as web pages of local authorities, with a cluster of environmental NGOs having established horizontally Europeanized ties whereas the sphere's content was moderately Europeanized, both horizontally and vertically. The security network comprises vertical linkages with the EU, and is the only one that entails supranational Europeanized connectivity but is otherwise territorialized and local, its content showing very low Europeanization. The migration network, on the other hand, is highly horizontally Europeanized, with border crossing connections of NGOs as well as the substantially connected network of the Heinrich Böll Stiftung. As for its content, the sphere is by far the most Europeanized in the study. In the web sphere of environment and climate change, the network includes both horizontal and vertical connectivity from NGOs and research networks and vertical linkages from governmental, official websites with the EU and Europe. The content of the web sphere is the second most Europeanized overall, it's also notably highly Europeanized horizontally. The network of the human rights and democracy web sphere is the most territorialized in the study, with almost no connectivity with Europe, its member states or any other state, whereas its content is relatively highly Europeanized, especially vertically. Finally, the network of the social policy and education web sphere is Europeanized, with vertical connectivity between state websites and the EU, as well as horizontal linkages between universities. As for its content the web sphere is moderately Europeanized, but notably with significantly horizontally.

For the whole of the web spheres examined in this study, it can be contended that the extent of Europeanization is moderate. The most Europeanized spheres are that

of migration, followed by the web sphere of environment and climate change. Having conceptualized online transnational communication as deborderings in cyberspace, the high Europeanization of the migration web sphere is quite contradictory. In the migration web spheres, in addition to the network carrying horizontal ties with Europe, the content of the sphere most references states to which migration flow through the Meditterranean and the Balkan Route. Paradoxically, it is when borders and their regulation are most prominent, when border crossing itself becomes contentious is when the cyber bordering in the territorial cyberspace between Turkey and the EU is most inconsequential, most faded. Conversely, it is also, in a way, what is to be expected. Salient events, crises and contentious issues in European politics result in increased reporting and thus higher Europeanization in public spheres, as the national administration and political elite place the issues high on the agenda (Pfetsch and Heft 2014: 49-50). The migration "crisis" beginning in 2015 is arguably an example of this phenomenon, similar to the Eurozone crisis - which Nguyen demonstrates, led to the emergence of an EU-wide web sphere (2017). Furthermore, crises and conflict have historically been drivers of European integration, Europeanization (Kühnhardt 2009).

This could also account for the second most Europeanized web sphere, that of environment and climate change. Although structurally, the network demonstrates it is more globalized than Europeanized, it's high connectivity with Europe as well as the strong Europeanization of its content render it significant. This is another area of crisis, albeit having a quite different temporal character and not being one that is explicitly pitting states against one another, as exhibited by the vertical and horizontal ties the Turkish state websites have with the EU and other states. An overwhelming majority of the network's ties concerning the Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea is another interesting aspect, tying into the pattern of border concerns leading to debordering of online communication. In terms of content too, the high horizontal ties with Malta in this sphere is telling, as the country also has

a marine pollution problem and is committed in its efforts to lessen it (Dimitrova 2018). The pollution of these areas appears to be the main area where linkages are abundant, even though the EU funds and is part of numerous projects in Turkey that don't involve its shores. The connection gets even more interesting when one considers that the seas that border Europe and Turkey can be considered part of border assemblages, as migrants' being subjected to dangerous conditions of nature, the sea is part of a broader border regime (Schindel 2019). As Balibar wrote, the borders are not only situated at the borders anymore (2012: 84). These spaces are where human politics, geography, the biological and the material are entangled, making up the subject matter for areas of connectivity and Europeanized communication between the EU, member states and its bordering candidate state, Turkey. Nevertheless, the paradoxical nature of this finding remains. Potentially, the debordering of online communication can be explained by Turkey's (along with the Balkans') conversion into an EU borderland, as a result of the migration flux of 2015-16 (Zaragoza-Cristiani 2017), but in this case, the borderland role comprising not only control of humans at the border, but of pollution as well. The rise of a more transactional, highly functional (Saatçioğlu 2019) approach by the EU in this area as a result of the crisis, coupled with the focalisation of geopolitics (Nitoiu and Sus 2018) point to the possibility that this is perhaps what's happening in the online public spheres as well. The border not being lifted, but being diffused as online communication itself becomes one that reflects the conditions of a borderland.

However, problems at the borders are evidently not the only condition for Europeanization, as observable in the web spheres of agriculture as well as social policy and education. While the agricultural network doesn't establish much connectivity with Europe and EU member states, apart from the minimal linkages of the environmental NGOs in the sphere, it's content falls into the middling range of the spheres in this study in terms of its Europeanization. What's interesting in this web sphere is that while the EU and its institutions are very rarely touched

upon, in terms of indicators of horizontal Europeanization, the states the sphere has most references to are those with which Turkey does most of its agricultural trade with, like Germany, France, Italy and Bulgaria (Eurostat 2020). The sphere of social policy and education, on the other hand, is Europeanized in structural terms, with both vertical and horizontal linkages and its content is the third most Europeanized in this study. The government links to the EU on IPA funding, whereas universities link with embassies and other universities as part of their Erasmus exchange programmes. In both of these spheres, the transfer of goods, financial capital, policies and people are present and drivers of both structural ties with Europe in the networks and the high visibility of Europe in their contents. An interesting aspect to notice in the social policy and education sphere is the absence of civil society ties with Europe, a feature that is present in other Europeanized networks. In this sphere, most civil society organisations present are professional associations and trade unions, whereas in others these are mostly NGOs. Here, the civil society clusters stay territorial, connect with the state while it's universities and the state that engage with Europe. This is in line with what Rumelili and Boşnak argue, which is that the Europeanization of civil society in Turkey most substantially influenced issue-based NGOs, increasing the capacities and transforming a circumscribed group of civil society actors, via legal changes, funding and incorporation in European NGO networks (2016). Whereas in the agriculture, migration and environment networks NGOs produce horizontal connectivity, this is not the case when civil society actors aren't issue specific NGOs. These NGO networks, especially those in the migration sphere, are in line with what Walters refers to as the humanitarian border, spaces in which NGOs exercise pastoral power over living human beings - a power Foucault differentiates from political power, which is "wielded over legal subjects" (2011). Likewise, Kasparek et al. write that the heavy mediatization of border-crossings and the violence involved has given way to "transnational communities of care" exercising neo-pastoral power (2015: 68).

Another argument by Rumelili and Boşnak is that this process of Europeanization led to the strengthening of civil society vis-a-vis the state in Turkey (ibid.: 144). In the networks where NGOs are prominent, these have not been in engagement with state actors, as the state displayed interactivity with state-related non profits like TEMA or the Turkish Red Crescent. In accordance with Schroeder's argument that the internet widens the public sphere to include counterpublics in civil society, allowing them to compete in the limited attention space for agenda-setting power (2018: 15-17); civil society, in this case NGOs, quite visibly constitute counterpublics in these networks. Furthermore, the networks with European NGOs establish possibilities of connecting publics across states, Europeanizing these web spheres.

Finally, it should be mentioned that while crisis and contention may lead to highly Europeanized web spheres, this is not always the case and it doesn't appear to be a sufficient condition, as exhibited in the areas of security as well as human rights and democracy. While the network of the security web sphere hosts supranational European connections, it is otherwise territorialized and local. It's content is weakly Europeanized, but the relatively high number of references to Italy is significant, as it can be interpreted as another instance of border-related tensions translating into Europeanized web spheres. Unlike the security sphere, the content of the human rights and democracy sphere is moderately Europeanized, with high visibility of the EU and its institutions. Even though there are human rights related NGOs in the network, which even cite the influence of the EU on their websites, these don't establish connections with Europe. This could be due to the non-existence of networks that include these NGOs, or that the crawls simply did not include NGOs that did. In either case, they remain territorial.

Another discovery here is that the structural Europeanization in the networks of web spheres and the Europeanization of their textual content remain independent from one another. A structurally Europeanized network, like that of the security

sphere with both vertical and supranational linkages, does not warrant visibility of Europe in that sphere. Likewise, a web sphere that has Europeanized content, for example in the case of the human rights and democracy sphere, is not guaranteed to have a network that provides possibilities of connecting publics. This appears to be a result of the circumstance that structurally Europeanized networks are dependent on organisational, national or institutional connectivity with the EU or with European member states, visibility of the EU and Europe in web spheres are independent of these engagements.

CONCLUSION

Having examined and seen the Europeanization of Turkey's web spheres, it's possible to reach the conviction that they are, for the most part, moderately Europeanized. If one was to categorize the six, it could overall be said that the two most Europeanized web spheres are those of migration and after it (albeit with a big margin) the environment and climate change web sphere; following these are the averaging spheres of agriculture, social policy and education; and finally the least Europeanized, the security as well as the human rights and democracy web spheres.

In all of these spheres, both in their networks and their content, the effect of interactions between actors pertaining to the EU, EU member states and Turkey has been quite observable. This is an important finding, as the study of the Europeanization of national public spheres is usually viewed in juxtaposition to the Europeanization of the political processes, legislation, economy and social policy of a country. While the study has shown that the Europeanization of web sphere networks and the Europeanization of online media content can operate separately and independently, the Europeanization of one of these dimensions of a web sphere is still valid and efficacious. Therefore, horizontal interaction between national actors like universities, NGOs and other civil society actors; vertical interaction between state actors and the EU, its institutions and supranational interaction between different EU actors, can translate into discursive connectivity online, placing publics in connection with one another as well as the EU. With the increased mediation of political processes on the internet, Europeanization - both in its form as a policy transfer process and as a process of Europeanized media debate in public spheres - has become a process that's mediated online as well, combining these two mechanisms.

A second finding that can be viewed in tandem with this one, has been the close and robust interplay between three kinds of spaces (real, virtual and cartographic space) in the Europeanization of online communicative spheres. Events, actions and processes in the real space echo through the virtual, with the connectivity or non-connectivity across cyberspace borderings dependent on attachments to the cartographic space, which delineates nation state borders. The most border-crossing connectivity, the most de-bordered web spheres being those that relate to the borders and border areas between the EU and Turkey also relates to this. Events, Fernand Braudel writes in his study on the Mediterranean, "are the ephemera of history; they pass across its stage like fireflies, hardly glimpsed before they settle back into darkness and as often as not into oblivion. Every event, however brief, has to be sure a contribution to make, lights up some dark corner or even some wide vista of history" (1995: 901). Surely, the events of the refugee crisis that began in 2015, and is arguably still ongoing, is a good example of the events Braudel describes. It is accompanied in the results of this study by climate change, marked by and experienced as a series of crises and catastrophes in our current days. Waste and pollution in the seas between Europe and Turkey and more important in this study, human waste[17] have given way to increased media coverage, agreements between the EU and Turkey and have prompted the emergence of transnational NGO networks constituting communities of care, all of which have then translated into deborderings of online communication between the EU and Turkey, Europeanizing the communicative spheres in Turkey.

To return to Nazım Hikmet, then, it would be helpful here to imagine him laying down at the bottom of the Mediterranean. Laying next to SeaMeWe-3 for example, a 39.000 km long cable on the bottom of the sea, Hikmet would be surrounded by marine pollution and looking up, would see the surface, the surface on which migrants attempt, and sometimes fail, to cross to Europe. In the cable at

[17] Defined by both wasted lives, people ruined in life and people ruined in death by González-Ruibal (2019: 181).

any one time could be the online news stories covering either of these, the communications of NGO networks attempting to address these, connectivity between the EU and Turkey, their states and publics. Exhibiting the interplay of all kinds of space, this is a good example of the process of Europeanization of Turkey's online spheres. Although events, crises and problems appear to be more forceful drivers of Europeanization of online communicative spheres, the day-to-day but powerful processes of interaction and integration, entailing the border-crossing of commodities, policies, people, financial capital and ideas bolster and will continue to bolster online Europeanization as well, and do so in more stable ways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akdeniz, Y. (2002). Anonymity, Democracy, and Cyberspace. *Social Research: An International Quarterly 69*(1), 223-237. https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/557276.

Al Jazeera. (2020, February 29). Erdogan vows to keep doors open for refugees heading to Europe. Retrieved from https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/02/erdogan-vows-doors-open-refugees-heading-europe-200229093245893.html

Appadurai, A. (1990) Disjuncture and difference is the global cultural economy. In: Featherstone M. (Ed.) *Global culture*. Sage, London, 295–310.

Asenbaum, H. (2018). Anonymity and Democracy: Absence as Presence in the Public Sphere. *American Political Science Review, 112*(3), 459-472. doi:10.1017/S0003055418000163

Aurigi, A. (2016). *Making the Digital City*. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315249964

Babbie, E. (2012). *The Practice of Social Research*. Cengage Learning.

Badger, E. (2013, March 12). Back When We Thought the Internet Was Like a City. Retrieved from https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2013-03-12/back-when-we-thought-the-internet-was-like-a-city

Balibar, E. (2012). *Politics and the other scene*. Verso Books.

Barlow, J. P. (1996). "A Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace." *Electronic Frontier Foundation*. Retrieved from www.eff.org/cyberspace-independence.

Bauman, Z. (2013a). *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. John Wiley & Sons.

Bauman, Z. (2013b). *Liquid Modernity*. John Wiley & Sons.

Baumann, E., and H. Scherer (2012). Wider das Ideologische. Plädoyer für den Pragmatismus in der Kombination qualitativer und quantitativer Methoden in der Kommunikationswissenschaft. In: W. Loosen and A. Scholl. (Eds.) *Methodenkombination in der Kommunikationswissenschaft. Methodologische Herausforderungen und empirische Praxis*, Köln: Herbert von Halem Verlag.

Bee, C., & Bozzini, E. (2010). *Mapping the European public sphere: Institutions, media and civil society.* Ashgate Pub.

Beichelt, B., Frysztacka, C., Weber, C., Worschech, S. (2019). Ambivalences of Europeanization. Modernity and Europe in Perspective. IFES Working Paper Series 1/2019-I Frankfurt (Oder).Viadrina Institute for European Studies, European University Viadrina. doi.org/10.11584/ifes.1

Bélanger, M. E. (2014) Europeanization as a Foundation of the European Construction. In: Coman R., Kostera T., Tomini L. (Eds.) *Europeanization and European Integration. Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2012). The Logic Of Connective Action. *Information, Communication & Society, 15*(5), 739-768. doi:10.1080/1369118x.2012.670661

Bodle, R. (2013). The ethics of online anonymity or Zuckerberg vs. "Moot". *ACM SIGCAS Computers and Society, 43*(1), 22-35. doi:10.1145/2505414.2505417

Bohman, J. (2004). Expanding Dialogue: The Internet, the Public Sphere and Prospects for Transnational Democracy. In *The Sociological Review* (Vol. 52, Issue 1_suppl, pp. 131–155). https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954x.2004.00477.x

Börzel, T. A., & Risse, T. (2003). Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europe. *The Politics of Europeanization,* 57-80. doi:10.1093/0199252092.003.0003

Bossetta M., Segesten A. D., Barisione H.J. (2017) Engaging with European Politics Through Twitter and Facebook: Participation Beyond the National? In Barisione, M., & Michailidou, A. (Eds). *Social media and European politics rethinking power and legitimacy in the digital era ,29-49*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Bostanoğlu, E. (2018, April 13). Hürriyet'in ardından D&R mağazaları da satılıyor. *Log*. Retrieved from https://www.log.com.tr/hurriyetin-ardindan-dr-magazalari-da-satiliyor/

Boyd, D. (2010). Social Network Sites as Networked Publics: Affordances, Dynamics, and Implications. In Papacharissi, Z. (Ed) *A Networked Self: Identity, Community, and Culture on Social Network Sites*, 39-58. Routledge.

Braudel, F. (1995). *The mediterranean and the mediterranean world in the age of Philip II*. University of California Press.

Calhoun, C. J. (1992). Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere. In: Calhoun, C. J. (Ed.) *Habermas and the public sphere, 1-48*. MIT Press.

Calhoun, C.J. (2004, June 21). The Democratic integration of Europe. *Eurozine*. Retrieved from https://www.eurozine.com/the-democratic-integration-of-europe/

Casteel, J. (2011). Historicizing the Nation: Transnational Approaches to the Recent European Past. In: DeBardeleben J., Hurrelmann A. (eds). *Transnational Europe*, 153-169. Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics. Palgrave Macmillan, London doi:10.1057/9780230306370_9

Castells, M. (2010a). *The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture, Vol. I: The rise of the network society*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Castells, M. (2010b). *The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture, Vol. III: End of Millenium*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Castells, M. (2013). *Communication Power*. Oxford University Press.

Chatterjee, P. (1993). *Nationalist thought and the colonial world a derivative discourse*. Zed Books.

Coe, K., & Scacco, J. M. (2017). Content Analysis, Quantitative. *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods,* 1-11. doi:10.1002/9781118901731.iecrm0045

Colantoni, A., Sever, S. D., Yilmaz, S. (2017). Energy and Climate Security Priorities and Challenges in the Changing Global Energy Order, FEUTURE Online Paper No. 6. Retrieved from https://feuture.uni-koeln.de/sites/feuture/pdf/FEUTURE_Online_Paper_5.4.pdf

Dahlgren, P. (2005). The Internet, Public Spheres, and Political Communication: Dispersion and Deliberation. *Political Communication*, Vol. 22, Issue 2, 147–162. https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600590933160

Dahlgren, P. (2009). *Media and political engagement: Citizens, communication and democracy*. Cambridge University Press.

Decuypere, M. (2019). Visual Network Analysis: A qualitative method for researching sociomaterial practice. *Qualitative Research, 20*(1), 73-90. doi:10.1177/1468794118816613

Dekker, R., & Bekkers, V. (2015). The contingency of governments' responsiveness to the virtual public sphere: A systematic literature review and meta-synthesis. In *Government Information Quarterly* (Vol. 32, Issue 4, pp. 496–505). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.giq.2015.09.007

Deleuze, G. (1992). Postscript on the Societies of Control. *October, 59*, 3-7. Retrieved July 18, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/778828

Denscombe, M. (2008). Communities of Practice. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 2*(3), 270-283. doi:10.1177/1558689808316807

Dimitriadi, A., Kaya, A., Kale, B., Zurabishvili, T. (2018). EU-Turkey Relations and Irregular Migration: Transactional Cooperation in the Making, FEUTURE Online Paper No.16. Retrieved from https://feuture.uni-koeln.de/sites/feuture/user_upload/FEUTURE_Online_Paper_No_16_D6.3.pdf

Dimitrova, A. (2018, October 10). Malta becomes the first country committed to cleaning the ocean from plastic. The Mayor. Retrieved from https://www.themayor.eu/en/malta-becomes-the-first-country-committed-to-cleaning-the-ocean-from-plastic

Directorate for EU Affairs. (2019). IPA I and IPA II Programming. Retrieved from https://www.ab.gov.tr/ipa-i-amp-ipa-ii-programming_45627_en.html

Dix, A., Friday, A., Koleva,B., Rodden,T., Muller, H., Randell, C., Steed, A. (2005). Multiple Spaces. In: Turner, P. Davenport, E. (Eds.) *Spaces, Spatiality and Technology,* 151-172. Springer.

Dupuy, G. (2013). Boris Beaude, *Internet, changer l'espace, changer la société*. *Annales de géographie*, 692(4), 466-479. doi:10.3917/ag.692.0466.

Dzieza, J. (2014, August 20). *A history of metaphors for the internet*. The Verge. https://www.theverge.com/2014/8/20/6046003/a-history-of-metaphors-for-the-internet

EU Delegation to Turkey. (2018). EU Local Strategy to Support and Defend Human Rights Defenders in Turkey. Retrieved from https://www.avrupa.info.tr/sites/default/files/2019-09/European%20Union%20Local%20Strategy%20To%20Support%20And%20Defend%20Human%20Rights_0_0.doc

EU Delegation to Turkey. (2020a). Agriculture. Retrieved from https://www.avrupa.info.tr/en/agriculture-and-rural-development-113

EU Delegation to Turkey. (2020b). The EU Response to the Refugee Crisis in Turkey. Retrieved from https://www.avrupa.info.tr/en/eu-response-refugee-crisis-turkey-710

EU Delegation to Turkey. (2020c). Environment and Climate Action: The most important and challenging EU policy areas. Retrieved from https://www.avrupa.info.tr/en/environment-and-climate-change-most-important-and-challenging-eu-policy-areas-259

EU Delegation to Turkey. (2020d). EU Support Changing Lives: Education, Employment and Social Policies. Retrieved from https://www.avrupa.info.tr/en/eu-support-changing-lives-education-employment-and-social-policies-7697

European Commission. (2014a). *The Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA II): Indicative Strategy Paper for Turkey (2014-2020).* Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/pdf/key_documents/2014/20140919-csp-turkey.pdf

European Commission. (2014b).The Juncker Commission: A strong and experienced team standing for change, European Commission Press Release. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_14_984

European Commission. (2017). *Pathways to LEADER: A guide to getting the LEADER approach up and running in the Western Balkans, Turkey and beyond.* Retrieved from https://ipard.tarim.gov.tr/content/Leader_Weben.pdf

European Training Foundation. (2014). Skills Vision 2020: Turkey. Retrieved from https://www.etf.europa.eu/sites/default/files/m/BFBD8EDB61F89B52C1257D640032324D_FRAME%20Skills%202020%20Turkey.pdf

Eurostat. (2019). *Turkey-EU - international trade in goods statistics.* Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Turkey-EU_-_international_trade_in_goods_statistics#EU-Turkey_trade_by_type_of_goods

Flockhart, T. (2010). Europeanization or EU-ization? The Transfer of European Norms across Time and Space. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 48*(4), 787-810. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2010.02074.x

Foot, K.A., Xenos,M., Schneider, S.M., , Kluver, R., & Jankowski N.W. (2009). Electoral web production practices in cross-national perspective: the relative influence of national development, political culture, and web genre. In: Chadwick, A. , Howard, P. (Eds.). Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics,40-55. London: Routledge.

Fraser, N. (1992). Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy. In: Calhoun, C. J. (Ed.) *Habermas and the public sphere, 109-142*. MIT Press.

Garde, A. (2016, June 13). L'accord UE-Turquie et ses implications. *Fondation Robert Schuman.* Retrieved from https://www.robert-schuman.eu/fr/doc/questions-d-europe/qe-396-fr.pdf

González-Ruibal, A. (2019). *An archaeology of the contemporary era*. Routledge.

Greenwood, J., Yörükoğlu, M. (1997). 1974. *Carnegie-Rochester Conference Series on Public Policy*, vol. 46, 49–95.,

doi:10.1016/s0167-2231(97)00004-3.

Guidry, J.A., Kennedy, M.D. and Zald, M.N. (eds), 2000. Globalizations and social movements: culture, power, and the transnational public sphere. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

Güney, A. (2016). Introduction. In: Tekin, A., Güney, A. (Eds.) *The Europeanization of Turkey: Polity and Politics.* Routledge.

Habermas, J. (1991). *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Habermas, J. (2001). *The postnational constellation: Political essays*. Polity Press.

Hauge, H.L., Eralp, A., Wessels, W., Bedir, N.S. (2016). Mapping milestones and periods of past EU-Turkey relations, FEUTURE Working Paper. Retrieved from https://feuture.uni-koeln.de/sites/feuture/pdf/Deliverable_Narratives_1.2_final_neu.pdf

Hepp, A., Elsler, M., Lingenberg, S., Mollen, A., Möller, J., Offerhaus, A. (2016). *The Communicative Construction of Europe Cultures of Political Discourse, Public Sphere, and the Euro Crisis*. Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Hikmet, N. (2009). *Human Landscapes from My Country: An Epic Novel in Verse*. Persea Books.

Kalaycıoğlu, E. (2011). The Turkish–EU Odyssey and Political Regime Change in Turkey. *South European Society and Politics, 16*(2), 265-278. doi:10.1080/13608746.2011.577943

Karatzogianni, A., Nguyen, D., & Serafinelli, E. (2017). Introduction: The Digital Transformation of the Public Sphere. In:Karatzogianni, A., Nguyen, D., & Serafinelli, E. (Eds). *The digital transformation of the public sphere: Conflict, migration, crisis and culture in digital networks*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Kasparek, B., De Genova, N., Hess, S. (2015). Border Spectacle. In: New Keywords: Migration and Borders, *Cultural Studies*, 29:1, 55-87, doi: 10.1080/09502386.2014.891630

King, G., Keohane, R. O., & Verba, S. (2007). *Designing social inquiry: Scientific*

inference in qualitative research. Princeton Univ. Press.

Klinger U., Svensson J. (2020) What Media Logics Can Tell Us About the Internet?. In: Hunsinger J., Allen M., Klastrup L. (eds) *Second International Handbook of Internet Research,* 367-380. Springer, Dordrecht.

Koopmans, R., & Erbe, J. (2004). Towards a European public sphere? *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, 17(2), 97-118. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1351161042000238643

Koopmans, R., & Statham, P. (2010). Theoretical Framework, Research Design, and Methods. In R. Koopmans & P. Statham (Eds.), *The Making of a European Public Sphere: Media Discourse and Political Contention*, 34-60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Koopmans, R. & Zimmermann, A. (2010) Transnational Political Communication on the Internet: Search Engine Results and Hyperlink Networks. In R. Koopmans & P. Statham (Eds.), *The Making of a European Public Sphere: Media Discourse and Political Contention*, 171, 194. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kühnhardt, L. (2009). European Integration: Success through Crises. In: Kühnhardt, L. (Ed.). *Crises in European integration: Challenges and responses, 1945-2005,* 1-17. Berghahn Books.

Ladrech, R. (1994). Europeanization of Domestic Politics and Institutions: The Case of France. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 32*(1), 69-88. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.1994.tb00485.x

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. University of Chicago Press.

Larkin, B. (2007). Pirate Infrastructures. In: Karaganis, J. (Ed). *Structures of participation in digital culture, 74-84*. Social Science Research Council.

Latour, B. (2011). Some Experiments in Art and Politics, *e-flux,* Journal #23. Retrieved from *https://www.e-flux.com/journal/23/67790/some-experiments-in-art-and-politics/*

Lindgaard, J., Dessì, A., Tassinari, F., Özel, S. (2018). The Impact of Global Drivers on the Future of EU-Turkey Security Relations, FEUTURE Online Paper No. 24. Retrieved from

https://feuture.uni-koeln.de/sites/feuture/user_upload/D4.6_upload_final.pdf

Machill, M., Beiler, M., & Fischer, C. (2006). Europe-Topics in Europe's Media. *European Journal of Communication*, 21(1), 57-88. doi:10.1177/0267323106060989

Maffesoli, M. (2018, December 10). La révolte des peuples, *L'inactuelle*. Retrieved from https://linactuelle.fr/index.php/2018/12/10/michel-maffesoli-la-revolte-des-peuples

Mahlouly, D. (2013). Rethinking the Public Sphere in a Digital Environment: Similarities between the Eighteenth and the Twenty-First Centuries. *ESharp*, *20*(6). http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/31127/

Maier, D., Waldherr, A., Miltner, P., Jähnichen, P., & Pfetsch, B. (2017). Exploring Issues in a Networked Public Sphere. *Social Science Computer Review, 36*(1), 3-20. doi:10.1177/0894439317690337

Marres, N., & Weltevrede, E. (2013). Scraping The Social? *Journal of Cultural Economy, 6*(3), 313-335. doi:10.1080/17530350.2013.772070

Martin, N. (2015). *Security and the Turkey-EU accession process: Norms, reforms and the Cyprus issue*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Mccombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 36*(2), 176. doi:10.1086/267990

Michailidou, A., & Trenz, H. (2010). Mediati(zi)ng EU politics: Online news coverage of the 2009 European Parliamentary elections. *Communications, 35*(3). doi:10.1515/comm.2010.018

Michailidou, A. (2007). Europeanisation of the electronic public sphere: Theory, institutional culture and online reality.

Michailidou,A. (2017). Twitter, Public Engagement and the Eurocrisis: More than an Echo Chamber?. In Barisione, M., & Michailidou, A. (Eds). *Social media and European politics rethinking power and legitimacy in the digital era, 241-266*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Miège, B. (2010). *L'Espace public contemporain: Approche info-communicationnelle*. Presses universitaires de Grenoble.

Milner, R. M. (2018). *The world made meme: Public conversations and participatory media*. The MIT Press.

Morozov, E. (2012, February 04). The Death of the Cyberflâneur. *The New York Times.* Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/05/opinion/sunday/the-death-of-the-cyberflaneur.html

Morozov, V., & Rumelili, B. (2012). The external constitution of European identity: Russia and Turkey as Europe-makers. *Cooperation and Conflict, 47*(1), 28-48. doi:10.1177/0010836711433124

Müftüler-Baç, M. (2016). Political Conditionality: (Mis)Fit between Domestic Preferences and EU Demands, No. 18, *Maximizing the integration capacity of the European Union: Lessons of and prospects for enlargement and beyond*, Freie Universität Berlin.

Nadler, A., Crain, M., & Donovan, J. (2018). Weaponizing the Digital Influence Machine: The Political Perils of Online Ad Tech, *Data & Society*. Retrieved from https://datasociety.net/library/weaponizing-the-digital-influence-machine/

Negt, O., & Kluge, A. (1993). *Public sphere and experience: Toward an analysis of the bourgeois and proletarian public sphere*. University of Minnesota Press.

Neveu, E. (1999). L'approche constructiviste des « problèmes publics ». Un aperçu des travaux anglo-saxons. *Études de communication. langages, information, médiations*, *22*, 41–58.

Nguyen, D. (2017). *Europe, the crisis, and the internet: A web sphere analysis*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Nitoiu, C., & Sus, M. (2018). Introduction: The Rise of Geopolitics in the EU's Approach in its Eastern Neighbourhood. *Geopolitics, 24*(1), 1-19. doi:10.1080/14650045.2019.1544396

Nixon, R. (2013). *Slow violence and the environmentalism of the poor*. Harvard Univ. Press.

Noor, R. (2016). Citizen Journalism vs. Mainstream Journalism: A Study on Challenges Posed by Amateurs. *Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications, 3*(1), 55-76. doi:10.30958/ajmmc.3.1.4

Ouvrard-Servanton, M., Salesses, L., & Squalli, H. (2018). Re-thinking Borders in the Digital Space. *Applied Science and Innovative Research, 2*(1), 25. doi:10.22158/asir.v2n1p25

Özel, S., Morillas, P., Lindgaard J. (2017). Evolution of the EU's and Turkey's Security Interests, Threat Perceptions and Discourse, FEUTURE Online Paper No. 3. Retrieved from https://feuture.uni-koeln.de/sites/feuture/pdf/D4.2_final.pdf

Papacharissi, Z. (2009). The virtual sphere 2.0: The internet, the public sphere, and beyond. In: Chadwick, A. , Howard, P. (Eds.). *Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics, 230-245*. London: Routledge, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203962541

Pariser, E. (2012). *The filter bubble: What the Internet is hiding from you*. Penguin Books.

Park, H.W. (2003), "Hyperlink network analysis: a new method for the study of social structure on the web", *Connections*, Vol. 25 No. 1, 49-61.

Pasquinelli, M. (2010) "Google's PageRank Algorithm: A Diagram of the Cognitive Capitalism and the Rentier of the Common Intellect" In: Becker, K., & Stalder, F. (Eds). *Deep search: The politics of search beyond Google*. Studien Verlag.

Pfetsch, B., & Heft, A. (2014). Theorizing communication flows within a European public sphere. In T. Risse (Ed.), *European Public Spheres: Politics Is Back*, 29-52. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139963343.004

Phillips, W., & Milner, R. M. (2017). *The ambivalent Internet: Mischief, oddity, and antagonism online*. Polity.

Phillips,W., Beyer, J., and Coleman, J. (2017). Trolling Scholars Debunk the Idea That the Alt-Right's Shitposters Have Magic Powers. Retrieved from https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/z4k549/trolling-scholars-debunk-the-idea-that-the-alt-rights-trolls-have-magic-powers

Phillips, W. (2017). *This is why we can't have nice things: Mapping the relationship between online trolling and mainstream culture*. The MIT Press.

Postman, N. (2005). *Amusing ourselves to death: Public discourse in the age of show business*. Penguin.

Postman N. (2013) Informing Ourselves to Death. In: Clough M.P., Olson J.K., Niederhauser D.S. (Eds.) *The Nature of Technology,* 7-14. SensePublishers, Rotterdam

Prensky, M. (2001). Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants Part 1. In *On the Horizon* (Vol. 9, Issue 5, pp. 1–6). https://doi.org/10.1108/10748120110424816

Preston, P. (2009). An Elusive Trans-National Public Sphere? *Journalism Studies,* 10(1), 114-129. doi:10.1080/14616700802560591

Risse, T. (2010). *A community of Europeans?: Transnational identities and public spheres.* Cornell University Press

Rogers, R. (2019). *Doing Digital Methods*. Sage.

Robine, J., & Salamatian, K. (2014). Peut-on penser une cybergéographie ? In *Hérodote* (Vols. 152–153, Issue 1, p. 123). https://doi.org/10.3917/her.152.0123

Rudman, R., & Brewer, R. (2016, February 01). Defining web 3.0: opportunities and challenges. *The Electronic Library*, 34(1), 132–154

Rumelili, B., Bosnak, B. (2016) Taking Stock of Europeanization of Civil Society in Turkey: The Case of NGO. In: Tekin, A. , Güney, A. (Eds.) *The Europeanization of Turkey: Polity and Politics,* 127-144. Routledge.

Saatçioğlu, B. (2019). The European Union's refugee crisis and rising functionalism in EU-Turkey relations. *Turkish Studies, 21*(2), 169-187. doi:10.1080/14683849.2019.1586542

Sassen, S. (2008). *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages*. Princeton University Press.

Sassen, S. (2015) From National Borders to Embedded Borderings: One Angle into the Question of Territory and Space in a Global Age. In: de Been W., Arora P., Hildebrandt M. (Eds) *Crossroads in New Media, Identity and Law*, 17-42. Palgrave Macmillan, London

Schäfer, M. S. (2015). Digital Public Sphere. In: Mazzoleni, Gianpietro et al. (Eds.). *The International Encyclopedia of Political Communication*, 322-328. London: Wiley Blackwell. doi:10.1002/9781118541555.wbiepc087

Schindel, E. (2019). Death by 'nature': The European border regime and the spatial production of slow violence. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space,* 239965441988494. doi:10.1177/2399654419884948

Schneider, S.M. & Foot, K. A. (2006). Web Sphere Analysis. An Approach to Studying Online Action. In Hine, C. (Ed). *Virtual Methods. Issues in Social Research on the Internet,* Oxford: Berg.

Schroeder, R. (2018). *Social Theory after the Internet*. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt20krxdr

Scott, J. C. (2020). *Seeing Like a State*. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvxkn7ds

Scott, J.W. (2016). European Politics of Borders, Border Symbolism and Cross-Border Cooperation. In: Wilson, T. M., & Donnan, H. (Eds.). *A companion to border studies*, 83-99. Wiley Blackwell.

Shifman, L. (2013). *Memes in Digital Culture*. https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9429.001.0001

Sunstein, C. (2009). *Republic.com 2.0.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Taekke, J. (2002) Cyberspace as a Space Parallel to Geographical Space. In: Qvortrup, L. (Ed.). *Virtual space: Spatiality in virtual inhabited 3D worlds*, 25-46. Springer.

Tekin, F., Deniz, Y. (2019). Tracing Ebbs and Flows in Political and Legislative Reforms in Turkey in View of EU-Turkey Relations, FEUTURE Online Paper No.30. Retrieved from https://feuture.uni-koeln.de/sites/monteus/user_upload/FEUTURE_Online_Paper_No_30.pdf

Thorat, D. (2019). Colonial Topographies of Internet Infrastructure: The Sedimented and Linked Networks of the Telegraph and Submarine Fiber Optic Internet. In *South Asian Review* (Vol. 40, Issue 3, pp. 252–267). https://doi.org/10.1080/02759527.2019.1599563

Toor, A. (2017, February 06). France's alt-right has turned Pepe the frog into Pepe Le Pen. Retrieved from https://www.theverge.com/2017/2/6/14522542/pepe-the-frog-france-le-pen-meme

Trenz, H.J. (2010). "The Europeanisation of Political Communication: Conceptual Clarifications and Empirical Measurements" In Bee, C., & Bozzini, E. (Eds). *Mapping the European public sphere: Institutions, media and civil society*. Ashgate.

Tüfekçi, Z. (2017). *Twitter and Tear Gas: The power and fragility of networked protest*. YALE University Press.

Tyldesley, M. (2010). *The thought of Sorbonne Professor Michel Maffesoli (1944-): Sociologist of postmodernity*. E. Mellen Press.

van Deursen, A., & van Dijk, J. (2010). Internet skills and the digital divide. *New Media & Society, 13*(6), 893-911. doi:10.1177/1461444810386774

Venturini, T. , Bounegru, L., Jacomy, M., Gray, J. (2018). "How to Tell Stories with Networks: Exploring the Narrative Affordances of Graphs with the Iliad" In: Schafer, M. T., & Es, K. V. (Eds). The datafied society: Studying culture through data. Amsterdam University Press, 155-170.

Vijgen, R. (2018, March 21). The Deleted City 2.0. Retrieved from https://vimeo.com/41777233

Wach, K. (2015). Conceptualizing Europeanization: Theoretical Approaches and Research Designs. In: P. Stanek & K. Wach (Eds.). Europeanization Processes from the Mesoeconomic Perspective: Industries and Policies, 11-23. Kraków: Cracow University of Economics.

Waldherr, A., Maier, D., Miltner, P., & Günther, E. (2016). Big data, big noise: The challenge of finding issue networks on the web. *Social Science Computer Review*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1177/0894439316643050

Wallace, H. (2000). Europeanisation and Globalisation: Complementary or Contradictory Trends? *New Political Economy, 5*(3), 369-382. doi:10.1080/713687780

Walter, S. (2015). Three Models of the European Public Sphere. Journalism Studies, 18(6), 749-770. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670x.2015.1087815

Walter, S. (2017). *EU citizens in the European public sphere: An analysis of EU news in 27 EU member states.* Springer VS.

Walters, W. (2011). Foucault and Frontiers: Notes on the Birth of the Humanitarian Border. In: Bröckling, U., Krasmann, S., & Lemke, T. (Eds.). *Governmentality current issues and future challenges,* 138-164. Routledge.

Weinberger, D. (2012). *Too Big to Know: Rethinking Knowledge Now That the Facts Aren't the Facts, Experts are Everywhere, and the Smartest Person in the Room is the Room*. The Perseus Books Group.

Wheeler, D.L. (2011). Does the Internet Empower? A Look at the Internet and International Development. In M. Consalvo and C. Ess (Eds). *The Handbook of Internet Studies*,188-211 . doi:10.1002/9781444314861.ch9

Yılmaz, G. (2015). From Europeanization to De-Europeanization: The Europeanization Process of Turkey in 1999–2014. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies, 24*(1), 86-100. doi:10.1080/14782804.2015.1038226

Yılmaz, H. (2011). Euroscepticism in Turkey: Parties, Elites, and Public Opinion. *South European Society and Politics, 16*(1), 185-208. doi:10.1080/13608741003594353

Zaragoza-Cristiani, J. (2017). Containing the Refugee Crisis: How the EU Turned the Balkans and Turkey into an EU Borderland. *The International Spectator, 52*(4), 59-75. doi:10.1080/03932729.2017.1375727

APPENDICES

Appendix A.

Agriculture	Security	Migration
tarım (agriculture)	asker (troops)	göç (migration)
hayvancılık (animal breeding / husbandry)	ulusal güvenlik (national security)	mülteci (refugee)
balıkçılık (fishery)	terörizm (terrorism)	göçmen (immigrant)

Environment and Climate Change	Human Rights and Democracy	Social Policy and Education
çevre (environment)	insan haklari (human rights)	eğitim (education)
iklim değişikliği (climate change)	demokrasi (democracy)	istihdam (employment)
ekoloji (ecology)	temel haklar (fundamental rights)	sosyal politika (social policy)

Table A The keywords used in the Google searches

Appendix B. List of the keywords used in the web scrapes

"Avrupa" (Europe)

"Avrupa Birliği" (European Union)

"Avrupa Parlamentosu" (European Parliament)

"Avrupa Birliği Konseyi" (Council of the European Union)

"Avrupa Adalet Divanı" (Court of Justice of the European Union)

"Avrupa Komisyonu" (European Commission)

"Avrupa Zirvesi" (European Council)

"Avrupa Birliği Zirvesi" (European Council)

"Almanya" (Germany)

"Avusturya" (Austria)

"Belçika" (Belgium)

"Bulgaristan" (Bulgaria)

"Çekya" (Czechia)

"Danimarka" (Denmark)

"Estonya" (Estonia)

"Finlandiya" (Finland)

"Fransa" (France)

"Güney Kıbrıs" (Southern Cyprus)

"Hırvatistan" (Croatia)

"Hollanda" (Netherlands)

"İrlanda" (Ireland)

"İspanya" (Spain)

"İsveç" (Sweden)

"İtalya" (Italy)

"Letonya" (Latvia)

"Litvanya" (Lithuania)

"Lüksemburg" (Luxembourg)

"Macaristan" (Hungary)

"Malta" (Malta)

"Polonya" (Poland)

"Portekiz" (Portugal)

"Romanya" (Romania)

"Slovakya" (Slovakia)

"Slovenya" (Slovenia)

"Yunanistan" (Greece)