

İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS MASTER'S DEGREE PROGRAM

THE PERCEPTION OF "EUROPE" AND NATIONALIST DISCOURSES IN
TURKISH NEWS MEDIA

Can Girgiç
111680001


Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erkan Saka

İSTANBUL
2018

The Perception of "Europe" and Nationalist Discourses in Turkish News Media
Türkiye Basınında "Avrupa" Algısı ve Milliyetçi Söylemler

Can Girgiç
111680001

Dissertation Supervisor : Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erkan SAKA
Jury Member : Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çiğdem BOZDAĞ
Jury Member : Assoc. Prof. Dr. Itir ERHART



Date of Approval:

16.01.2018

Total number of pages:

229

Anahtar Kelimeler

- 1) Avrupa
- 2) Basın
- 3) Milliyetçilik
- 4) Söylem
- 5) Türkiye

Keywords

- 1) Europe
- 2) News Media
- 3) Nationalism
- 4) Discourse
- 5) Turkey

Table of Contents

Abbreviations.....	vi
Abstract.....	vii
Özet.....	viii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Research Question.....	1
Methodology and Structure	4
CHAPTER 1: EUROPEAN IDENTITY.....	8
1.1. Building of a European Identity.....	8
1.2. Turkey’s Relation to the European Identity.....	14
1.3. Europe and Turkey in the Media.....	18
CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY.....	24
2.1. Overview.....	24
2.2. Thematic Analysis, Content Analysis, Discourse Analysis.....	26
2.3. Selected Sources and Timeframe.....	33
2.4. Sampling and Filtering.....	37
2.5. Codes.....	41
2.6. Structure of the Analysis.....	45
CHAPTER 3: EUROPE IN RELATION TO TURKEY.....	48
3.1. Does the Turkish Media See Turkey as European?.....	48
3.2. Representations of Europe as a Partner.....	63
3.3. Representations of a Malevolent Europe.....	86
3.4. Representations of an Inferior Europe.....	108
CHAPTER 4: INHERENT VALUES OF EUROPE.....	117
4.1. Representations of a Europe of Values.....	117
4.2. Representations of a Degenerate Europe.....	128

CHAPTER 5: DISCURSIVE METHODS.....	144
5.1. Marginalizing Europe.....	144
5.2. A Generic Europe.....	149
CHAPTER 6: EVALUATION.....	153
6.1. Overview.....	156
6.2. Results.....	163
CONCLUSION.....	169
REFERENCES.....	172
APPENDIX A.1: Data Set.....	194
APPENDIX B.1: Codes and Descriptions.....	229

Abbreviations

AA	Anadolu Agency
AKP	Justice and Development Party
CA	Conversation analysis
CoE	Council of Europe
DA	Discourse analysis
DHA	Doğan News Agency
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
EEA	European Economic Area
EEC	European Economic Community
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
HDP	People’s Democratic Party
MEP	Member of European Parliament
MP	Member of parliament
OIC	Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
PACE	Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe
Q&A	Question and answer
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
TBMM	Grand National Assembly of Turkey
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
UK	United Kingdom
US/USA	United States of America

ABSTRACT

This post-graduate thesis explores the representations and discursive reproductions of the concepts of “Europe” and “European” by the Turkish news media. The process of discursive reproduction of Europe is approached from the viewpoint of relations, discrepancies and convergences between “European” and “national” identities.

Within the framework of the research, a total of 498 texts of news articles, columns and commentaries appearing in the websites of four newspapers with nationwide circulation in Turkey during November 2016 are examined through a hybrid methodology that utilizes the methods of thematic analysis, content analysis and discourse analysis. The 23 “discursive strategies” identified as a result of this examination are grouped under 21 “themes” and 2 “discursive methods” and coded. Each of the 498 texts in the data set are assigned to the codes that represent the discursive strategies they employ, with a minimum of one.

The patterns of dominance and distribution of the discursive strategies, and the relations between them during the period in focus are presented through qualitative and quantitative methods. Each discursive strategy is analyzed through exemplary texts.

As a result of the analysis, it is established that the texts analyzed tended to reproduce Europe primarily as a “dishonest” and “oppressive authority”, which both “rejects” and is “dismissible for” Turkey.

Keywords: Europe, News media, Nationalism, Discourse, Turkey

ÖZET

Bu yüksek lisans tezinde, “Avrupa” ve “Avrupalılık” kavramlarının Türkiye haber medyasında temsil edilme ve söylemsel olarak yeniden inşa edilme biçimleri incelenmektedir. Avrupa’nın söylemsel olarak yeniden inşa edilme süreci; “Avrupalı” ve “ulusal/milli” kimliklerinin ilişkisi, karşıtlığı ve yakınsaması üzerinden okunmuştur.

Araştırma kapsamında, Türkiye’de ulusal dağıtımı bulunan dört gazetenin internet sitelerinde 2016 yılının Kasım ayı boyunca Avrupa ile ilgili yayınlanan toplam 498 haber, köşe yazısı ve yorum metni; tema, içerik ve söylem analizi yöntemlerinden faydalanan karma bir metodoloji aracılığıyla incelemeye tabi tutulmuştur. Bu inceleme sonucunda tespit edilen 23 “söylemsel strateji”; 21 “tema” ve 2 “söylemsel metot” altında gruplanarak kodlanmış ve veri setinde bulunan 498 metnin her biri, en az bir adet olmak üzere barındırdığı söylemsel stratejileri temsil eden kodlara atanmıştır.

Tespit edilen söylemsel stratejilerin araştırılan dönemde Türkiye haber medyasındaki ağırlık, dağılım ve birbiriyle olan ilişki yapıları, niteliksel ve niceliksel yöntemlerle ortaya konmuş ve kodlar tarafından temsil edilen söylemsel stratejilerin her biri, örnek metinler üzerinden analiz edilmiştir.

Analiz sonucunda, incelenen metinlerin Avrupa’yı ağırlıklı olarak “dürüst olmayan”, “baskıcı bir otorite”; “Türkiye’yi reddeden” ve “Türkiye açısından reddedilebilir” bir kimlikte yeniden inşa ettiği sonucuna varılmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Avrupa, Basın, Milliyetçilik, Söylem, Türkiye

INTRODUCTION

Research Question

The questions of what “Europe” is, who the “European” people or institutions are, whether Turkey is a part of “Europe” or whether Turkish people are “European” all have been topics of heated discussion for at least decades, at many levels of the public sphere including popular debates and academic field. While a definite and universally agreeable answer to any of these questions is less than possible, this study aims to provide an insight into how one of the actors involved in these debates, namely the news media of Turkey, positions itself in relation to the ideas of Europe and the European and how it relates national ideas of “Turkey” and the “Turkish” to the former two.

At the political level, Turkey is deeply integrated into the European political system and is a country engaged in the European integration process at various levels. Turkey is a member of the Council of Europe (CoE) since 1950,¹ often regarded as a founding member of the organization by parties including the Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe² (PACE) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey;³ and also a state in negotiations of accession to the European Union since 2005.⁴ As such, the nature of Turkey’s relationships with European bodies such as CoE and the EU transcends mere bilateralness and corresponds to a nature wherein the debates held and decisions made at the European level, Turkey itself is either a fully represented party, as in the case of CoE; or is a party that declares its intent to be fully represented in the future, as in the case of the EU. Examples of implications arising from this nature of

¹ <http://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/turkey> , Accessed 14.08.2017.

² <http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-XML2HTML-en.asp?fileid=22957&lang=en> , Accessed 14.08.2017

³ <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/council-of-europe.en.mfa> , Accessed 14.08.2017.

⁴ https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/turkey_en , Accessed 14.08.2017.

relationship include, but are not limited to, Turkey's acknowledgement of the supervisory authority of the European Court of Human Rights in "ensuring the observance of its engagements in the European Convention on Human Rights"⁵ as a member of CoE, and as a country in negotiations for accession into the EU, its "acceptance of the rights and obligations attached to the Union system and its institutional framework, known as the *acquis* of the Union".⁶

As the examples above demonstrate, Turkey technically is or has a claim to become both a constituent part of an entity imagined as "Europe", but also is a separate entity that may have conflicting interests due to the supposed precedence of the latter's authority in various legal and political matters. However, as it will be explored further in the coming chapters, the "us" and "the other" discourse is common in the Turkish public sphere when discussing issues related to Europe, and this thesis aims to provide an insight into how the Turkish news media conceives Europe and Turkey's relation to it. While the thesis does not strictly focus on the issues related to the EU but on Europe in general, EU affairs is the dominant subject in its data set and as such, statements on the EU in specific are treated as statements on Europe in general.

Alan Bryman stresses that "newspapers, magazines, television programmes, films, and other mass media are potential sources for social scientific analysis" and that "typically, such analysis entails searching for themes in the sources that are examined" (Bryman, 2012: 552), an approach that to a large extent overlaps with the methodology employed in this thesis. The methodological aspect of this thesis will be explained more in detail later in the introduction and Chapter 2, but it may be helpful to mention the particularities of media content as sources of discourse at the beginning of the thesis.

Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas Kellner suggest that media engages people in "practices which integrate them into the established society, while offering pleasures, meanings, and identities" and "various individuals and audiences respond to

⁵ http://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf, p 14, Accessed 14.08.2017

⁶ https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/pdf/turkey/st20002_05_tr_framedoc_en.pdf, p 4, Accessed 14.08.2017

these texts [or, media content] disparately, negotiating their meanings in complex and often paradoxical ways” (Durham and Kellner, 2006: ix). In fact, a parliamentary debate, or remarks made at a conference may still exist in textual forms such as official minutes of those events, and may be publicly accessible even if no journalist reports on them, and the event is not covered by any media outlet. However, media acts as an intermediary in this process of communication, facilitating the spread of messages to larger audiences, and more importantly provide the process with interpretations and news frames.

As Michael Schudson points out, members of the media “do not simply transcribe a set of transparent events”, but they “have some autonomy and authority to depict the world according to their own ideas” (Schudson, 2003: 18). Adam Simon and Michael Xenos argue that “public relies on the mass media for its political information” (Simon and Xenos, 2000: 363). While it is not the claim or concern of this thesis whether the public “relies” on mass media, it is assumed that the media continues to be a relevant actor in public debates and the discursive input from the journalists, at the minimum level of framing is a significant manipulative force in these debates.

Simon and Xenos state that “in general, framing involves the organization and packaging of information” (Simon and Xenos, 2000: 366) and Thomas Nelson, Rosalee Clawson and Zoe Oxley define framing as “the process by which a communication source, such as a news organization, defines and constructs a political issue or public controversy” (Nelson, Clawson and Oxley, 1997: 567). Simon and Xenos stress a particularly important aspect of framing in news, which is that to “frame a message in a given way entails necessarily that the message is constructed in such a way as to contain certain associations rather than others” (Simon and Xenos, 2000: 367). In other words, the fact that a message was framed in a certain way entails a deliberate choice made by the journalist among an infinite number of framings possible for that message.

Simon and Xenos stress that frames are “discursive structures”, and evidently, frames are not the only discursive element in news. In fact, scholars such as Teun A. van Dijk suggest that news themselves are a “specific type of discourse” (van Dijk,

1988: 175). However, frames provide news with a particularity that is crucial, if not unique to them, which is the minimum input from the intermediary that adds to the original message it conveys. As it will be further explained in Chapter 2, some of the articles examined in this thesis are texts of speeches by politicians in part or in their entirety, with the seemingly only input the publication being phrases such as “The president spoke at an event and said the following:” at the beginning of the article. However, these articles rarely bear the titles such as “Remarks by the president”, but rather than that, usually take a certain quote and use it as the title and thus provide at least a minimum discursive input in addition to the message it conveys. This differs from other modes of conveying messages, since, for example, a text simply titled “Press Statement” would be perfectly acceptable if the same message mentioned above was disseminated through the presidential press office rather than a media outlet.

Therefore, this thesis assumes that almost all news content entail at least a minimum amount discursive input to what they report or comment on, and this research is particularly concerned with the discursive inputs by the publications themselves, rather than by the people or other parties they quote. However, given the prevalence of “churnalism”, a concept that will also be explained in Chapter 2, there are also instances where a publication’s role in the conveying of messages is limited to publishing them, without any alterations to texts delivered to the respective publications by third parties. Surprisingly, in some cases this practice even results in articles with titles such as “Important statements by the president/prime minister, etc.”, and these cases excluded from the analysis on the grounds that they do not bear the minimum qualities expected from a media content, through a filtering method also be discussed in Chapter 2.

Methodology and Structure

In order to gain an insight into how the media in Turkey imagines the concepts of Europe and the European and how it relates Turkey and the Turkish identity to these concepts, selected articles from November 2016 that were published in the online

editions of four Turkish newspapers, namely Daily Sabah, Hurriyet Daily News, Hürriyet and Sabah are studied through a hybrid methodology that utilizes thematic analysis, content analysis and discourse analysis. It should be noted that the content analyzed in this thesis is strictly limited to texts; and images, videos or other elements that may accompany the texts are not taken into account in the analysis. All articles included in the final analysis are assigned to at least one code that represents a discursive strategy, which constitute the units of analysis of this thesis. These codes and the process of coding and refining will be explained in Chapter 2.

Chapter 2 discusses the significance of the selected publications and the timeframe with regards to the research question of this thesis, as well as the methodology employed for selecting and filtering the articles to be examined. This chapter briefly covers the debates on the methods of thematic analysis, content analysis and discourse analysis, and how certain aspects of these three methods are utilized in this thesis, as well as the terminology that is used.

The methodology of this research is a primarily qualitative and thematic one. As it will be explained more in detail in Chapter 2, the method of thematic analysis is often compared to the methods of discourse analysis or content analysis, and sometimes it is even considered as a form of either one rather than a method itself. Thematic analysis draws similarities with discourse analysis, because inferences from the texts are made at the contextual level, rather than looking at whether the text contains a specific keyword or not as it would be more typical to a content analysis. But thematic analysis also draws similarities with content analysis, because unlike discourse analysis, it involves coding and categorizing themes. However, unlike content analysis, thematic analysis often does this for not the purposes of quantifying the themes, but for the purposes of mapping them. On the other hand, another quality that distinguishes thematic analysis from discourse analysis is that it does not take the details of language use, or ways of expression into account, but looks to see if the idea is expressed or not.

The hybrid methodology of the research in this thesis utilizes different aspects of the three methods. The discursive strategies identified, which most of them are

themes, are coded. Since the sources or data items of this thesis includes not only commentaries but also news articles, which tend to provide an account of facts with a claim to “objectivity”, discourses are also searched for at the linguistic level. And finally, the coded discursive strategies are not only mapped, but also quantified. However, the purpose of this quantification is to be able to identify the patterns in the data set better, rather than ranking the discursive strategies according to their prevalence or frequency.

Both content analysis and discourse analysis are commonly used methods in studies on the relations between Europe and Turkey. However, they are rarely used in combination, and in the strict context of media studies. Content analyses of the representations of Europe in Turkish media are often used as an intermediary tool in measuring other aspects of the wider relations between Europe and Turkey, such as media’s influence on public opinion. Researches on the subject that employ the method of discourse analysis often approach the media content from a viewpoint of power relations, and tend to treat media practices as attempts by the “power holders” or “gatekeepers” to exert influence on the opinions of the masses, if not measuring the success of this attempt. On the other hand, other researches that employ the method of discourse analysis, and especially those in the field of international relations, tend to treat media content as a platform of public debate. These researches tend to focus on commentaries rather than reports or news articles, and treat them not much differently from other sources of discourse such as speeches by politicians, and often analyze columns and editorials together with such other sources.

This thesis, however, is not interested in the power relations affiliated with media practices. The questions of to what extent the media influences the public opinion, whether the media is controlled by elite groups or not, and why and how these groups use media as a tool of influence are not among the concerns of the research. Rather than that, media is approached as an isolated platform of public debate, where journalists are the main actors. Since journalism is a profession with its own particular methods and dynamics, this thesis assumes that the journalists’ representations of

Europe are unique both in method and content, and thus worthy of exploring independently from other platforms of public debate, and also independently from the wider context power relations between different social groups.

Chapters 3 to 5 of the thesis cover the analysis of discursive strategies employed by the media and represented by codes mentioned above. These chapters discuss the 23 discursive strategies represented by codes individually, and features representative examples of the discursive strategies in question, as well as statistical data with regards to their distribution patterns within the data set. Chapter 6 includes an overall evaluation of the findings gathered in the preceding three chapters.

As a background on the debate, Chapter 1 will briefly cover the debates on the construction of the idea of “Europe” and the “European” identities and Turkey’s relations with it, as well as previous studies on and approaches to the subject.

CHAPTER 1

EUROPEAN IDENTITY

1.1. Building of a European Identity

In their article titled “*European identity: construct, fact and fiction*”, Dirk Jacobs and Robert Maier playfully describe Europe as “a jagged and ragged end of the Eurasian landmass”, before noting that “there is no agreement at all where this part begins, and to call it a continent is certainly an abuse of language” (Jacobs and Maier, 1998). In their article, which is a contribution to contemporary discussions regarding building a European identity within the framework of the EU, Jacobs and Maier say that “to situate Europe geographically is therefore already problematic, but it is even more difficult to define Europe historically and culturally” and that “Europe is a very vague notion with uncertain frontiers.”

Bahar Rumelili suggests that “demarcating a certain geographic area as Europe has only been possible by discourses and practices of differentiation that have also historically shifted and changed” (Rumelili, 2007: 57). This poststructuralist approach, which rejects the idea that identities are “grounded in any ontological truth” (Aydın-Düzgit, 2012: 3), forms the basis of this chapter.

While the notion of Europe as “a certain geographic area” captures the attention in Rumelili’s quote above, the author continues by saying that “each attempt at demarcating the community has produced discourses of inherent difference.” Like Jacobs and Maier, Rumelili also articulates this within the context of a debate on the EU, therefore it may be inferred that the term “community” here specifically refers to a community of states, rather than people as individuals. However, it may be assumed that the same argument is also relevant to the question of who the European people are and who belongs in the European community as a group of people, and not only within the framework of the EU but of Europe in a wider sense. Since this thesis is concerned with discourses on Europe, an approach to the issue of boundaries of Europe based on

“discourses and practices of differentiation” constitutes an important starting point for this chapter, whether the differentiation in question is inherent or acquired.

Iver Neumann reports that “according to the Treaty of the European Union, members of the organization have to be states, they have to be democratic, and they have to be European” (Neumann, 1998: 400); and in Rumelili’s terms, being a state and being European falls under the category of inherent qualities and being democratic falls under the category of acquired qualities. Within this context, Neumann gives the example of Morocco, and explains that when the country applied for membership in the EU, the latter’s outright rejection of the application on the grounds that “the organization was open only to Europeans” presented a situation where a certain country is definitely deemed to be outside the boundaries of Europe by a European institution. Rumelili suggests that this “marks the first moment when the EU clearly took an exclusionary stance against an outside state based on its inherent characteristics” and argues that the idea that Mediterranean marks the southern border of Europe is inconsistent with previous practices, mentioning the Spanish enclaves in Northern Africa (Rumelili, 2007: 62). The author elaborates that while the fact that Morocco made the membership application to the EU in the first place implies that the country’s leaders do not share the EU’s view that it is non-European, “despite several attempts, Morocco has so far not been able to successfully resist the construction of its identity as geographically non-European” (Rumelili, 2007: 64). Rumelili contrasts this inability to resist to the case of Turkey, which will be explored in the next sub-chapter.

The example of Morocco mentioned above signifies a discourse on the boundaries of Europe which implies that a certain country will never become a part of the latter, as it is inherently non-European regardless of any other circumstances. Less rigid criteria Rumelili mentions are acquired qualities needed to “be” European, which imply that a country has the possibility of becoming European even if it does not bear the qualities of being so at a given time. The author argues that the enlargement of the EU is a good example of this mode of discourse, where by setting criteria for the candidate countries to meet such as the establishment of democratic institutions, the

EU not only implies that the candidate countries lack the qualities of being European, but also defines its own characteristics with these criteria (Rumelili, 2007: 58). This perspective in defining the boundaries of Europe is especially relevant to the case of Turkey, not only because it is an actual candidate country, but also because it contributes to the discursively “liminal” positioning of Turkey suggested by the author, as it will be explained later in this chapter.

Rumelili states that “the EU’s interactions with various states on its periphery demonstrate a diversity that cannot be captured in terms of the two alternatives of modern and postmodern modes of differentiation” (Rumelili, 2007: 80), with the former referring to a mode that requires a “clear demarcation of the self from the other” and the latter involving “fluid and ambiguous frontiers” around Europe, “rather than strict lines of boundary” (Rumelili, 2007: 54), saying that “the EU promotes a partly inclusive/partly exclusive collective identity”.

While the issue of boundaries that differentiate Europe and the European from the rest are indispensable to the wider discussion on the identity of Europe, another important aspect concerns the relation between Europe and its constituents whose European identities are less challenged, or at least the ones whose positioning as “non-European” are considerably challenged at various discursive levels.

It should once again be stressed that while all three authors quoted in the discussion presented above discuss the idea of a European identity within the specific context of the EU, the arguments are regarded in this thesis as applicable to a wider sense of European identity. In fact, Neumann states that “Europe's states all stand in some kind of relation to the European Union, be that as core member, member, honorary economic member, almost-member, or whatever” (Neumann, 1998: 414) and gives the example of membership to other organizations concerned with co-operation at the European level, such as the European Economic Area (EEA), of which not all members are necessarily EU members. The author suggests that “the prospect of imposing a supranational identity on this very graded and overlapping set of political entities” is a difficult task, and proposes that the European identity should be discussed

in a “not a singular, but a plurality of European identities”, which in turn “will clash and reconstruct one another in the process that is identity politics.”

The “clash” Neumann mentions refers to different understandings of the European identity among different parties that define themselves as European in one way or another. However, this statement may also be approached within the context of an interaction between overlapping identities. For example, Dirk Jacobs and Robert Maier argue that national identities not only compete with the idea of the European identity, but the former is a pre-requisite of belonging to the latter as well (Jacobs and Maier, 1998). The authors suggest that, an individual has to be “French or Belgian in the first place”, in order to be able to “participate in the pool of European identity.”

Indeed, the European identity can hardly be considered an identity that overrides national identities. According to Standard Eurobarometer 86 carried out between 3 and 16 November 2016, only 2% of all EU citizens see themselves as only “European”, while 53% see themselves as belonging to both European and their national identities, and 37% embraces only their national identity.⁷ Given that slightly more than half of all EU citizens consider themselves as both “European” and a member of a national identity, the issue of competition between the identities at the European and national level stands out as an important question.

Jacobs and Maier also suggest that the Eurobarometer surveys act “not only a tool of monitoring “European public opinion”, but can equally be regarded to be an effort to give birth to it” (Jacobs and Maier, 1998). Jacobs and Maier, as well as Neumann, argue that tools such as the Eurobarometer aimed at building a European identity, to a large extent, mimic the efforts aimed at building national identities. Jacobs and Maier state that these tools constitute “a multiplicity of daily practices, such as the weather report, national journals and many others”, that sustain an understanding of “us”. Neumann gives more manifest examples of such tools, such as the approval of

⁷<http://ec.europa.eu/COMMFrontOffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Survey/getSurveyDetail/instruments/STANDARD/surveyKy/2137> , Accessed 08.12.2017.

“an EU hymn, an EU flag, and an EU day”, which he describes as “clear-cut attempts at projecting practices that are deemed to have ‘worked’ as vessels of national identities onto the European Union” (Neumann, 1998: 410).

The question of competition between the European identity and national identities is especially relevant to this thesis, since as it will be seen in Chapters 3 to 5, this thesis is primarily concerned with “nationalist” discourses. The term nationalism here does not necessarily refer to a conscious and deliberate ideological standpoint, or a “peripheral” phenomenon, but refer to discourses and ideological “habits” that reproduce a sense of nationhood described by Michael Billig as “banal nationalism” (Billig, 1995: 6). In his book *“Banal Nationalism”*, Billig suggest that “routinely familiar habits of language will be continually acting as reminders of nationhood” (Billig, 1995: 93) and examines the language employed by British newspapers which he says to “present news in ways that take for granted the existence of the world of nations” and “address their readers as members of the nation” as an example (Billig, 1995: 11). Since this thesis also explores discourses, it should be noted that whether discourses in the articles examined are deliberately nationalist or not is not a concern of this thesis. When discussing the method of critical discourse analysis within the context of racism, van Dijk suggests that “intentionality is irrelevant in establishing whether discourses or other acts may be interpreted as being racist” (van Dijk, 1993: 262). This research assumes that the irrelevance van Dijk mentions is applicable to the issue of nationalism as well.

Another approach to the European identity involves looking at individuals’ frequency of engagement in social, economic and political relationships at the European level. Neil Fligstein argues that “as European economic, social, and political fields have developed, they imply the routine interaction of people from different societies” and that “it is people who are involved in such interactions that are most likely to come to see themselves as Europeans and involved in a European national project” (Fligstein, 2008: 126). It is notable in this quote that Fligstein considers this plane of involvement both “European” and “national”, and this may appear conflicting

with the framework of this thesis where the “national” is positioned as in contrast to the “European”. However, Fligstein discusses the European identity within the context of building a European “nation”, which is perceived as a primary identity, if not overriding national identities based on being a citizen of an individual state.

Fligstein proposes a trichotomic scheme for understanding the European society, where he argues that three sorts of people are present:

“A relatively small number of people deeply immersed in social interactions across Europe on a daily basis and who are thus Europeans; people who occasionally travel abroad for work or vacation, may know some people from other societies, and consume some common popular European culture by means of movies, television, music, or books, but still remain wedded to a national perspective on events and the national vernacular for culture; and people who remain firmly wedded to the national vernacular, travel little, don’t speak second languages, and consume only the national popular culture.” (Fligstein, 2008: 165)

It is remarkable that Fligstein defines the first group of people he outlines as “Europeans”, while making no such statement for the remaining two, regardless of whether those people would consider themselves as Europeans or not if asked. This approach differs from the previous two approaches where the quality of being European is either dependent on the individuals’ citizenship, or how individuals and countries define themselves.

Fligstein’s approach to the subject is particularly important as one of the platforms of engagement across the European level he mentions is the media. The author suggests that while “there are elements of a European culture in all forms of media”, he concludes that media in European countries predominantly produce content intended to be consumed within the national borders of the country they are based in (Fligstein, 2008: 167-168). As it will be explained more in detail in Chapter 2, while the question of target audiences of publications is taken into account in this research, the question is a peripheral one. However, the discourses employed in the texts analyzed are still assumed to be closely dependent on who they are catered for, and the pattern Fligstein outlines with regards to media practices is important as it implies that

prevalence of national discourses is not confined to specific countries but is applicable across European countries.

It should be noted that any “inherent” values attributed to Europe, aside from the mention that countries had to be considered “democratic” as well as “European” for their application for EU membership to be processed, was not discussed in this sub-chapter; but the sub-chapter discussed various approaches to the question of what makes a country or a person European. While some scholars, including the ones quoted in this chapter, in fact make statements on values attributed to being European, Jacobs and Maier suggest that “being a hybrid entity, one can only monitor European identity when not specifying its characteristics” (Jacobs and Maier, 1998). This thesis employs a similar approach to the question, where the discourses on Europe employed in texts are “monitored” without comparing these discourses to a set of predetermined or assumed European characteristics for their validity.

1.2. Turkey’s Relation to the European Identity

It is acknowledged in the previous sub-chapter that identifying a definite and permanent border for Europe is not possible, as it is dependent on competing discourses on Europe. While determining the nature of the Turkish identity’s relation to Europe, and whether the European identity is compatible with a Turkish one is no less difficult task, touching upon some approaches to the subject may be helpful with regards to the research question of this thesis.

Neumann’s “graded” approach to the European identity, where “Europe’s states all stand in some kind of relation to the European Union” (Neumann, 1998: 414) implies that Turkey is not outright out of Europe. Turkey is a candidate country in negotiations for membership to the EU; and as mentioned in the introduction part, Turkey is also among the founding states of another major European organization, including CoE. However, this does not imply that Turkey’s European identity is not challenged at all.

Rumelili argues that by granting Turkey the candidate status, the European Union “refrained from an outright rejection that would amount to the declaration of Turkey as ‘non-European’”, unlike the outright rejection of Morocco’s application; while also hesitating to “extending the conditional offer of membership”, which is in turn unlike the situation with Central and Eastern European states (Rumelili, 2007: 54). The author states that this results in a situation where Turkey is positioned as “liminal” to Europe, thus making its both inherent and acquired characteristics of being European open to debate, or “othering” (Rumelili, 2007: 80).

Some scholars propose more clear-cut positionings for Turkey, such as Samuel Huntington who suggests that Turkey’s application for the European Community contrasts with its “‘non-Western’ history, culture and traditions” (Huntington, 1993: 42). In fact, Rumelili suggests that Turkish politicians themselves invoke “the specter of Huntington” at times, by the reproduction of a discourse of a “Christian Europe” (Rumelili, 2007: 88). Unsurprisingly, as it will be explored further in Chapters 3 to 5, this discourse is also reproduced by the Turkish media occasionally.

Other scholars such as Iver Neumann and Jennifer Welsh argue that from a historical perspective, the Turkish identity was not only contradictory to the European identity, but also instrumental in the formation of the latter as being the dominant “other” that defines Europe through the exclusion of what it is not (Neumann and Welsh, 1991: 330). However, Neumann also states that this historical representation of “the Turks’ have changed radically, so the point here is not that Turkey possesses some kind of essence as Europe’s other” (Neumann, 1998: 411).

These approaches, however, give little voice to Turkish actors in the debate on their own Europeanness. or how they relate to Europe. Catherine MacMillan suggests that from a historical perspective, just as the image of “the Turk” as “the other” served as a building and consolidating element in the formation of a European identity, “it can be equally argued that Europe/the EU has acted as a constitutive Other for the development of Turkish national identity dating back to the Ottoman Empire” (MacMillan, 2013: 108).

Rumelili argues that “successive Turkish governments have actively resisted constructions of Turkey’s identity as inherently different from Europe by producing counter-arguments that construct Turkey as sharing Europe’s collective identity”, with this resistance including a historical perspective as well, whereby the Ottoman Empire is presented as an European empire itself (Rumelili, 2007: 72). In the framework Rumelili builds, this discourse on the political level is prevalent up until Turkey’s application for the EU membership was accepted in 1999, from where on it takes a “modified liminal” form as the author describes it (Rumelili, 2007: 102). According to Rumelili, this “modified liminality” involved Turkish officials adopting a discursive strategy that seeks to reconcile the ideas of Asia and Islam with Europe, trying to position the former two as not mutually exclusive to the latter. However, the author states that this discourse fails to resonate with circles within the EU institutions and states, and “European representations of Turkey do not reflect a recognition of Turkey as simultaneously other and like” (Rumelili, 2007: 103).

MacMillan proposes a somewhat different interpretation of the dominant discourse of this timeframe, arguing that up until the 2000’s the “traditional Kemalist discourse” tended to view Europe as “both threat and civilisational model”, while the discourse employed by successive Justice and Development Party (AKP) governments formed after 2002 tended to “frame Europe as inferior and as belonging to a different civilisation, thus revealing a more self-confident, inclusive and Islamist national identity discourse” (MacMillan, 2013: 104). She argues that in the latter form of discursive strategy the Turkish identity is “less defined in comparison or contrast to Europe” and the discourse “no longer aims for complete Europeanisation or views Europe as ‘the enemy’ but views Europe simply as a neighbour among others, from which it can learn much but to which it also has much to teach” (MacMillan, 2013: 118).

What is particularly relevant in MacMillan’s framework to this thesis is the framing of Europe as “inferior”. The author suggests that the discourse of Europe as a “sick man” in need of new impetus from Turkey is a form of othering. As it will be

explored more in detail in Chapter 4, representations of Europe as an entity in social, economic and political turmoil, or even one facing an existential threat, is indeed among the more dominant discursive strategies in the data set of this thesis.

While the approaches outlined above are primarily concerned with the discourses employed by politicians, Rumelili also suggests that Turkish citizens regularly engage in a European public sphere through not only discourses, but also practices, and this kind of engagement has implications on Europe that are wider than the contexts involving Turkey's relationship with it. An example of this kind of engagement the author gives is Turkish citizens' cases at the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). Rumelili points out to the fact that although the ECHR is not an EU institution, it constitutes an important element of the European legal system (Rumelili, 2015: 91) and resolutions on the cases put forward by Turkish citizens are ultimately incorporated into the European case law and thus act as precedents for future ECHR cases (Rumelili, 2015: 86). The author stresses that, by such practices, Turkish citizens, while officially not having the status of European citizens (or EU citizens, in particular), actively practice European citizenship through their political practices and thus, exist as European citizens in a sense (Rumelili, 2015: 91).

Another way in which Turkey shapes the European identity according to Rumelili is that the debates about the place of Turkey in Europe ultimately lead to discourses on the European "self". The author stresses that Turkey's desire to be a part of the EU result in the inclusionary and exclusionary discourses on the European identity to be more divergent, and these discourses are consequently employed in European debates not necessarily related to Turkey as well (Rumelili, 2015, 81).

Media content, and articles published in daily newspapers in particular, are among the frequently analyzed, or at least cited sources of discourse in the works mentioned in this chapter so far. However, these newspaper articles are usually analyzed alongside other forms of texts such as excerpts from parliamentary debates, and their particularities as media content are rarely taken into account. Since the data set of this thesis is strictly comprised of media content, and it is primarily a research in

the field of media and communication studies, the next sub-chapter will focus on previous researches on Europe and Turkey conducted from a viewpoint of media and communication studies.

1.3. Europe and Turkey in the Media

As mentioned in the introduction part, news articles as texts bear some peculiarities that differentiate them from other textual sources of discourse, for example excerpts from parliamentary debates. As such, previous research about the representations of Turkey's relations with Europe in the media are discussed separately in this sub-chapter.

Representations of Turkey's relations with Europe in the media is often discussed within the context of the wider debate on public spheres and public opinion. Works such as *“(In)direct Framing Effects: The Effects of News Media Framing on Public Support for Turkish Membership in the European Union”* by Claes de Vreese, Hajo Boomgaarden and Holli Semetko specifically analyze media content in order to provide an insight into the effects of news framings on the public opinion (de Vreese, Boomgaarden and Semetko, 2006). The research involves the analysis of content appearing in two Dutch TV channels and five national newspapers during the month prior to the EU Council meeting in December 2004, where the start of Turkey's EU membership negotiations was agreed upon. The aim of the content analysis in this research was to identify the five main frames (namely “geopolitical security advantages”, “economic advantages”, “economic threats”, “cultural threats”, and “security threats”) and their frequency in the news about Turkey's accession to the EU. The frames of the content were then manipulated to measure the reactions of the control group, and an analysis of these reactions formed the main results of the research. Academic researches such as this, although involving an analysis of media content, say little about the media content itself and are primarily concerned with their effects on public opinion, and thus are of limited relevance to the research question of this thesis.

However, it may be still worth noting that the research made by de Vreese et al. reveals that the content about Turkey's accession to the EU in the Dutch media were framed in the frequency order of a “cultural threat”, “security benefits”, an “economic threat”, a “security threat” and “economic benefits” respectively.

Other academic works, such as *“Media framings of the issue of Turkish accession to the EU: a European or national process?”* by Thomas Koenig, John Downey, Mine Gencel-Bek and Sabina Mihelj, discuss the media content about Turkey and Europe within the context of a discussion of the development of a “European” public sphere, or its existence in the first place. In this research, Koenig et al. analyzes the frames used in a total of 1965 articles published by 38 different publications from Turkey, Slovenia, Germany, France, the UK and the USA to discuss whether the idea of a “European” public sphere is a consistent and relevant one. Similar to the work by de Vreese et al., the data set of the research includes media content appearing shortly before and during the EU Council in 2004, and utilizes a number of frames for the research, namely the frames of “clash of civilizations”, “ethno-nationalist frame”, “liberal multiculturalist frame”, “liberal individualist frame” and “economic consequences frame”. The frames, each represented by a code, were developed by making use of keywords that are assumed to indicate the existence of a particular frame.

Although the research question of the work by Koenig et al. is primarily concerned with whether one can speak of a European public sphere or it is merely an amalgam of national spheres, the research is relevant to this thesis because of two main reasons. The first reason is the fact that, unlike the work by de Vreese et al., the main analysis is of the frames themselves. The frames are analyzed with regards to their prevalence in the media content from each country, and in comparison to one another at the country level to assess whether there was adequate consistency between the prevalence of frames among the EU member states to indicate the existence of a European public sphere.

The second reason for the relevance of the research by Koenig et al. to this thesis is its inclusion of newspapers from Turkey in the analysis, and specifically the

inclusion of *Hürriyet* and *Sabah*, two publications that are also included in this thesis. While Koenig et al. does not elaborate which editions of each publication are included in the research, it is indicated that *Hürriyet*'s German edition is a part of the data set as well (Koenig, Downey, Gencel-Bek and Mihelj, 2006: 26). Thus, if we consider *Hürriyet Daily News* and *Daily Sabah* as the English language editions of *Hürriyet* and *Sabah* respectively, it may be argued that the publications selected in the research by Koenig et al. and this thesis are significantly overlapping, because the data set of this thesis does not include articles from any other brands of media outlets.

The frames utilized by Koenig et al. are considerably more generalized than the descriptions of discursive strategies analyzed in this thesis, to be discussed more in detail in Chapter 2, and patterns related to prevalence of themes are only briefly mentioned on country basis. However, it may still be helpful to summarize the findings of this research with regards to frames used by the Turkish media in news about Turkey's accession to the EU.

One of the most important findings of the research by Koenig et al. with regards to the research question of this thesis is that in the articles published by Turkish newspapers in late 2004 virtually never used the "clash of civilizations" frame, as opposed to their counterparts from EU countries. According to the framework of the research, this frame focuses on exclusionary aspects such as religious or cultural differences between Turkey and Europe and their perceived incompatibility. When considered together with the wider debate on the relation between the European identity and Turkish identity explored earlier in this chapter, this indicates that the Turkish media did not tend to present Europe as Turkey's "inherent" other in the articles published in late 2004.

Another important finding of the research is the dominance of the "liberal multiculturalist" frame in Turkish media. According to Koenig et al. this frame, while not denying cultural or religious differences, presents all these differences as reconcilable under the roof of a common Europe through "tolerance" and "celebration" (Koenig, Downey, Gencel-Bek and Mihelj, 2006: 19). According to this framework,

Turkish media tended to refer to the Copenhagen criteria as a basis of recent steps taken forward in Turkey with regards to pluralism. The authors mention a previous research by Gencel-Bek, which covered the news articles about the EU accession process published in the Turkish media in 1999, when Turkey's candidacy for EU membership was accepted. Gencel-Bek's research will be explored later in this chapter, but Koenig et al. mention a striking shift, in which the democratization criteria were no longer presented as "conditions" or "impositions" by the Turkish media in 2004, but as valuable reference points in themselves. The authors contrast this pattern to the situation in 1999, when the merits of EU membership are reported to be primarily explained in economic terms and the Copenhagen criteria were presented as a burden.

Koenig et al. also report that "nationalist" framings were virtually exclusive to the Turkish media and tended to focus on the "special conditions" of membership put forward by the EU, or a scepticism if the EU will ever accept Turkey as a member state (Koenig, Downey, Gencel-Bek and Mihelj, 2006: 21). The authors note that instances of this framing include remarks by Turkish opposition politicians and at this point, it is important to note a difference of approach between the research by Koenig et al. and this thesis. Although the research by Koenig et al. is an analysis of "frames", the authors appear to make limited distinction between the discourses employed by quoted parties and the publications themselves. While the utilization of keywords to identify the frames is indicative of a such approach in the first place, the authors also refer to quotes by politicians as a basis for their arguments as well. An example of this practice is visible in their mention of quotes by right-wing politicians from France as they had appeared in the French media (Koenig, Downey, Gencel-Bek and Mihelj, 2006: 14).

While it is acknowledged in this thesis that the decision to give voice to a party or not is a discursive decision in itself, the research employs a different approach. As it will be discussed more in detail in Chapter 2, an attempt to distinguish the discourses employed by the quoted parties from the ones employed by publications themselves is made and frames are approached in a narrower sense. In this thesis, framing choices are primarily taken into consideration with regards to titles of articles or lead

paragraphs, rather than the inclusion quotes. To a large extent this is due to the different practices in online media, where articles are not confined to physical limits of pages and parties are often quoted in full speech texts in separate articles, and the editorial input on the side of the publications are often limited to titles and lead paragraphs. Although this will be discussed in the next chapter, it should be noted that such methodological differences may also serve as a basis of difference in the results of researches such as the one by Koenig et al. and this thesis.

The results of the research on the articles appearing in Turkish media in 1999 by Gencel-Bek mentioned above are discussed in the author's article titled "*Media and the Representation of the European Union: An Analysis of Press Coverage of Turkey's European Union Candidacy*". Although the research is a considerably dated one, it is still relevant to this thesis. This is because although the utilization of news content in Turkish media as discursive sources is common in academic researches concerned with EU-Turkey relations, media content is often utilized along other forms of sources as seen in previous sub-chapters. On the other hand, the academic researches that strictly analyze media content often do so in comparison to media content from other countries, as in the previous example. Gencel-Bek's is one of the rare works that is strictly concerned with the representations of the EU in Turkish media.

Gencel-Bek analyzes the articles that were published in Turkish newspapers *Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, and *Star* between 9-15 December 1999, overlapping with the EU Council meeting of 9-10 December during which Turkey's candidacy was accepted. It employs the method of critical discourse analysis and Gencel-Bek argues that the fact that Turkish media tended to cover the Council meeting only with regards to the decision on Turkey and ignored any other issues in the Council agenda is indicative of a "nationalist" perspective (Gencel-Bek, 2001: 127). The author also states that the use of positive remarks by representatives as headlines without quotation marks suggest that "these statements were internalized by the journalists and editors, and expressed as if they were journalists' own comments" (Gencel-Bek, 2001: 128). This statement is especially relevant to this thesis, since as it will be discussed later, this is one of the

major methods employed in this research for identifying the discourses in the media as well.

The author also suggests that the publications tended to present the EU as a “homogenous entity” and this approach reinforces a sense of "us[Turkey] versus them [the EU]" (Gencel-Bek, 2001: 131). This is also relevant to the discursive method of “generalization of Europe” observed in this thesis, to be explored in Chapter 5.

As mentioned earlier in this sub-chapter, one of the arguments Gencel-Bek puts forward is that the Turkish media in 1999 tended to focus on the economic benefits of the EU, and the democratization aspect is welcomed with a more sceptical view:

“When the issue of what is to be gained from the EU is considered, economic opportunities are mostly discussed, and the suggestion is that there is a competition to reach these opportunities through a prioritising of economic programmes. Political development and human rights issues, on the other hand, are mostly framed as the ‘condition’ or obligation of the EU.” (Gencel-Bek, 2001: 134)

On the other hand, the main argument of Gencel-Bek’s article is that Turkish media tended to “sensationalize” the news related to the EU, often drawing from speculations about the implications of Turkey’s prospective EU membership on daily life such as the EU regulations on traffic or food safety. As it will be explored in the coming chapters, the articles from 2016 that constitute the data set of this thesis tend to approach the economic and democratic implications of EU membership in an uncannily similar way after 17 years from the timeframe in focus of Gencel-Bek’s research (1999), while the possible consequences of Turkey’s EU membership on daily life is a theme that is notably absent in the articles from 2016.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2.1. Overview

For the purposes of analyzing how the Turkish media represents the ideas of Europe and the European, and how they represent them correlation of Turkey to these ideas, a mixture of three methodologies were employed in this thesis: Thematic analysis, content analysis and discourse analysis. Thematic analysis and content analysis are the main tools utilized in the research for identifying the patterns within the data set, and some practices typical to discourse analysis are utilized in the coding process and in analyzing the identified patterns.

Before explaining which aspects of the three methods mentioned above were utilized in this thesis and in which ways, providing a brief overview of the processes that took place in this research may be helpful. The first phase of the research involved identifying all articles, excluding the ones about certain subjects to be explained in the sub-chapter 2.4, featuring the words “Europe” and “European” (and their equivalents in Turkish “Avrupa” and “Avrupalı”) and appearing in the four selected publications within the timeframe used in this thesis. As a result of this query, an initial “shortlist” of 1068 articles was generated, a type of data which Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke call “data corpus” (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79).

In the second phase of the research, all 1068 samples, articles or “data items” as Braun and Clarke define them, were scrutinized for their eligibility, using the criteria also outlined in 2.4, for inclusion in the final sample pool to be analyzed. Braun and Clarke define this type of data, which corresponds to the final sample pool used in the analysis as the “data set”. This filtering process resulted in the narrowing down of the data corpus to a data set of 498 items. This first phase of familiarization with the data also included the process of developing the initial list codes using a methodology explained in the sub-chapter 2.5 and each representing one of the discursive strategies

in Annex B.1; through identifying the recurring discursive strategies, which include the invocation of themes, framings, journalistic methods or any other discursive input on the side of the journalists.

In the third phase of the research all 498 items in the data set were thoroughly examined twice, and each of the 498 items in the data set were assigned to at least one of the 23 codes. In order to generate more detailed information about the data set, this phase of the research also involved checking and documenting how many parties each of the articles quoted, whether they included or claimed to include any exclusive reporting, and whether the article contained any background information related to the main issues reported.

The fourth phase of the research was the detailed analysis of the data set through a discussion of the discursive strategies represented by codes individually. This involved both a quantitative and a qualitative aspect. The quantitative aspect of this process was documenting the patterns of distribution of the discursive strategies in the entire data set, as well as in each of the four publications selected for this thesis. On the other hand, the qualitative aspect of this process involved an analysis of the discursive strategies and their relation to one another, with the use of excerpts from the articles in the data set (or “data extracts” as Braun and Clarke define them) serving as examples for each discursive strategy.

The fifth and final phase of the research is an overall analysis of the entire data set through both the quantitative and qualitative values that were accumulated in the fourth phase.

It should be noted that the coming chapters will mention the terms “discursive strategy”, “discursive method” and “theme” frequently. The discursive “strategies” in this thesis refer to all communicative practices on the side of the journalists that contribute to the discursive reproduction of Europe in the articles. Therefore, all 23 codes designed for this research are discursive “strategies”. Discursive strategies represented by 21 of the codes, or the ones with the A-prefix to be precise, are regarded as “themes”. As it will be discussed in the next sub-chapter, themes take the form of

descriptive framings or representations, or subjects invoked that make explicit or implicit statements about Europe. Discursive “methods”, on the other hand, constitute the second form of discursive strategies analyzed in this research. The codes with the B-prefix refer to discursive methods, which contribute to the discursive reproduction of Europe through not themes, but non-descriptive framings of Europe, to be discussed in Chapter 5.

2.2. Thematic Analysis, Content Analysis, Discourse Analysis

Braun and Clarke define thematic analysis as “a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 79). On the other hand, “*Encyclopedia of Case Study Research*” defines thematic analysis as “a systematic approach to the analysis of qualitative data that involves identifying themes or patterns of cultural meaning; coding and classifying data, usually textual, according to themes; and interpreting the resulting thematic structures by seeking commonalities, relationships, overarching patterns, theoretical constructs, or explanatory principles” (Lapadat, 2010: 2).

While the *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research* states that thematic analysis “is not a research method in itself but rather an analytic approach and synthesizing strategy used as part of the meaning-making process of many methods, including case study research”, Braun and Clarke argue that it is a method, albeit one that may seem as a “poorly branded” one (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 79). The authors’ argument behind this statement is since although it is commonly used in the academic field, researches bearing the characteristics of a thematic analysis tend to be labeled under related methodologies such as discourse analysis or content analysis.

Terese Bondas, Hannele Turunen and Mojtaba Vaismoradi state that the border between qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis “have not been clearly specified” and that “they are being used interchangeably” (Bondas, Turunen and Vaismoradi, 2013: 398). In fact, earlier works such as “*Motivation and personality:*

Handbook of thematic content analysis”, do not make a clear distinction between thematic analysis and content analysis and treat the former as a form of the latter (Smith, 1992). However, Bondas, Turunen and Vaismoradi argue that content analysis and thematic analysis are different methods and despite their many similarities, “their main difference lies in the possibility of quantification of data in content analysis by measuring the frequency of different categories and themes, which cautiously may stand as a proxy for significance” (Bondas, Turunen and Vaismoradi, 2013: 404).

Braun and Clarke also note that the issue of quantification is a major differentiating factor between thematic analysis and content analysis, saying “themes tend not to be quantified”, but they also quote Richard Boyatzis as suggesting that “thematic analysis can be used to transform qualitative data into a quantitative form, and subject them to statistical analyses” (qtd. Braun and Clarke, 2006: 98). The authors argue that in this case, “the unit of analysis tends to be more than a word or phrase, which it typically is in content analysis.”

In “*Media and Communication Research Methods: An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*”, Arthur Asa Berger classifies content analysis among the “quantitative” methods, although he acknowledges that it may involve a qualitative approach as well, and argues that content analyses examine “only the manifest content of texts – that is, what is explicitly stated- rather than the latent content, the ‘hidden’ material that is behind or between the words” (Berger, 2011: 211). The definition of content analysis Berger quotes from Charles Wright, and which he names as an “excellent” one, is “a research technique for the systemic classification and description of communication content according to certain usually predetermined categories” (qtd. Berger, 2011: 205). While this definition partially overlaps with Braun and Clarke’s definition of thematic analysis mentioned above, there is a major divergence between the methods outlined by the respective authors, even when the issue of quantification is left aside, and this point of divergence is the question of “manifest” and “latent” content Berger mentions. Unlike Berger’s recommendation for a content analysis, Braun and Clarke suggest that although “a thematic analysis

typically focuses exclusively or primarily on one level”, latent content is also among the acceptable units of analysis in contrast to what they call “semantic content” (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 84).

In the light of the discussion outlined above, it is suggested that this thesis makes use of different aspects of thematic analysis and content analysis together, rather than constituting a research strictly within the boundaries of either method.

Braun and Clarke explain the characteristics of a theme as “capturing something important about the data in relation to the research question, and representing some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 82). As it will be discussed in detail in the sub-chapter 2.5, majority, if not the entirety, of the codes used in this analysis are in fact “themes” as defined by Braun and Clarke. In rare cases, they refer to explicit statements that would be more typically utilized in a content analysis, or non-descriptive framings that would more typically be a subject of discourse analysis.

The decision of including both more broadly defined themes and explicit statements together in this thesis is also closely related to the issue of “latent” and “manifest” levels mentioned above. This thesis primarily, but not exclusively, is a research of the data set at the latent level, a kind of approach which Braun and Clarke suggest to go “beyond the semantic content of the data, and start to identify or examine the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations - and ideologies - that are theorized as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 84). Since the data set of this thesis is comprised of news articles and commentaries on current affairs, the discursive strategies present in the data items tend to be more implicit (or latent) rather than explicit (or manifest). However, in some cases the discursive strategies are implicitly ever present in the data set to the point of losing statistical significance when taken in their latent forms during the coding process, hence their only manifest forms are considered and included in the thesis as auxiliary or complementary planes of analysis. An example of this would be the fact that in many of the articles examined in this thesis, Europe is referred to an actor that is external to

Turkey. One may interpret this as a latent claim that Turkey does not belong in Europe. However, such approach is regarded as an overexertion of a theme in this thesis, therefore only the manifest forms of a such discourse is taken into consideration.

A methodical divergence between content analysis and thematic analysis is also seen in their approaches to coding. In Berger's guideline for a content analysis, determination of the coding system strictly precedes analyzing the data set (Berger, 2011: 216). On the other hand, Braun and Clarke argue that in addition to the "deductive" method Berger suggests, thematic analysis can also be conducted through an "inductive" method where the process of coding the data does not involve "trying to fit it into a preexisting coding frame", but where the codes themselves are developed as the researcher familiarizes with their data (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 83). This thesis employs the inductive method, as it will be explained in the sub-chapter 2.5.

On the other hand, this thesis is also partially a content analysis in the sense that it involves the quantification of the patterns of discourses. The discursive strategies are quantified with regards to their prevalence both in the data set, and also with regards to their prevalence in the four publications chosen for this thesis. However, the quantification of this prevalence is not regarded as a means of ranking the themes, discursive methods and statements according to their importance, but rather as a means of identifying the ones that stand out in prevalence and frequency.

Braun and Clarke argue that "there is no right or wrong method for determining prevalence", as long as it is consistent (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 83). They suggest that different methods of determining prevalence such as counting themes at the level of the data item, or counting each individual occurrence of the theme across the entire data set are acceptable approaches. The authors further argue that a researcher may define some themes as "key" themes based on their own judgement that the theme in question captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, regardless if it is among the most "prevalent" themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 82). Braun and Clarke assert that the availability of conventions for representing

prevalence in thematic analysis that do not provide a quantified measure, contrasts with the characteristics of a content analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 83).

Quantification of prevalence and testability indeed stand out as more important sources of concern in content analysis than in thematic analysis. For this purpose, Berger even suggests that operational definitions of “terms”, or codes, must be “mutually exclusive” (Berger, 2011: 210).

As it will be elaborated further in this chapter, the definitions of codes that are used in this thesis are not mutually exclusive and may overlap with each other to varying extents, since the main aim of this research is not strictly ranking discourses according to their prevalence. Nevertheless, the prevalence and frequency of these elements as represented by their respective codes is still quantified in order to make the patterns more visible, and this is done based on the prevalence of discursive strategies with regards to the number of data items assigned to the codes that represent them.

While thematic analysis is often compared to content analysis, or even not differentiated as seen in some examples mentioned above, another method that Braun and Clarke draw parallels to thematic analysis is discourse analysis. Braun and Clarke argue that thematic analyses that are concerned with latent meanings “overlap with some forms of ‘DA’”, elaborating that these are “sometimes specifically referred to as ‘thematic DA’” (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 84-85).

Jay Lemke defines discourse analysis as “a set of techniques for making connections between texts and their meanings” (Lemke, 2012: 79). Teun A. van Dijk states that the major aim of discourse analysis is “to produce explicit and systematic, descriptions of units of language use” called discourse (van Dijk, 1988: 24), and considers news in the press “as a specific type of discourse” (van Dijk, 1988: 175). As such, van Dijk suggests that media is a means of ideological sustaining and reproducing of power and dominance (van Dijk, 1993: 255). While van Dijk approaches news as not only the messages they convey, but as a whole including their structures of production and consumption as a form of discourse, the focal point of this thesis is limited to the messages conveyed.

As mentioned above, all communicative practices represented by codes are regarded as “discursive strategies” as van Dijk calls them (van Dijk, 1993: 250) in this thesis. This approach differs from one that would be expected from a thematic analysis, as the latter method involves a process where initial codes evolve into themes and sub-themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 90). Although a similar process of refining codes and grouping initial codes with closely related descriptions together was involved, these codes do not necessarily evolve into definitions of themes in this thesis, but into definitions of discursive strategies.

The first reason for this outcome is because “themes” in this thesis refer to the “patterned responses or meanings” as explained above, of which their articulation constitutes a form of discursive strategy. In other words, themes are regarded as patterns of latent or manifest, descriptive statements on questions such as what Europe is, what it does, and how it relates to Turkey. The second reason is the fact that not all codes used in this thesis represent responses or meanings, but also represent non-descriptive discursive constructions of Europe defined as discursive “methods”, the second form of discursive strategies.

Also, due to the nature of the data analyzed in this thesis, some aspects of discourse analysis are also utilized in the process of coding process, as well as in the final analysis. Braun and Clarke argue that “in contrast to methods similar to DA and CA, a simple thematic analysis does not allow the researcher to make claims about language use, or the fine-grained functionality of talk” (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 97). Since this thesis examines news articles, language use is essential in identifying discursive strategies. This is especially the case with regards to titles and lead paragraphs of articles, given that framings are closely related to the delicate details of language use, or “micro-level” discourses as described by van Dijk (van Dijk, 1993: 261). A typical example of this would be the cases where a quoted party’s words are used as the headline without any indication that it is a quote (i.e. lack of reference to the quoted party, quotation marks), implying that the quote resonates with the publication’s own discursive strategy.

On the other hand, several characteristics of the methodology used in this thesis differentiates from a typical discourse analysis. First of all, this research is not concerned with the backgrounds of facts that the articles report or comment on. As such, deliberate exclusion of important information or quotes from the articles, while being discursive decisions, are not taken into account in this research. Secondly, this research is not concerned with the backgrounds of journalists who produce the texts analyzed. Therefore, any discursive implications that may arise from the backgrounds of individuals are not taken into account as well. Reporters, columnists, editors and any other types of content producers are treated as the same. In relation, columns, editorials, op-eds or reports analyzed are considered to carry equal weight with regards to discursive strategies they employ, and considered to bear equal representative capacity for the publications they appear in.

Also, this thesis attempts to make a strict distinction between the discourses employed by quoted parties and by the publications themselves. In cases where the article indicates some sort of latent or manifest discursive input from the journalist, this is acknowledged and coded as such. However, the prevalent practice of “churnalism”, a concept to be discussed later in this chapter, in online media necessitates a distinction between deliberate inclusion of discourses employed by third parties and a sort of “automatized” inclusion. Because of the lack of physical limits in online media, as opposed the pages in print media or air-time in TV channels, in many cases speakers are quoted with their entire speeches. An example of this is Ali Varlı’s article titled “*En büyük bayram Berlin’de kutlandı*” (“*The greatest holiday celebrated in Berlin*”) and published in Hürriyet on 1 November 2016.⁸ In the article, Turkey’s ambassador to Berlin is quoted in 16 consecutive sentences in a block quote that resembles a speech text. And although the ambassador says that Turkey is an European country in his speech, the article is not assigned to the code that corresponds to this discursive strategy because there is no interference on the side of the journalist in any form such as

⁸ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/en-buyuk-bayram-berlinde-kutlandi-40264954> , Accessed 23.12.2017.

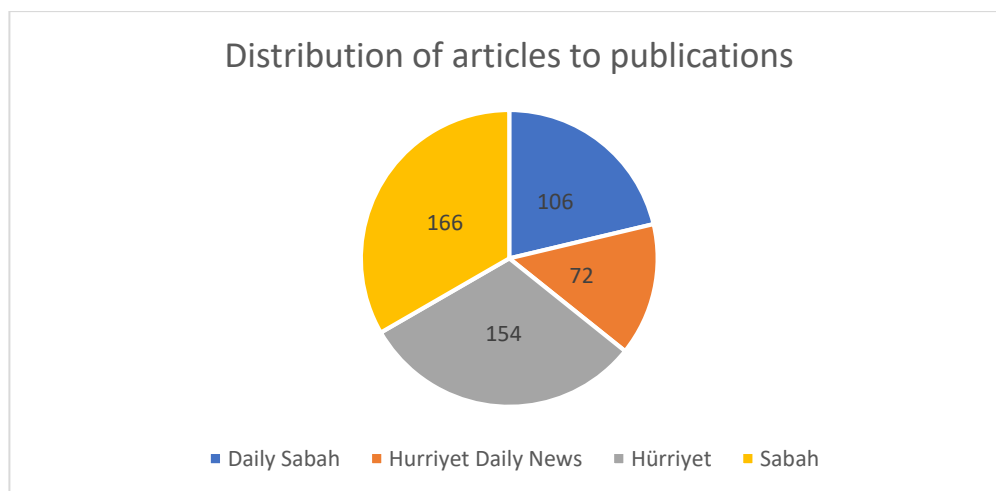
interruptions, singling out, or any framing choices that may indicate a stress on the remark such as using the quote as the title or in the lead paragraph.

Similarly, some interviews in the data set are published in Q&A format, where the response of the interviewee is assumed to be recounted as it was articulated, and preceded by the question of the interviewer. In these cases, the discursive strategies are primarily searched for in the questions rather than the interviewee's responses. However, in cases where the framing of the article puts stress on the remarks of the interviewee such as interruptions in the course of the text, or use of the remarks in the title or in the lead paragraph; a discursive input on the side of the journalist is considered to be present and again coded as such.

2.3. Selected Sources and Timeframe

A total of 498 articles that appear in the online editions of Daily Sabah, Hurriyet Daily News, Hürriyet and Sabah between 1 November 2016 and 30 November 2016 are included in the data set of this thesis. Distribution of the number of these articles in respective publications are 106 in Daily Sabah (21,3% of total), 72 in Hurriyet Daily News (14,5%), 154 in Hürriyet (30,9%), and 166 in Sabah (33,3%).

Figure 2.1: Distribution of the articles totaling 498 to publications they appear in.



1 to 30 November 2016 is selected as the period in focus, because it is a period when several critical developments took place in relation to Turkey's European affairs. These developments include the European Parliament's call on 24 November 2016 for Turkey's EU accession negotiations to be suspended, the discussion of the future of Turkey's accession negotiations in the EU Council of member states on 15 November 2016, and the announcement of European Commission's yearly progress report on Turkey on 9 November 2016. The detainment of several executives and MPs of the People's Democratic Party (HDP) on 4 November 2016 and the detainment of several executives and journalists from the Turkish daily newspaper Cumhuriyet on 31 October 2016 were also developments that resulted in heated exchanges between Turkish officials and their counterparts from European organizations. In addition, this is a period when state of emergency was recently declared in Turkey following a coup attempt in July 2016, and in relation criticism towards Turkish democratic practices from EU officials, as well as responses to these criticisms were extensively covered by the media. Therefore, this is a period when texts about Turkey's relations with Europe appearing in Turkish media are in relatively amplified frequency.

This thesis, however, does not explore the actual frequency of appearance of such texts in comparison to other periods. Also, this thesis does not claim that texts from November 2016 would constitute the best representative samples for analyzing the discourse employed by the Turkish media within the context of a longer term, and it is acknowledged that because the samples are taken from a time of political crisis, they may have characteristics that are peculiar to that time period and less prominent in other time periods or not present at all. However, because the samples are taken from a period of crisis, the articles about Europe are not only expected to appear more frequently, but they are expected to carry more observable value judgements. In brief, the two fundamental reasons for choosing November 2016 as the period in focus are the period's provision of an ample amount of samples and the expectation of escalated sentiments about Europe on the side of the journalists.

Another note about the timeframe is that since this thesis does not focus any of the developments mentioned above in particular, none of them are taken as the focal point of the timeframe, but the timeframe is designated as simply the entire month of November 2016.

As mentioned above, articles that have appeared in the online editions of daily newspapers Daily Sabah (<https://www.dailysabah.com/>), Hurriyet Daily News (<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/>), Hürriyet (<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/>) and Sabah (<http://www.sabah.com.tr/>) are analyzed in this thesis. These four publications are chosen for this thesis in order to be able to provide an analysis of data from publications that are comparable in operational aspects such as reach and impact on the Turkish media landscape, but also to provide a discursive variety stemming from different editorial lines and target audiences. Because of close affiliation and shared news desks, this thesis assumes that the content published in the online editions of the said publications serve in representative capacity for their respective editions in print as well. As such, the online editions of the publications are regarded as extensions of their respective print editions and therefore the selection criteria applied for the publications in this thesis does not take into account only the qualities carried by the online editions, but also and mainly by the print editions. Also, the names of the selected publications will be used interchangeably with their respective online editions.

Hürriyet and Sabah may both be considered long-established daily newspapers of Turkey with nationwide circulation, having been published since 1948 and 1985 respectively. Various sources⁹ that rank newspaper circulations also report that Hürriyet and Sabah are the top selling two newspapers of Turkey as of September 2017; however, it is acknowledged that this degree of reach does not necessarily translate as the same in case of their respective online editions. They also rank high among the most easily recognizable brands of media outlets in Turkey, as a 2015 research

⁹ Websites that regularly track the circulation of Turkish newspapers include <http://www.medyatava.com>, <http://www.medyaradar.com/> and <http://gazetetirajlari.com/> .

conducted by Method Research Company reports that Hürriyet ranked first when interviewees were asked to name the first daily newspaper that comes to their mind, closely followed by Sabah in the second rank (qtd. in Marketing Türkiye, 2015).

The two publications have observable differences in their editorial lines, with Sabah having a distinctly pro-government stance that is usually along the lines of the discourse employed by state officials, and Hürriyet having a more centrist approach during the timeframe in focus of this thesis. Hurriyet Daily News and Hürriyet are sister publications, owned by Doğan Holding, publishing content in English and Turkish respectively. Daily Sabah and Sabah are also sister publications, owned by Turkuvaz Media Group, publishing content in English and Turkish respectively. As such, the editorial lines of Daily Sabah and Hurriyet Daily News with regards to their political alignment is expected to overlap with those of their respective parent brands.

The distinctly pro-government stance of Sabah and Daily Sabah mentioned above is observable in the open support the two publication's respective editors-in-chief have expressed in favor of the governing party in controversial issues in Turkish politics such as the executive presidential system.¹⁰ Raşit Kaya and Barış Çakmur further argue that Sabah is “directly controlled” by the governing party (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010: 532), a suggestion that overlaps with Bilge Yeşil's account of the acquisition of the outlet by a pro-government business group in 2011 (Yeşil, 2016: 90). On the other hand, Hürriyet, regarding to which Kaya and Çakmur recount the popular nickname of “the flagship of Turkish media” (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010: 531), demonstrates a more centrist, if not outright oppositional, stance that may deviate from the official discourse at times. Yeşil describes Hürriyet as a “mainstream” newspaper, “compelled to toe the government line to varying degrees” after having faced

¹⁰ Examples include Erdal Şafak's “*Başkanlık Modeli ve Sabah*” (*Sabah and the presidential model*) Available from: <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/safak/2015/02/02/baskanlik-modeli-ve-sabah> , Accessed 24.12.2017 and Serdar Karagöz's “*Erdoğan's winning streak continues as Turkey votes for change*” Available from: https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/serdar_karagoz/2017/04/17/erdogans-winning-streak-continues-as-turkey-votes-for-change , Accessed 24.12.2017.

government pressure in 2010 and 2011 due to openly critical voices it accommodated (Yeşil, 2016: 92 -106).

Texts from Hurriyet Daily News and Sabah Daily are also included in this thesis, because by assumedly having similar political alignments with their sister publications in Turkish, they provide an insight into the discursive divergence based on target audience, given that the English language editions of these newspapers mainly target a non-Turkish speaking audience. Hurriyet Daily News and Sabah Daily were also the only daily newspapers published by Turkish media groups in a non-Turkish language and in print in November 2016, which is a contributing factor to their parent brands' inclusion in this thesis.

2.4. Sampling and Filtering

In the first phase of the sampling process of this thesis, the terms “Europe” and “European” were searched using the internal search engines of each of the selected publications, as well as their counterparts in Turkish “Avrupa” and “Avrupalı”, and using the timeframe starting on 1 November 2016 and ending on 30 November 2016. All articles meeting these criteria, excluding the ones on the subjects of daily finance, sports and culture, were pooled together to create the data corpus of 1068 articles to be scrutinized individually. Articles on daily finance, sports and culture were omitted in the first place because of the fact that these articles frequently feature the names of entities such as central banks, tournaments and cultural events containing the words “Europe” and “European” and it is assumed that this would tend to clutter the data corpus without providing significant number of items with meaningful discursive value. It should also be noted that the words “EU” and its Turkish counterpart “AB” were not searched for, because not all internal search engines of the four publications support searching for word blocks only (e.g. bringing the articles that feature the words such as “lieu” as well because the letters “eu” are adjacent). It is acknowledged that the articles featuring the word “EU” but not necessarily “Europe” or “European” would

also be relevant for this research and their absence is a methodological drawback in the composition of the data set.

Op-eds are also included in the data set, because none of the four publications explicitly state if the views expressed in op-eds reflect the views the author only and not of the publication.

Since the aim of this thesis is to explore the discourses employed by the publications themselves, determining whether there was any editorial input from the publications in the articles they have published was a major criterion when creating the final data set out of the data corpus. While it is acknowledged that whether to publish a certain content or not to is a discursive decision in itself, the prevalence of “churnalism” in media practices employed by the publications selected for this study makes including a specific data item in the analysis simply on the grounds that the publication had made a decision to publish the said content problematic.

In *“A Dictionary of Journalism”*, Tony Harcup defines churnalism as “A form of journalism that relies on recycling press releases and agency copy and which involves little or no independent reporting or attempt at verification” (Harcup, 2014: 53). Of all the 498 articles that are in the data set of this thesis, only 59 (or 11.8%) feature or claim to feature any quotes or information exclusive to that publication. While this thesis aims to take all content that has any editorial input from the respective publications into account, whether it involves exclusive reporting or not, content that is deemed to be not produced by those publications and not altered in any way are excluded.

A common practice of churnalism encountered during the sampling process of this thesis was the cases where publications published the articles distributed by subscribed news agencies or originally published by a different publication, without making any alterations in the text body or the title. This practice is clearly observable in cases where articles from news agencies are published with indicators that stem from the agency’s distribution format, which are originally meant to be removed when publishing the article. An example of this would be the article titled *“Kılıçdaroğlu,*

Suriye için hükümete sağduyu çağrısı yaptı (6)” (“*Kılıçdaroğlu calls for common sense on the government in Syria (6)*”) and published in Hürriyet on 25 November 2016, with the indicated source of Doğan News Agency (DHA).¹¹ The indication of “(6)” in the title implies that the story was being distributed by the agency as separate entries and the text in question was the sixth part of the story. Also, the phrase “FOTOĞRAFLI” (“WITH PHOTOGRAPHS”) at the bottom of the text is understood to stem from the agency’s distribution format as well, as it indicates that the entry comes with visual materials. Therefore, although it features statements about Europe, the article is excluded from the data set without any further scrutiny, since it is assumed from the fact that the publication did not even remove the agency’s indicators embedded in the text, there was no editorial input from Hürriyet in this case. This example demonstrates one of the criteria used when filtering the data corpus.

In cases where the indicated source of an article is a news agency or another publication, but the possibility of alteration is detected (i.e. the indicators embedded by the agency are removed), the original version of the article was searched for. The first step in this process was searching for the article in the indicated agency’s online archives, which in significant amount of cases led to successful detection of the original articles that are used as the reference in comparison. However, Turkish news agencies typically make only a part of their archives public for non-subscribers. In those cases, Google search engine is used a retrieval tool to be able to see how other platforms published the same article, by searching for several of the exact phrases from the item. If the text and the title of the article is published in exactly the same way in several other platforms as well, it is assumed that the publication published the content without any editorial input on its side. In cases where any editorial input from the publications are detected in content produced by a third party, only the parts that have been altered are taken into consideration during the analysis, which in most cases was only the title.

¹¹ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kilicdaroglu-suriye-icin-hukumete-sagduyu-cagr-40287772> , Accessed 25.11.2017.

In cases where neither method of identifying the original article brought success, the article was excluded from the data set, as the source could not be identified.

Another related scenario involves cases where the publication fails to indicate any kind of source for the article. Again, Google search engine was used in these cases to identify if the content appeared in any other platform and if it did, its source, in a way similar to the scenario described above.

Another common practice among the publications that are included in this research is publishing speeches by officials in their entirety, without including any other quotes or background information other than the speaker and the context of the speech (e.g. where and when it was delivered). An insight into the prevalence of this practice can be gained by looking at the number of quoted people or parties in the articles and also how many of the articles feature any background information related to the story. On average, the 498 articles that were included in the data set feature quotes from 1.19 people or parties with a median of 1, while 296 of them (59%) provide any background information other than the rudimentary elements of the context. Because the aim of this thesis is not analyzing the discourses employed by the speakers themselves, but by the publications that report them, titles were the main points of focus of analysis in such cases where the text is comprised of the speech itself. Given the prevalence of the said practice, it can be inferred that the titles were the main subject of inference in the case of a considerable portion of the data set.

The process of filtering the data corpus also included determining whether each of the articles contained any discursive value or if the words “Europe” and “European” featured in these articles were of merely denotative nature. An example of the articles that were excluded from the final sample group due to this criterion would be “*Turkey, EU officials to meet in Brussels to discuss migrant deal*” that appeared in Hurriyet Daily News on 28 November 2016,¹² which informs the reader of a Turkish minister’s

¹² <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-eu-officials-to-meet-in-brussels-to-discuss-migrant-deal--106658> , Accessed 25.11.2017.

upcoming visit to Brussels and expected items on his agenda, without providing any discursive value of significance.

2.5. Codes

For the purposes of monitoring the discursive strategies and patterns in the data set, all 498 data items are assigned to at least one of the codes that represent a discursive strategy. These discursive strategies are grouped under a total of 23 codes.

On average, the data items are assigned to 2,24 codes, with a median of 1. While the number of codes that an item may have been assigned to reaches up to 10, the relatively low average of assigned codes and the median of 1 is notable. It is assumed that this is mainly due to the fact that in many of the samples, the concepts of Europe and the European do not form the focal point of those articles and are only briefly mentioned in a narrower context, or that the samples are not evaluated in their entirety but only with regards to the parts where there was any editorial input (e.g. changing only the title of an article delivered by a third party) from the publication as explained earlier.

Figure 2.2: Codes and discursive strategies they represent.

Code	Description
A001	Europe as a harbinger/accomplice of Turkey's adversaries
A002	Europe as an entity openly hostile to Turkey
A003	Europe as an insincere, hypocritical, dishonest entity
A004	Multidimensionality of European-Turkish relations/Mutual interests
A005	Europe as an entity that rejects/temporizes Turkey
A006	Europe as an entity that is dismissed/dismissible for Turkey
A007	Europe as an entity that needs/beware or should beware Turkey
A008	Explicit statements that Europe is an entity foreign to Turkey
A009	Implications that Turkey is a part of Europe
A010	Europe as a source of political/economic/social stability
A011	Europe as an oppressive authority
A012	Europe as an entity detrimental to its constituents

A013	Europe as an imperialist/colonialist entity
A014	Europe in social, economic, political turmoil
A015	A Europe estranged to European values
A016	Europe as a source of fundamental rights and freedoms
A017	Europe as an entity that does not understand/indifferent to Turkey
A018	Europe as an entity Turkey needs/wants to be a part of
A019	Europe as an entity that Turkey "never" will be part of
A020	Europe as an entity that accepts/understands Turkey
A021	Europe as an entity that is not understood by Turkey
B001	Marginalizing Europe
B002	Generalization of Europe

The coding process involved reading all 1068 articles included in the data corpus from the viewpoint of discourse analysis method, given that the item is deemed eligible for inclusion in the data set; and documenting any values that were attributed to the concepts of Europe and the European, or Turkey's relations to these concepts in the form of codes. This resulted in a dynamic and inductive process of developing codes, where initial codes referred to discursive strategies that were more specific than the ones described in Figure 2.2. This is because if a data item featured a certain type of discourse that was not fully covered by the codes already present in the table, then a new code for that discourse was created. In the final phase of the coding process, the codes that contained similar values were grouped together to form more general definitions of discursive strategies where possible, in order to prevent cluttering of "micro" or "marginal" themes and methods that would each cover small fractions of the data set while still having closely related meanings.

An example of this practice is that initially, the discourses of Europe as an "insincere" and "dishonest" entity were assigned to separate codes, only to be grouped together in the final list to form the code A003 that covers 22,3% of all data items. This practice resulted in a situation where all codes covered at least 1% of the data items. While there was no percentage threshold observed during this process of grouping codes together, codes that would cover a higher portion of the data set was favored in

order to provide a higher statistical significance. However, some discursive strategies that may be regarded “marginal” (e.g. covering less than 5% of the data set) are still included in the list as separate codes, as they are deemed too particular to be grouped together with any other relatable themes or methods in this thesis.

Despite the process of grouping codes together explained above, some descriptions seen in Figure 2.2 still may appear too closely related to be different entries in the list. As an example, “Europe as an entity that Turkey needs” (A018) and “Europe as a source of stability” (A010) are indeed related descriptions and in fact, in many cases they are both present together in the same data items; thus there is a high degree of overlapping between the two. However, when the items are examined closely, it is clearly observable that the two themes are not mutually inclusive. A demonstrative example is the article titled “*İş dünyasına AB şantajı*” (“*Businesses blackmailed by EU*”) by Metin Can, published in Sabah on 25 November 2016.¹³ It is claimed in the article that the European Union is trying to cripple the Turkish economy by boosting incentives to automobile manufacturers based in EU member countries and decreasing imports from Turkish manufacturers. It is thus implied in the article that EU is a source of economic stability, since its decision to decrease the level of cooperation with Turkey is deemed to be something that can potentially damage the economy of Turkey. However, there is no implication in the article whether Turkey “wants” or “needs” to be a part of this entity, as defined in A018. Rather than that, Europe is positioned as a punishing authority (A011) that is overtly hostile (A002) to Turkey in this context.

An exception of this non-inclusiveness is the discursive strategy represented by A012, to which all articles assigned to are assigned to A014 as well. The peculiarity of this code will be explained in the context of its analysis in Chapter 4.

¹³ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2016/11/25/is-dunyasina-ab-santaji> , Accessed 27.11.2017.

It should also be noted that while none of the codes are assumed to be mutually inclusive,¹⁴ none of them are assumed to be mutually exclusive either, despite the fact that some of the descriptions may appear conflicting. An example of this is seen in the article titled “*AP’nin Türkiye kararı Saksonya meselesidir*” (“*EP’s decision on Turkey is a matter of Saxony*”) by Fatih Çekirge, published in *Hürriyet* on 24 November 2016.¹⁵ In his article, Çekirge argues that as the far right parties in EU countries are gaining ground in politics, drawing conclusions from most recent poll results in German federal state of Saxony-Anhalt, the governments in EU member states are taking an increasingly ostracizing attitude towards Turkey, which in turn the author claims to feed Turkey’s increasingly dismissive tone towards Europe. In his article, Çekirge explicitly states “Of course, Turkey’s distancing away from Europe is wrong”, and thus concedes that Europe is something that Turkey either “wants” or “needs” (A018) to be a part of. However, in the same article Çekirge also states the following:

“Europe’s dilemma is this: It has been temporizing Turkey at its door for nearly 50 years. As if this is not enough, it tries to have a say over Turkey with the ‘carrot of membership’ at every opportunity. This tiresome situation gives way to the ‘enough is enough’ kind of anger among the vast masses in Turkey”

The discursive strategy observed in this quote is an attempt to construct a “common-sense” in terms of Stuart Hall’s use of the term (Procter, 2004: 64. Hall, 2006: 169). This notion of common-sense carries a claim to “naturalness”, “refusal to be made to examine the premises on which it is founded” and a “resistance to change or to correction” in Hall's terms (qtd. in Hebdige, 2006: 148). Çekirge implies that Turkey’s dismissive attitude towards Europe draws justification from the latter’s “tiresome” mistreatment of the former, a resentment echoed by what the author calls

¹⁴ The situation with A012 and A014 mentioned above is related to their level of overlapping with regards to items they are assigned to, and not their description. In addition, the level of overlapping is also asymmetrical since not all articles assigned to A014 are also assigned to A012 in turn.

¹⁵ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/fatih-cekirge/o-ucagin-ucus-kayitlari-40287736> , Accessed 27.11.2017.

“vast masses in Turkey”, or an imagined “common-sense”. Thus, the author tacitly agrees with a dismissive attitude towards Europe (A006), while also stating that “Turkey’s distancing away from Europe is wrong” (A018).

2.6. Structure of the Analysis

As it can be seen in Figure 2.2, the majority of the discursive strategies explored in this thesis are essentially characterizations of Europe with regards to its relation to Turkey, whereas a smaller portion of the descriptions are concerned with characteristics that are independent of Europe’s relation to any other entity, or characteristics that are perceived to be more “inherent”.

It is understandable that majority of the articles examined in this thesis employ discourses on Europe with regards to its relation to Turkey, because all the four publications chosen for this thesis are based in Istanbul and primarily cover news related to Turkey. In her article “*European Media Policy: Why Margins Actually Matter*”, Monika Metykova argues that “media policy-making in European countries tends to be restricted to nation-centric frameworks” (Metykova, 2015: 77). This thesis also does not argue that a “nation-centric” approach is neither unique to nor a distinctive characteristic of the discursive strategies employed by the four publications examined in this thesis, but it is assumed that this is a local reflection of a wider pattern.

While it is acknowledged that discourses that are concerned with inherent values attributed to Europe are not independent of discussions involving Turkey and that in many cases they are present in articles where Turkey is the focal point, this thesis pursues a course where discursive strategies that are closely related will be evaluated in conjunction with another, as opposed to other possible methods such as the alphabetic order or an order based on prevalence. As such, strategies in which Europe is defined in its relation to Turkey will be evaluated in Chapter 3, and strategies that are concerned with inherent values of Europe will be evaluated in Chapter 4.

Chapter 5 will cover the discursive strategies represented by codes with the B prefix, which are discursive methods as explained earlier.

Two charts will be presented in the evaluations of the discursive strategies assigned to the codes with the A-prefix (with the exception of A012) in Figure 2.2: The distribution of all data items assigned to a certain code to the four publications in question, as well as a chart that displays the percentage of the data items assigned to the code relative to the total number of data items included from that publication in the data set. While these two charts will be presented for all but one code with the A-prefix, it is acknowledged that their statistical significance are weak in cases where there is a very small number of data items assigned to the code.

The charts mentioned above, in many cases, will show divergences along two main “axes”: Brand (or political alignment) and language (or target audience). The “brand” axis here refers to the divergences between the editorial lines of two main brands by two different publishers, namely Hürriyet and Sabah, based on their different approaches to issues related to Europe. On the other hand, the “language” axis refers to the divergences between the editorial lines of the publications in Turkish language and their respective sister publications that produce content in English language, namely Daily Sabah and Hurriyet Daily News. The latter is regarded as a divergence based on target audience, because it is assumed that content produced for an audience whose native language is not Turkish have the possibility to be different not only in language, but also in discursive strategies employed, than content produced for a Turkish speaking audience.

Before moving on to the detailed analysis of discursive strategies accompanied by representative examples, it should be noted that an attempt to find a balance between examples from all publications; and between examples in the form of columns and reports are made in Chapters 3 to 5. However, since commentaries in the form of columns or editorials tend to express discourses in more detail than reports, examples in the form of columns and editorials are more frequently referred to in the analysis. Likewise, some of the discursive strategies are more pronounced in some publications

than others and in those cases, a certain publication or group of publications may be referred to more frequently. The latter applies to individual journalists as well.

Also, all translations of texts appearing in Hürriyet and Sabah in Turkish into English are done by the author of this thesis.

CHAPTER 3

EUROPE IN RELATION TO TURKEY

3.1. Does the Turkish Media See Turkey as European?

One of the first questions that arise when exploring how the Turkish media perceives the schemas of Europe and the European is whether the Turkish media sees Turkey as a part of Europe or not. Looking at the data set of this thesis from the viewpoint of various approaches to the concept of “othering”, one can gain a decisive impression that the Turkish media does not consider Turkey to be a part of Europe. In virtually all items that mention Europe within a context that includes Turkey, the former is referred to as an external actor interacting with the latter or vice versa. It should also be noted that this thesis covers a timeframe of crisis between Turkey and European institutes, most notably the European Union, and many of the samples are articles that are reporting or commenting on heated exchanges between Turkish officials and their counterparts from European institutions. In this context, frequent representations of Europe and Turkey as opposing schemas should be expected.

In his article *“Constructing the Self and Changing Others: Reconsidering ‘Normative Power Europe’”*, Thomas Diez summarizes “some of the strategies of constructing ‘self’ and ‘other’ in international politics” as “representation of the other as an existential threat”, “representation of the other as inferior”, “representation of the other as violating universal principles”, and “representation of the other as different” (Diez, 2005: 628). Many of the discursive strategies identified in this thesis can be evaluated within the framework of strategies Diez outlines. Europe as a “harborer or accomplice of Turkey’s adversaries” (A001) or an entity “openly hostile to Turkey” (A002) may be interpreted as having the characteristics that constitute an “existential threat” to Turkey. Representations of Europe as an imagined geography or community in social, economic or political turmoil (A014), on the other hand, may be regarded as a latent statement that Europe is something inferior to Turkey. The discourse of “a

Europe estranged to European values” (A015) is the characterization of Europe as an entity violating highly regarded values, whereas “explicit statements that Europe is an entity foreign or exclusionary to Turkey” (A008) are clear examples of representing Europe as “different”.

If the concepts of Europe and the European are so visibly characterized as “the other” in Turkish media, then “What kind of other?” becomes a more relevant question and therefore “othering” as a discursive strategy dissolves into other code descriptions. While the latent forms of describing Europe as an actor external to Turkey are ever present in the samples, examining more manifest examples of this discourse may provide valuable insight nevertheless.

The discursive strategy that describes Europe as an entity foreign or exclusionary to Turkey is represented by the code A008. The articles assigned to this code explicitly position Turkish and European identities as inherently irreconcilable and mutually-exclusive. The strategy may include referring to Europe or Europeans in pejorative words such as “gavur” (“infidel”), statements that Turkey does not belong in Europe due to religious or cultural differences, or arguments that imply one cannot be Turkish and European at the same time. However, the notion of mutual exclusivity in the articles assigned to A008 is always explicit, even if derived from arguments that amount to it rather than deliberate statements.

The discursive strategy represented by A008 is relatively rare in the data set, with only 11 items, or 2,2% of all 498 articles, assigned to this code. These articles visibly concentrate in Sabah, with 7 of items (63,6%) coded A008 published in the publication. Meanwhile, Hurriyet Daily News published 2 (18,2%) of the articles coded A008, Daily Sabah and Hürriyet 1 (9,1%) each.

Figure 3.1: Distribution of items coded A008 among the four publications.

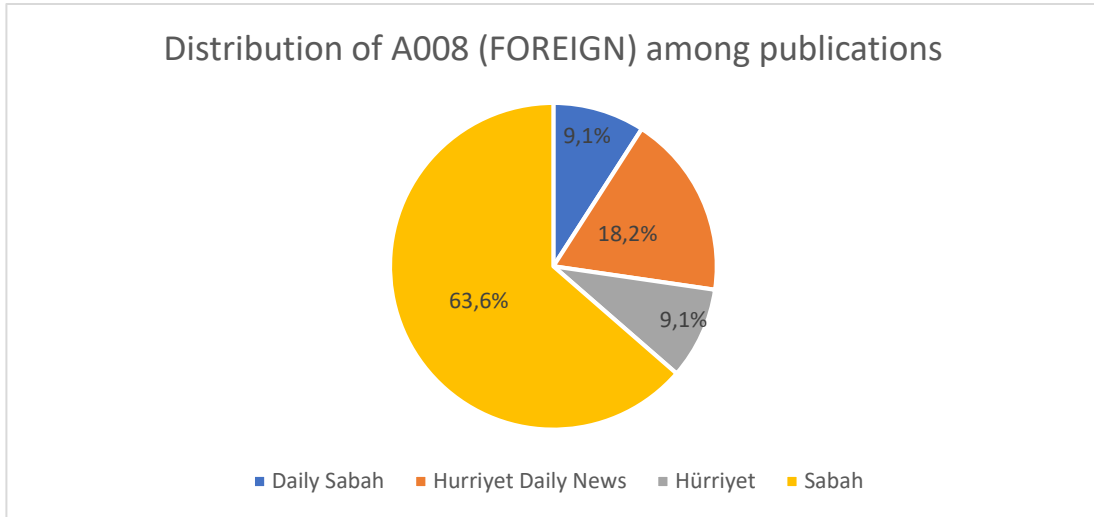
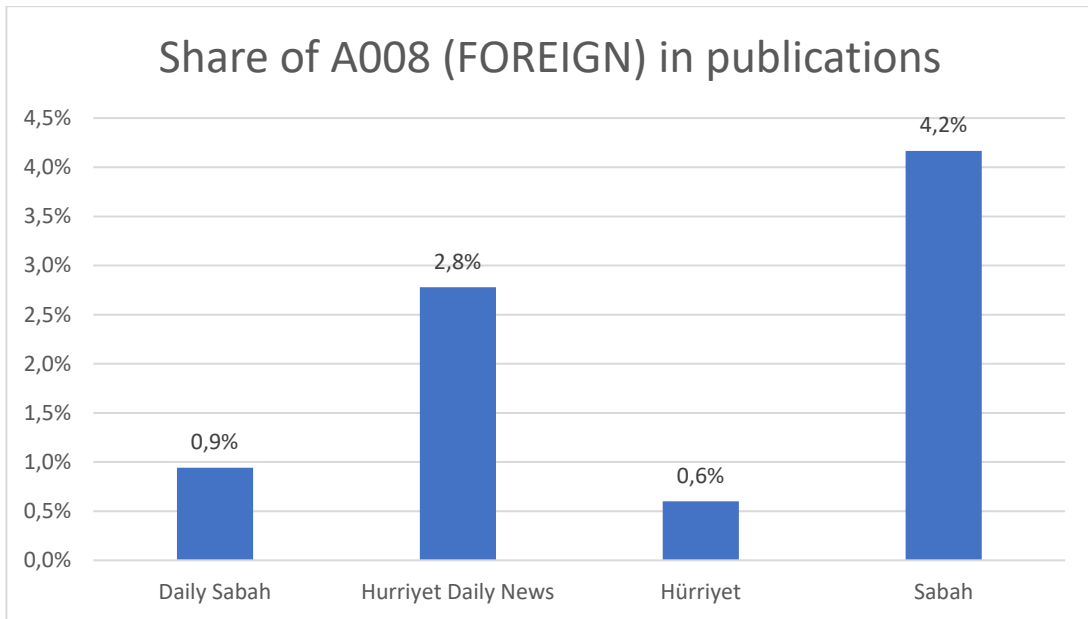


Figure 3.2: Percentages of items coded A008 relative to total number in each publication.



An example of positioning Europe as an entity strictly foreign to Turkey can be seen in the article titled “*Şanghay Beşlisi mi Avrupa Birliği mi?*” (“*Shanghai Five or the European Union?*”) by Ersin Ramoğlu, published in Sabah on 22 November 2016:

“They say that ‘you can’t make a fur out of a pig, and you can’t make a friend out of an infidel.’ It happens to be very true. They made us grow weary. We said [we wanted] the west, but what have we got? We’re [standing] at the doors of the Crusaders for the past 53 years. The rain fell, and we were soaked! The snow fell, and we froze! The sun shone, and we were burnt! They never cared for us... We said “We’re soaked”, “We’re frozen”, we shouted “Man, we’re burnt!” They didn’t hear. They just looked through the window from time to time. They treated [us] like dogs. O friends, we’re tired. ‘Tired’ is not enough... We’re fed up, [I say] fed up! Now we don’t even want to hear their names, nor want to see their faces. Are we wrong?”¹⁶

It is clear that the actor Ramođlu refers to as “they” in this article is the European Union, as the phrase “past 53 years” refers to the signature of Association Agreement between Turkey and the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1963,¹⁷ commonly known as the “Ankara Agreement” and often cited as the first formal step¹⁸ in Turkey’s process of integration to the organization known as the European Union today. It is assumed that the word “infidel” was not used as merely a figure of speech in the article, as the author also refers to the European Union as the “Crusaders” literally, which, in the Turkish context, an analogy that is extremely indicative of a viewpoint that the idea of Europe and Turkey are irreconcilable.

Another example of a statement that Turkey is not a part of Europe can be seen in Erhan Afyoncu’s article titled “*160 Yıllık Batı Yalanı Siz Avrupalısınız*” (“*The West’s 160-Year Old Lie That You Are Europeans*”), published in Sabah on 27 November 2016.¹⁹ In his article, Afyoncu looks at the historical background of the relations between Turkey and Europe, and argues that European powers’ turning a blind eye to Russian invasion of the Ottoman Empire in 1877 despite the fact that they guaranteed Ottoman Empire’s territorial integrity in the Paris Agreement of 1856 was an example of a false idea that Turkey ever was considered “European”. Although the

¹⁶ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/bolgeleler/ramoglu/2016/11/22/sanghay-beslisi-mi-avrupa-birligi-mi> , Accessed 28.11.2017.

¹⁷ http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2003/december/tradoc_115266.pdf , Accessed 28.11.2017.

¹⁸ <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-the-european-union.en.mfa> , Accessed 28.11.2017.

¹⁹ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/erhan-afyoncu/2016/11/27/160-yillik-bati-yalani-siz-avrupalisiniz> , Accessed 29.11.2017.

article is concerned with a historical background, the fact that it was published at a time when EU-Turkey relations were being discussed intensely in the public sphere implies that the article can be regarded as a comment on contemporary issues. One may suggest that the main argument of the article is Europe's refusal or reluctance to include the Turkish identity. However, the framework of the article presents the idea that "Turkey is a part of Europe" as a "lie" intended to deceive Turkey into an unfavorable path. Also, the phrase "160-year old lie" in the title also signifies that the author assumes that the proposition of "Turkey is European" is still a "lie", and not within a strictly historical context.

The two examples above, while positioning Turkey as inherently outside of Europe, still include the latter's rejection of the former within their context. Therefore, the opinion of "the European", which the authors assume to be an external actor in the first place, is a reference point nevertheless.

A different form of this discursive strategy can be seen in the article titled "*Erdogan is right: Turkey should vote on EU membership*" by Burak Bekdil, published in Hurriyet Daily News on 18 November 2016.²⁰ In the article, Bekdil says the following:

"Turkey's identity crisis is too persistent to disappear, even after decades of soul-searching, Turkey is too Islamic to belong to Europe, too secular and non-Arab to belong to an Islamic club, too Sunni to find a seat in any Shia Muslim club, too Turkish to find allies in a Eurasian pact, and too alien to find meaningful African alliance.

The Turkish-European opera buffa has become an increasingly boring, unpleasant and a crude theater. It is not even funny. A final act, featuring a Brexit referendum, may put an end to years of torment among the audience."

In this extract, Bekdil also associates Turkey's non-European status with religious differences as it was the case in Ramoğlu's article. However, in Ramoğlu's discourse, Europe's status as a Christian entity as implied by the terms "infidels" and

²⁰ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/burak-bekdil/erdogan-is-right-turkey-should-vote-on-eu-membership-106246> , Accessed 29.11.2017.

“crusaders” is constructed as one that is reproduced by its rejection of Turkey. On the other hand, the issue of rejection or acceptance is irrelevant in Bekdil’s framework, because even if Europe is not necessarily constructed as Christian, it is constructed as an entity that excludes Islam. In other words, while Ramoğlu suggests that Turkey does not belong in Europe by defining Europe through inclusionary characteristics (i.e. Christianity), Bekdil does so by defining Europe through exclusionary characteristics (i.e. Islam).

A closely related strategy is coded A019 in this thesis, which is the construction of Europe as an entity that Turkey “never” will be part of. While this definition may appear -at least asymmetrically- mutually inclusive with A008, A019 is used strictly in the context of Turkey’s membership to the European Union and only the articles that feature the statement in its manifest form are assigned to this code. The articles assigned to this code do not necessarily position Turkish and European identities as inherently incompatible, but tend to stress that Turkey’s European ambitions are futile.

The number of items assigned to A019 is very low at 7, or 1.4% of the data set. Daily Sabah, Hürriyet, and Sabah published 2 of these articles (28,6%) each, and Hurriyet Daily News published 1 (14,3%).

Figure 3.3: Distribution of items coded A019 among the four publications.

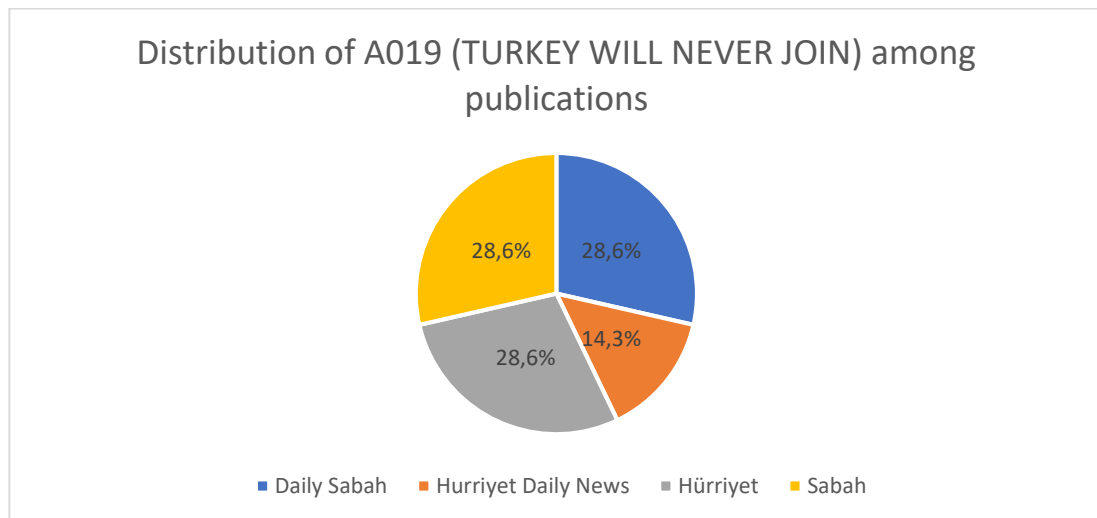
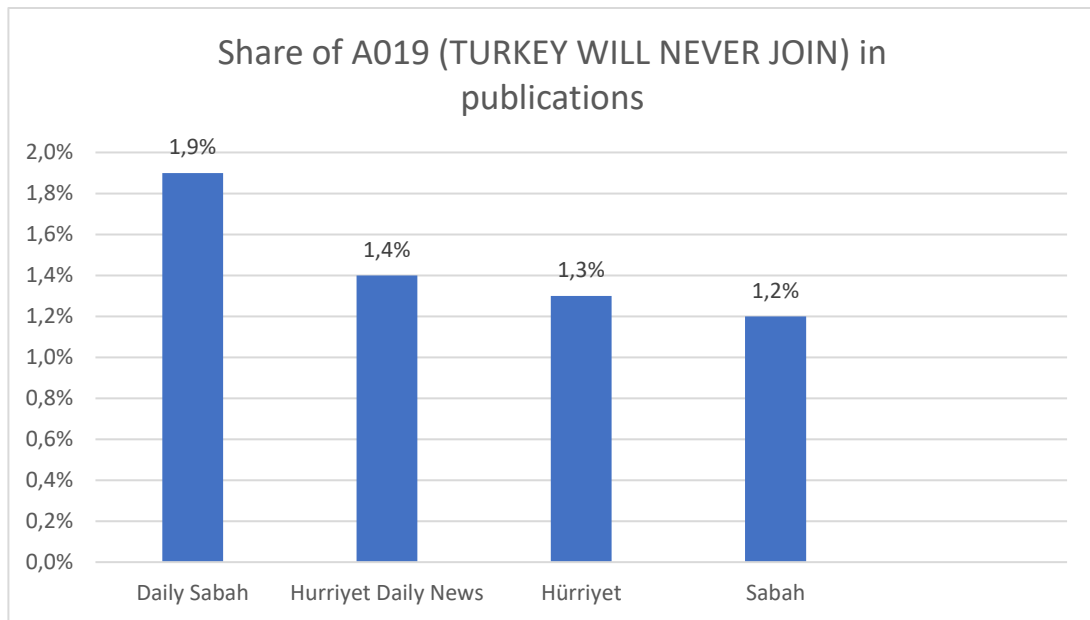


Figure 3.4: Percentages of items coded A019 relative to total number in each publication.



A019 is used in very similar contexts in all of the 6 items that contain it. An example would be İlnur Çevik’s article titled “Now *EU* is talking about economic sanctions” published in Daily Sabah on 14 November 2016, where the author says “Suspending Turkey’s candidacy and shelving our accession negotiations are meaningless as we are now fully aware that this is a charade where we will be kept at the negotiating table forever and will never become a full member.”²¹ Although the code A019 refers to an actual statement, rather than a theme that may be expressed in various ways, it is still an important discursive strategy. This is because, as seen in Çevik’s article, the reader is expected to regard the “fact” that Turkey “will never become a full member” as a form of “common-sense”. Therefore, any further considerations about the merits or disadvantages of becoming a part of Europe are effectively rendered irrelevant, because Turkey is assumed to never be able to become so even if it would be a favorable outcome.

²¹ <https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ilnur-cevik/2016/11/15/now-eu-is-talking-about-economic-sanctions> , Accessed 29.11.2017.

A discursive strategy that is the apparent opposite of A009 is emphasizing that Turkey is a part of Europe (A009). It should be noted that not only articles which explicitly state that “Turkey is a part of Europe” are assigned to this code, but those that point out to the fact that Turkey is already present in European organizations such as CoE, or that it is already a part of the European economic, political or social systems as well. In most articles assigned to A009, the discursive strategy is employed as a basis of legitimization for Turkey’s aspirations to be an EU member, or in order to imply that Turkey’s European status will not be diminished even if the membership negotiations with the EU conclude prematurely or unsuccessfully.

A total of 27 items (5,4% of data set) are assigned to code A009 with 10 of them appearing in Hürriyet (37%), 8 in Hurriyet Daily News (29,6%), 5 in Sabah (18,5%) and 4 in Daily Sabah (14,8%). This visible concentration in Hurriyet Daily News and Hürriyet is also present in the percentage of articles coded A009 relative to the total number of articles in each publication, presenting a pattern along the brand axis.

Figure 3.5: Distribution of items coded A009 among the four publications

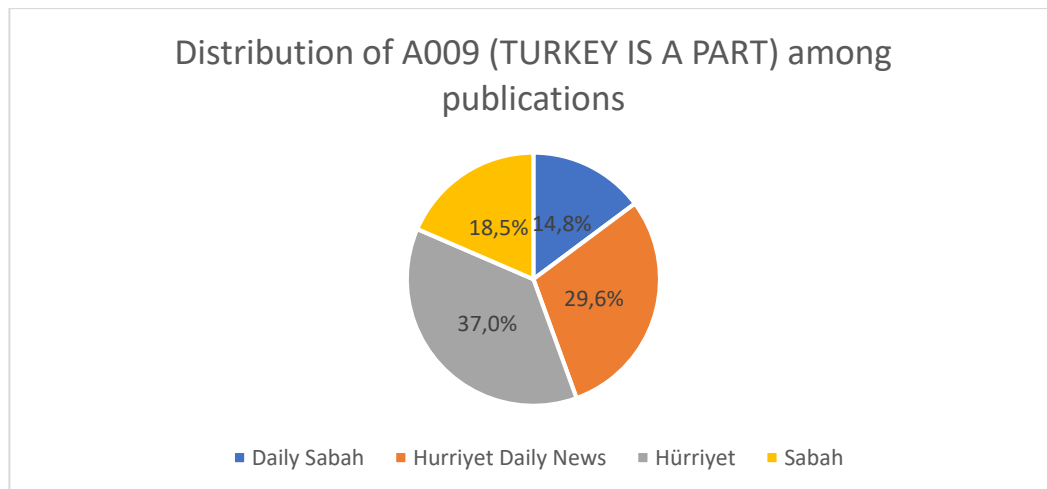
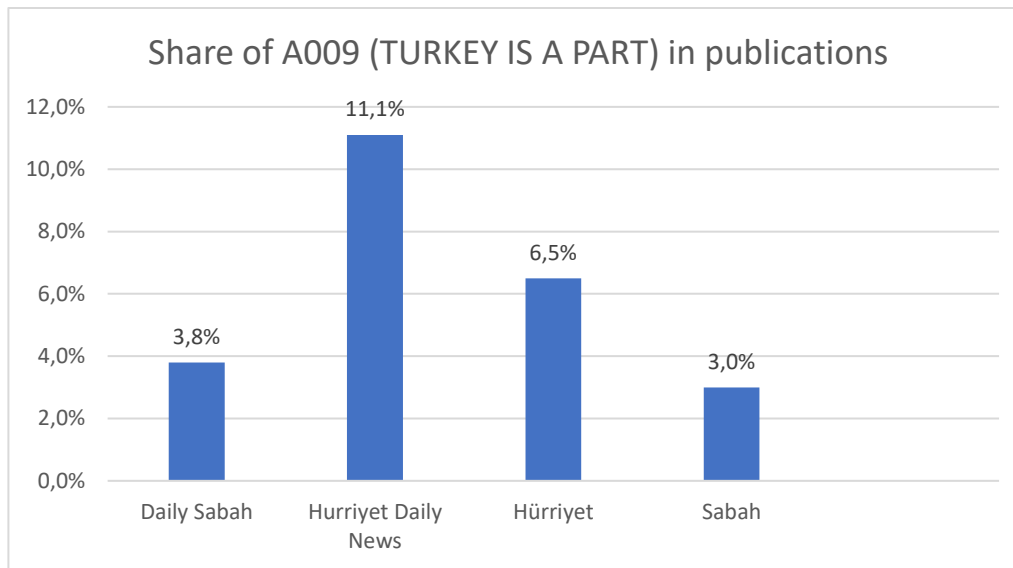


Figure 3.6: Percentages of items coded A009 relative to total number in each publication.



Some of the items assigned to A009 are done so on the grounds that the article gives a clear answer of “yes” to the question if Turkey is a part of Europe. An example of this is the article titled “*Avrupa AB ve ben*” (“*Europe, the EU and me*”) by Hasan Bülent Kahraman, published in Sabah on 30 November 2016. In his article, Kahraman explains how he considers himself a European in the cultural sense and goes on to say that while rejects the idea that “There would not be us without Europe”, Turkey should differentiate the EU from a wider sense of Europe of “Renaissance, humanism, tolerance, social democracy”, the latter which he considers valuable in any case. He explains why he considers himself, as an individual, as European in the following quote:

“Being a Muslim is the upper identity of all Turkey. Especially in the cultural plane, there is no one who is not a Muslim [in Turkey]. I also feel this culture in me, in myself, in my existence. On the other hand, I have learnt from my family, of which half is from Istanbul, to fully love and embrace the non-Muslim culture that is the largest Imperial richness of this city. Today, too, I consider myself as a part of the Jews, Armenians and Greeks with their great culture and consider them as a part of me. The culture of Istanbul, to a large extent, was developed and flourished by them. The Ottomans created a synthesis out of this texture accumulated [from] Turks, Anatolia, Seljuks and

the great Muslim culture stretched over all these. In other words, the West is a part of this culture. In short, the West is important for all this cultural richness. Because the great Ottomans, of which I have tried to explain briefly, is in fact a Balkan, an Eastern European state.”²²

It should be noted that while Kahraman explains why Turkey should be considered as a European country from a historical perspective, he still exemplifies this with the interwovenness of the cultures of non-Muslim groups in Turkey with the Islamic culture. Therefore, the definition of Europe as an entity that inherently excludes Islam is also present here. However, Kahraman argues that non-Islamic cultures are also a part of Turkey, and tacitly implies that Turkey is a part of Europe on the grounds of including non-Islamic cultures as well. Therefore, Turkey is discursively constructed as European on the grounds of its own inclusionary characteristics (the inclusion of non-Muslim identities).

A similarly manifest statement that Turkey is a part of Europe is present in Güven Sak’s article titled “*Europe needs a Turkey strategy*” published in Hurriyet Daily News on 26 November 2016. In his article, Sak comments on the reasons why “the European Parliament has recommended to the European Commission a temporary freeze of accession negotiations with Turkey”, and says the following:

“Europe now needs to understand that Turkey is not something external to it. It is no wild horse, but an important actor in its domestic politics. Turkey is a large Muslim country with a huge diaspora in Europe. It is a sensitive membrane between Europe and Middle Eastern and Asian refugees. It is also the forward position in the Western war against terrorism in these parts of the world, including the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), al-Qaeda and other groups that will doubtless be created in the future. These things are intimately related to what happens within Europe. Erdoğan’s decisions could play a major role in determining who governs in Berlin and Paris by the end of this year.”²³

²² <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/kahraman/2016/11/30/avrupa-ab-ve-ben> , Accessed 29.11.2017.

²³ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/guven-sak/europe-needs-a-turkey-strategy-106582> , Accessed 29.11.2017.

This quote can be interpreted as an understanding of Turkey which belongs in the margins, or “liminals” in Rumelili’s terms, of Europe. Sak states that Turkey acts as a “membrane” between Europe and refugees coming from outside, and mentions its “huge diaspora in Europe”. While the phrase “diaspora in Europe” may be read as an indication that Europe is something external to Turkey, the author still clearly states that Turkey is not “something external to” Europe. This presents a discourse where Turkey is definitely not positioned at the core of Europe, neither socially (“diaspora”), nor geographically (“membrane”), but a part of Europe nevertheless.

A more latent example of the discourse that Turkey is a part of Europe is seen in the article titled “*AB’ye rest, AK’ye jest*” (“*The EU spurned, the CoE gratified*”) by Safure Cantürk and published in Sabah on 14 November 2016.²⁴ In the article Cantürk reports on her interview with Erdoğan İşcan, Turkey’s permanent representative at CoE, who explains that the cooperative framework between Turkey and CoE is functioning well. The framing Cantürk uses for her article is contrasting the situation with CoE to Turkey’s recently strained relations with the EU, and she begins her article saying “President [Recep Tayyip] Erdoğan spurns the EU, which hasn’t been pushing the [membership] negotiations forward for years, by saying “Make your mind”, but he is also determined to not break the ties with the Council of Europe (CoE) underpinning Europe, which Turkey is a founding member.” The reporter makes a clear distinction between Europe and the European Union here, and implies that Turkey’s sour relations with the latter is of lesser importance compared to the “real” foundation of Europe, which she defines as the CoE, of which Cantürk specifically mentions that Turkey is a founding member.

A theme that is also related to Turkey’s position in relation to Europe is “Europe as an entity that rejects or temporizes Turkey” (A005). It should be noted that while this theme is mostly employed within a discursive framework of “European Union delaying Turkey’s membership with various pretexts”, this is not strictly the case in all

²⁴ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/14/abye-rest-akye-jest>, Accessed 29.11.2017.

items assigned to this code. The discursive strategy is closely related to the one represented by A019 and there is a high level of overlapping between the two. Articles assigned to the code A005 tend to give credit to Turkey's European ambitions, while discursively constructing a Europe that is unable to transform into an inclusionary entity.

Of all the 498 articles, 69 (or 13,9% of data set) are assigned to A005 with 23 of them appearing in Daily Sabah (33,3%), 20 in Hürriyet (29%), 16 in Sabah (23,2%) and 10 in Hurriyet Daily News (14,5%). It is one of the most uniformly distributed discursive strategies across the publications. Although Figure 3.7 shows that articles coded A005 tend to concentrate in Daily Sabah and Sabah along the brand axis slightly, this is mostly due to the number of total articles from Hürriyet and Hurriyet Daily News included in the data set being lower and Figure 3.8 demonstrates that publications in English language tended to publish articles employing this discursive strategy more frequently.

Figure 3.7: Distribution of items coded A005 among the four publications.

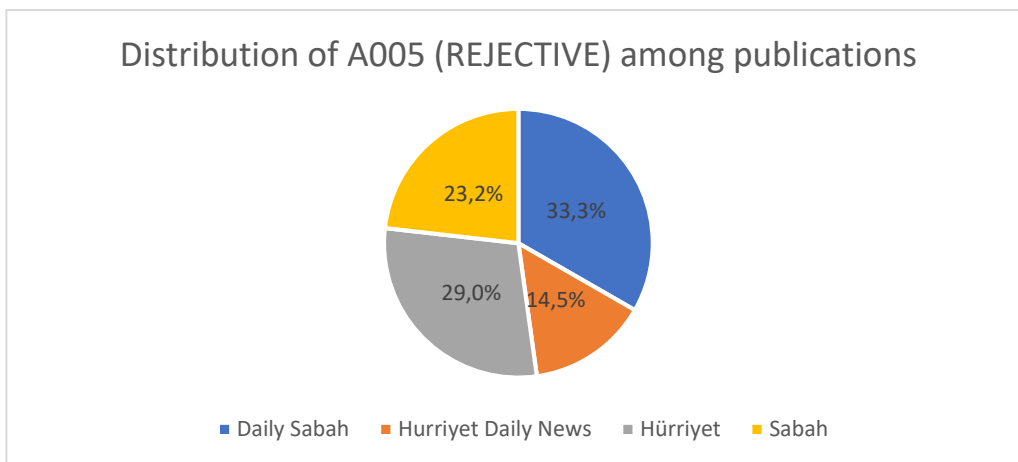
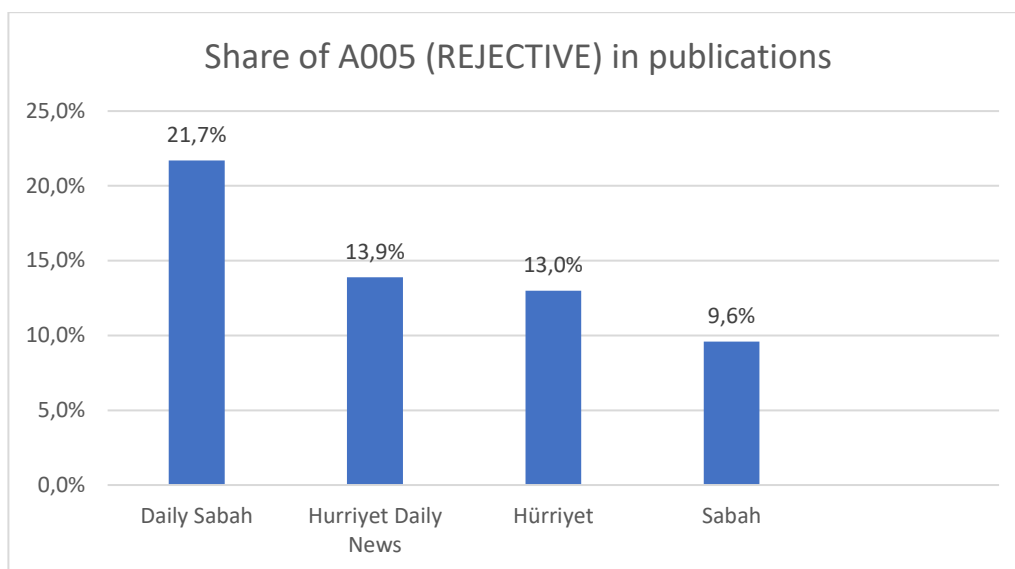


Figure 3.8: Percentages of items coded A005 relative to total number in each publication.



As mentioned above, the discursive strategy represented by A005 is most prominently present within the context of Turkey’s membership negotiations with the EU. In his article titled “*Avrupa Birliği... “Büyüklerle masallar”* (“*The European Union... “Fairy tales for grown-ups”*”) and published in Sabah on 29 November 2016, Yavuz Donat says the following:

“Exactly 53 years ago... On September 12th, 1963... The “Famous” European Agreement was signed between Turkey and Europe. Walter Hallstein, the “Famous” German Economist, the founding father of the “Single Market”... In other words the European Economic Community (EEC)... The entity that will be named the “European Union” later... said: Turkey is one of the 2 candidate countries (The second being Greece) of Europe (of EEC). “More than half a century” has passed since. The result is... nothing but a zero”.²⁵

With these words, Donat is clearly expressing his disappointment with the stagnation in the process of Turkey’s accession to the EU. While Donat does not

²⁵ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/donat/2016/11/29/avrupa-birligi-buyuklere-masallar> , Accessed 29.11.2017.

explicitly blame any party for this stagnation, the fact that only Hallstein is quoted in an article which features the phrase “Fairy tales for grown-ups”, it can be inferred that the author finds the EU as the primarily liable party.

An example that is subtler in strategy but more explicit in its statement is an article titled “AP Başkanı Schulz’den komik tehdit” (“*A laughable threat by EP president Schulz*”) published in Sabah on 13 November 2016. The publication cites no sources for the article, but based upon both the language employed in the article and the fact that a search in Google engine for articles containing the same phrases brings no other results than Sabah, it is assumed that this content is a product of the publication’s own editorial team. The article is a report on the then EP President Martin Schulz’s comments that the EU membership negotiations would end if Turkey ever reinstates capital punishment, and features the following phrase:

“European leaders that continue to see Ankara as the ‘country[sic] that is still waiting at the door’, although Turkey’s stance on the European Union has changed following years of being trifled with, are remarkable with their awkward approach to the issue of Turkey”²⁶

The strategy here is deemed subtler than the one employed in previous example, because the issue of Turkey being temporized is not the focal point in the article. Rather than that, it is merely presented as a background that is expected from the reader to be perceived as “factual”. On the other hand, the statement is even more explicit because the state of “being trifled with” is treated as something that is or should be taken for granted.

In some cases, representations of Europe as an entity that rejects or temporizes Turkey encompasses a context wider than politics and international relations. In her article titled “*EU referendum is a possibility in Turkey*” published in Hurriyet Daily News on 17 November 2016, Barçın Yinanç comments on statements by Turkish

²⁶ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/13/ap-baskani-schulzden-komik-tehdit> , Accessed 29.11.2017.

officials that the decision to continue with membership negotiations with the EU or not may be put to a referendum. One of the phrases Yinanç uses in her article is the following:

“Suppose Ankara’s EU accession process ends due to a reinstatement of the death penalty or a referendum. Once Erdoğan secures the presidential system, he can always sit down with the EU to negotiate a new form of relationship that is transactional rather than transformational. After all, did most of the Europeans not want to keep Turkey outside the inner family circle and at an arm’s length?”²⁷

While the quote above is still from a discussion about the EU-Turkey relations, Yinanç’s comment that “most of the Europeans” desire to “keep Turkey outside” refers to a wider context. It can be inferred from this quote that the author considers a situation where Turkey chooses another path than joining the EU would reflect the wish of not only the governments of EU member states, but also “most of the Europeans”.

The theme of Europe’s rejection of Turkey being discussed in a wider context is even more visible in İhsan Aktaş’s article titled “*The rise of racism and Islamophobia in continental Europe*” and published in Daily Sabah on 26 November 2016. In his article, Aktaş argues that the reluctance by the EU governments to accept Turkey as a member state is related to growing Islamophobia in their respective countries, and says the following:

“Turkey's population seems to worry the European nations about its integration into Europe's political, economic and cultural system. On the other hand, defining themselves by treating the Ottoman and the Turkish image as their ‘others,’ the European countries do not want to allow their primary competitor to become a part of the European destiny.”²⁸

²⁷ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/barcin-yinanc/eu-referendum-is-a-possibility-in-turkey-106205> , Accessed 29.11.2016.

²⁸ <https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ihsan-aktas/2016/11/26/the-rise-of-racism-and-islamophobia-in-continental-europe> , Accessed 29.11.2016.

Here, it is clearly seen from the mentioning of “the Ottoman” that the author considers Europe’s rejection of Turkey as an act that not only transcends EU-Turkey relations, but also as one that underlies it. Aktaş states that Turkey is fundamentally Europe’s “other” in the eyes of the latter, a “competitor” and not a desirable part of a common “destiny”. While Aktaş does not elaborate, it may also be assumed that he considers the rationale he outlines as erroneous, given the article’s overall critical tone. This would result in an implication that Turkey is actually not the “other” of Europe, but European countries are at a fault in their rejection of Turkey.

3.2. Representations of Europe as a Partner

While the discursive strategies explored in the previous sub-chapter make explicit or implicit statements on Turkey’s position in relation to Europe, some of the other strategies that are also concerned with Turkey’s European affairs tend to define the relations between the two without making a statement whether the European identity includes Turkey or not. Rather than that, Europe’s status as an actor external to Turkey is taken for granted, and the two are constructed as two negotiating parties. The term negotiation here does not necessarily refer to the negotiations for EU membership, but to the wider dialogue with between Europe and Turkey.

In some of the articles examined, Europe is presented as an entity that is indifferent to Turkey and its needs, if not deliberately rejective towards Turkey. Representations of “Europe as an entity that does not understand/indifferent to Turkey” (A017) constitute a different group from representations of “Europe as an entity that rejects or temporizes Turkey” (A005) explored earlier, since a much more conciliatory outlook of Europe underlies the former. In articles assigned to A017, Europe is usually considered an entity that has a negative stance towards Turkey due to a sincere inability to adopt different perspectives, rather than a malignant motive.

A total of 48 data items (9,6% of data set) are assigned to the code A017. With 20 items (41,7%), articles coded A017 visibly concentrate in Daily Sabah. 11 of the

articles coded A017 (22,9%) were published in Hürriyet, 9 (18,8%) in Sabah and 8 (16,7%) in Hurriyet Daily News. The distribution of articles coded A017 is skewed towards English language publications, and the pattern is even more visible in percentages of items coded A017 relative to total number of articles in each publication (Figure 3.10).

Figure 3.9: Distribution of items coded A017 among the four publications.

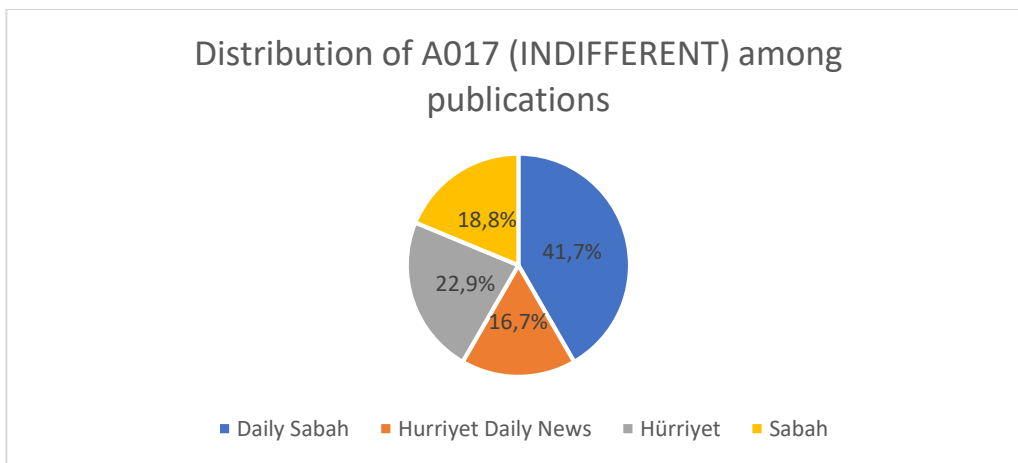
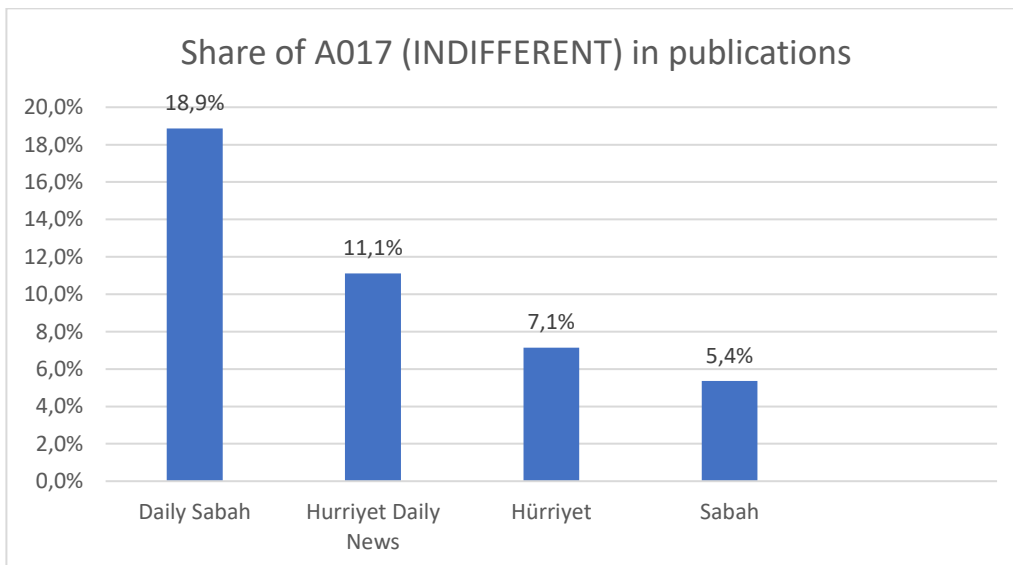


Figure 3.10: Percentages of items coded A017 relative to total number in each publication.



Since it is assumed that the editorial lines of Daily Sabah and Hurriyet Daily News are geared towards an international audience, possibly including non-Turkish parties of the public debate on Europe and Turkey, the pattern mentioned above may be interpreted as a plea for empathizing with Turkey, without resorting to an outright accusatory discourse.

The discursive strategy represented by A017 is usually employed in the context of EU institutions' criticism towards Turkey on issues of democracy, and many of the articles assigned to this code explicitly or implicitly point out to "extraordinary circumstances" surrounding Turkey, such as frequent acts of terrorism and the recent coup attempt in July 2016, as an element of justification for initiatives that attract the said criticism. A manifest example of this can be seen in Ozan Ceyhun's article "*Try to understand Turkey instead of fending it off*" published in Daily Sabah on 28 November 2016. In his article, where he discusses the EP's call to temporarily suspend the EU membership negotiations with Turkey, Ceyhun suggests that European politicians are not only unjustly criticizing Turkish practices in the face of extraordinary circumstances, but also forcing the Turkish people to become disappointed and dismissive towards Europe by doing so:

"If a referendum is held in Turkey on carrying forward with the EU membership process and an overwhelming majority says 'no' to it, the visionless authorities in the EU and the EP members, who play the role of 'bad cop,' will be the ones responsible for that, and I am sure one day they will have to give an account of what they did to their grandchildren.

It will be too late when the next generations will reproachfully say, 'Why have you brought us to this situation rather than trying to understand Turkey?'"²⁹

In this quote, the Europe is presented as a negligent force, inadvertently disassociating Turkey, a situation also detrimental to Europe as well, according to the

²⁹ <https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ozan-ceyhun/2016/11/29/try-to-understand-turkey-instead-of-fending-it-off> , Accessed 12.12.2017.

author. This is different from a discourse of a Europe that inherently rejects Turkey, as Ceyhun suggests that the “grandchildren” of Europeans will recognize their negligence as a mistake.

Another example where the discursive strategy represented by A017 is employed in a similar context, but in a more latent form can be seen in Serkan Demirtaş’s article titled “*Freezing Turkey-EU talks will benefit no one*”, published in Hurriyet Daily News on 23 November 2016:

“It’s true that things are not going in the right direction in Turkey, and those who read this column are quite aware of the critical situation in terms of the deterioration of democratic norms, fundamental freedoms, human rights and the rule of law. These are key criteria for a country aspiring to be among the respected nations in the world, if not a member of the EU.

However, the EU, the European Parliament and other European institutions should also engage in some self-criticism over the double standards they have been imposing on Turkey since full membership talks began in 2005. Or they should better inquire into their too-weak and too-late response to the July 15 coup attempt, which caused deep frustration in Turkey, even among pro-EU circles. Forgetting all these and focusing on just one aspect of this issue would be a very big mistake.”³⁰

In this quote, the author does not explicitly state that the EU is unable to understand or is indifferent to Turkey. In fact, Demirtaş accuses “the EU, the European Parliament and other European institutions” with “double standards”, which is an entirely different form of discursive strategy. However, it is important to note that just before making these accusations, Demirtaş articulates that he, at least partially, agrees with the criticism coming from Europe. Combined with the mention of “deep frustration in Turkey” caused by a “too-weak and too-late response to the July 15 coup attempt” from Europe, the author’s argument culminates in a call for empathy with the Turkish public mood, even if criticisms expressed are not considered as unfounded per se.

³⁰ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/serkan-demirtas/freezing-turkey-eu-talks-will-benefit-no-one--106446> , Accessed 12.12.2017.

While the majority of the articles assigned to A017 present Europe as an entity that does not understand Turkey within a context of not understanding the circumstances the latter is in and thus making unjust criticisms, some of the articles also portray Europe as such within a context of “not understanding its lack of leverage on Turkey”. In his article titled “*Avrupa'nın bu yaptırım kafası nereye kadar*” (“*How far this European mentality of sanctions will go*”) and published in Hürriyet on 14 November 2016, Fatih Çekirge discusses the then EP President Martin Schulz’s invocation of the issue of sanctions on Turkey as a response of to the democratic deficiencies in the country. Çekirge explains that as Schulz was making these remarks, the author was attending an inaugural ceremony held for the launch of a floating power plant built in Turkey, which according to him will decrease Turkey’s dependence on energy imports. Çekirge suggests that this is an example why Europe cannot use threats of sanctions as a leverage on Turkey, and says the following:

“The ambassador of Ghana, the [country] which buys the floating power was plant also present [at the ceremony] ... She was in a such mood of happiness, pride and genuine friendship... This because [I heard that] Ghana had been paying the unit price of 30 cents for the electricity [generated] with generators it bought from Europe. Now, they are paying 10 cents with this power ship they bought from Turkey. This marks the end of leeching. Now Europe... Has to give up on its bossy attitude from earlier ages. It has to listen, understand and converse. In addition, it has to respect the political choices of the country's people.”³¹

The quote above essentially displays a discourse where Europe is presented as being unable to understand that Turkey is no longer in a position to be threatened with sanctions, because the latter has a newfound economic potential that has changed the existing balance of power. This case is also closely related with another discursive strategy to be discussed later, which is the representations of “Europe as an entity that is dismissed/dismissible for Turkey” (A006), and in fact the article is also assigned to the respective code as well. However, what makes Çekirge’s article relevant to the

³¹ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/fatih-cekirge/avrupanin-bu-yaptirim-kafasi-nereye-kadar-40277855> , Accessed 12.12.2017.

discursive strategy represented by A017 is theme of Europe’s “inability” to properly assess the nature of relationships it can build with Turkey.

The discursive strategy of “Europe as an entity that does not understand/indifferent to Turkey” is the apparent opposite of two other strategies, in terms of the statement’s object and subject respectively, which are much less prevalent in the data set. One of them is the representations of “Europe as an entity that is not understood by Turkey” (A021), which appears in a total of 12 articles (or 2,4% of the data set). While this code carries a weak statistical significance due to the small number of items assigned to it, it is still notable that a combined 10 (or 83,3%) of these articles were published in either Hurriyet Daily News or Hürriyet, and Daily Sabah and Sabah published only 1 each (16,6% combined).

Figure 3.11: Distribution of items coded A021 among the four publications.

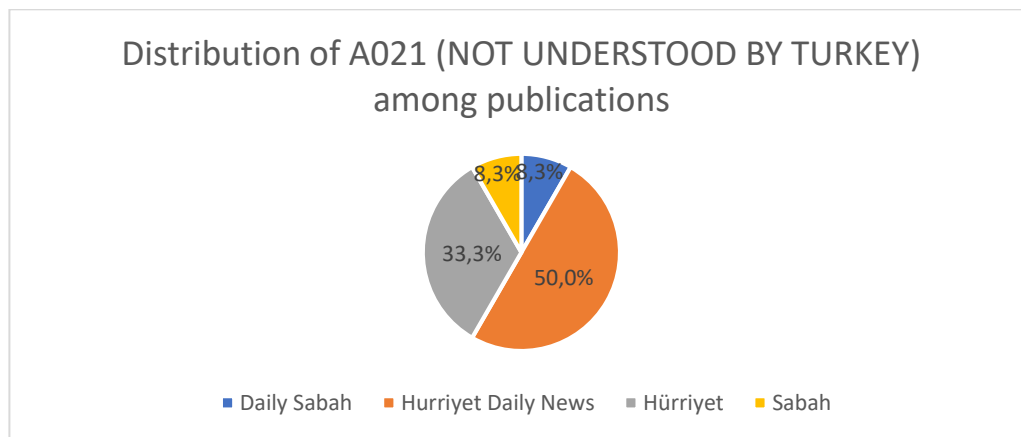
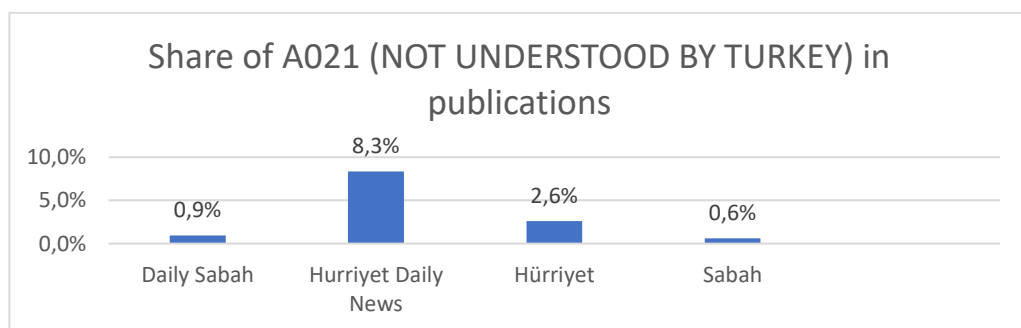


Figure 3.12: Percentages of items coded A021 relative to total number in each publication.



Representations of Europe as an entity not understood by Turkey often take the form of a response to popular, frequently used discourses on Europe in Turkey. An example is seen in Ünal Çeviköz's article titled "*Muasıır medeniyetler seviyesinden bıkmak*" ("*Getting bored of the level of modern civilizations*") published in Hürriyet on 16 November 2016:

"EU sees Turkey at a level lower than it should be in issues such as freedom of press, freedom of expression, right to assembly and demonstration, women's rights, fundamental human rights and freedoms and the freedom of faith.

It thinks that all kinds of discrimination have increased in Turkey with ethnic discrimination in particular, that the structure of a pluralist civil society has eroded and that Turkey has considerably regressed in the social area with regards to people's lifestyles.

We do not agree. The difference of opinion stems from the fact that we [act] on the basis of different normals. The EU looks at the indicators of democratization in Turkey from an index that is based on its own values, not on an index that is based on values of Turkey's south or southwest. Of course, we never even think of this. So we express our regret by saying 'What do we lack, what is it they don't like about us?', and not only feel regret but also resentment, anger and tiredness."³²

Although the author does not expressly say that "Turkey does not understand Europe", the quote above is still a remarkably straightforward implementation of the discursive strategy represented by A021. It is clear that the term "we" in the article refers not to the author himself, or politicians in particular, but to the Turkish public mood in general. Thus, Çeviköz suggests that the prevalent Turkish viewpoint fails to grasp the essentials of the way of European thinking.

In some data items, the discourse of "Europe as an entity not understood by Turkey" is used within a context of looking beyond not only popular, but also "populist" discourses. These constitute a more latent form of the discursive strategy, as seen in Akif Beki's article titled "*Understanding Turkish Deputy PM Şimşek*",

³² <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/unal-cevikoz/muasir-medeniyetler-seviyesinden-bikmak-40279908> , Accessed 13.12.2017.

published in Hurriyet Daily News on 28 November 2016. In his article Beki expresses support to the Turkish Deputy Prime Minister Mehmet Şimşek, who the author suggests took a “different” viewpoint on the EU, by saying that “the EU is not collapsing” and that it is a “success story”.³³ Beki continues by saying the following:

“He [Mehmet Şimşek] does voice tough criticism of the European Union. He does not mince his words. But he does not get carried away with the winds of anti-European demagogies. He does not try to fall in line with populist trends. He does not refrain from recalling the other side of the coin. He is a realist; he does not compromise on truth for loyalty.”

In this quote, Beki contrasts “anti-European demagogies” and “populist trends”, the latter which by definition is deemed to resonate well with the public, to “truth”. Therefore, it may be inferred that Beki is also contrasting the popular views on Europe to the “truth”, implying a lack of understanding of Europe.

Some authors go further than latent forms of the strategy as seen in Beki’s article, or attributing the lack of understanding of Europe to a general sense of “we” as seen in Çeviköz’s article. In his article titled “*Avrupa*” (“*Europe*”) and published in Sabah on 8 November 2016, Haşmet Babaoğlu says the following:

“We’ve been discussing orientalism a lot recently but we do not even touch upon the [issue of] occidentalism (An imagination of the West in the East) at all. To say it more clearly... We fail to understand that getting to know Europe is not related to touristic experiences or business relations. We’re confined to a few clichés for opinions. I looked... [and saw] the feedback to my column yesterday varied between the proposal to ‘pay and establish our own lobby’ and the opinion of ‘What did you expect; they are all Christians anyway!’ But in fact, even recent details show that there is much more to be paid attention to.”³⁴

The author does not elaborate who are the ones giving him the kind of feedback he criticizes, but it is assumed that Babaoğlu is referring to either the feedback from

³³ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/akif-beki/understanding-turkish-deputy-pm-simsek-106632> , Accessed 13.12.2017.

³⁴ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/babaoglu/2016/11/08/avrupa> , Accessed 13.12.2017.

readers or fellow journalists, or both. However, Babaoğlu still refers to a more or less tangible audience, whom he considers their understanding of Europe to be “confined to a few clichés” and based on limited engagement with Europe, comprised of “touristic experiences or business relations”.

Another discursive strategy related to “Europe as an entity that does not understand or indifferent to Turkey” (A017) is the representations of “Europe as an entity that accepts or understands Turkey” (A020). The latter may seem as the opposite of the former, however it should be noted that the description of A020 is wider in the sense that it involves not only understanding, but also accepting Turkey. In other words, the discursive strategy represented by A020 may also be described as “Europe as an entity that empathizes or sympathizes with Turkey”.

As it was the case in A021, the discursive strategy represented by A020 is also rare in the data set, with a total of 15 (3%) items assigned to this code. The discursive strategy is almost exclusive to *Hürriyet*, with 12 articles (80% of all items assigned) appearing in the publication. The remaining three publications each published 1 article (6,7%) assigned to A020.

A pattern as such could have been indicative of a certain journalist’s reiteration of their opinion in several different articles, and this would have resulted in the code losing its statistical significance altogether and excluded from this analysis. However, when looking at the data set in more detail, it is seen that the 12 articles published by *Hürriyet* are written by four different journalists. Hence, the discursive strategy is included in the analysis with its own code and the skewed pattern is assumed to be stemming from a divergence among editorial lines of the publications.

Figure 3.13: Distribution of items coded A020 among the four publications.

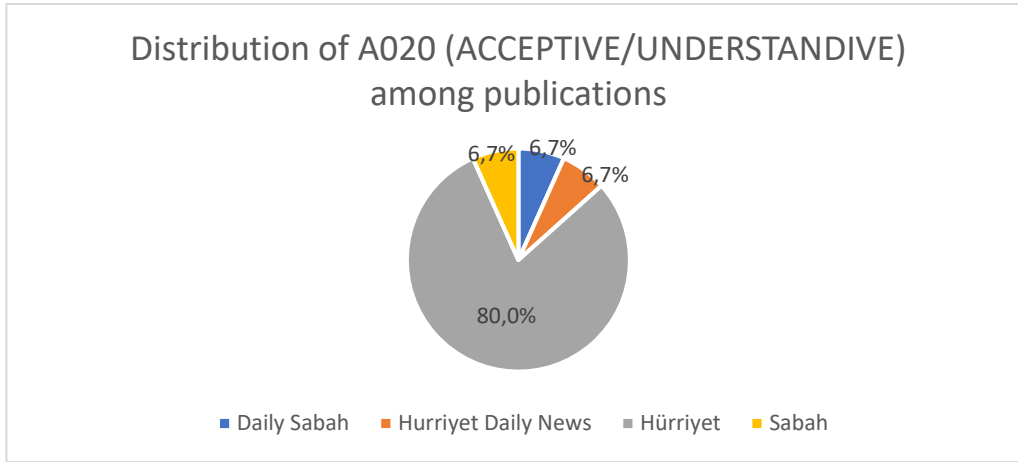
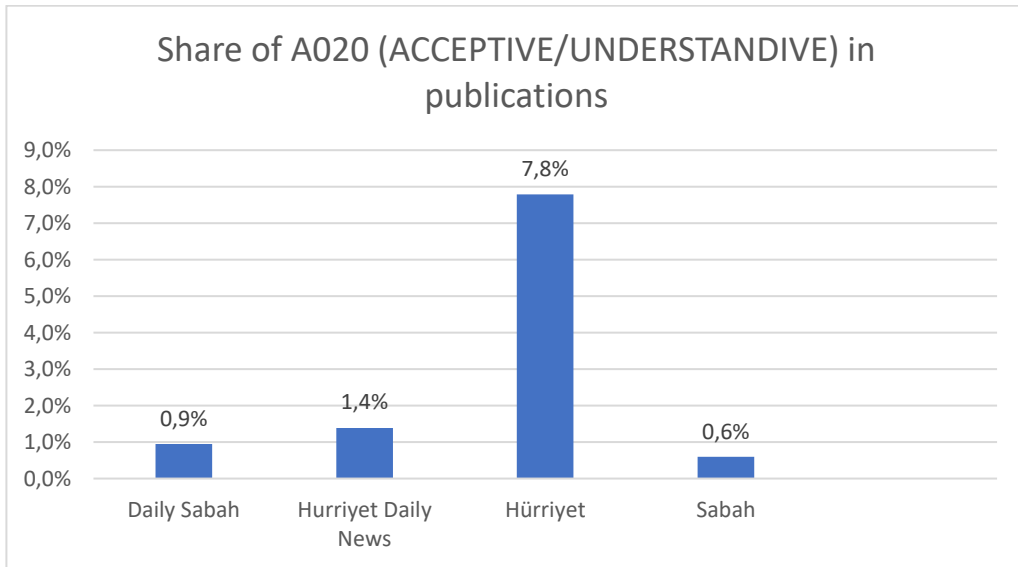


Figure 3.14: Percentages of items coded A020 relative to total number in each publication.



The discursive strategy represented by A020 is usually employed in a context where the authors are stressing the temporary nature of the unfavorable conditions in Turkey's relations with Europe. In his article titled "*Türkiye'ye rest çekmek, AB'ye de Avrupa Parlamentosu'na da Almanya'ya da yakışmıyor*" ("*Spurning Turkey is not worthy of the EU, the European Parliament or Germany*") published in Hürriyet on 26

November 2016, Ahmet Klahı discusses the resolution recently passed in the EP that calls for the temporary suspension of Turkey’s membership negotiations and says the following:

“The same European Parliament had fully supported the launch of negotiations with Turkey during its session on December 15th, 2004. Moreover, it did so by the ‘Yes’ votes of 479 parliamentarians out of [a total of] 623. Turkey’s direction is the West. In fact, it’s been so for years. This is the reason why Turkey applied to be a member of the European Economic Community (EEC), which was established in 1958 and is the precursor of today’s EU, in 1959. In 1963, Ankara Agreement was signed between Turkey and the EEC with a view of [consequent] full membership. In 1987, Turkey applied to be a full member of the EEC, but this request by Ankara was overturned in 1989 due to ‘an internal consensus not being there yet’. But, Turkey never gave up on its road to Europe or its European ambitions. As such, Turkey was granted the official candidate status at the Helsinki Summit of 1999.”³⁵

The invocation of the EP and the European Council’s acceptive steps towards Turkey in 2004 and 1999 in the quote above may be interpreted as a representation where Europe is an entity that essentially accepts Turkey as a constituent, and that the current unfavorable conditions in the relations are an anomaly that does not properly represent the nature of relations between Europe and Turkey.

A “micro-level” discourse, in van Dijk’s terms, may be inferred from the article titled “*Diyalog elini tutun*” (“*Take the hand of dialogue*”) by Celal zcan, published in Hrriyet on 8 November 2016. It is a short report on the then EP President Martin Schulz’s remarks and the translation of its full text is as follows:

“European Parliament’s President Martin Schulz demanded the release of arrested journalists and MPs and said: “I urge the government in Ankara to leave this path. Take the hand of dialogue that Europe extends to strengthen our democracy.

Prime Minister Binali Yldırım made a phone call with Schulz. During the call, the mutual will to continue the dialogue through high level talks was reiterated.”³⁶

³⁵ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/turkiyeye-rest-cekme-abye-de-avrupa-parlamentosuna-da-almanyaya-da-yakismiyor-40288881> , Accessed 13.12.2017.

³⁶ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/diyalog-elini-tutun-40272407> , Accessed 13.12.2017.

As seen in the quote above, the report consists of a quote from Schulz and the information of a related phone call, without any explicit comments by the reporter, or the editor who reviewed the report. However, the framing of the article is important in the sense that a phrase said by the quoted party is used as the title without any quotation marks or any other indications that it is a quote. Therefore, the micro-level discourse seen here is the latent confirmation of a Europe who is “extending a hand of dialogue to Turkey”.

Another article by the same author titled “*Türkiye ’nin anahtar rolünü çok iyi bilen, bunu her fırsatta vurgulayan bir politikacı*” (“*A politician who knows Turkey’s key status all very well and who stresses this at every given opportunity*”) and published in Hürriyet on 16 November 2016, also approaches to the subject from the viewpoint of “understanding”. In the article, Özcan comments on Germany’s then Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier’s bid to become the country’s president and describes the profile of the politician. Although the article is concerned with a German politician in particular, it is framed in close conjunction with Turkey’s European affairs:

“How would Steinmeier's presidency affect the relations between Turkey and Germany? Steinmeier, who had a very important role in former Prime Minister Schröder's full support to Turkey's EU membership, is still one of the most determined advocates of Turkey's EU membership. Steinmeier, who stood decisively against the calls of ‘Let's suspend negotiations with Turkey’, also faced harsh reactions from Turkey with a level-headed and calm tone. This is because [he] is a politician who knows Turkey's key role in the crises in the region all too well and who stresses this at every given opportunity. The [prospect] Steinmeier becoming the German president is an important opportunity with regards to both the relations between two countries, and also to the relations with the EU, as he is known to be a predictable and soft-spoken diplomat.”³⁷

In the quote above, Özcan states that it is Steinmeier who understands Turkey and this does not necessarily mean Europe as an entity understands Turkey, at least on

³⁷ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/turkiyenin-anahtar-rolunu-cok-iyi-bilen-bunu-her-firsatta-vurgulayan-bir-politikaci-40279023> , Accessed 13.12.2017.

the manifest level. However, the way Özcan frames the profile may be interpreted from the viewpoint of a discursive method van Dijk describes as “marginalizing those who claim the opposite” (Van Dijk, 1993: 265), to be explored further in Chapter 5. This discursive method involves focusing on the stance of a representative of “the other” who agrees with the discussant’s position to such an extent that the other’s position becomes marginalized, and the like-minded representative’s stance is presented as the valid one for “the other” as well. While it is not the claim of this thesis that “Europe does not understand the role of Turkey”, associating a stance that is “understanding” towards Turkey with the qualities of “level-headedness” and “predictability” may be interpreted as a discursive strategy where such stance is considered to be the expected one from an entity.

A discourse that straightforwardly presents Europe as a superior identity is the representations of “Europe as an entity Turkey needs/wants to be a part of” (A018). The phrase “wants to be” here should not be misleading here because the articles that merely make an observation that Turkey has efforts to become European (e.g. to be an EU member state) without any value judgements are not included in this code, but the ones that agree with such motive in a more or less manifest manner are.

It should also be noted that not all positive or superior portrayals of Europe are assigned to this code. For example, discursive strategies of “Europe as a source of fundamental rights and freedoms” (A016) and “Europe as a source of political/economic/social stability” (A010) to be explored in the next chapter may also be interpreted as latent implications that Europe is considered as an entity that “Turkey needs to be a part of” and in fact, these three discourses are considerably overlapping as the items assigned to one of the three codes are often also assigned to others as well. However, the latter two have more specific descriptions and, as it will be seen later, are sometimes used as “concessions” rather than “justifications”. For example, an article may present an overall negative view of the Europe while also conceding that it is a source of economic stability.

A total of 35 articles (7% of the data set) are assigned to the code A018. It is one of the discursive strategies that present near exclusivity along the brand axis, with all but 2 items appearing in either Hurriyet Daily News or Hürriyet (a combined 94,3%). The only exception is 2 articles published in Daily Sabah.

Figure 3.15: Distribution of items coded A018 among the four publications.

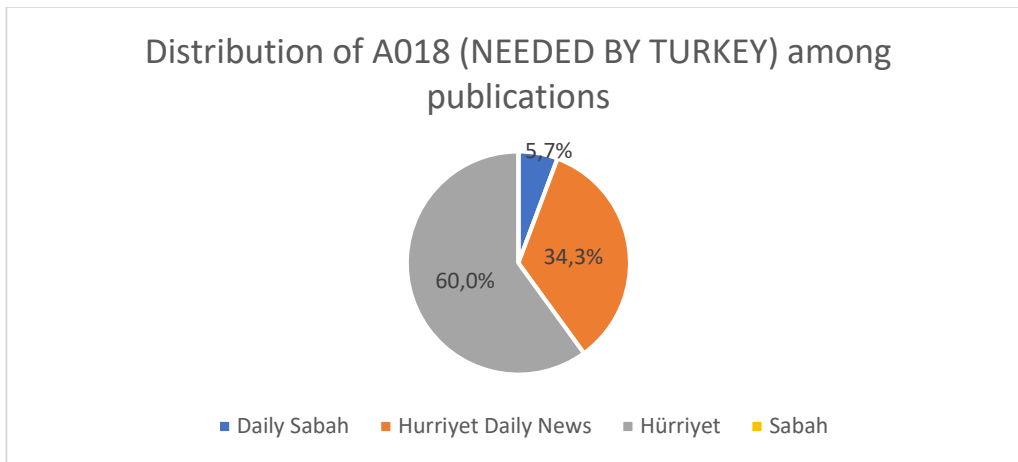
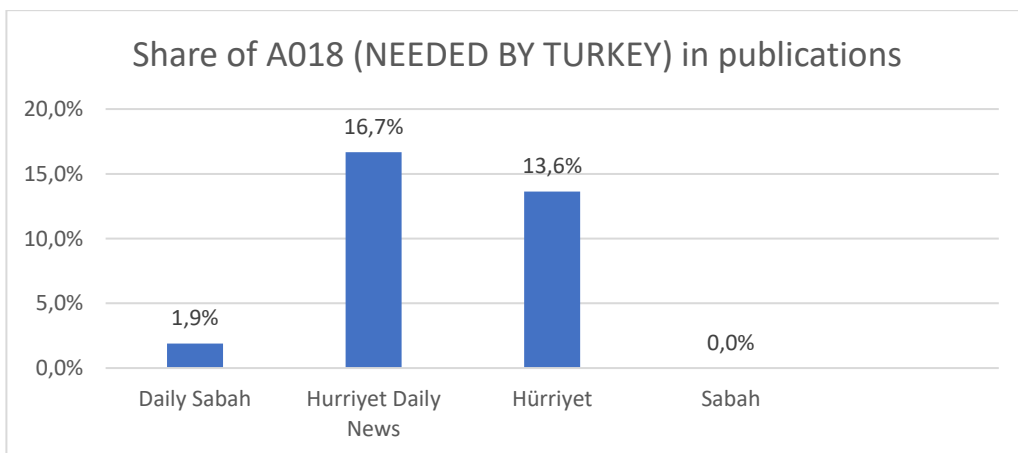


Figure 3.16: Percentages of items coded A018 relative to total number in each publication.



Although it is suggested above that the discursive strategy represented by A018 involves a “more or less manifest” agreement, the phrase “need” is rarely used in the

data items assigned to this code. An example of these rare instances would be Güven Sak's article "*Europe needs a Turkey strategy*" also mentioned earlier within the context of A009, where the author explicitly states that "Turkey desperately needs the European transformation machine" (Sak, 26 November 2016). However, the idea that Turkey needs to be a part of Europe is more often expressed in more indirect ways in the data set, but not as much to be defined as latent. A typical example of this can be seen in Emre Gönen's article titled "Is Turkey still European?" published in Daily Sabah on 16 November 2016. In the article, where he discusses the European Commission's most recent progress report on Turkey, Gönen says the following:

"The reigning atmosphere in Turkey, especially after the Brexit referendum, is that the EU's days are numbered. There is therefore no need to expect anything from a dying structure.

This is grossly simplifying the strength and the moral importance of the EU. Obviously the time is ripe for euroskepticism and the inability of EU leaders to come up with a solid perspective for Turkey has ruined many hopes and perspectives. This does not mean that Turkish democracy will survive and strive out of the rules and requirements of the EU. We, as Turkey, will definitely not fare better if we get away from the Copenhagen criteria. And the EU is there to stay for much longer, probably not in its present form, but definitely as a huge, technology creating, stable single market. This is worth remembering before condemning the whole process bluntly. The issue is not to let people ask, "Is Turkey still European?" Because it is. There is no other valid perspective for this society."³⁸

It is very striking that in the article, Gönen does not only express his opinion that Turkey needs Europe in an indirect way, but the sentence he uses to express this opinion is also indirect with regards to syntax: "This does not mean that Turkish democracy will survive and strive out of the rules and requirements of the EU." The micro-level discursive element of "automatism" as described by van Dijk (van Dijk, 1993: 261) is remarkable in this example, as a very clear and explicit idea such as "Turkish democracy cannot survive and strive out of the rules and requirements of the

³⁸ https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/emre_gonen/2016/11/16/is-turkey-still-european , Accessed 165.12.2017.

EU” is worded in an indirect syntax. The fact that the conviction observed in the quote is manifest, but not expressed manifestly may be interpreted as a method that aims to avoid controversy among the audience when expressing ideas that may not be so popular.

It is also notable that Gönen gives the clear answer of “yes” to the question if “Turkey is still European” at the end of the quote above, and the item is also assigned to the code A009 as such. The ideas that Turkey both “needs” to be a part of Europe and that Turkey “is” a part of Europe may appear contradictory at first, however, it is assumed that this is compatible with the “liminal” position of Turkey in relation to Europe, as proposed by Rumelili.

Another common discursive element in articles assigned to A018 is presenting a context where any other alternative identities to the European one could only be worse. An example of this can be seen in Yusuf Kanlı’s article titled “*EU, Shanghai and beyond...*” published in Hurriyet Daily News on 21 November 2016. In the article, where he discusses the recent debates that Turkey may alternatively join Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) instead of continuing with EU membership negotiations, Kanlı says the following:

“It is a fact that particularly in the last ten years Turkey has been moving away from the norms, values, principles as well as institutions required for democratic governance which remain as the sine qua non, or absolute requirements, of membership in the Western democratic club of nations. If the planned constitutional amendment drive of the undeclared ‘nationalist front’ composed of the Islamist conservative Justice and Development Party and the ultra-conservative Nationalist Movement Party is approved by the nation early next year, Turkey will be ushered into an era of even more autocratic governance, a peculiar ‘sovereign democracy.’

Obviously such a Turkey will have more commonality with Putin’s Russia or Nazarbayev’s Kazakhstan than any of the members of the EU, and it might perhaps be wiser for Ankara to stop swaying from side to side, put an end to the worries of derailment, put an end to systematic deception and place itself on a new track.

Will there be anything in that course for Turkey? What will Turkey achieve by abandoning its almost-200-years of Westernization process and turning to the East? Or can we assume that Turks marching to the East on a train destined to West will finally

be stopped and Turks will start marching to East on their train heading to East as well?”³⁹

What is seen in this quote is again an indirect suggestion that Turkey needs to be a part of Europe in order to be a democratic country, and “Putin’s Russia or Nazarbayev’s Kazakhstan”, two member states of SCO which Kanlı latently contrasts to democratic countries are presented as unfavorable alternatives.

The indirect nature of the argument Kanlı puts forward resembles “reverse psychology”, as he proposes that “it might perhaps be wiser for Ankara to stop swaying from side to side, put an end to the worries of derailment, put an end to systematic deception and place itself on a new track”, while covertly pointing out that this is in fact not a favorable path.

The metaphor of a “a train destined to West” is also notable in this quote, since as in the previous example, the Europe is both described as the sphere Turkey “needs” to be in, and in this case also as “determined” to be in.⁴⁰ However, unlike the previous item, Kanlı’s article is not assigned to the code A009 (implications that Turkey is a part of Europe) , as although the “train” metaphor determines Europe as an entity that Turkey will eventually be a part of, it implies that Turkey is “not there yet”.

In other examples, the comparison is made in a more straightforward manner. In his article titled “*Does Turkey want to be a third-world country?*” and published in Hurriyet Daily News on 12 November 2016, Serkan Demirtaş discusses various recent developments in Turkey’s European affairs in the light of Turkish Deputy Prime Minister Mehmet Şimşek’s remarks mentioned earlier and concludes by saying the following:

³⁹ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/yusuf-kanli/eu-shanghai-and-beyond-106348> , Accessed 15.12.2017.

⁴⁰ It is acknowledged that the phrase used in the article is “a train destined to West” and not Europe in particular. However, since the article is concerned with a debate where SCO is presented as an alternative to the EU, it is assumed that the phrase “West” is used interchangeably with Europe by the author in this case. For more information on the debate, see the Reuters article “Fed up with EU, Erdogan says Turkey could join Shanghai bloc”, available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-europe-erdogan/fed-up-with-eu-erdogan-says-turkey-could-join-shanghai-bloc-idUSKBN13F0CY> , Accessed 15.12.2017.

“One point needs to be understood well: You don’t get to cherry-pick the criteria for the EU accession process. It’s a lot of work to upgrade the democratic, economic, social and other standards of the candidate country to the level of the EU. That means the bloc doesn’t allow freelance membership. To make it short, Turkey will either be a first-world or – as the minister [Şimşek] worries – a third-world country.”⁴¹

In this quote, the author does leave not any room for negotiation of Turkey’s identity, and the context is presented in a binary way, where Turkey will either be a part of the EU or a third-world country. Although Demirtaş also explicitly says “We need to continue our EU process for our interests” in his article, the argument is reinforced with an indirect method of the rhetorical question if Turkey wants to be “European” or a “third-world” country.

A more latent example of representations of Europe as an entity Turkey needs to be a part of can be seen in Gülse Birsnel’s article titled “*Nelerin gündem olmasını istiyorum*” (“*The things I wish they were on [Turkey’s] agenda*”) published in *Hürriyet* on 15 November 2016. In the article, Birsnel mentions some of the debates in the Turkish public sphere which she finds troubling, and says the following:

“I am tired of getting distressed by grand scale debates, watching the news biting on my lips, such as the presidency [executive presidential system] that will change the country's destiny, its whole system, every aspect of our lives; the possibility of us giving up on the European Union, the war on our borders with Syria and Iraq. I deserve to live like a Norwegian or a Dutch person, too.”⁴²

Although the author does not manifestly express any opinions on Europe or Turkey’s relation to it, categorization of the possibility of “giving up on the European Union” as a prospect similarly “distressing” as issues such as war on the country’s borders is indicative of a discourse that Europe is something Turkey “needs”. It is also

⁴¹ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/serkan-demirtas/does-turkey-want-to-be-a-third-world-country-106031> , Accessed 15.12.2017.

⁴² <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/gulse-birsnel/nelerin-gundem-olmasini-istiyorum-40278832> , Accessed 16.12.2017.

notable that Birsal implies that “the Norwegians or the Dutch” live in relative comfort, which is indicative of a discourse where Europe is seen as a source of stability. This discursive strategy has its own code (A010) to be explored later in the analysis and the article is assigned to that code as well, and this demonstrates the aspect of overlapping between A018, A010 and A016 mentioned above.

The final theme to be explored under the category of Europe as a partner of Turkey is the stress on the multidimensional aspect of the relations between Turkey and Europe and their mutual interests (A004). A total of 59 articles (11,8% of data set) are assigned to A004. The discursive strategy represented by A004 presents a divergence along the brand axis, with *Hurriyet Daily News* publishing 20 (33,9%) and *Hürriyet* 19 (32,2%) of the articles assigned to the code, and *Daily Sabah* and *Sabah* publishing 10 (16,9%) each.

As it was also the case in the previously explained discursive strategy, the one represented by A004 in its more latent forms could have been found to be more prevalent than in Figures 3.17 and 3.18, if extended to other closely related discursive strategies such as presenting Europe being a source of stability, or conversely, as an entity that should refrain from alienating Turkey for its own interests. However, as in A018, the discursive strategy represented by A004 is also evaluated in a narrower context with only the articles specifically implying or expressing the code’s description are assigned to it. The reason behind this preference is because unlike its counterparts, this discursive strategy tends to strike a balance between the representations of Europe and Turkey in comparison to one another, and different articles coded A004 may employ inclusionary or exclusionary approaches to the question of European and Turkish identities while sharing the same theme. In other words, it represents the two as either more or less equal partners with mutual interests that should be built upon, or having deeply rooted relations that could not be explained with binary oppositions.

Figure 3.17: Distribution of items coded A004 among the four publications.

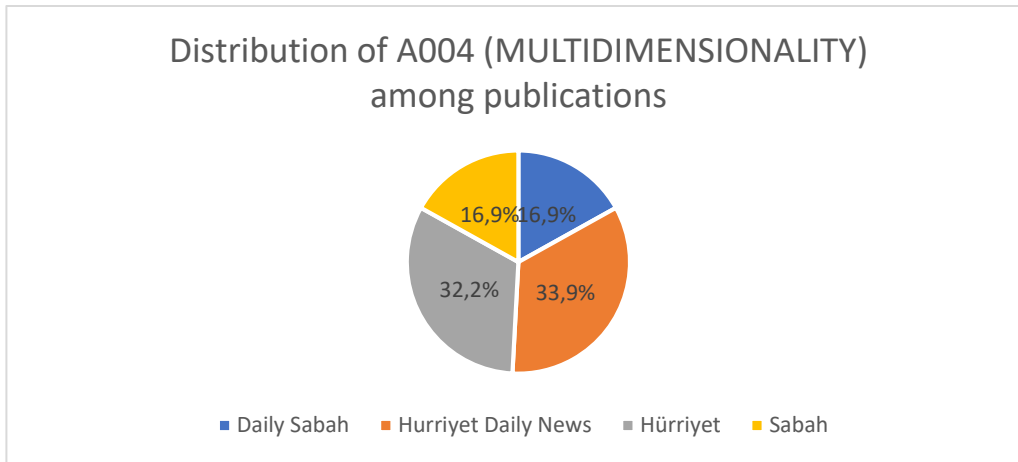
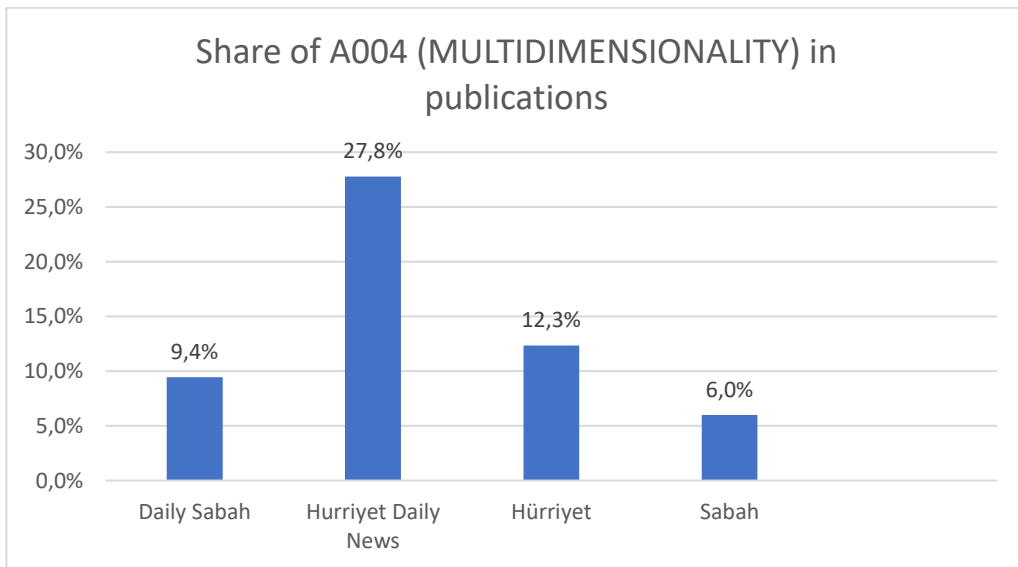


Figure 3.18: Percentages of items coded A004 relative to total number in each publication.



A latent way of stressing the multidimensionality of the relations between Turkey and Europe can be seen in Zeynep Bilgehan’s article titled “*Despite low numbers, Istanbul’s Erasmus students defy security worries*” published in Hurriyet Daily News on 28 November 2016. It is an exclusive report on the experiences of international students temporarily receiving education at Turkish universities within

the framework of Erasmus student exchange program,⁴³ and is a re-edited version of an article that appeared in *Hurriyet* in Turkish language earlier with the title “*OHAL’de Erasmus*” (“*Erasmus during the state of emergency*”).⁴⁴ What makes both articles relevant to the discursive strategy represented by A004 is the framing choices used in them. Both versions, to a large extent, are comprised of quotes from exchange students and a representative of the program, without any explicit comments by the reporter. However, Bilgehan’s story is framed as contrasting to the recently strained relations between Turkey and the EU on the political level, and the stories of students are implicitly presented as a detail that could have been lost within the public debate. The lead paragraph of the article’s version in *Hürriyet* reads as following:

“Many European students came to Turkey within the framework of Erasmus Program, despite the recent chilly relations between the European Union and Turkey and the difficult summer under the state of emergency [in Turkey]. We spoke with Erasmus students, who ran across a state of emergency when they were looking for a different culture, about their experiences...”

The lead paragraph of the article’s version in *Hurriyet Daily News* strikes a similar tone, albeit in different phrases with different themes given weight to:

“Defying grave security challenges and high-tension politics, thousands of European exchange students continue to live and study in Istanbul, although their numbers have almost halved since last year.”

The theme that is present in both framings is that European students are still visiting Turkey to receive education despite the unfavorable conditions that could have dictated otherwise. While in neither version of the story it is argued that Erasmus program constitutes a link between Turkish and European societies, or Turkey is a part of the Erasmus program on the grounds of being a European country in the first place;

⁴³ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/despite-low-numbers-istanbuls-erasmus-students-defy-security-worries--106647> , Accessed 16.12.2017.

⁴⁴ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ohalde-erasmus-40289454> , Accessed 16.12.2017.

the stress on a social initiative in contrast to the climate at the political level may be interpreted as also a stress on the interwoven (or multidimensional) nature of relations between Turkey and Europe.

On the other hand, an example of the “mutual interests” aspect in A004’s description can be clearly seen in Merve Şebnem Oruç’s article titled “*Will Turkey join Shanghai Cooperation Organization?*” and published in Daily Sabah on 25 November 2016, in which the author says the following:

“When you ask the Turks on the streets what they think about being a member of the EU, many say today that the EU is already on the verge of collapse so why should Turkey join. It is obvious that the emotional ties between Turkey and the EU have already severed and what is left is just economic concerns. Turkey has a growing economy and it has good trade relations with the EU. Turkey’s top export partners are Germany, the U.K., Iraq, the U.S. and France, three of which are European countries. Annual Turkey-EU trade is around 140 billion euros. However, Turkey and the EU currently trade under the Customs Union, which only covers industrial goods and is now over 20 years old, which means it is really out of date. Enhancing trade opportunities with EU countries would be beneficial for Turkey, and it would also be an advantage for the bloc as well since Turkey is a big market.”⁴⁵

In her article, Oruç builds a framework where the “emotional ties between Turkey and the EU have already [been] severed”, and thus the prospect of reconciliation are dim, if not impossible as in the discursive strategy represented by A008. However, although Europe is positioned as “other” if not “the” other of Turkey in the article, both parties are portrayed as being on equal footing. Oruç argues that while there are merits in joining SCO, and in implicit terms abandoning European ambitions, Turkey and Europe should remain partners valuable for each other for the sake of mutual economic interests. This example is relevant to the aspect of multidimensionality as well, since just as Bilgehan’s article reminds the audience of the social interwovenness of Europe and Turkey despite the political issues, Oruç’s article reminds the audience of the economic interwovenness of the two.

⁴⁵ <https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/merve-sebnem-oruc/2016/11/26/will-turkey-join-shanghai-cooperation-organization> , Accessed 16.12.2017.

While the divergence between Turkish and European identities are stressed more in Oruç's article, some of the other articles coded A004 have a more inclusionary approach. In his article titled "*İdam!*" ("*Capital punishment!*") and published in *Hürriyet* on 1 November 2016, Taha Akyol discusses the recent remarks by Turkish officials that Turkey may reinstate capital punishment. Akyol argues against the practice on the grounds that such initiative would sever the ties between Europe and Turkey, saying the following:

"OK, let's hang a few terrorists by reinstating a non-retroactive capital punishment... Let the Council of Europe suspend our membership! Let the [Turkey's] EU [membership] process be frozen. So that we break one of the 'three anchors' our economy depends on with our own hands, cast a shadow on our 'only solution' with our own actions. What would happen to our economy?! In addition, we are going through a period where money tightens across the world and the foreign exchange rates explode. In a such conditions, Turkey needs to bring approximately 200 billion dollars from abroad, annually. Yes, South Korea is very successful in terms of economy while not being in the EU. That is true, but South Korea ranks 11th in the 'global rule of law index'; while Turkey ranks 80th! This is why Babacan says 'Our only solution is the EU law.' Could Turkey fight terrorism stronger if we debilitate our economy as such?"⁴⁶

The quote Akyol refers to is Turkish MP and former minister responsible for the economy Ali Babacan's words "Council of Europe's norms of law are the reference point for us, we will not be looking for [other references] elsewhere. Our only solution is practicing the rule of law at the highest standards in Turkey", which Akyol includes earlier in his article. While Turkey's interests in its relations with Europe is heavily stressed in the article, rather than "mutual" interests, it may be helpful to mention other layers of discursive strategies employed in this article before evaluating what kind of role the theme of multidimensionality plays as a discursive strategy in this case.

First of all, the decisive theme in the article is clearly the anxiety stemming from a prospect of disassociation from Europe in general. Although both the title and the starting point of the article is the capital punishment, the author barely expresses

⁴⁶ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/taha-akyol/idam-40265767> , Accessed 16.12.2017.

any value judgement on the issue of capital punishment itself throughout, other than suggesting that reinstating the practice would be ineffective. Akyol also mentions the possible results of reinstating the death penalty with regards to both the CoE and the EU, even erroneously reiterating Babacan's quote as "Our only solution is the EU law" while the original quote also included in the article refers to CoE instead of the EU. This indicates a discourse where the focal point is the general disassociation from Europe; and where the attempts at rationalizing on the basis of specific institutions and provisions have an auxiliary role.

While the prospect of disassociation from Europe is presented as the primary hazard of reinstating capital punishment, the hazards of disassociating from Europe are further rationalized in the article on the basis of its possible consequences on the economy in turn. This practice of stressing Turkey's need to be a part of Europe only in indirect terms resembles the method in Emre Gönen's article explained above within the framework of A018, implying a latent compulsion to thoroughly rationalize (or, even overrationalize) any pro-European convictions. Hence, in the context of Akyol's article, the multidimensional aspect of the relations between Turkey of Europe constitutes a discursive strategy that supplements and reinforces the primary theme of the article, which is the representation of Europe as an entity that Turkey needs to be a part of (A018).

3.3. Representations of a Malevolent Europe

The four discursive strategies, namely representations of "Europe as a harbinger or accomplice of Turkey's adversaries" (A001), "Europe as an entity openly hostile to Turkey" (A002), "Europe as an insincere, hypocritical or dishonest entity" (A003) and "Europe as an oppressive authority" (A011) grouped together in this sub-chapter covers the negative portrayals of Europe in relation to Turkey, which feature a notion of deliberate ill will by the former towards the latter. The first two of these strategies may also interpreted as latent discourses that position Europe and Turkey as mutually

exclusive, of which manifest samples are covered by A008. The remaining two codes (A003 and A011) also present an overall negative view of Europe, however, articles assigned to these do not necessarily imply that Turkish and European identities are mutually exclusive.

It is also notable that two of the codes in this category rank first and second in terms of number of items assigned (A001, A003), and one may consider them as the most prevalent discursive strategies in the entire data set as such. However, as it will be explained below, both discursive strategies present observable divergences along the brand axis of publications, with the one represented by A001 presenting near exclusivity. Because of these divergences, projecting the prevalence onto the entire data set may also be problematic, as it is indicated that the political alignment of one of the two main brands of publications included in this thesis responsible for this pattern.

The description of the code A002 (“Europe as an entity openly hostile to Turkey”) may seem to cover all discursive strategies that present Europe as an entity malevolent towards Turkey. However, the articles assigned to this code are the ones in which it is explicitly stated that Europe approaches Turkey with enmity in some form. In cases where the nature of this enmity is elaborated, the article may be assigned to one or more of the other three codes in this category, or to any other code as well. As such, although the discursive strategy seems to be low in prevalence, its more latent forms are also covered by other codes which provide narrower descriptions of the perceived forms of enmity.

A total of 26 articles (5,2% of data set) are assigned to A002. The number of items assigned to this code is relatively low, and it represents another discursive strategy that presents near exclusivity along the brand axis, with all but 1 article appearing in either Daily Sabah or Sabah (a combined 96,2%). The only remaining article was published in Hurriyet Daily News.

Figure 3.19: Distribution of items coded A002 among the four publications.

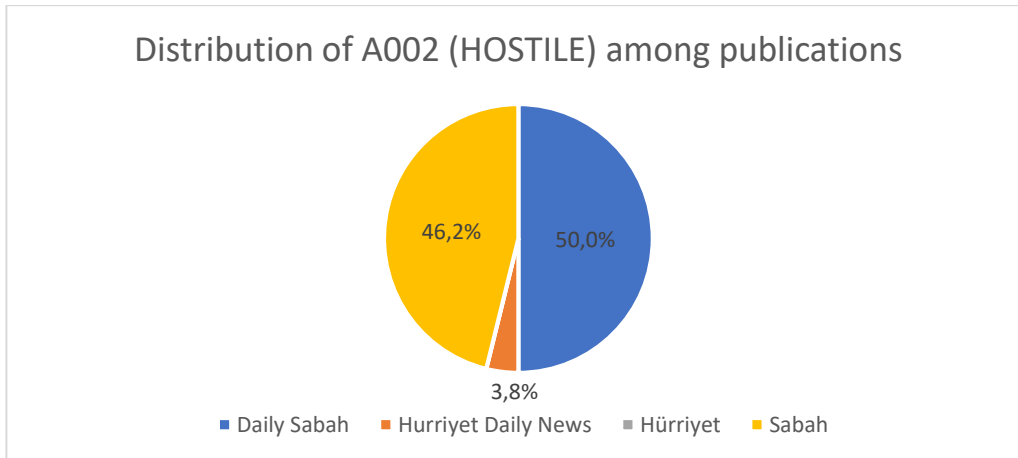
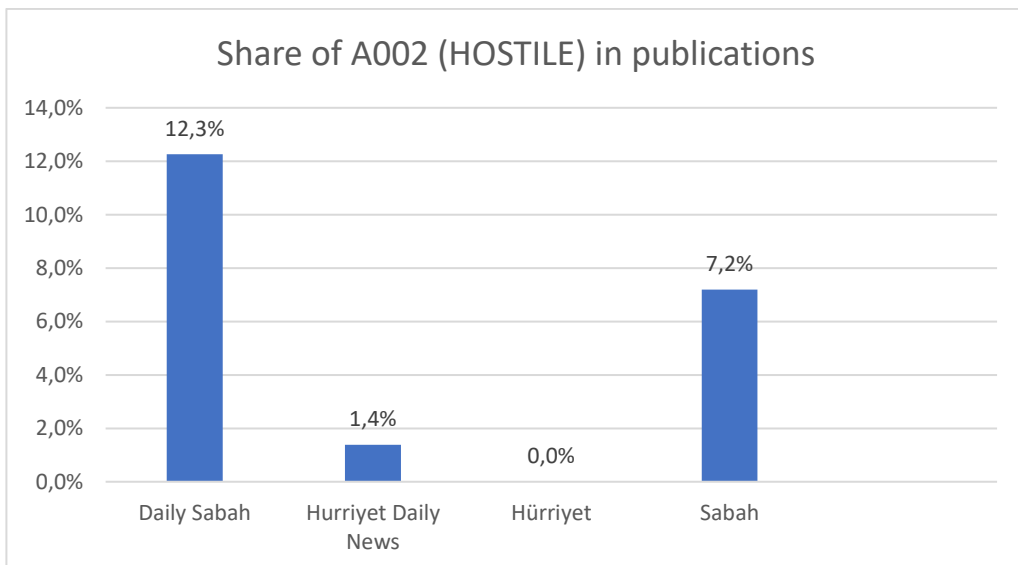


Figure 3.20: Percentages of items coded A002 relative to total number in each publication.



The typical characteristic of articles assigned to A002 is the portrayal of a generalized sense of enmity from Europe to towards Turkey, without much elaboration, or elaborated with loosely connected ideas that ultimately point to an omnipresent hostility. In these cases, the discursive strategy usually acts as a presupposition which

other arguments are deduced from. In his article titled “*Turkey is hopeful over Trump, but showdown with Brussels is going to backfire on EU*”, and published in Daily Sabah on 21 November 2016, Martin Jay argues that the EU has no leverage on Turkey left to influence its policies through “threats” and other strategies. As he explains the background of how the EU is trying to influence Turkey’s policies, he says the following:

“It was barely a few weeks ago when the EU's silence over the attempted coup spoke volumes over what the Brussels machine was really hoping for, as leading members of European Parliament had already voiced their concerns about how President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was running the country. Let's be clear. Those in Brussels now threatening Turkey wanted a coup in Turkey to succeed.

But then, comically, those same members of European Parliament arrived in Ankara to try and soften up the administration into accepting the EU's terms on a refugee barter program which effectively kept the lion's share of Syrian refugees in Turkey in exchange for giving Turks visa-free travel in the EU.”⁴⁷

The phrase “Let’s be clear. Those in Brussels now threatening Turkey wanted a coup in Turkey to succeed” seen here is an explicit statement that the EU is acting in a form of enmity towards Turkey. However, the argument appears to stem from a perceived “fact” that is taken for granted and the author does not try to rationalize why “Brussels” would want a coup in Turkey to succeed. Rather than that, it is presented as a wish that other actions on the side of Europe can be explained with. The second paragraph is included in the quote for the purposes of demonstrating the flow of the author’s arguments, in which the perceived enmity is expressed without elaborating and the subject is abruptly changed.

A similar example of the “taken for granted” status of this enmity can be seen in Mehmet Barlas’ article “*Şimdi sıra ‘Avrupa Baharı’nın kasırgalarında*” (“*Now it’s the turn of the ‘European Spring’ storms*”) published in Sabah on 11 November 2016,

⁴⁷ <https://www.dailysabah.com/op-ed/2016/11/24/turkey-is-hopeful-over-trump-but-showdown-with-brussels-is-going-to-backfire-on-eu> , Accessed 16.12.2017.

where the author argues that Europe is on the eve of a social and political turmoil demonstrated by the referendum in the United Kingdom where the British people voted to leave the EU, and social unrest caused by various factors such as social insecurity and economic concerns. Barlas concludes his article by saying the following:

“If we were like them, we would derive joy from these developments which bring political instability to the West. The instability our Western allies, who did not care about the vile coup attempt here and protested the taken measures by saying ‘Democracy is in danger’, would make us happy. But we know that the world of communication is just a small village... Their instability affects us, and our instability affects them.”⁴⁸

In this quote, it is implied that “the West”, assumed to be a reference to Europe in particular since it is mentioned in the context of Europe, is an entity that inherently “derives joy” from the misfortunes of “others”, or at least Turkey. The quality is presented as inherent, because in this example too, there are no attempts to rationalize this malevolent habit, indicating a perception of omnipresent hostility.

In some articles, there are attempts to rationalize the idea that the Europe is openly hostile to Turkey. However, these attempts at rationalization also often present a disjointed pattern, with many fragments of hypotheses combined together. In his article titled “*Turkey-EU: Facts and solutions*” and published in Daily Sabah on 16 November 2016, Cemil Ertem discusses the European Commission’s most recent progress report on Turkey and puts forward some explanations why the report might be so critical of Turkey. In his article, Ertem argues that the policies are essentially led by German interests and says the following:

“The rapid rise in the size of Turkey's energy sector and market over the past decade, its accession to Caucasian, Middle Eastern and Mediterranean resources and its commercialization of them, and its rivalry with Germany in Middle Eastern, Caucasian and African markets strained Turkish-EU (Turkey-Germany) relations. The resolution of the fighter jet crisis with Russia, which turned out to be a plot foreshadowing the

⁴⁸ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2016/11/11/simdi-sira-avrupa-baharinin-kasirgalarinda> , Accessed 16.12.2017.

July 15 coup attempt, as well as the improvement of relations with Russia and Israel on the same days, pushed the EU (Germany) into a possible crisis in accessing both energy and market areas. This was because Turkey would be controlling southern energy transits through the Southern Gas Corridor (SGC) and northern energy transits through the Turkish Stream bypassing Ukraine. Moreover, the Cyprus question, which progressed toward resolution, and the restoration of relations with Israel would directly connect Eastern Mediterranean energy resources and the Mediterranean trade cycle to Turkey. Also, the refugee crisis highlighted Turkey-centric integration toward the east of Turkey.

Now, the EU (Germany) makes statements showing that it is out of its depth, such as freezing negotiation chapters and launching an economic embargo. First of all, an economic embargo will harm the EU more than Turkey. The EU must consider that Turkey is a part of the Customs Union. On the other hand, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), which was proposed during Barack Obama's term and collapsed before Donald Trump was elected, has largely fallen off the agenda. This is an important reason why the EU does not want a strong Turkey. The TTIP project was based on direct agreement and commercial integration between the EU (Germany) and the U.S. Turkey would not be included in the TTIP, and it would have to link its industry and trade to the EU as it is in the Customs Union. As a result, it would lose its political initiative to the extent that it would be a political periphery of Germany. In other words, Germany and the U.S. would actualize a quasi-Balkanization project in Turkey even if not as bloody as the one in Yugoslavia. We must view the July 15 coup attempt from this perspective.”⁴⁹

The key phrase that makes this data item significant for the code A002 is “why the EU does not want a strong Turkey”, and the accuracy of any of the arguments put forward in this quote are not relevant to the research question of this thesis since it is not a study in the field of international relations. However, the abundance and variety of the elements mentioned and aimed at rationalizing “why the EU does not want a strong Turkey” has discursive relevance. In the data excerpt above, the major two themes Ertem correlates the EU’s perceived hostile stance are Turkey’s increasing ability to access regional energy markets and TTIP. Among the sub-themes that all ultimately relate to the European Commission’s report in the framework Ertem builds are normalization of relations between Turkey and Russia following the period of crisis after the former’s downing of a Russian warplane, improved relations between Turkey

⁴⁹ <https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/cemil-ertem/2016/11/16/turkey-eu-facts-and-solutions> , Accessed 16.12.2017.

and Israel, increased prospects of a solution in the Cyprus problem, the refugee crisis, and decreased prospects of “quasi-Balkanization” of Turkey through TTIP because of the collapse of the negotiations on the agreement, and the recent coup attempt in Turkey. In this example, too, the European hostility is discursively constructed to be omnipresent, as a flurry of loosely related thematic fragments are all associated with the said hostility, indicative of a more deductive approach than inductive.

The code A001 represents a more specific discursive strategy, where Europe is portrayed as a harbinger or accomplice of Turkey’s enemies. One may argue that all items assigned to this code should also be assigned to A002, as harboring or acting as an accomplice of Turkey’s adversaries may constitute a form of hostility as well. However, as explained earlier, the description of A002 refers to “open” hostilities and the code covers manifest expressions of a generalized stance. On the other hand, the discursive strategy represented by A001 specifically portrays Europe as an entity that is friendly to forces that are implicitly or explicitly positioned as detrimental to Turkey’s interests, in most cases organizations that are officially recognized as terrorist organizations by Turkey, or people who are subject to criminal investigations by the Turkish legal system. In some items in the data set, the latter form of discursive strategy may also refer to negligent practices or lack of co-operation rather than a deeply seated and deliberate hostile stance, although it is overlapping with A002 in many samples.

With a total of 134 articles assigned (26,9% of data set), A001 represents the most prevalent discursive strategy in the entire data set in terms of number of items assigned. However, it should be noted that this discursive strategy is also heavily concentrated in Daily Sabah and Sabah, which published a combined 91% of all articles assigned to the code.

Figure 3.21: Distribution of items coded A001 among the four publications.

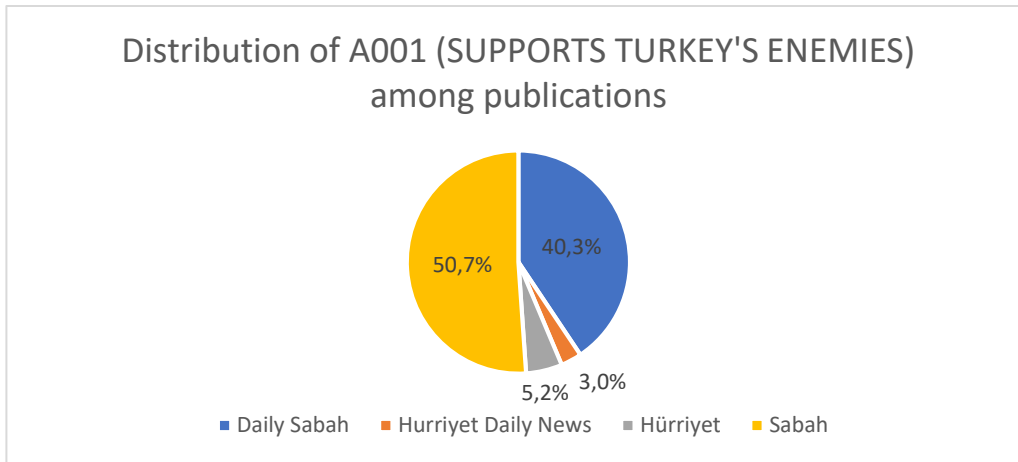
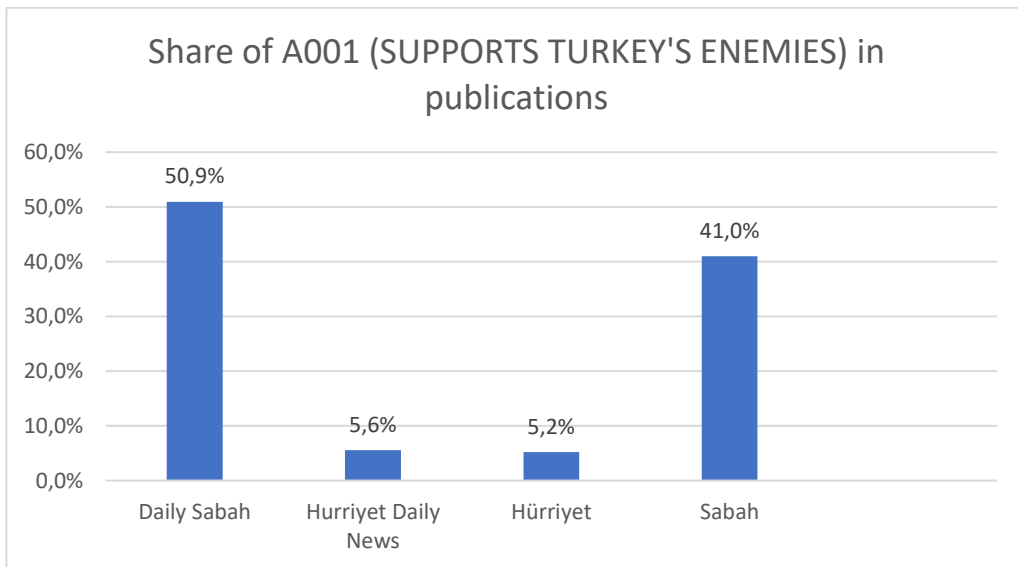


Figure 3.22: Percentages of items coded A001 relative to total number in each publication.



It should also be noted that the high level of prevalence of A001 is closely related to the timeframe selected for this thesis. As explained in earlier chapters, November 2016 is a period when there were several instances of critical expressions coming from EU institutions or officials of EU member states towards Turkey on the issues of democracy, and consequent retaliations from their Turkish counterparts. The

majority of articles assigned to A001 in fact constitute responses to such criticism in the form of either commentary or discourses in reports. This trend begins with the detainment of HDP and Cumhuriyet representatives in late October and is sustained throughout November with increased frequency around the time of the announcement of European Commission's progress report and EP's resolution calling for the suspension of EU membership negotiations.

A typical example of this discursive strategy can be seen in an article titled "*Terör destekçisi AB işine baksın*" ("*EU the supporter of terrorism should mind its own business*") published in Sabah on 5 November 2016. The publication fails to cite any sources for the article, however a search in Google engine reveals that it is a compilation of articles from several sources including Yeni Şafak's "*Artık sizi u-mur-sa-mi-yo-ruz*" ("*We don't c-a-r-e about you anymore*")⁵⁰ and Anadolu Agency's (AA) "*Dışişleri Bakan Çavuşoğlu: AB ülkeleri teröristler için bir cennet bahçesi*" ("*EU countries are a paradise for terrorists: Foreign minister Çavuşoğlu*")⁵¹ framed by Sabah's editorial team. It is a report on reactions by several European officials on the detention of HDP representatives and Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu's responses to them, and the lead paragraph of the article reads as following:

"European countries, which said nothing about 15 July's coup and civil war attempt, martyring of 246 citizens, bombing of TBMM [Grand National Assembly of Turkey], bullets being rained down upon civilians; which did not respect those who resisted tanks; which did not stand beside democracy, freedoms, [or] the legitimate government; the European countries which could even visit Ankara only [many] days after the coup attempt; took action for HDP, the political wing of the terrorist organization, at a second! Foreign minister Çavuşoğlu gave the best answer to these countries. 'Unfortunately, EU countries are a paradise for terrorists. They were even releasing terrorist fighters we extradited,' said Çavuşoğlu."⁵²

⁵⁰ <http://www.yenisafak.com/dunya/artik-sizi-u-mur-sa-mi-yo-ruz-2558973>, Accessed 17.12.2017.

⁵¹ <http://aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/-disisleri-bakan-cavusoglu-ab-ulkeleri-teroristler-icin-bir-cennet-bahcesi/678981?amp=1>, Accessed 17.12.2017.

⁵² <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/05/teror-destekcisi-ab-isine-baksin>, Accessed 17.12.2017.

Unlike the majority of samples analyzed so far, this is not an editorial or a column where journalists would be expected to provide their own commentary, but an anonymous report on various statements. However, the discourse of a Europe that “supports terrorism” is as manifest as possible in the excerpt above, a quality that would be expected more from commentary rather than a report. A common method employed in reports can also be seen in this article, which is using relative clauses that describe the subject of the sentence. A remarkably long form of a such practice used in the quote above, where European countries are defined by 9 different actions attributed to them. This method can be interpreted as aiming to establish a common sense in Hall’s terms, through attempting to establish commentary as facts, with the use of descriptions of subjects.

A similar practice can be seen in Daily Sabah’s article “*EU’s tolerant and hypocritical stance on PKK terrorism draws Turkey’s ire*” published on 28 November 2016. The cited author of the article is the publication’s own editorial team, and it is also a report on statements by various Turkish officials, this time on rallies held in EU member states allegedly in support of an organization officially recognized as a terrorist organization by the EU and Turkey. The lead paragraph of the article reads as following:

“The EU’s broad tolerance and indifferent attitude against terrorist organizations, particularly to the PKK, continue to be the main reason for strained relations with Ankara. Turkish politicians have highlighted dissident voices in Europe and called on the EU to cooperate on terrorism with Turkey instead of supporting it.”⁵³

In this quote too, there is an attempt to establish a quality attributed to the EU as fact. In this discourse, the EU’s “tolerant and hypocritical stance” and “indifferent attitude” against terrorist organizations are not presented as commentary, but as themes

⁵³ <https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/29/eus-tolerant-and-hypocritical-stance-on-pkk-terrorism-draws-turkeys-ire> , Accessed 17.12.2017.

considered as “common-sense” that go without questioning, both in the title and the lead paragraph.

Another point worth noting in this example is related to the difference of descriptions of the codes A001 and A002, explained above. In Daily Sabah’s article, the EU’s hostility is presented not as an “open” or even a deliberate one aimed at harming Turkey necessarily, but as a practice that is regarded “tolerant” and “indifferent”. Permission of the rallies to proceed are also described as indicative of a “reckless attitude” in the article. This portrayal differs from a discourse of entrenched enmity, and rather than that points out to undesirable practices that may be abandoned relatively easily.

A postulation of European sympathy for terrorism can also be seen in Rauf Tamer’s article titled “*Ne denir?*” (“*What can you say?*”) published in Hürriyet on 8 November 2016. It is a relatively short article and its full translation in English is as following:

“It is what its name implies, a terrorist organization. It goes about its own business. It sheds blood, kills people. But the Belgian court doesn't call what it does terrorism, but calls it an armed struggle. What a genius. I wish they added [something else to it]. They should have said [armed struggle] for a sacred cause. There were ones who even said this. I forgot which country it was, a European Court, released the murderers during the days of ASALA terrorism. [They said it was] an armed struggle for a sacred cause. So... You should just laugh it off. Because these people are not to be taken seriously. See, the organization which is in the European Union's list of terrorism, [is] honored as guerillas of armed struggle by the Capital Brussels. Is this what modern civilization is? As for the Americans... Just a minute. Elections will be held there tomorrow. If [Hillary] Clinton wins, the state's policies will continue as more or less the same as now. But if [Donald] Trump wins, many things might change because the government will pass from Democrats to the Republicans. But I don't know if it will be worse off. No, no, it wouldn't be worse. Could there be an America that is worse than an America which makes partnerships with bandits? Not only the EU but also the US should enjoy their [new] allies in armed struggle. We are, in a sense, former brothers in arms with America: From Korea.”⁵⁴

⁵⁴ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/rauf-tamer/ne-denir-40270247> , Accessed 17.12.2017.

In the article, Europe's perceived friendly attitude towards the enemies of Turkey is presented as something that has been accustomed to, something that should not surprise anyone, a habit which the author suggests to be "laughed off" and "not taken seriously". Tamer expresses regret over the policies of the USA instead, implying that such support for terrorism would have been expected from Europe, but not from them.

The discursive strategy employed in this sample is also reinforced with a discursive method, the "generalization of Europe" (B002), which will be explained more in detail in Chapter 5. In his article, Tamer recounts an earlier instance when a European court released an enemy of Turkey, and says "I forgot which country it was, a European Court". Here, the identity of the court is constructed as a detail that ultimately bears no significance. In the framework Tamer builds, the specific countries or other identities are not important, and they are all constructed as the "same" Europeans, who do exactly what the author expects from them, which is supporting Turkey's enemies.

In some cases, the theme of a Europe supporting Turkey's enemies are reproduced in very subtle and latent ways, with the use of micro-level discourses. An example of this can be seen in Hurriyet Daily News' article titled "*Turkey seeks NATO's support against terrorism*" and published on 21 November 2016. The cited author of the article is the publication's office in Istanbul and it is a report on Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's speech at the NATO Parliamentary Assembly's annual session in Istanbul. A sentence included in the article among quotes from the speaker is as following:

"Erdoğan also criticized the EU over its stance on terror organizations, urging Brussels to take necessary measures to ban PKK activities in member countries."⁵⁵

⁵⁵ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-seeks-natos-support-against-terrorism--106359> , Accessed 17.12.2017.

This sentence is constructed in a way that is indicative of a latent agreement with the speaker. The author of the article does not say that the president “accused” Brussels with not taking necessary measures to ban terrorist activities, but says that he “criticized the EU over its stance on terror organizations”, a particular stance that is implied to be present, regardless whether the speaker mentions it or not.

A different but similarly common discursive strategy that reproduces Europe in relation to Turkey as “malevolent” is the representations of Europe as being insincere, hypocritical, dishonest or deceptive (A003). This discursive strategy also often refers to “double standards” applied by Europe. It constitutes a somewhat superior understanding of Europe, because in this discourse Europe is constructed as the more active side of the bilateral relations, whose decisions and actions primarily shape the relations. Such representation is employed in various contexts ranging from Turkey’s bid to become an EU member to co-operation in fight against terrorism.

With a total of 111 articles (22,3%) assigned, A003 represents the second most prevalent discursive strategy in the entire data set in terms of data item coverage. As in A001, its concentration is skewed towards Daily Sabah and Sabah, albeit to a lesser extent. It is also one of the three codes in this thesis that have at least 10% of all items in a given publication assigned to. Of all articles assigned to A003, 43 are published in Sabah (38,7%), 38 in Daily Sabah (34,2%), 17 in Hürriyet (15,3%) and 13 in Hurriyet Daily News (11,7%).

Figure 3.23: Distribution of items coded A003 among the four publications.

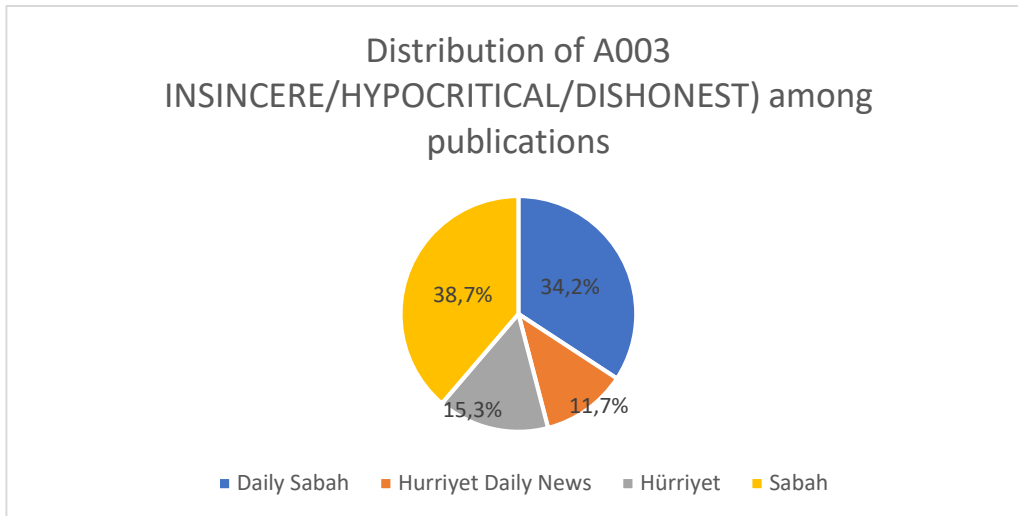
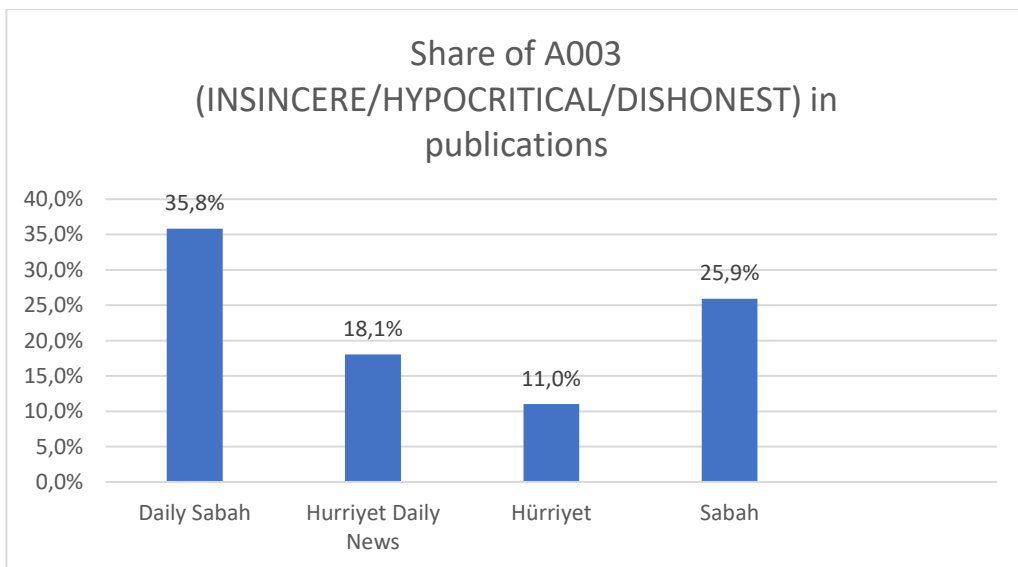


Figure 3.24: Percentages of items coded A003 relative to total number in each publication.



The discursive strategy represented by A003 also often characterizes Europe as a “schemer”, who is constantly preoccupied with designing plots if not necessarily to harm others, but mainly to protect its interests in immoral ways dictated by its inherent characteristics. As an example, in his article titled “*Hangisine yanalım?*” (“Which one

should we regret?”) and published in Hürriyet on 25 November 2016, Ahmet Hakan says the following:

“Should we regret the dishonors caused by the thousand tricks Europeans play in order to not let Muslim refugees into their countries? Should we regret the fact that we are using the Muslim refugees we've let in saying that ‘we are the ansar’, as a threatening tool to corner the Europeans? Or should we regret the fact that at the moment we declare that ‘We've opened the door’, all of the Muslim refugees in us will leave this Muslim land and make their getaways in ‘infidel lands’?”⁵⁶

The aspect that relates this article to Turkey is its context: The flow of refugees hosted by Turkey into the EU states. It is notable in the last sentence of the quote above that the author defines Europe as both a source of stability (A010) since the refugees are expected to make their “getaway” there, and also as “infidel”⁵⁷ (A008). However, what makes this quote relevant to A003 is the first sentence, where Hakan says that Europeans are “playing a thousand tricks” to prevent refugees coming to their countries. Here, Europe is presented as an entity that is trying to protect itself at the expense of others, although not necessarily having the intent to harm them, and resorting to “tricks” and deceit while doing so. And the “others” here refer not only to the refugees, but also to Turkey as well, because the “thousand tricks” the author mentions apparently also include the refugee resettlement agreement between the EU and Turkey.⁵⁸

A latent example of this discursive strategy can be seen in Yusuf Kanlı’s article “*Could it be Trexit?*” published in Hurriyet Daily News on 16 November 2016, where

⁵⁶ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ahmet-hakan/koyun-degildir-bu-millet-40288756> , Accessed 17.12.2017. It should be noted that the page will have a different title than the referred article and this is because the page contains several separate articles by the same author, published on the same day.

⁵⁷ It is acknowledged that the phrase “infidel lands” is put in quotation marks in the original article as well. However, since it is not an actual quote, it is assumed that this is done so in order to soften the offending nature of the phrase rather than disowning it.

⁵⁸ <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/18/eu-turkey-statement/> , Accessed 26.12.2017.

the author makes a vague reference to a “blond and beautiful lady trying to fool Turkey”:

“An awkward question, but can Turkey abandon the European Union? An even more awkward question: Shall Europe put an end to Turkey’s accession process?”

Some people must have developed an expertise in making bad jokes. Is it possible for someone to make an exit before entering a particular place in the first place? Does anyone remember when Turkey joined the EU?

Was it when that ‘blond beautiful lady’ tried to fool the country, as if entering the customs union deal with Europe was indeed some sort of EU accession? Well, despite firework celebrations and extravagant statements, it did not take much for the nation to wake up to the reality that Turkey indeed became the first-ever country that opened up its market to free trade with the club of democracies without actually joining the club. It was a peculiar relationship between a peculiar country and the EU.

Most probably, over the past two decades, the nation must have realized that the customs union was not at all an EU membership and abandoning the customs union most probably will be more biting for us than any pain the European club might suffer.”⁵⁹

The likely addressee of the “blond and beautiful lady” reference in this quote is Tansu Çiller, who was the prime minister of Turkey in 1995 when the Customs Union agreement between Turkey and the EU was signed and who also happened to have blonde hair. Even when not interpreted as a double reference covering the EU as well, in which case it would amount to the invocation of the archetype of a Siren trying to lure Turkey into disaster with its charms, the EU is still presented as an actor in the context of Turkey being in deception. Within this framework, the EU simply plays its part in a scheme in which Turkey is led into an illusion that the Customs Union was, or at least a was something close to, EU membership.

A similarly latent, but slightly different form of this discursive strategy can be seen in Emre Yılmaz’s op-ed titled “*What’s the European criteria for banning political*

⁵⁹ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/yusuf-kanli/could-it-be-trexit-106170> , Accessed 17.12.2017.

parties and detaining politicians?” and published in Daily Sabah on 28 November 2016. In the article, Yılmaz mentions the criticism from EU representatives towards Turkey following the arrests of HDP representatives, and continues by narrating a Spanish case where ECHR approved the ban on Batasuna party on the grounds of its affiliations with a terrorist organization. Yılmaz concludes his article by saying the following:

“Turkey's judiciary, just like its counterparts in Spain, takes precautions against terror organizations as well as any seemingly civilian and/or political movements that openly provide support and propaganda for terrorist groups. While doing so, by denying collective punishment as Spain did, it only focuses on the investigation of individuals with regards to their specific cases that not only shows Turkey's belief in the rule of law but also its reliance on the political process. Like in a member country of the EU and the Council of Europe, Turkey is a mature democracy that allows any political party to be represented in Parliament akin to the HDP's success with its ‘discourse of peace’ in the June elections, provided that these parties function in democratic, political spheres and sever any ties with terrorist organizations.

There are no questions about it, the fight against terrorism entails an international collaboration. Thirteen years ago, European officials supported Spain's effort to dismantle elements of a terrorist organization from Spanish politics. Turkey now expects the same support in its fight against a group listed as a terrorist organization by the EU. The same sincerity and engagement toward Turkish democracy is expected.”⁶⁰

In the article, Yılmaz does not explicitly state that Europe is applying double standards, but implies it by contrasting European criticism towards Turkey to a similar case in an EU member state. The author states that Turkey expects “the same sincerity”, indicating that there is a lack of sincerity in the case of Turkey.

Another latent example of the discursive strategy is present in the article titled “*Skandalın adı: Pizzagate Mağdur: Çocuklar*” (“*Scandal’s name: Pizzagate, Victim: Children*”) and published in Sabah on 27 November 2016. The indicated author of the article is Sabah’s own editorial team and the article is remarkably about “Pizzagate”,

⁶⁰ <https://www.dailysabah.com/op-ed/2016/11/29/whats-the-european-criteria-for-banning-political-parties-and-detaining-politicians> , Accessed 17.12.2017.

an online conspiracy theory widely regarded as a hoax,⁶¹ in which it was alleged that influential US citizens including senior politicians ran a clandestine ring of child abusers. The story was particularly taken seriously by the Turkish mainstream media, especially the pro-government outlets,⁶² and in Sabah's article the story is framed as a serious allegation which the same influential circles in Europe and the US are either ignoring or trying to conceal:

“Large media outlets, newspapers or non-governmental organizations in Europe and the USA, which extensively cover the [social responsibility] projects of famous actors and politicians especially involving Africa or refugees, fell into silence despite all these indications [of evidences]. Neither large TV channels, nor human rights advocates have commented on this issue so far. The world is once again facing double standards when the issue is about the West and the USA. The Western media, which sets the world on fire when it involves Muslims, remains silent in [the face of] Pizzagate scandal.”⁶³

It should be noted that the name of Turkey is not explicitly mentioned in this article. However, the persistent practice of contrasting the situation in “the West” with the case of “Muslims” or “refugees” in the article may be interpreted as a latent expression of “double standards” Turkey faces in the form of criticism, which was ample at the time when the article was published.

The final discursive strategy to be explored under the category of representations of a malevolent Europe is the representations of Europe as an “oppressive authority” (A011). As the description implies, this discursive strategy also usually constructs Europe as superior to Turkey, and often found in latent forms with

⁶¹ More detailed discussion of “Pizzagate” can be found in McGonagle, Tarlach. “‘Fake News’: False fears or real concerns?.” *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*. Vol. 35, No. 4, 2017. pp. 203 – 209. Mihailidis, Paul. and Viotty, Samantha. “Spreadable Spectacle in Digital Culture: Civic Expression, Fake News, and the Role of Media Literacies in “Post-Fact” Society.” *American Behavioral Scientist*. Vol. 61, No. 4, 2017. pp. 441 – 454. Sismondo, Sergio. “Casting a wider net: A reply to Collins, Evans and Weinel.” *Social Studies of Science*. Vol. 47, No. 4, 2017. pp. 587-592

⁶² More detailed discussion of “Pizzagate” in Turkish media can be found in Wendling, Mike. “The saga of ‘Pizzagate’: The fake story that shows how conspiracy theories spread.” *BBC*. 2016. Available from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-38156985> , Accessed 17 December 2017.

⁶³ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/pazar/2016/11/27/skandalin-adi-pizzagate-magdur-cocuklar> , Accessed 17.12.2017.

keywords such as “punishing”, “scolding”, “threatening” and “arrogant”. In this discursive strategy, Europe is positioned as a dictating figure, regardless if this is capacity justified or not, and Turkey is positioned as being on the receiving end.

A total of 78 articles (15,7% of data set) are assigned to the code A011. The distribution of the number of items among the publications shows a divergence along the language axis, with Turkish language publications having published more articles assigned to A011 than English language ones. However, the same pattern is not present in the percentages of items relative to total number in each publication, and all publications except Hurriyet Daily News published articles employing this discursive strategy in similar frequencies.

Figure 3.25: Distribution of items coded A011 among the four publications.

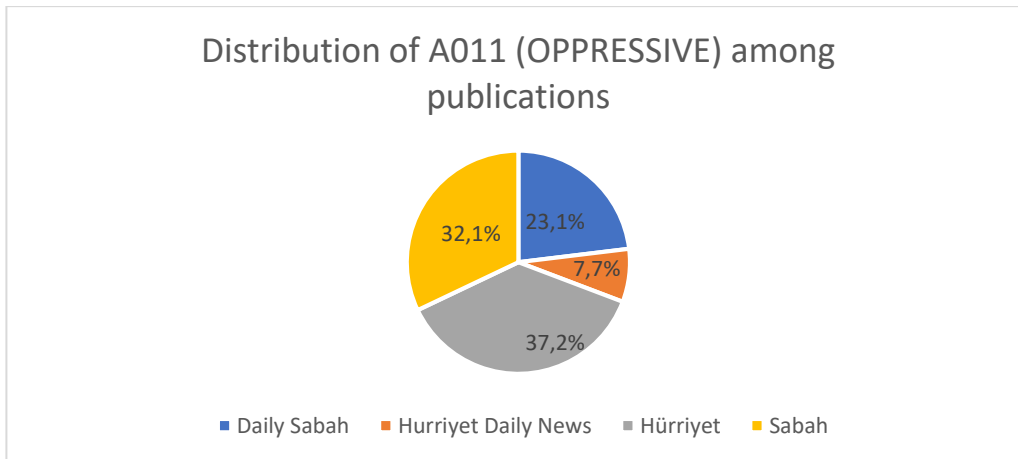
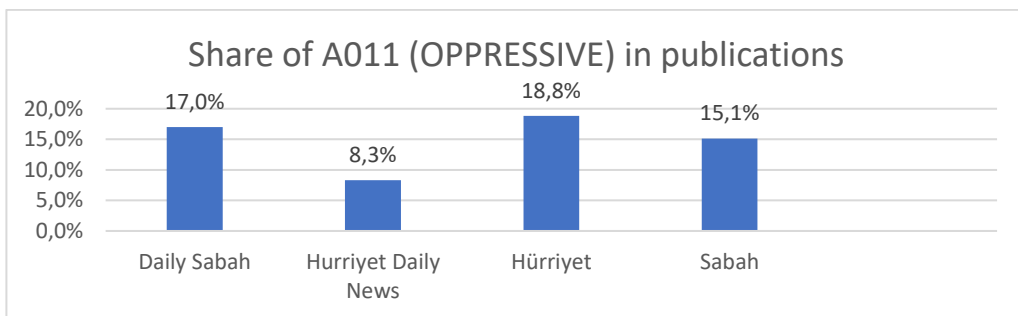


Figure 3.26: Percentages of items coded A011 relative to total number in each publication.



As explained above, the main tool for identifying the instances of the discursive strategy represented by A011 are keywords that indicate an authoritative capacity on the side of Europe to sanction Turkey. An example can be seen in Safure Cantürk's article titled "*Firari Can Dündar Türkiye'yi Avrupa'ya şikayet etti*", ("*Fugitive Can Dündar issues a complaint to Europe about Turkey*") published in Sabah on 10 November 2016. It is a report on Turkish journalist Can Dündar, under criminal investigation in absentia in Turkey, speaking in an award ceremony and its full translation is as following:

"Can Dündar, against whom there is an arrest warrant within the framework of FETÖ investigation and who had fled abroad, issued a complaint against Turkey in Europe. The RSF 2016 awards of Reporters Without Borders (RSF) were given to laureates at the ceremony held in Strasbourg. Can Dündar, who was chosen as the journalist of the year by the said organization last year and against whom an arrest warrant was issued following the coup attempt in July 15th, was also present at the award ceremony. Dündar said that he was feeling at home in France and in Strasbourg in particular, and tried to provoke European countries into intervening and taking action in Turkey by saying "We don't understand Europe, you are keeping silent."⁶⁴

The keyword that relates this item to A011 is "*şikayet etmek*", which means both to complain and issue a complaint in Turkish. Within this context, it is translated as "issuing a complaint" because the phrase is not used in the meaning of expressing displeasure, but in the meaning of reporting someone or something to an authority who has the capacity to sanction. The author also mentions some sort of "intervention" and "taking action" in Turkey, without elaborating. Therefore, Europe is constructed as an authority of arbitration, capable of "intervening" in Turkey, and apparently not in a well-intended way.

A micro level manifestation of this discursive strategy can be seen in Sevil Erkuş's article titled "*Turkey 'fed up with' EU's arrogant attitude*" published in

⁶⁴ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/10/firari-can-dundar-turkiyeyi-avrupaya-sikyeyi-etti> , Accessed 17.12.2017.

Hurriyet Daily News on 15 November 2016. It is a report on the press conference Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu held together with his then German counterpart Frank-Walter Steinmeier, during which the former is reported to say the following:

“Every day, an EU foreign minister comes up and says: ‘Let’s throw Turkey out, let’s throw them out of the negotiations, let’s throw them out of NATO.’ We don’t deserve this treatment. Therefore, let’s ask our people and let the people decide,” he said Nov. 15 alongside German FM Frank-Walter Steinmeier.

“We are truly fed up with this approach that humiliates Turkey,” the Turkish minister said.

Because of this reaction, “Turkish people put pressure on us to stop these negotiations,” Çavuşoğlu said.”⁶⁵

It should be noted that the phrase “arrogant attitude” is not present in the quote from Çavuşoğlu, and it is only featured in the article’s title. Although the Turkish minister’s quote can be interpreted as a response to “arrogance”, the word itself is the reporter’s contribution to the discourse through the framing. Furthermore, the stress in the title is put on the phrase “fed up” with the use of quotation marks, and thus the EU’s “arrogant attitude” is latently presented as a fact of “common-sense”.

While the discursive strategy represented by A011 is often reproduced in latent forms in reports and other articles, in other cases journalists also explicitly point out to a some sort of “false sense” of superiority, especially in columns. In her article titled “*My message to the European Parliament*” and published in Daily Sabah on 25 November 2016, Hilal Kaplan comments on the EP’s resolution calling on the suspension of membership negotiations with Turkey and says the following:

“The members of parliament [EP], which made ‘a legally nonbinding decision,’ have never been disturbed by PKK propaganda, but they inflicted all kinds of oppression on

⁶⁵ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-fed-up-with-eus-arrogant-attitude-106152> , Accessed 17.12.2017.

our citizens who wanted to protest the coup, from menacing to detention. The parliament, which made ‘a legally nonbinding decision,’ previously objected to a visa exemption agreement because we had not toned down our anti-terrorism laws. The parliament, which made ‘a legally nonbinding decision,’ and its union appreciated the potential of our country to be ‘disciplined’ about terror rather than the democratization of the country. Moreover, they are too blind to see that the tower, on which they position themselves like a ‘colonial governor’ to Turkey, is disintegrating. Britain, the strongest country in the union, escaped and saved itself. Germany is grappling with economic recession after the Volkswagen and Deutsche Bank crises. France has been administrated by a state of emergency for a year; however, unlike us, it is deploying soldiers on the streets from Paris to Marseille. The same goes for Brussels as well. The French economy is declining, and Italy has neared the brink of bankruptcy, not to mention Greece and Spain. The anti-EU wave is on the rise. Even the Italian prime minister tried to appeal to the public by removing a EU flag from a press conference. Because of racism and Islamophobia, the will to live together is disappearing with every passing day. European countries, which see just a small part of the refugee crisis because Turkey protects its borders, are overwhelmed by a hatred that makes them ready to start fighting each other.”⁶⁶

Although the author repeatedly and specifically refers to “members of the parliament”, it is assumed that these are instances of the discursive method of “generalizing” Europe (B002), since some of the actions attributed such as oppressing protesters are not in the capacity of MEPs, but of other European actors. In the quote above, Europe is described as an entity that “oppresses”, that puts conditions in exchange of rewards, that “disciplines” and that positions itself as a “colonial governor”; qualities all indicative of a malevolent authority figure. However, Kaplan heralds that the days of such treatment of Turkey are numbered, because she suggests that “the tower” that enables Europe to do so is “disintegrating” through economic, social and political turmoil (A014), and therefore its claim to authority has finally become dismissible (A006), another theme to be discussed in the next sub-chapter.

⁶⁶ https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/hilal_kaplan/2016/11/26/my-message-to-the-european-parliament , Accessed 17.12.2017.

3.4. Representations of an Inferior Europe

While many of the discursive strategies analyzed in this chapter construct a superior view of Europe in relation to Turkey so far, 2 of the codes refer to more inferior representations of Europe, namely Europe as an entity dismissed or dismissible for Turkey (A006) and Europe as an entity that needs, bewares or should beware Turkey (A007). The articles assigned to these codes often present a morally, socially, economically or politically incompetent view of Europe. Presumptuousness is a common sub-theme in these articles, where Europe is presented as acting imperiously in a false sense of superiority, while lacking any leverage on Turkey.

However, it should be noted that this sub-chapter does not cover all discursive strategies that represent Europe as inferior, but only those that do so with relation to Turkey. For example, the representations of Europe as in social, economic or political turmoil (A014) also constitute a discourse of an inferior Europe. However, although Turkey is present in the contexts of many articles assigned to A014, this does not apply to all and therefore these sorts of representations will be covered in the next chapter.

The first discursive strategy that constructs Europe as inferior to Turkey is the representations of Europe as an entity dismissed or dismissible for Turkey (A006). Articles assigned to this code are mostly columns, editorials or reports addressing criticism towards Turkey coming from European institutions or EU member states. In the articles assigned to A006, these criticisms are presented as coming from a self-important entity that lacks the capacity to impose authority over Turkey. This code does not cover the articles that merely recount expressions of dismissal, but only those that present a latent or manifest agreement with or rationalization of such dismissal.

A total of 82 items (16,5% of data set) are assigned to the code A006. Concentration of the articles assigned to this code is skewed towards Turkish language publications, with 31 articles (37,8%) published in Hürriyet, 28 published in Sabah (34,1%), 14 published in Daily Sabah (17,1%) and 9 published in Hurriyet Daily News

(11%). The same pattern is also visible in percentages of items coded A006 relative to all items in each publication, although the divergence is smaller.

Figure 3.27: Distribution of items coded A006 among the four publications.

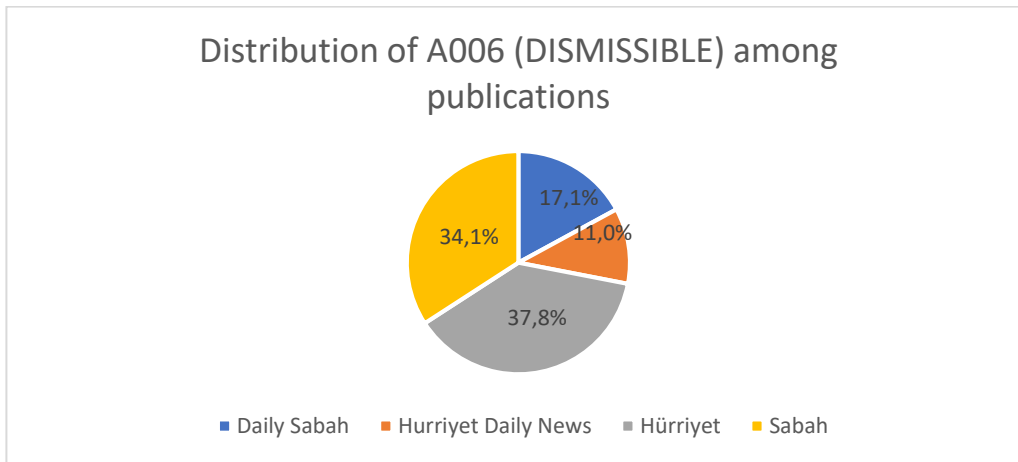
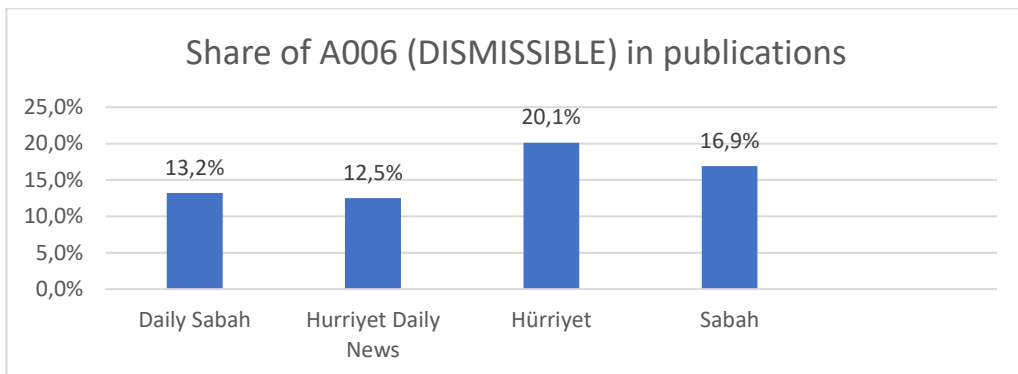


Figure 3.28: Percentages of items coded A006 relative to total number in each publication.



A strikingly manifest example of the discursive strategy represented by A006 can be seen in Murat Yetkin’s article “*Kendisini trafik polisi zanneden mahalle delisi*” (“*The neighborhood’s madman who thinks he’s the traffic warden*”) published in Hürriyet on 14 November 2016. In the article, Yetkin likens the EU to “mahalle delisi”

(literally, “neighbourhood’s madman”), a stock character in Turkish culture similar to the “village idiot”:

“Some neighborhoods have ‘harmless madmen’. Don’t give me a hard time now, being all [politically] correct and saying [it should be] ‘mentally disabled’ [instead], it’s not the issue here. [These madmen] blow whistles at passing cars, give hand signals to ‘stop or move on’; they keep doing this even though nobody cares. The capacity to sanction exists only with the mechanisms of punishment and reward. Both rewards without any punishment, and punishment without rewards have a duration, a limit, a saturation point; it can go only so far. Then the links break down, indifference and disregard sets in. The European Union’s relations with Turkey increasingly resembles this situation. The latest example of this was European Parliament President Martin Schulz’s message to Turkey during the weekend. The part of the message which include the criticism towards reinstatement of death penalty in Turkey is as meaningful as the part where Turkey will be sanctioned for this is meaningless. What kind of sanctions the European Parliament, or let’s take a step forward [and say] the EU, can put on Turkey? Will it terminate the membership talks? Will it freeze the negotiations that have already been effectively suspended? Or will it withdraw the qualification given to 1987’s membership application in 1999?”⁶⁷

With the metaphor of the “neighborhood’s madman”, Yetkin explains that Europe is acting in a way as if it had any leverage on Turkey, while the latter has no valid reason to pay attention to the former’s instructions. It should be noted that Yetkin mentions a “saturation point” in his article, since this phrase points out to the exhaustion of Europe’s means of influence. This discourse is slightly different from a discourse where the balance of power shifts in favor of Turkey, resulting in the need to heed European advice to expire, which is more common in the data set.

An example of the latter form, Burhanettin Duran’s article “*AB ne yaptığının farkında mı?*” (“*Is the EU aware of what it’s doing?*”) published in Sabah on 15 November 2016, also features a response to Martin Schulz. In his article, Duran argues that recent global developments do not favor Europe and says:

⁶⁷ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/murat-yetkin/kendisini-trafik-polisi-zanneden-mahalle-delisi-40277813> , Accessed 18.12.2017.

“In such circumstances, the strained trend in Turkey-EU relations is quite problematic. The discourse of threat towards Turkey from EU politicians of German origin are increasingly becoming negligent of the new course of events in the world and desperate.

They are trying to create pressure on the economy, which they see as Turkey's weak spot. Trying to ‘discipline’ a country that keeps their eastern gates covered and that it has to come to an agreement due to the flow of refugees, over its economy, would only jeopardize the EU's stability. As such, European Parliament President M. Schulz's remarks that ‘Europe will have to consider some measures including economic sanctions if the situation in Turkey continues’ and that ‘Expanding the Customs Union will become a dream’ lack political foresight. Besides, Turkey should not be expected to bow to the threats of ‘suspending negotiations’ or ‘enforcing economic sanctions’.

As such, President Erdoğan reminded the EU of the support it gives to terrorism and made the challenge: ‘Hey, West, the destiny of this nation is not in your hands. Does it even matter if you had sanctions? Let's wait until the end of the year and ask the nation [hold a popular vote on EU negotiations].’ What can we say; the EU politicians, who are not aware of the extent of their influence on Turkey, who had been ignoring the mutual interests for so long, and moreover who does not understand how much their stability depends on Turkey's, are destined to watch the right-populist wave sweep them.”⁶⁸

In the framework Duran builds, Europe is again constructed as an entity who lacks the influence it thinks it has over Turkey. However, in this example, this deficiency is not correlated to an exhaustion of means, but an overall weakening of Europe in relation to Turkey.

A more latent form of the discursive method represented by A006 can be seen in the article titled “*EU parliament vote on Turkey carries no importance: PM Yildirim*” published in Daily Sabah on 24 November 2016.⁶⁹ It is a report on reactions from several Turkish officials to the EP's call to suspend the membership negotiations and as the title indicates, the article is framed as stressing the EP resolution's “unimportance”. It is worth noting in the article that not only Turkish Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım's statement that the vote is not important is used as the title, but quotes

⁶⁸ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/duran/2016/11/15/ab-ne-yaptiginin-farkinda-mi> , Accessed 18.12.2017.

⁶⁹ <https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/24/eu-parliament-vote-on-turkey-carries-no-importance-pm-yildirim> , Accessed 18.12.2017.

by the Turkish president and the Turkish EU affairs minister that reiterate nothing more than the “unimportance” of the vote are also included in the article, reinforcing its frame.

The other discursive strategy in this category that constructs Europe as inferior to Turkey is the representations of Europe as an entity that needs, bewares or should beware Turkey (A007). The aspect of inferiority in this kind of representation arises from the fact that in the articles assigned to A007, Europe is presented as an entity that needs Turkey “more than” the other way around. In these articles, the possibly high costs of alienating Turkey on Europe are often stressed, implicitly or explicitly expressing that such path would be a mistake on the side of Europe and relatively insignificant for Turkey. The discursive strategy is usually employed within the context of flow of refugees, where Turkey’s withdrawal from co-operation with Europe on border controls are presented as having a possibly debilitating effect on the latter. Another common context is the possibility of Turkey’s turning towards and forming closer bonds with Europe’s designated competitors such as Russia.

With a total of 87 items (17,5% of data set) assigned, the code A007 is the third most prevalent discursive strategy in the entire data set. The distribution of A007 among publications is somewhat skewed along the brand axis, with Daily Sabah and Sabah publishing a combined 64,3% (56 items) of all articles assigned to the code.

Figure 3.29: Distribution of items coded A007 among the four publications.

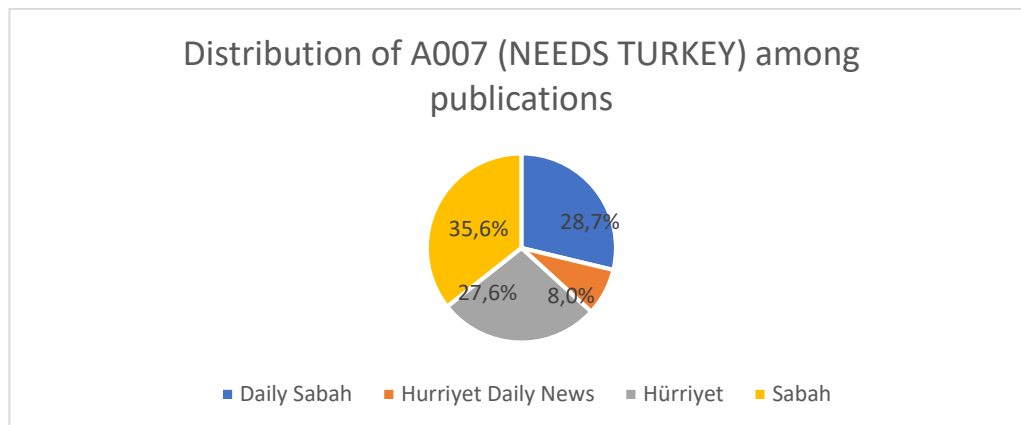
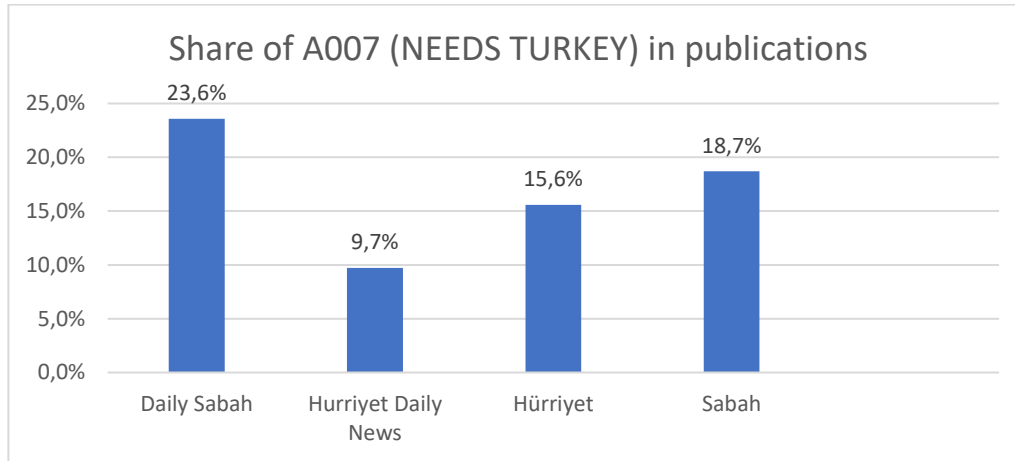


Figure 3.30: Percentages of items coded A007 relative to total number in each publication.



An article assigned to A007, titled “*Erdoğan'ın resti Avrupa'yı titretti!*” (“*Erdoğan's challenge makes Europe shiver!*”) and published in Sabah on 28 November 2016, demonstrates how seemingly small editorial contributions from publications in content delivered by third parties may carry significant discursive implications.

The article is a report on the repercussions in Bulgaria and Greece of the Turkish president's indication that Turkey may allow the refugees to proceed into EU member countries, in response to European criticism towards Turkey. The report says that both Bulgarian and Greek media are speculating on the possible consequences of a such step on Turkey's side, and that Bulgaria is increasing the level of security on its border with Turkey.⁷⁰ The article's source is indicated as DHA, and a search in the archives of the agency reveals that Sabah published the article almost exactly as it was delivered to them. The only two apparent contributions by Sabah are adding the word “neighboring country” to the description of Bulgaria, and changing of the article's title, as the title of the original article in DHA archives simply reads “*Bulgaristan ile*

⁷⁰ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/28/erdoganin-resti-avrupayi-titretti> , Accessed 18.12.2017.

Yunanistan, mülteci tedbirlerini artırdı, (“*Bulgaria and Greece increase refugee precautions*”).⁷¹

By changing the original title of the article to “Erdoğan’s challenge makes Europe shiver!”, Sabah generates two major discursive values. The first one is the generalization of Europe (B002), where the original context, which is limited to Bulgaria and Greece, is expanded to cover Europe as a single entity. The second discursive value generated by changing the original title which carries little value judgement, is the representation of Europe which is wary of Turkish retaliation, literally “shivering” with fear. This practice of journalism results in a typical example of the discourse that presents Europe as an entity that bewares Turkey (A007).

A sample that presents Europe as an entity that “should” beware Turkey would be Daily Sabah’s article titled “*EU will have to accept consequences if it halts Turkey’s accession*” published on 9 November 2016. The indicated author of the article is the publication’s own editorial team and it is a report on Turkish presidential spokesperson İbrahim Kalın’s comments on the reports that the EP might call for the suspension of membership negotiations with Turkey, a development that had not actualized at the time yet. In the article, Kalın is quoted as saying “If they are trying to threaten Turkey with such decisions, they should know that there will be consequences”, without elaborating on the said consequences.⁷² The discursive value provided by the publication here is at the micro level, as there is no indication in the title that it is a quote. The quoted party’s remark is presented as a fact, in the form of a statement sentence.

A form of the discursive strategy represented by A007 that does not necessarily rationalize Europe’s actual or expected stance with regards to the disadvantaged situation it is in, but presents it as an entity inherently submissive can be seen in Ahmet

⁷¹ http://arsiv.dha.com.tr/bulgaristan-ile-yunanistan-multeci-tedbirlerini-artirdi_1395482.html , Accessed 18.12.2017.

⁷² <https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/09/eu-will-have-to-accept-consequences-if-it-halts-turkeys-accession> , Accessed 18.12.2017.

Hakan's article titled "*Avrupa Birliđi ancak ayardan anlıyormuş*" ("*It turns out that the European Union understands nothing without being scolded*") published in *Hürriyet* on 15 November 2016. It is a short text and its full translation is as following:

"President Erdoğan seems to have discovered the key. He said to these men... [Europe] 'You impudent people,' he said. 'You hypocrites,' he said. 'You, the people breaking promises,' he said. 'Referendum,' he said. In short, he kept scolding and scolding... And at last these men had to say 'As you wish, sir... Let us continue with the negotiations sir.' It turns out that these men really did not understand anything without being scolded."⁷³

Before moving on to the analysis of the discourse Hakan employs in this quote, it may be helpful to explain some of the vernacular the author uses. The phrase "ayar vermek" (literally, "to tweak") translated as "to scold" in the quote above refers to a certain form of reprimand in Turkish slang, actions that are aimed at disciplining a subordinate through harsh measures such as scolding, threatening or punishing. Also, the original word translated as "sir" in the quote above is "abi" (literally, "older brother") in Hakan's article. In Turkish language, referring to someone who is not the speaker's actual sibling as "abi" may have different implications depending on the context. These include expressing affinity to a man older than the speaker in a respectful manner, expressing affinity to a friend in a manner similar to "brother" in English slang, or an expression of acceptance of the other party's superiority or dominance. It is clear in the article that Hakan uses the word "abi" in a context that corresponds to the last one of these contexts, and therefore it is translated as "sir", a contextually similar form of address in English language.

The author does not explicitly elaborate on the developments he mentions, but it is apparent that the "referendum" in the quote refers to Turkish president's indication that Turkey may hold a popular vote to whether continue with the EU membership

⁷³ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ahmet-hakan/ahmet-altan-neden-ve-nasil-ataturkcu-oldu-40278840> , Accessed 18.12.2017. It should be noted that the page will have a different title than the referred article and this is because the page contains several pieces of separate by the same author, published on the same day.

negotiations or not, an issue also mentioned in earlier examples, and the EU's retreat refers to unspecified remarks by European officials that call for restraint in EU-Turkey relations.

In the framework Hakan builds, Europe is definitively constructed as inferior, and even somewhat "wimpish". Within this framework, Europe is personified as being cowardly, not only retreating in action but also resorting to self-depreciating language when faced with acts of mistreatment such as scolding and threats of disassociation from, indicating a wariness on the side of Europe of provoking Turkey's displeasure.

CHAPTER 4

INHERENT VALUES OF EUROPE

4.1. Representations of a Europe of Values

While Chapter 3 covered the discursive strategies that acted as manifest or latent statements on the ideas of Europe and the European with regards to their relation to Turkey, not all articles in the data set necessarily include Turkey in their context. This and the next sub-chapter cover codes with descriptions that may be interpreted as referring to perceived “inherent” characteristics of Europe, regardless whether Turkey is a part of the debate or not.

However, it should be noted that majority of articles assigned to codes covered in this chapter actually do include Turkey in their contexts. This is because, as it was explained in Chapter 2, all four publications selected for this research are Istanbul-based outlets that primarily produce content that is, in one way or another, related to Turkey. Thus, it should be expected that all items in the entire data set has some form of relevance for Turkey. As such, the 6 discursive strategies grouped together in Chapter 4 should not be understood as different from the 15 strategies analyzed in the previous chapter in terms of data items assigned to them, but they should be regarded as discourses that are also applicable in a wider debate on Europe, if not necessarily applied.

The first group of these perceived inherent qualities of Europe and the European identity is the representations of Europe as a source of beneficial values. These values range from economic advantages, political empowerment and social harmony (A010) to issues related to democracy such as fundamental rights and freedoms (A016). Articles assigned to these codes tend to present an overall more positive view of Europe, or at least recognize its virtues despite its all vices. As such, representations of Europe as an entity that Turkey needs to be a part of (A018) and discourses that stress the multidimensionality of European-Turkish relations or the mutual interests of the

two (A004) explored in the previous chapter significantly overlap with discursive strategies represented by A010 and A016, both in terms of description, as well as items assigned.

Representations of Europe as a source of political, economic or social stability (A010), as the description implies, usually include a pragmatist approach to Europe rather than an idealistic one. Articles assigned to this code tend to focus on tangible advantages of being a part of or engaging with Europe. Often, as in Taha Akyol's article "*İdam!*" mentioned within the framework of multidimensionality (A004) earlier, the discourse of Europe as a source of stability is employed in order to remind the reader of the possible costs of disassociating from Europe, and serves as a tool of justification and rationalization of pro-European arguments. As such, it may be invoked as a specific aspect of the multidimensional relations between Turkey and Europe and coexist in articles together with A004. In others, such as Metin Can's article mentioned in Chapter 2, it is present in more latent forms where Europe assumes the role of "necessary evil", an entity which its absence is more undesirable than its presence is desirable.

A total of 54 articles (10,8% of data set) are assigned to A010. It is notable that Hürriyet published half of all articles assigned to the code and the skewness along the brand axis towards Hurriyet Daily News and Hürriyet is visible both in the distribution of articles among the publications, as well as the percentages of articles coded A010 relative to all articles in each publication.

Figure 4.1: Distribution of items coded A010 among the four publications.

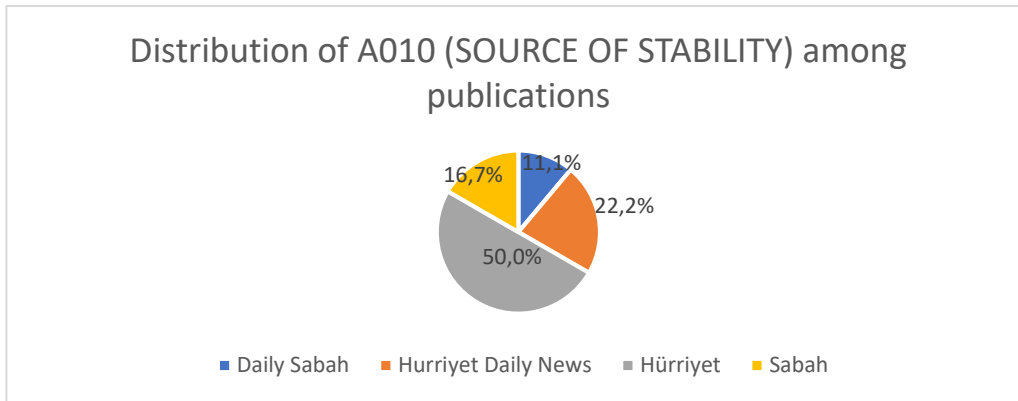
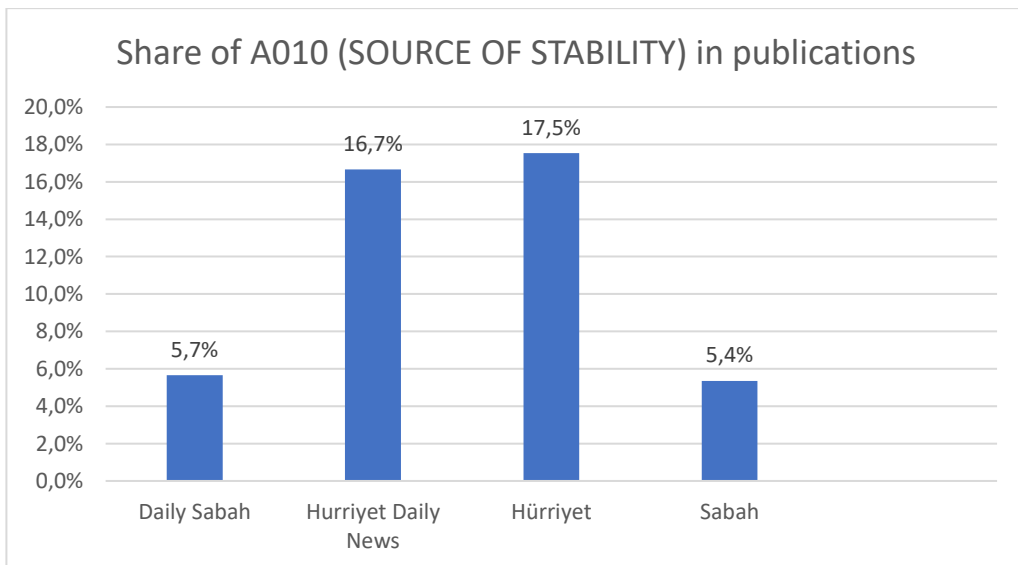


Figure 4.2: Percentages of items coded A010 relative to total number in each publication.



As it was the case in representations of “Europe as an entity Turkey needs/wants to be a part of” (A018), comparisons with “worse” alternatives and rhetorical questions are also common in articles assigned to A010. In his article titled “*Those were the hopeful days with the EU*” and published in Hurriyet Daily News in 26 November 2016, Ertuğrul Özkök suggests that the recent low point in the relations between the EU and Turkey is an “ominous junction”, where decision on whether to continue with

Turkey's EU membership process or not needs to be made carefully and in a reasonable way, and continues by asking a series of rhetorical questions:

“Let's conduct an exercise; a test on where you want to see your country go.

For example, would you send your child to a member of the Shanghai Five, or to the EU? If you had the means, where would you send your child abroad for their education? Would you send them to a Western country, like presidents Turgut Özal, Abdullah Gül and Tayyip Erdoğan have done? Or would you send them to a member country of the Shanghai Five such as Russia, China or India?

A second question: Where are the Syrian refugees trying to go? Did 90 percent of them go to Turkey and to countries west of Turkey, including the EU? Or did 90 percent of them go the countries of the Shanghai Five?

If in your county an oppressive and merciless regime such as the Bashar al-Assad regime was formed, where would you go to ask for asylum? Would you go to a Western country, or would you go to a Shanghai Five member country such as Russia or China?

If you consider the economic situation of your country to be unpredictable and you want to deposit your money in a stable economy, which country's bank would you chose? Would you choose a bank in a Western county[sic] with a stable democracy, judicial system and economy, or would you choose a bank in a Shanghai Five country like Russia, China and India?

If you plan to buy a house abroad, where would you buy property? Would you buy it in a Western country, or would you buy it in a Shanghai Five country?

If your answers to the above questions mostly favor the first options, then you are in favor of continuing relations with the EU.”⁷⁴

It should be noted that the words “West” and “EU” are used interchangeably in the quote above, as the phrase referring to a particular end of the dichotomy alternates between the two words in different questions. It is also clear that the author expects the audience to consider the EU (or the West) as the rational choice in contrast to SCO countries. This is derived from both the article's visibly pro-European tone overall, and also from the fact that although the author seems to be neutrally presenting two options,

⁷⁴ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/ertugrul-ozkok/those-were-the-hopeful-days-with-the-eu---106583> ,Accessed 18.12.2017.

in one instance the qualities of “stable democracy, judicial system and economy” are attributed to the West and in another instance the Western option is promoted as the choice of three Turkish presidents, while no such favorable attributions to SCO countries are made.

Özkök’s article is a manifest example of the discursive strategy represented by A010, as the EU is explicitly associated with a “stable democracy, judicial system and economy”. The “European choice” is thoroughly rationalized with the help of rhetorical questions on tangible decisions that an individual may have to make, with apparently obvious answers resulting from qualities defined in A010, avoiding an impression that the discourse amounts to an unconditional idealization of Europe. The qualities defined in A010 are also implied to be absent in SCO, designated as “Europe’s alternative” in the dichotomic framework Özkök builds.

A more latent form of a discourse of Europe as a source of stability can be seen in Daily Sabah’s article titled “*Can new US president win over estranged allies?*” published on 9 November 2016. The indicated author is the editorial board of Daily Sabah and it is a commentary on the presidential elections of November 8th in the USA. Although the focal point of the article is the US foreign policy, an excerpt from the article reads as following:

“In addition to dealing with problems in the developing world, the next U.S. president must focus on stopping the extreme right's rise in Europe. While racism, xenophobia and Islamophobia could further strengthen extremists in the Middle East and elsewhere, the weakening of the European Union might, in turn, trigger developments that led to two world wars in the 20th century.”⁷⁵

A010 is present as a latent sub-theme in this excerpt, in the form of a simple reasoning practice: Weakening of the European Union might lead to a disaster on the scale of world wars. Although it is not the focal point of the argument, a tacit conviction

⁷⁵ <https://www.dailysabah.com/editorial/2016/11/09/can-new-us-president-win-over-estranged-allies> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

that Europe is a source of social and political stability is present in this quote. Moreover, weakening of the EU is not mentioned in the context of the organization's weakening in comparison to its global competitors, but as the weakening of an European approach across the geography imagined as Europe, as opposed to national approaches. This is inferred from the fact that the threat mentioned in the quote is "extreme right's rise in Europe", which may be considered as an internal element rather than an external one.

Similarly latent forms of the discourse of Europe as a source of stability is common in trade news published throughout November 2016. The month was a period of volatility in Turkish lira,⁷⁶ and in many articles published in this period the volatility is explained with the crisis in the EU-Turkey relations, such as "*Dolardaki düşüşü AP kararı frenledi*" ("*EP's decision [call to suspend Turkey's membership negotiations] curbs the fall in dollar*").⁷⁷ On the surface, these articles appear to simply present a diagnostic of the situation, of which the accuracy is not relevant to the research question of this thesis. However, at the discursive level, articles such as this also contribute to the reproduction of Europe as a source of economic stability.

An example of Europe's latent construction as a source of economic stability, albeit in more detail, can be seen in Ahu Özyurt's article "*Out-Trumping' Trump*" published in Hurriyet Daily News on 16 November 2016. In her article, Özyurt draws parallels between the populist discourses employed by the then president elect of the US and Turkish politicians, and says the following:

"We have a reason to be worried. Turkey's rulers have a habit of outsmarting and outdoing what is happening in the West. If Britain votes to exit the EU, suddenly Ankara becomes a big fan of European dissolution.

⁷⁶ For a background information on the circumstances surrounding the said volatility, see "*Turkish Central Bank raises rates for first time in 3 years as Turkish Lira plunges*" in Hurriyet Daily News: <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-central-bank-raises-rates-for-first-time-in-3-years-as-turkish-lira-plunges-106515> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

⁷⁷ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2016/11/25/dolardaki-dusus-ap-karari-frenledi> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

Behind closed doors, they tell businesspeople, portfolio investors, bankers and ratings agencies that Turkey is ‘of course on course for EU membership.’ But in reality they are paying thousands of internet trolls, biased advisers and party propaganda machine functionaries to spread the word otherwise. If the U.S. moves to the center-right or maybe the far-right, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan all of a sudden is the big enemy of all international organizations, and becomes the number-one advocate of the ‘let all hell break loose’ campaign.”⁷⁸

The supporting idea in Özyurt’s quote is that although the Turkish officials are comfortable with spreading Eurosceptic discourse at the public level, they are very well aware of the importance of Europe with regards to a healthy Turkish economy. Again, the accuracy of this statement is irrelevant to the research question of this thesis, but the framework built by Özyurt bears discursive significance. The author presents the European perspective as the rational one, because it is reportedly employed at the level where discourses have tangible consequences, or in simpler terms where they actually “matter”; represented by “behind closed doors”, “businesspeople”, “portfolio investors”, “bankers” and “rating agencies” in the article. On the other hand, Özyurt says that discourses that run counter to such perspective and employed at the public level are “a reason to be worried”. Therefore, the discourse of Europe as a source of economic stability attempts to establish a more figurative meaning of “common-sense”, rather than in the sense Hall uses the term. In this case, Europe’s status as a source of economic stability is common-sense not because it is a sentiment that is expected to be commonly shared among the public, but because it is a conclusion that can be reached through simple reasoning.

A related discursive strategy is the representations of Europe as a source of fundamental rights and freedoms (A016). While A010 is concerned with more tangible merits of Europe, the discursive strategy represented by A016 tends to carry more abstract and generalized value judgements about Europe. As such, while Europe as a source of stability is often used a tool for rationalization of pro-European arguments,

⁷⁸ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/ahu-ozyurt/out-trumping-trump--106168> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

fundamental rights and democracy are often presented as prerequisites of such stability in turn, which is suggested to source from Europe as well. Taha Akyol’s article “*İdam!*” explored earlier constitutes an example of such discursive practice again. However, presentations of fundamental rights and freedoms, and democracy sourcing from Europe as important values per se is also common in the articles.

A total of 80 items (16,1%) are assigned to the code A016. While A016 is the sixth most prevalent code in terms of number of items assigned, it represents the most prevalent discursive strategy that features an openly positive description of Europe.

The concentration of this discursive strategy is heavily skewed along the brand axis, with Hurriyet Daily News and Hürriyet publishing a combined 88,8% of all articles coded A016. The percentages relative to all articles published by each publication also show a similar pattern.

Figure 4.3: Distribution of items coded A016 among the four publications.

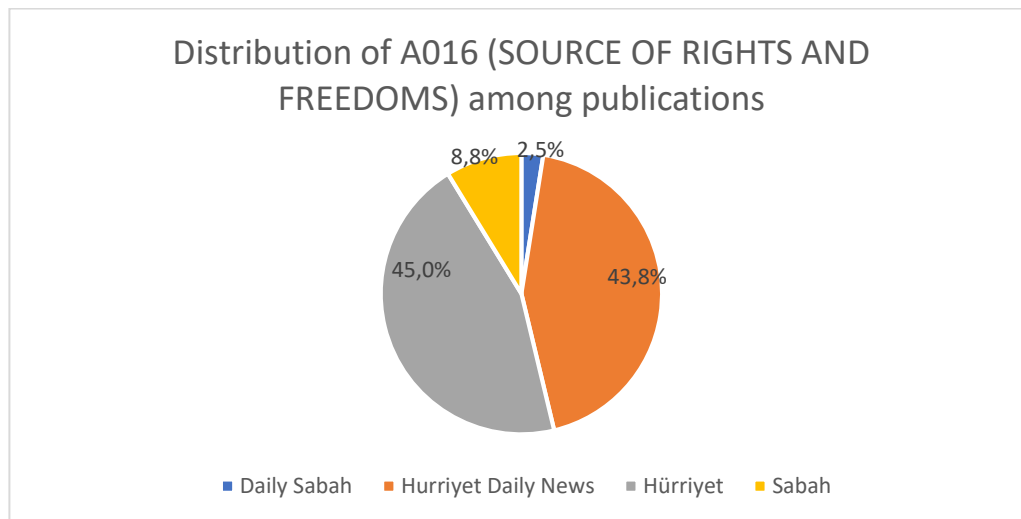
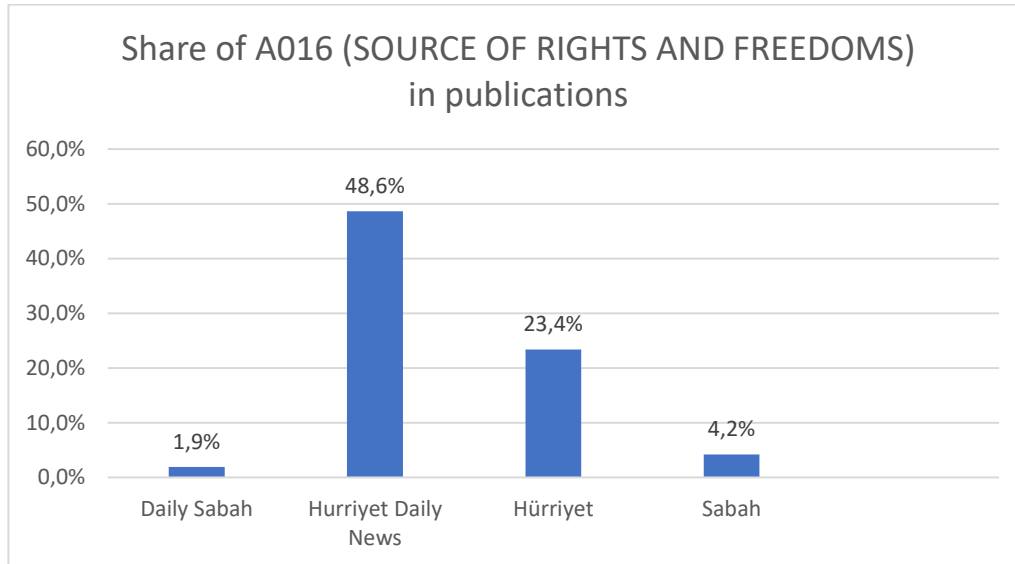


Figure 4.4: Percentages of items coded A016 relative to total number in each publication.



A manifest form of the discursive strategy can be seen in Mustafa Akyol’s article “*A sad farewell to the European Union*” published in Hürriyet on 16 November 2016. In his article, Akyol comments on the overall unfavorable state of EU-Turkey relations and says the following:

“At the end of the day, it seems that the EU-Turkish affair did not work well and may come to a definitive breakup sometime soon. I really wish it had worked otherwise. And while getting ready for a sad farewell to the EU, I am at least hoping that Turkey’s presence in the Council of Europe, and its attachment to the European Court of Human Rights, will not vanish. For if we lose them as well, then there will be almost no constraint left on the zealous political wave that is dragging Turkey toward a very bleak future.”⁷⁹

Turkey’s attachment to CoE and ECHR, which both operate primarily in the area of rights and freedoms, is presented as “constraints” on “the zealous political wave

⁷⁹ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/mustafa-akyol/a-sad-farewell-to-the-european-union-106173> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

that is dragging Turkey toward a very bleak future” in the article, in which the author also suggests the following earlier:

“The AKP, which began its political life by crying out “reform, freedoms and rights” in the face of an authoritarian establishment, soon began to build its own authoritarian establishment. EU norms, which looked like a savior before, now looked like an annoying “tutelage.”

In the framework Akyol builds, Europe as a whole is constructed as a source of democratic values and a necessary transformative force, with different organizations such as the EU and CoE all symbolic of such values.

Yusuf Kanlı’s article titled “*The problem of a regressive mentality*” and published in Hurriyet Daily News in 4 November 2016 indicates an even stronger association between the ideas of Europe and freedoms, rights and democracy. Kanlı begins his article, in which he discusses the recent detentions of Cumhuriyet representatives, with the following sentences:

“German Chancellor Angela Merkel has said ‘developments in Turkey are alarming.’ Was it strange to hear such words from her or from any other European leader? If such a sentence was to come out from the mouth of [Russian President] Vladimir Putin, right, then it would have been totally awkward.”⁸⁰

In this quote, Europe is not only constructed as a source of democratic values, but almost as the “exclusive” source. In the framework Kanlı builds, comments on freedoms that may be regarded as “totally awkward” when coming from other sources such as Russia, becomes relevant when made by Merkel or “any other European leader”, indicating the construction of Europe as a source of democratic values in a deductive manner.

In some articles assigned to A016, democratic values are singled out as the “redeeming” quality of an otherwise insignificant Europe. In his article titled

⁸⁰ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/yusuf-kanli/the-problem-of-a-regressive-mentality--105709> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

“Dont[sic] tread on me” and published in Daily Sabah on 21 November 2016, Hakkı Öcal says the following:

“I for one think that Turkey has nothing to gain economically or politically by furthering the ties with Europe more than a customs union; but the idea of ‘being a part of Europe’ is good for the future. The political reforms and making them part of the law of the land will prevent Turkey's stumbling back to the dark ages of the denial of the existence [of] Kurds and the rejection of ethnic and religious rights of people. That was the case before the 2002 revolution in Turkey. Those were the policies of the Kemalist one-party regime in Turkey as well as the foundation of the constitutions erected by three military interventions.”⁸¹

It is assumed that “denial of the existence of Kurds” in the quote above is invoked as just one example related to the issues of democracy, given the main argument of the article that the newfound Turkey following the “2002 revolution”, referring to the year when the first AKP government in Turkey was formed, is indeed taking steps towards democratization but does not welcome being put under international pressure with regards to these efforts.

In Öcal’s framework, Europe is presented as an entity “worth being a part of” on the basis of being the source of democratic values, if nothing else. The author argues that the economic benefits in becoming a part of Europe, if there were any in the first place, are no greater than the current state Turkey is in, and democratic values are presented as the apparently sole redeeming quality of Europe.

More latent forms of the discursive strategy represented by A016 are common in reports on developments related to ECHR. Because Turkey is already of a member of CoE and consequently, its legal system is supervised by ECHR, articles that report on ECHR rulings, applications made at the ECHR and Turkey’s actions related to these rulings and applications regularly appear in the Turkish media and these articles contribute to the discursive reproduction of Europe with regards to fundamental rights and freedoms. An example of this reproduction can be seen in Ersan Atar’s article titled

⁸¹ <https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/hakki-ocal/2016/11/21/dont-tread-on-me> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

“Uzun tutuklulukta takip kararı kalktı” (“Monitoring [mechanism] due to over-long detention lifted)” in Sabah on 18 November 2016. The article is a short report on CoE’s decision to remove Turkey from a legal monitoring mechanism and its full translation is as following:

“European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) ruled Turkey guilty of over-long periods of detainment in the case put forward by Halise Demirel in 2003. ECHR have made consecutive rulings against Turkey following this resolution. Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe had begun monitoring Turkey in relation to the rulings. Ministry of Justice [of Turkey] submitted a report to the Council of Europe on October 25th. It was explained in the report that the [maximum] detainment terms were limited to 5 years for crimes related to terrorism and to 2 years for other crimes, and that justified decisions were invariably present in the rulings of detainment, and that legal changes such as the compensation for over-long detentions were put in place. The committee ruled to remove the decision related to 196 cases under "Demirel group" from monitoring [mechanism] at its session on November 9th.”⁸²

Atar’s article frames the story as an improvement in the Turkish legal system. Within this frame, European authority with regards to the issues of rights and freedoms is internalized and the reference point with regards to the said improvement is Europe, as represented by CoE. The ECHR’s initial decision is also discursively internalized as the title of the article reads “due to over-long detainment”, indicating conformity with ECHR’s opinion. Therefore, the discourse of the authoritative status of Europe in issues related to rights and freedoms is reproduced through the language employed in the article.

4.2. Representations of a Degenerate Europe

While the previous sub-chapter covered the more positive representations of Europe, descriptions of some of the codes in this chapter refer to deficiencies in various areas such as economy, society, politics, or morality. As the discursive strategies

⁸² <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/18/uzun-tutuklulukta-takip-karari-kalkti> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

covered in this sub-chapter tend to present a Europe that is regressing in these areas, the theme of degeneration may be considered the dominant one. However, it should be noted that not all articles build a framework where the situation in Europe is going from “better” to “worse”. In some articles, especially those presenting a view of Europe as imperialist or colonialist (A013), the moral deficiencies are implied to be ever present and not necessarily going “worse”, since it was already lacking. Thus, this sub-chapter not only covers the discursive strategies that construct a degenerating Europe, but a Europe in a general state of depravity.

The dominant discursive strategy in this category is the representations of a Europe in economic, social, political turmoil that may present an existential threat (A014). With a total of 84 articles (16,9% of data set) assigned, A014 represents the fourth most prevalent discursive strategy in the entire data set in terms of data item coverage. In many cases, especially in columns and editorials, Europe is presented as lacking in more than one of the said areas. Economic crises, increasing intolerance and Islamophobia in particular, the mainstream political forces facing challenge from extremist movements, and Brexit are common sub-themes in articles assigned to A014. It is also one of the discourses that tend to be expressed in more manifest forms.

The concentration of items coded A014 shows moderate divergence along the brand axis, with 29 of all articles coded A014 published in Daily Sabah (34,5%), 25 in Sabah (29,8%), 21 in Hürriyet (26,2%) and 8 in Hurriyet Daily News (9,5%). The same pattern is also present when looking at the percentages of items relative to the number of all articles in each publication, with approximately twofold frequency in Daily Sabah compared to other publications.

Figure 4.5: Distribution of items coded A014 among the four publications.

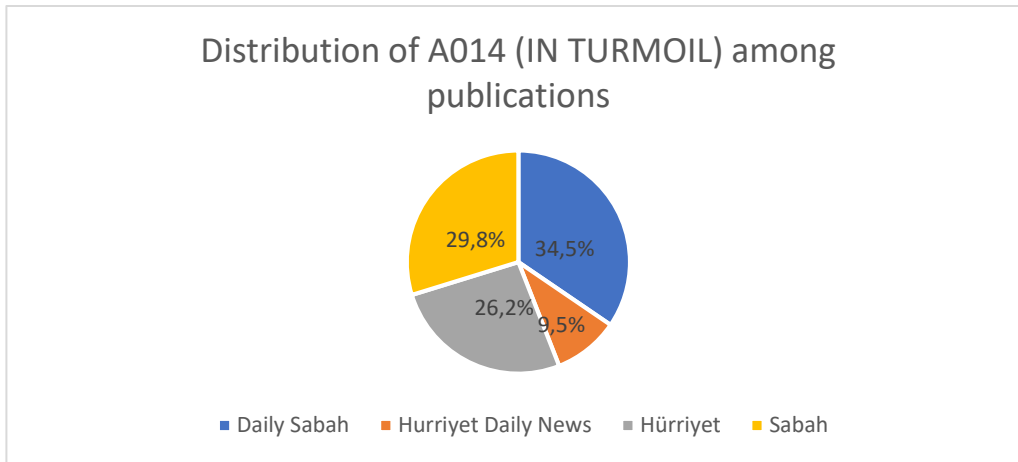
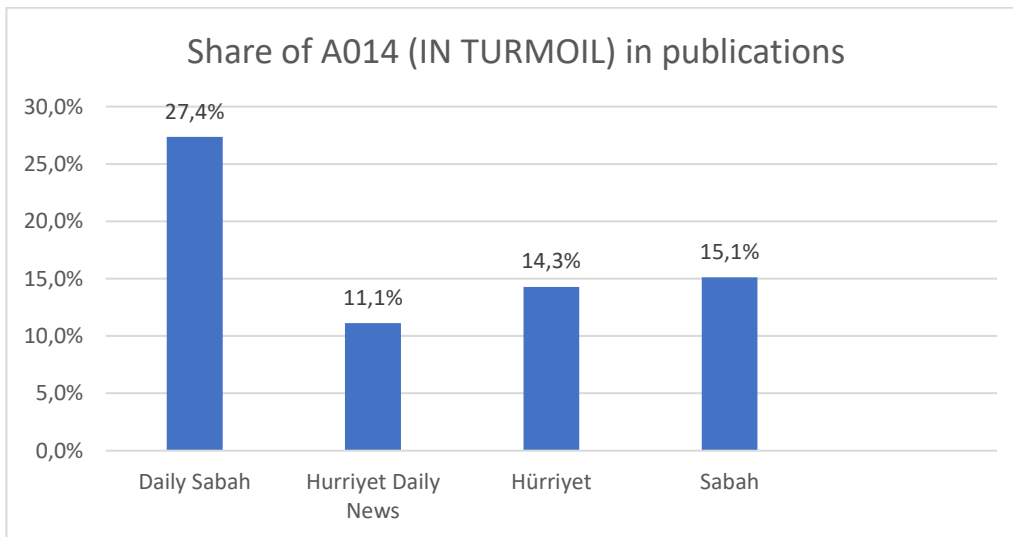


Figure 4.6: Percentages of items coded A014 relative to total number in each publication.



Although A014 represents the fourth most prevalent discursive strategy in terms of number of articles assigned, it should be noted that the presidential elections in the US in November 2016 appears to be a major contributing factor to its high level of prevalence in the data set. This is because during this period all four publications frequently published articles in which Donald Trump's victory in the US elections was

discussed in relation to the perceived rise in populism and right-wing movements globally, and the situation in Europe was often featured as a supporting idea.

An example of such framing can be seen in Semih İdiz's article titled "*The rise of populist demagoguery*" published in Hurriyet Daily News on 15 November 2016, which begins with the following paragraphs:

"The election of Donald Trump has confirmed that we live increasingly in an era of direct democracy based on populist demagoguery. Developments in Hungary and Poland also show that Europe is not exempt from this. Even Brexit was the result of this.

France appears to be another country that will be faced with a similar choice in six months. We also see what this understanding of democracy is doing in a less-developed country like the Philippines, which elected a madman as president."⁸³

In İdiz's article, Europe is presented as being under a barrage of dangers in different fronts represented by the countries mentioned. However, the situation is explained as a part of a global trend, and the state of turmoil is not indicated to be unique to Europe in articles using similar frames. A very similar example would be the article titled "*Trumpism marching on Western democracies, threatens European mainstream*" published in Daily Sabah on 9 November 2016. The publication states that it is an editorial article compiled from wire services, and the article narrates the specific examples from various European countries that indicate a rise in far-right politics, and projects the trend onto the European scale:

"Populist political parties and voters who share Trump's nationalistic anti-foreigner, anti-elite and anti-globalization views are nothing new on the fringes of European politics. Across Europe, from Austria to the Netherlands, Germany and even famously tolerant Scandinavia, once-fringe parties are gaining ground and public acceptance."⁸⁴

⁸³ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/semih-idiz/the-rise-of-populist-demagoguery--106120> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

⁸⁴ <https://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2016/11/10/trumpism-marching-on-western-democracies-threatens-european-mainstream> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

On the other hand, some of the other forms of this discursive strategy indeed build a framework where Europe particularly is in turmoil, even to the extent of being under existential threat. Examples of this form can be seen in a series of articles published in Daily Sabah. In her article titled *“The way things are going EU can't put the blame on Turkey anymore”* published on 18 November 2016, Merve Şebnem Oruç states that “the EU is indeed on the brink of a collapse today” due to a sustained rise of far right political forces in Europe.⁸⁵ Burhanettin Duran, on the other hand, argues that the existential threat had been present for a while, saying “It is obvious that the EU project, and even the idea of Europe, has been in crisis following the 2008 economic crisis, the rise of the European populist right-wing, and Brexit” in his article titled *“Future direction of Turkish-EU relations”* and published on 21 November 2016.⁸⁶ The discourse is also manifestly present in the title of an editorial article, “Wave of far-right populism threatening EU's wobbling house of cards”, published on 28 November 2016.⁸⁷

The same approach can also be seen in the article titled *“Avrupa sonunda itiraf etti”* (*“Europe finally admits it”*) published in Sabah on 18 November 2016.⁸⁸ The article is a report on the then French Prime Minister Manuel Valls’ comments that “Europe could die”, and while Sabah fails to mention any sources for the article, a search in Google engine reveals that the original text is an article distributed to subscribers by AA and titled *“Europe could die”*.⁸⁹ It is understood that Sabah published the article exactly as it was delivered to them, only changing the original title. This constitutes the publication’s only discursive contribution to the text, which

⁸⁵ <https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/merve-sebnem-oruc/2016/11/19/the-way-things-are-going-eu-cant-put-the-blame-on-turkey-anymore> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

⁸⁶ <https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/duran-burhanettin/2016/11/22/future-direction-of-turkish-eu-relations> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

⁸⁷ <https://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2016/11/29/wave-of-far-right-populism-threatening-eu-wobbling-house-of-cards-1480362640> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

⁸⁸ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/18/avrupa-sonunda-itiraf-etti> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

⁸⁹ <http://aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/fransa-basbakani-valls-avrupa-olebilir/687679?amp=1> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

is framing the comment that “Europe could die” as something to be “finally admitted”, apparently a “fact” as regarded by the publication.

While the manifest representations of a Europe in turmoil is common in columns and editorials, the discursive strategy’s more latent forms can be seen in news articles. In his article titled “*İhsanoğlu’nun ‘Islamophobia’sı artık Rusça’da*” (“İhsanoğlu’s ‘Islamophobia’ is in Russian now”) and published in *Hürriyet* on 5 November 2016, Umut Erdem reports on the promotional launch event of a book written by Turkish MP and former General Secretary of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, and bulk of the article consists of a block quote by the MP. Since this thesis is concerned with the discourses employed by publications themselves and not by the quoted parties, the content of the said quote is not relevant to the research question. However, the reporter’s sentence announcing the quote presents a micro-level discourse:

“İhsanoğlu mentioned the dangerous level Islamophobia has reached and the Islamophobic stances of far-right parties in Western Europe as a part of their xenophobia, during his speech at the ceremony, and told *Hürriyet* the following about his book.”⁹⁰

The micro-level discourse present in the quote above may be analyzed with regards to its both “syntactic” and “lexical” styles as van Dijk’s use of the terms (van Dijk, 1993: 277). According to the sentence Erdem builds, İhsanoğlu does not “argue” that Islamophobia has reached dangerous levels in Europe, but merely “mentions” it. Therefore, the rise of Islamophobia is lexically presented as not an “argument” that may be challenged, but something “mentioned” as a fact arising from common-sense. The statement is further embedded into the common-sense by the syntax of the sentence. In the sentence, the “mention” by İhsanoğlu is also only briefly “mentioned” by the reporter in turn, just before moving on the main quote. Thus, the statement is

⁹⁰ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ihsanoglunun-islamophobiasini-artik-ruscada-40268961> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

trivialized and presented as something that does not need elaboration, since it is already considered to be embedded in the common-sense.

The discourse described as “Europe as an entity detrimental to its constituents” (A012) is not only closely related to the one represented by A014, but the former is actually a sub-theme of the latter. This is because A014 completely covers A012, which means that all items assigned to A012 are also assigned to A014, a unique feature among the codes with the A prefix used in this thesis. A012 is also one of the least prevalent in the data set, with only 6 articles assigned (1,2%). However, since it refers to a very peculiar form of the discourse, it is given its own code in order to specifically mark the articles that contain it.

Another unique, albeit unrelated, feature of A012 is that it represents the only discursive strategy that presents complete exclusivity along the brand axis, with 4 articles published in Sabah, 2 in Daily Sabah and none in either Hurriyet Daily News nor Hürriyet. However, the statistical significance of this distribution is weak due to the low number of items assigned.

The discursive strategy represented by A012 is peculiar in the sense that it makes a clear distinction between the EU and European countries. Thus, the European perspective is positioned as a source of problems for the countries that share it, implying that these countries would be in a more favorable position if they abandoned the communal path and turned towards a national one. Unsurprisingly, all 6 samples assigned to this code implicitly or explicitly invoke the issue of Brexit.

A very explicit example of this discourse is present in Hilal Kaplan’s article “*My message to the European Parliament*” quoted earlier in the framework of A011, in which the author says that “Britain, the strongest country in the union, escaped and saved itself” from the EU (Kaplan, 26 November 2016). Kaplan does not elaborate on the indicator of “strength” she bases her argument upon, but it is clear in this quote that the EU is regarded something to be “saved from”, apparently because it is in the detriment to the “strength” of countries concerned.

A strikingly similar example is in Melih Altınok's article titled "*It is the EU's turn to become concerned*" published also in Daily Sabah on 16 November 2016, where the author says "Britain, the strongest EU member both in economic and political terms, left the EU because it saw that the EU has no future."⁹¹ Curiously, Altınok also describes Britain as the "strongest" EU member and while he elaborates this to be the case "both in economic and political terms", the indicators he refers to are still not clear. Combined with Kaplan's quote, it can be inferred that both authors tend to imply an inconsistency between being an EU member and being "strong".

In another example, Engin Ardiç opposes the idea that the EP's call to suspend membership negotiations with Turkey poses any disadvantages for the latter, not only because the call is non-binding and the prospects of compliance with this call on the side of EU Council are weak, but also because the EU is "a union which its own members are seriously considering 'leaving' and which a member has already left" in his article titled "*Yok öyle yirmi beş kuruşa köşk*" ("*You can't buy a mansion for twenty-five cents*") and published in Sabah on 26 November 2016.⁹² The author, thus, implies that being outside the EU may be more favorable for countries, as exemplified by the UK.

Another discursive strategy closely related to the one represented by A014 is the representations of "a Europe estranged to European values" (A015). This discourse is also peculiar in this category in the sense that it attributes inherently positive connotations to the idea of Europe, although it presents a Europe that has degenerated by having lost its connection to these ideals.

A total of 28 articles (5,6% of data set) are assigned to A015, with 12 published in Daily Sabah (42,9%), 11 in Hürriyet (39,3%), 4 in Sabah (14,3%) and 1 in Hurriyet Daily News (3,6%).

⁹¹ <https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/melih-altinok/2016/11/17/it-is-the-eus-turn-to-become-concerned> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

⁹² <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/ardic/2016/11/26/yok-oye-yirmi-bes-kurusa-kosk> , Accessed 19.12.2017.

Figure 4.7: Distribution of items coded A015 among the four publications.

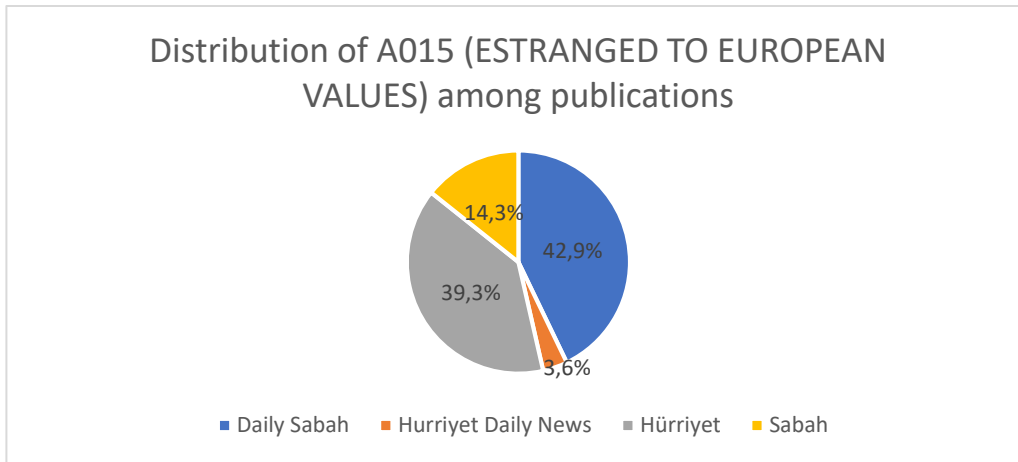
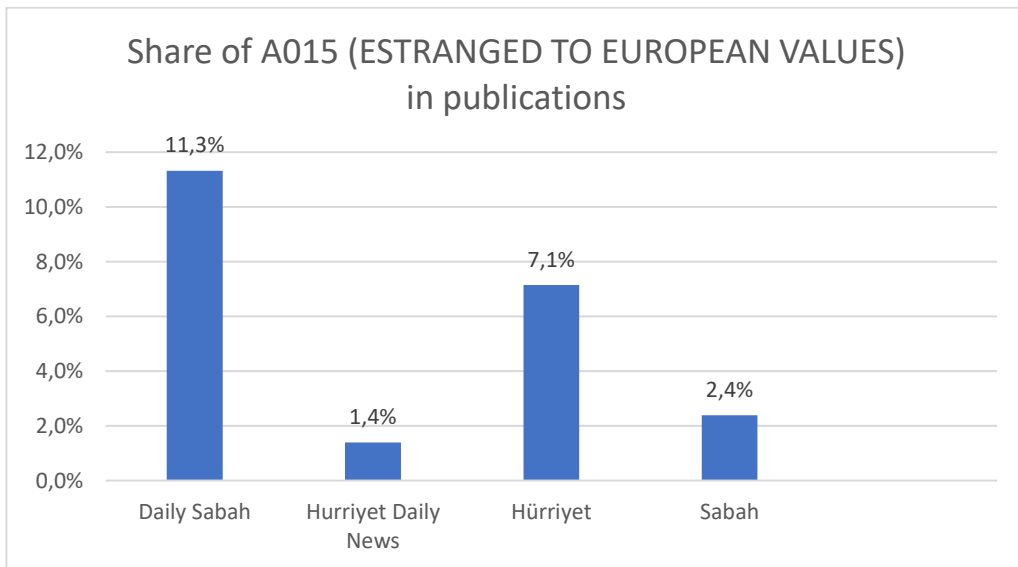


Figure 4.8: Percentages of items coded A015 relative to total number in each publication.



The theme of a Europe estranged to European values is usually used within the context of a response to criticism coming from Europe towards Turkey. A manifest example of this would be Mahmut Övür's article titled "*Baykal'ın Ahmet Türk ziyareti ve sorular*" ("*Baykal's visit to Ahmet Türk and questions*") and published in Sabah on

25 November 2016. In his article, Övür reacts to the EP's resolution calling for the suspension of membership negotiations with Turkey, and says the following:

“The EU's countries and political instruments, who have the ‘universal values’ and who suspended Turkey's membership[sic], has in fact soiled those universal values already by remaining silent in the face of the bloody coup attempt of 15 July. There was already an EU increasingly supporting dirty wars, remaining silent in the face of deaths, rolling the red carpet for putschists. Now it became clear. Actually, it is unfortunate for the entire humankind that the EU has come to this point, moving away from the values it was based upon.”⁹³

In the framework built by Övür, there are several reasons mentioned for the EU's perceived loss of moral high ground, including provoking conflicts globally, supporting illegitimate regimes and not showing solidarity with legitimate or oppressed parties. However, what makes this loss “clear now” is the EP's call to suspend the membership negotiations nevertheless. It can be inferred from the article that the main reason to question the EU's compliance to “universal values” is the call by its parliamentary institution to suspend the membership negotiations with Turkey, which in turn questions the latter's compliance with such values. Therefore, invocation of immoral acts or stances serve as a means of deflecting criticism in this context. Notwithstanding, “the values that the EU is based upon” are still considered to be important enough to create an “unfortunate” situation for “the entire humankind” when Europe itself moves away from them.

A more latent form of the discursive strategy represented by A015 can be seen in Naci Cem Öncel's article titled “*Avrupa'nın Türkiye'yle ne derdi var?*” and published in Hürriyet on 26 November 2016. In his article, Öncel argues that the real reason behind EP's call to suspend the membership negotiations with Turkey is related to Europe's its own identity crisis and begins his article with the following words:

⁹³ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/ovur/2016/11/25/baykalin-ahmet-turk-ziyareti-ve-sorular> , Accessed 20.12.2017.

“If you look at the statements, the EU Parliament decided to suspend the membership negotiations with the aim of protesting a Turkey moving away from democratic standards. For many political commentators, this decision is aimed at stopping and ‘tweaking’ Turkey which tends to act independently of the West. But there is also ‘internal factors.’ In other words, Europe’s own problems which result in the attitude towards Turkey which does not look friendly at all...”⁹⁴

Öncel continues by explaining the underlying causes of the identity crisis he suggests, which include decades of migration inflow, rise of Islamophobia due to Europe’s involvement in armed conflicts abroad and acts of terrorism within Europe, and high unemployment rates; and concludes by saying “In the current state of affairs, the EU’s concept of ‘plurality’ is struggling to cope with xenophobia and Islamophobia within its boundaries.” In Öncel’s framework, too, the EU’s inability to stick to its own principles is ultimately associated with the EP’s resolution. The author argues that othering of Turkey and building of “artificial oppositions” serves the European politicians’ interests well, because the European public opinion no longer cherishes one of EU’s key values, namely “plurality”. Therefore, in this case European society is discursively constructed to have regressed from European ideals, reflected by actions at the political level such as the EP’s call.

Another latent example of the discourse of a Europe estranged to European values, Mevlüt Tezel’s article titled “*Almanlar 27 yıl sonra duvar ördü*” (“*Germans built a wall after 27 years*”) and published in Sabah on 17 November 2016, also shows how contexts seemingly unrelated to Turkey may implicitly include it in discourses as well. In his article, Tezel reports of an enclosure wall around a refugee camp in Munich, and says the following:

“The fall of Berlin wall on 9 November 1989, built by the East German Parliament’s decision in 13 August 1961, heralded the fall of communism in East Europe and the end of the Cold War. Even the Soviet Union’s last leader Mikhail Gorbachev announced the fall of the wall as a day of celebration for European peoples. Today,

⁹⁴ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/naci-cem-ocel/avrupanin-turkiyeyle-ne-derdi-var-40289443> , Accessed 20.12.2017.

exactly 27 years since the ‘wall of shame’ was taken down, a new wall of shame is being built in Germany’s Munich.”⁹⁵

In the quote above, the invocation of the Berlin Wall in relation to the enclosure in Munich is clearly discussed within a European context rather than a strictly German one. While the Turkey is not mentioned in the article at all, the concluding remarks of the article may be interpreted as a comment on the relations between Turkey and Europe in general:

“As the Berlin Wall fell, the Germans were screaming with joy. 27 years have passed since and they are building walls again. If that is not enough, they are talking about democracy and human rights.”

Given that the article was published during a period when there was sustained criticism on the issues of “democracy and human rights” Tezel mentions, coming from several European institutions and countries, the author’s final sentence may be interpreted within the framework of the unfavorable climate in EU-Turkey relations. As such, the enclosure is again discussed in a framework where Europe is accused of preaching about values which it does not comply with in the first place. While Tezel does not explicitly mention any “values”, the reference to the Berlin Wall as the “wall of shame” and mentioning the celebration of its fall indicates a portrayal where Europe once had an approvable stance in the issues of democracy.

The final discursive strategy to be analyzed in this chapter is the representations of Europe as an imperialist or colonialist entity (A013). This discursive strategy is closely related to the representations of Europe as an oppressive authority (A011) and the two are often overlapping. While it may seem as A013 constitutes a specific form of A011, it should be noted that articles assigned to the former tend to be explicit in their descriptions of Europeans as inherent imperialists or colonialists, and the

⁹⁵ https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/gunaydin/sb-mevlut_tezel/2016/11/17/almanlar-27-yil-sonra-duvar-ordu , Accessed 20.12.2017.

perceived subject of “imperialism” or “colonialism” is not necessarily Turkey in these articles, although in many of them it is.

The number of articles assigned to A013 is low at 10 (2%), and it represents one of the discursive strategies that show near exclusivity along the brand axis. All but 1 article were published in either Daily Sabah or Sabah, with Hürriyet publishing the remaining one.

Figure 4.9: Distribution of items coded A013 among the four publications.

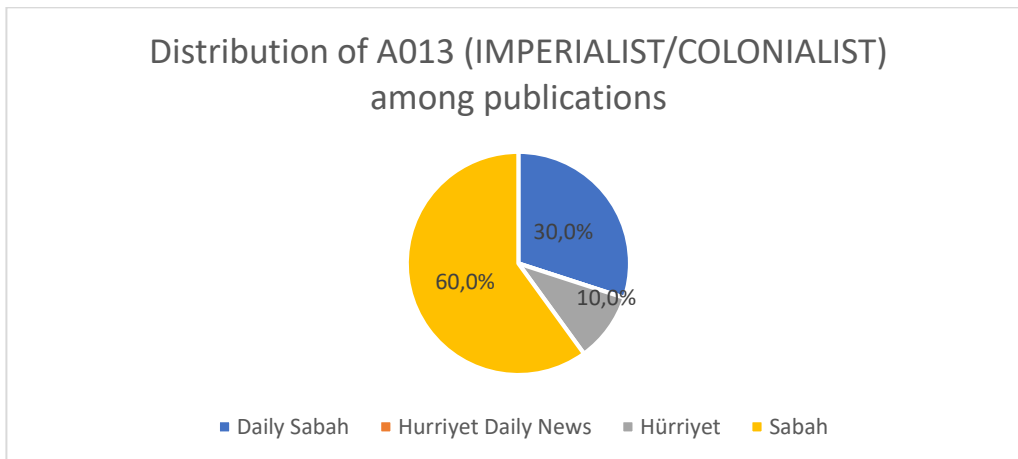
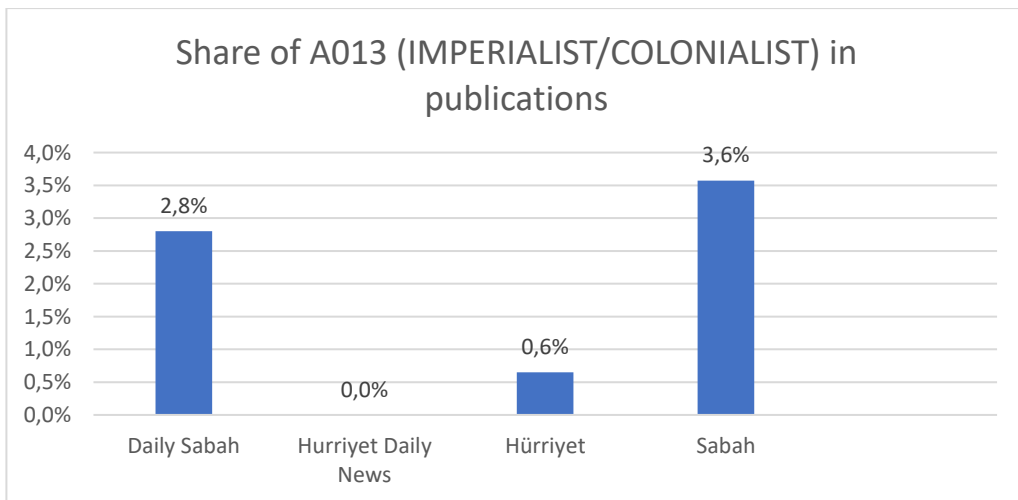


Figure 4.10: Percentages of items coded A013 relative to total number in each publication.



In some of the articles assigned to A013, Europe is referred to as “sömürgeci” (literally, “possessor of exploitees”), which may be translated to English as both “colonialist” or “imperialist”. An example of this would be Meryem Gayberi’s article titled “*Avrupa ‘sömürgeciliği’ bırakmıyor*” (“*Europe does not give up on colonialism/imperialism*”). In her article, Gayberi argues that the EU stands in solidarity with an ensemble of adversaries of Turkey, ranging from coup plotters to detained MPs of HDP, and says the following:

“The EU, which demands Turkey to ease its fight against the terrorist, demands Turkey to refrain from arresting FETÖ traitors, criticizes Turkey on the issue of ‘human rights’, also demands Turkey to ‘empathize’ with the EU’s principles on this.

But Europe, which tried to discipline Turkey through disdainful and imperious language and acted like ‘imperialist/colonialist masters’, did not ‘empathize’ with Turkish people even in the face of the vile coup plot.”⁹⁶

In this quote, the theme of imperialism and colonialism is indeed used in a very similar fashion to the discourse of Europe as an oppressive authority (A011) and amounts to the villainization of Europe through exaggeration of its authoritative status. Such villainization acts as a basis for rejection of criticism towards Turkey.

While Turkey is not the subject of colonial or imperial approaches in the frameworks of all articles assigned to A013, latent expressions of an existential threat that Turkey may be treated as a literal colony are ever present in these articles. Fatih Çekirge’s article “*Avrupa’nın bu yaptırım kafası nereye kadar*”, quoted earlier in the framework of A017 and in which the author argues that Europe should refrain from treating Turkey as a subordinate presents an example of such dread:

“Now Europe... Has to give up on its bossy attitude from earlier ages. It has to listen, understand and converse. In addition, it has to respect the political choices of the country’s people. If nothing else, this tone is not worthy of diplomacy or human rights. Because neither the boundaries nor the problems of this geography Turkey is in has

⁹⁶ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/site/gayberi/2016/11/17/avrupa-somurgeciligi-birakmiyor> , Accessed 20.12.2017.

expanded and deepened to the extent that it can no longer be marked up with rulers. This reality in the alleys of Paris is clear as the day. How? After the years of colonialist empire over Morocco, Tunis and Algeria... The children from those colonies who carry French passports... They become DAESH militants in the ghettos of Paris... The same is true for Berlin.”⁹⁷

In this quote, Çekirge refrains from associating the concept of “colony” directly with Turkey, but mentions the names of Morocco, Tunis and Algeria. However, the quote follows a discussion on the relations between the EU and Turkey, and the author also uses the phrase “this geography Turkey is in.” Therefore, while the subject of colonialism is not explicitly Turkey in this framework, it is constructed to be not so far from the situation either.

Another example of this discourse can be seen in another article quoted earlier in the framework of A021, Haşmet Babaoğlu’s “*Avrupa*”. Earlier in his article, Babaoğlu says the following:

“As you know, we keep accusing Europe with double standards. Even our most senior politicians act as if saying ‘Everything would be OK if Europe gave up on double standards.’ However, it is a situation of a single standard for Europe! The discourses of ‘universal culture’, ‘universal values’ and ‘universal individual’, you say? These are the ideological masks of our modern times. If you manage to lift this mask, a neo-colonialist world design will be revealed. That ‘universe’ does not include everyone and everywhere, but only the Europeans and those who resemble Europeans. The rest is the ‘outside.’”⁹⁸

In this excerpt, Babaoğlu implies Europe to be an inherently colonialist entity, because the approach is constructed to be omnipresent even if veiled by “the ideological masks of our modern times.” While Babaoğlu does not position Turkey or any other country as a subject of such “neo-colonialist” approach in specific, it is notable that he includes Turkey in the conclusion of his article:

⁹⁷ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/fatih-cekirge/avrupanin-bu-yaptirim-kafasi-nereye-kadar-40277855> , Accessed 20.12.2017.

⁹⁸ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/babaoğlu/2016/11/08/avrupa> , Accessed 20.12.2017.

“People who had participated in seriously left-wing movements during the 70's are managing the vast majority of European institutions today. This is one of the new obstacles in Turkey's ability to express itself to Europe. Some would know. It is much harder to speak with haughty seculars and snobbish liberals than to communicate with religious/conservative Europeans.”

In Babaoğlu's framework, although Turkey is not constructed as a subject of colonialism, it still gets its share of mistreatment stemming from an “inherently” colonialist quality by having its ability to communicate with “haughty seculars” and “snobbish liberals” reduced. Therefore, Turkey is latently positioned as “liminal” to be a subject of colonialism.

CHAPTER 5

DISCURSIVE METHODS

5.1. Marginalizing Europe

While the previous two chapters covered discursive strategies that can be defined as themes, the definition does not apply to all codes used for this research. The two codes with the B-prefix in Annex B.1 are defined as “discursive methods” rather than themes, because their descriptions do not refer to latent or manifest statements on Europe, but to non-descriptive framings employed in articulating these statements. It is acknowledged that this may be diversified to cover a greater variety of journalistic practices. However, the two that will be analyzed in this chapter are selected on the basis that they provide valuable insight into the approaches of the selected media outlets to the ideas of Europe and the European in specific.

The two discursive methods that will be covered in this chapter are coded using the same methodology as in themes analyzed in previous chapters, and thus their prevalence in the data set or in specific publications may be quantified in the same manner. However, it is assumed that such statistical practice would not be as relevant in discursive methods as it is in themes. This is because, as an example, representations of Europe as a dishonest entity (A003) being the second most frequently appearing theme in the data set is indicative of a pattern. On the other hand, measuring the percentage of articles that “marginalize” Europe, as it will be discussed in this sub-chapter, does not provide a similar pattern that can be a basis of inference about how the four publications discursively reproduce Europe and the European. Therefore, unlike the previous two chapters, charts and statistics with regards to prevalence are not provided in the case of discursive methods.

Although the prevalence of discursive methods is not as relevant as themes, discursive methods contribute to the reproduction of the ideas of Europe and the European nevertheless. One of these discursive methods are the ones that

“marginalize” Europe (B001). As it was briefly mentioned in Chapter 3, within the context of A020, this discursive method involves finding a representative among “the other” who expresses views similar to those held by “the self”. It should be noted that since this thesis is concerned with nationalist discourses on Europe, “the self” here represents Turkey and “the other” represents Europe.

In “Principles of critical discourse analysis”, van Dijk discusses the method of marginalization with the examples from discourses related to race, and says the following:

“The liberal elites especially may also apply humanitarian norms and values to argue against them. By seemingly emphasizing equality for all, for instance, elites may thus discredit affirmative action programmes or employment schemes. And by denying or mitigating racism, they are able to marginalize those who claim the opposite. Recall that apart from the various semantic or other moves used in such discourse, the very access to such discourse is a crucial condition of power and counter-power: minorities or other dominated groups simply will hardly be allowed to provide a totally different version of the facts, or the white media or other elites will find a minority representative who agrees with their position.” (van Dijk, 1993: 265)

While this thesis does not argue that Europe is a “dominated group” in relation to Turkish media, this sub-chapter covers instances similar to the example van Dijk gives in the quote above. The ability of, for example EU officials, to present their own version of facts is not an indicator taken into consideration here; but “finding” a representative who agrees with “the self” is. In articles assigned to B001, such method serves to “marginalize” discourses employed by various European actors, with attributing precedence to other parties’ discourses which are more consistent with official Turkish ones, even if the latter has questionable relevance or representative capacity in the debate at hand.

A typical example of this method can be seen in Yunus Paksoy’s article titled “*Turkish-EU dispute: Membership talks, fragile migrant deal in jeopardy*” and published in Daily Sabah on 15 November 2016. The article reports on the EU Council meeting on 14-15 November 2016 where foreign ministers of EU member states did

not decide to suspend the membership negotiations with Turkey,⁹⁹ despite several public statements and reports indicating that the issue may be discussed at the meeting, and Paksoy says the following:

“Different voices have recently been heard in Brussels regarding how the 27-nation bloc[sic]¹⁰⁰ should approach Ankara. While some argued that full membership talks should end, others asserted that Brussels needs Ankara.

Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade Peter Szijjart stated that the EU should be careful while criticizing Turkey.”¹⁰¹

It is notable in Paksoy’s article that although it is mentioned that there were “different voices” in the EU Council, only the Hungarian minister is specifically quoted, whose remarks overlap with Turkish official discourse. Assignment of this article to B001 as such does not necessarily mean that Hungary’s official position was in the minority, and since the Council ultimately decided to continue with the negotiations, the country appears to be, in fact, among the majority. However, the article gives voice to only 1 out of 27 mentioned (which was 28 in reality) members of the Council, thus discursively marginalizing any other opposing views.

Another form of discursive marginalization can be seen in Güven Özalp’a article “*AP’de ‘Türkiye ile müzakereleri dondurun’ çağrısı*” (“*Calls to ‘Freeze negotiations with Turkey’ in EP*”) published in *Hürriyet* on 23 November 2016. The article is a report on the debate held at the EP’s plenary session prior to the vote on the resolution about Turkey. The article is framed in a way that indicates a consensus among MEPs on the resolution that calls for the suspension of the membership negotiations with Turkey, and features the following sentence:

⁹⁹ <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/fac/2016/11/14-15/#> , Accessed 21.12.2017.

¹⁰⁰ This error appears to be stemming from the confusion caused by the referendum in the UK on the country’s EU membership held earlier in 2016. Although the results of the vote was in favor of leaving the EU, the UK had not left the bloc at the time and was still represented at the Council.

¹⁰¹ <https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/16/turkish-eu-dispute-membership-talks-fragile-migrant-deal-in-jeopardy> , Accessed 21.12.2017.

“All [parliamentary] groups, including those who used to support Turkey’s membership, supported the stance of Socialists and Democrats (S&D), the EP’s second largest group that brought the issue to the agenda, which is suspending the negotiations ‘until the government in Turkey returns to a path that respects the rule of law and human rights.’”¹⁰²

The frame of the article outlined in this quote is also consistent with the final outcome of the vote in the EP plenary, which indeed resulted in the adoption of the resolution. However, it is notable that the only two people specifically quoted in the article are not members of the EP, but of the European Commission: Federica Mogherini, the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and Johannes Hahn, European Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighborhood Policy. At this point it is worth noting that although European commissioners regularly participate in the plenary debates of the EP, they have no authority in the processes of drafting or voting of EP resolutions. While exclusively quoting officials who are not a part of the EP decision making process in an article primarily concerned with a decision made at the level of EP indicates a particular pattern, there is also another observable pattern in the article: Both representatives of the European Commission are also reported to object the suspension of membership negotiations with Turkey.

Thus, the position of the European Parliament is discursively marginalized by exclusively giving voice to officials who are not members of it and who are reported to object to its opinion, in an article on an EP resolution. The discourse of European Commission, which is favorable from Turkey’s standpoint, is given precedence, and the discourse of the EP is effectively diminished and marginalized. The resolution is further marginalized by framing it as the EP groups’ “support to S&D’s stance”,

¹⁰² <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/apde-turkiye-ile-muzakereleri-dondurun-cagrisi-40285658> , Accessed 21.12.2017.

whereas the resolution was jointly proposed by the groups, regardless of which one had the leading role.¹⁰³

A similar example can be seen in another article in *Hürriyet* titled “*Schulz müzakerelerin kesilmesine karşı çıktı*” (“*Schulz objects to suspending negotiations with Turkey*”), published on 18 November 2016 with the indicated author being the publication’s Berlin office. The article is a short report on the then EP President Martin Schulz’s remarks made during an interview with German newspaper “*Mindener Tagblatt*”, and its full translation is as following:

“EP President Martin Schulz spoke to German newspaper ‘*Mindener Tagblatt*’ and said: ‘Nothing is gained by not talking. On the contrary, it brought more conflict.’

Schulz warned that if the negotiations were suspended with Turkey, they would also lose the opportunity to influence the developments in Turkey and said the following: ‘We would be deprived of the most important instrument in influencing the developments in Turkey and improve the situation’. Andreas Scheuer, General Secretary of the Christian Social Union (CSU) which is the junior partner of the government in Germany, had demanded the negotiations with Turkey to be suspended.”¹⁰⁴

It should be noted in the article that while Schulz’s remarks are framed as a response to a German politician involved in national politics, regardless of the speaker’s genuine intention; Schulz, although a German national himself, was not actively involved in national politics of his home country at the time, but held an office at the European level politics. Although it is not explicitly mentioned in the article, it is assumed that the journalist also took the upcoming debate and vote on Turkey’s membership negotiations at the EP into account in the framing of the article. This also makes sense, given the quoted party was the chairperson of the institution which was expected to vote on suspension of the negotiations within a few days from the

¹⁰³ <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=MOTION&reference=P8-RC-2016-1276&language=EN> , Accessed 21.12.2017.

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/schulz-muzakerelerin-kesilmesine-karsi-cikti-40282114> , Accessed 21.12.2017.

publishing of the article. However, it should be noted in this case too, that although Schulz chaired the EP, the parliamentary group he was a part of (S&D) was also among the ones to propose the resolution that was ultimately adopted. Therefore, the discourse employed by Schulz, as an unlikely “minority” in both national and European levels, is given precedence in the debate.

In one article assigned to B001, the party quoted whose discourse is consistent with the Turkish official discourse is not even among the “minority” of “the other”, but is a party that is considerably irrelevant to the debate altogether. Sabah published an article titled “*Kırgızistan'dan AP'ye sert karar*” (“*Kyrgyzstan [adopts] a stern resolution against the EP*”) on 25 November 2016, a day after the adoption of the resolution calling for the suspension of membership negotiations with Turkey by the EP. The article is based on interviews with three Kyrgyz MPs, in which all three argue that the EP’s resolution carries no importance for Turkey. The indicated source of the article in Sabah is AA, and a search in the news agency’s archives reveals that the original article is titled “*AP'nin kararı Türkiye için şans*” (“*EP’s resolution is an opportunity for Turkey*”).¹⁰⁵ Therefore, the marginalization of the EP through attributing precedence to Kyrgyz officials instead is conducted by AA in the first stage. However, Sabah strengthens this discursive strategy further through changing the title to “Kyrgyzstan [adopts] a stern resolution against the EP”, and remarkably misinterpreting the content in the course, given that AA’s article merely reports the comments of three Kyrgyz MPs and there is no mention of any resolutions.

5.2. A Generic Europe

The other discursive method to be explored in this chapter is the generalization of Europe (B002). This method involves intentionally or unintentionally projecting country or institution specific contexts to a Europe-wide context. The discursive

¹⁰⁵ <http://aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/apnin-karari-turkiye-icin-sans/693315> , Accessed 21.12.2017.

method constructs a generic (or homogenic) Europe, where divergences of approaches or practices among countries, institutions or other actors carry no importance and Europe is presented as one and the same. It should be noted that articles assigned to B002 are not the ones that comment on generalized ideas of Europe or the European, but they are those that explicitly project specific, relatively small-scale contexts to a European one. However, it should also be noted that instances where specific but larger-scale contexts (e.g. the EU) are framed as “European” contexts are not covered by this code.

Some instances of this discursive method may be assumed to be errors on the journalist’s side. However, since this research is not concerned with the intentionality or accuracy of the discourses employed, these instances are also considered as reproductions of a generic Europe. An example of this was mentioned in Chapter 3 and within the framework of A004, where in his article “*İdam!*”, Taha Akyol quoted Ali Babacan’s words as “EU law”, whereas the actual quote was referring to CoE instead. A similar example which may be assumed to be an error is present in Abdülkadir Selvi’s article titled “*İdam ve başkanlıkta yeni gelişme*” (“*A new development in the capital punishment and the presidency*”) published in *Hürriyet* on 7 November 2016, which features the following remarks:

“There is a serious debate ongoing on both subjects. The issue was brought forward at the Council of Ministers [meeting] held on October 31th and presided by the president [of Turkey]. The cabinet's views are in line with President Erdoğan. However, there are also other assessments.

‘Even if capital punishment was reinstated, neither Öcalan nor Gülen can be hanged. This is because the capital punishment is non-retroactive. Than we [would be in a situation where] both the capital punishment was reinstated, and non-executable. Moreover, our overall image would deteriorate. They would expel us from both the European Parliament and NATO.’¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/abdulkadir-selvi/idam-ve-baskanlikta-yeni-gelisme-40271391> , Accessed 21.12.2017.

It is clear that the second paragraph of the excerpt above is not an actual quote, but a summary of the respective “other assessments” provided by the author. Also, the assignment of this article to B002 is clearly due to the phrase “They would expel us from both the European Parliament and NATO”, since Turkey is already not represented at the European Parliament and thus cannot be expelled from. The organization Selvi refers to is apparently either CoE, or its parliamentary institution PACE, of which Turkey is a member of both, rather than the “European Parliament”. This could be assumed to be a simple mix-up of the phrases “Council” and “Parliament”,¹⁰⁷ which would indicate an error. However, it could also be assumed to be a short way of saying “Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe” (PACE) as well, which then would indicate a disregard towards the distinctions between European institutions, and a discourse where all “European” parliaments having similar connotations. Therefore, the article is assigned to B002 because of the impossibility of ruling out the latter scenario.

However, in some cases, journalists explicitly state that which specific institution they are referring to is irrelevant, because they are all “European”. An example of this is was also mentioned in Chapter 3, within the framework of A001, where in his article “*Ne denir?*” Rauf Tamer said: “I forgot which country it was, a European Court, released the murderers during the days of ASALA terrorism.” This statement does not need further explanation, as the author clearly indicates that it is not important if the specific court he mentions was, for example, a French one or a Latvian one, since they are all considered to be one and the same by the author.

In other articles, such disregard is expressed more latently, where institutions or other actors that have some sort of connection to Europe are considered as the monolithic “Europe” itself. An example of this can be seen in Sabah’s article titled “*Avrupa görevden alınan FETÖ’cüler için fon oluşturdu!*” (“*Europe establishes fund*

¹⁰⁷ Both the “European Council” of the European Union and the unrelated institution of “Council of Europe” translate the same in Turkish language as “Avrupa Konseyi”, and the former is commonly referred to as “EU Council” (“AB Konseyi”) when a clear distinguishment is intended.

for discharged FETÖ supporters!”) published on 7 November 2016.¹⁰⁸ The publication fails to cite any sources for the article, but a search in the Google engine brings similar versions of the article in other publications with the indicated source as Sabah and no other candidates of source, and therefore this article is assumed to be a product of Sabah’s own editorial team. The article reports of a fund established by European Association of Judges which is indicated to benefit several former members of Turkish judiciary, discharged on the grounds of their suspected affiliation with terrorism. In this instance, a specific association of judges is framed as “Europe” itself in the title, projecting a relatively small-scale institutional context to entire Europe.

Another article published in Sabah, titled “*HDP/PKK'nun gazetesinden alçak manşet*” (“*A vile headline from “HDP/PKK’s newspaper”*”) and published on 12 November 2016, constitutes a similar example.¹⁰⁹ Sabah fails to mention any sources for the article, but the same method employed the previous example leads to the conclusion that this article is a product of the publication’s own editorial team as well. The article reports that a German newspaper has framed the assassination of a Turkish district governor in a celebratory tone, and the opening sentences of the first and second paragraphs read “Europe's support to the terrorist organization PKK and its extension HDP continues” and “Europe continues to support terrorism” respectively. Therefore, the article equates a German newspaper with Europe itself.

Another example would be Fatih Çekirge’s article titled “*Eyvah! O silahları alamazsak ne yaparız*” (“*Alas! What will we do if we can’t buy those weapons?*”) published in Hürriyet on 28 November 2016, in which the author says the following:

“German arms manufacturer Heckler & Koch reportedly ‘won’t sell arms to Turkey anymore’... In other words, some form of embargo. Even if it's just a rumor, this is intentional. Because it would mean that this is a part of the campaign of negative [media] reports on the Turkish economy. If it’s true, then it is laughable... Because

¹⁰⁸ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/fotohaber/gundem/avrupa-gorevden-alinan-fetoculer-icin-fon-olusturdu> , Accessed 21.12.2017.

¹⁰⁹ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/12/hdppkknin-gazetesinden-alcak-manset> , Accessed 21.12.2017.

Turkey is a NATO country. It is also laughable because... Does Germany think that this nation would panic if they don't sell those arms to us? Aren't they aware that they are dragging Turkey to a meaningless obstinacy and deadlock? Can't they see they are increasing the level of Turkish people's 'pride' and this is turning into anger? Has the 'vein of maturity' of the European civilization gone dry and it is surrendering to enmity and racism? What happened to 'communication'? What happened to 'promises'? Where did 'negotiating' go?"¹¹⁰

In the excerpt above, the rumored decision of a German arms manufacturer to stop selling its products to Turkey is associated with "European civilization's vein of maturity going dry", implying an equation of Germany in general, and Heckler & Koch in specific, to the "European civilization" itself.

Another latent form of such equation is present in Daily Sabah's article titled "*Germany admits EU falling far short on 3-billion-euro refugee deal with Turkey*" and published on 29 November 2016. The indicated author of the article is Daily Sabah's own editorial team, and the article's lead paragraph reads as following:

"Germany's Federal Minister of Economic Cooperation and Development Gerd Müller called on the European Union (EU) to keep its promises to provide the 3-billion-euro (\$3.18 billion) funding to refugees taking shelter in Turkey, after President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has repeatedly slammed the union for failing to do so."¹¹¹

The discrepancy between the two different framing choices in the title and the lead paragraph of the article is remarkable, since although the lead paragraph mentions a certain German minister "calling on" the European Union to keep its promises, the title says that Germany "admits" unkept promises. This indicates a discourse where the German minister is considered as one and the same with the EU itself (and given the context, specifically the European Commission, because the said fund falls under its jurisdiction), although the former is in fact expressing a complaint about the latter.

¹¹⁰ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/fatih-cekirge/bahceli-bunu-yapar-mi-40291188>, Accessed. 21.12.2017. It should be noted that the page will have a different title than the referred article and this is because the page contains several separate articles by the same author, published on the same day.

¹¹¹ <https://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2016/11/29/germany-admits-eu-falling-far-short-on-3-billion-euro-refugee-deal-with-turkey> , Accessed 21.12.2017.

While the examples above illustrate the discursive practice of equating institutions, people or other actors with questionable capacity to represent the entire Europe to the European schema itself, framing country specific contexts as European contexts is also a common form of the discursive method represented by B002. This is exemplified by the frames of a series of articles published in Sabah. Two of them, “*Erdoğan'ın resti Avrupa'yı titretti!*” (“*Erdoğan's challenge makes Europe shiver!*”)¹¹² and “*Avrupa sonunda itiraf etti*” (“*Europe finally admits it*”)¹¹³ were earlier analyzed in the contexts of A007 and A014 respectively.

These articles are also assigned to B002, because they frame country specific stories as “European”. As explained in Chapter 3, the former article reports that Bulgarian and Greek media are speculating on the possible consequences of Turkey's opening of its borders to refugees headed west, and that Bulgaria is increasing the level of security on its border with Turkey; while the title of the article states that “Europe” itself is “shivering” with fear. Similarly, the latter article is a report on comments by the then French Prime Minister Manuel Valls that “Europe could die”, and in Sabah's article it is framed as “Europe itself admitting” a such prospect, rather than a specific French politician.

Another example of this form of the discursive method represented by B002 can be seen in an article titled “*AB gerçeği görmeye başladı*” (“*EU begins to see the reality*”) and published in Sabah on 15 November 2016.¹¹⁴ The indicated source of the article is AA and a search in the news agency's archive reveals that the original title of the article as distributed by the agency is “*AB'nin güvenliği Türkiye'nin istikrarına bağlı*” (“*The EU's security depends on Turkey's stability*”).¹¹⁵ The article is a report on Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Szijjarto's remarks that the EU should refrain from alienating Turkey, and the title of the article as it was distributed by AA is actually

¹¹² <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/28/erdoganin-resti-avrupayi-titretti> , Accessed 21.12.2017.

¹¹³ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/18/avrupa-sonunda-itiraf-etti> , Accessed 21.12.2017.

¹¹⁴ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/15/ab-gercegi-gormeye-basladi> , Accessed 21.12.2017.

¹¹⁵ <http://aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/abnin-guvenligi-turkiyenin-istikrarina-bagli/685538> , Accessed 21.12.2017.

a quote by the minister. However, Sabah reframed it to read “EU begins to see reality”, equating the minister in specific or Hungary in general to “the EU” itself.

The final example of this discursive method, the article titled “*Avrupa geri adım atmaya başladı*” (“*Europe begins stepping back*”) and published in Sabah on 12 November 2016, also involves the equation of a Hungarian official to the Europe itself.¹¹⁶ The indicated source of the article is AA again and a search in the news agency’s archive reveals that the original title of the article is “*Macaristan Başbakanı Orban: Türkiye'deki iç siyasetin tek muhatabı Türklerdir*” (“*Turks are the sole concerned party in Turkey’s domestic politics: Hungarian Prime Minister Orban*)¹¹⁷. As the title of the original article as distributed by AA implies, this is a report on Orban’s remarks, who is reported to suggest that the EU should refrain from interfering in Turkey’s domestic politics. However, Sabah’s reframing of the article with the title “Europe begins stepping back” constructs a framework where the Hungarian prime minister’s remarks amount to a retreat on the side of “Europe” as a whole.

¹¹⁶ <https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/12/avrupa-geri-adim-atmaya-basladi> , Accessed 21.12.2017.

¹¹⁷ <http://aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/macaristan-basbakani-orban-turkiyedeki-ic-siyasetin-tek-muhatabi-turklerdir/683882> , Accessed 21.12.2017.

CHAPTER 6

EVALUATION

6.1. Overview

The article that best captures the overall mood in the examples analyzed in Chapters 3 to 5, or the mood of the entire data set for that matter, may be Rauf Tamer's article titled "*Sabır Taşı*" ("*End of the rope*") published in *Hürriyet* on 15 November 2016. "Sabır taşı" is a Turkish idiom, literally meaning "the patience stone", a metaphor referring to someone who remains patient under extremely provocative or challenging conditions. And in Turkish language, if one's patience is tried too hard and their patience stone "cracks", it means that the person in question has come to a point where they are ready to break their ties with those trying their patience, similar to "being at the end of one's rope" in English. Tamer's is a relatively short article, and its full translation is as following:

"It appears that Ankara has decided. It will ask the nation if [they say] yes, or no to the EU. In other words, referendum. I wish it didn't come to this.

Actually, the EU has not accepted us so far. Maybe it will never do. But the nation will still be asked, 'Should the negotiations continue, or should they be abandoned?' In other words, 'Yes, or no?'. It is clear the nation will say 'no'. The reason is clear. They [Europeans] have hurt us so much. I used to be fiercely pro-EU, [but] even I will say 'no'. I wish they never ask.

So, maybe our national sentiments will be flattered by saying 'no', but I wonder if this will actually be good [for us]? In fact, even if it's bad, it can't be worse than being belittled every day.

On the other hand, I wonder: Isn't there a way to fix this at all? Because the ties haven't been broken completely. The EU Affairs Minister Ömer Çelik is struggling. He puts great effort for the [cause of] EU and tries to keep the [relations between] Ankara and the EU in balance by using a very careful tone.

In short, we're anchored and waiting somewhere between reason and emotions. Alas, how joyful that night was when the start of the negotiations were secured on December

17th, 2004. Too much whim tired an admirer out. So be it... It doesn't matter if we part ways, or we reconcile. We will welcome both.”¹¹⁸

Use of the Turkish proverb “too much whim tires an admirer out” (“Fazla naz aşık usandırır”) is remarkable in this article. The proverb suggests that, if a person of romantic interest toys with their admirer for too long, the admirer will eventually give up and lose their interest, no matter how infatuated they were at first. The use of the proverb is remarkable, because although the theme is not coded separately in this thesis, Turkey’s relation to Europe is occasionally explained in terms of infatuation, admiration, love and hate in the columns and editorials included in the data set. Yusuf Kanlı says that the EU-Turkey relations are an “unending love-hate relationship”¹¹⁹ while Burhanettin Duran argues that “Traditionally, Turkish politicians have had a love-hate relationship with Western nations.”¹²⁰ In his article titled “A sad farewell to the European Union...”, Mustafa Akyol elaborates further, saying that “initial the love affair” between Turkey and the EU “began to fade” when Turkey’s place within Europe began to be increasingly contested in some member countries, sometime after the membership negotiations started.¹²¹

The fading of affection towards Europe is indeed a dominant sentiment across the data set. Three of the codes Tamer’s article is assigned to (Europe as an entity that rejects or temporizes Turkey [A005], Europe as an entity that is dismissed or dismissible for Turkey [A006], and Europe as an oppressive authority [A011]) may be regarded among the themes that best define the entire data set, although none of them is the most prevalent one in terms of number of articles assigned. Before moving on to the details, it may be helpful to provide an overview.

¹¹⁸ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/rauf-tamer/sabir-tasi-40278814> , Accessed 22.12.2017.

¹¹⁹ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/yusuf-kanli/eu-shanghai-and-beyond-106348> , Accessed 22.12.2017.

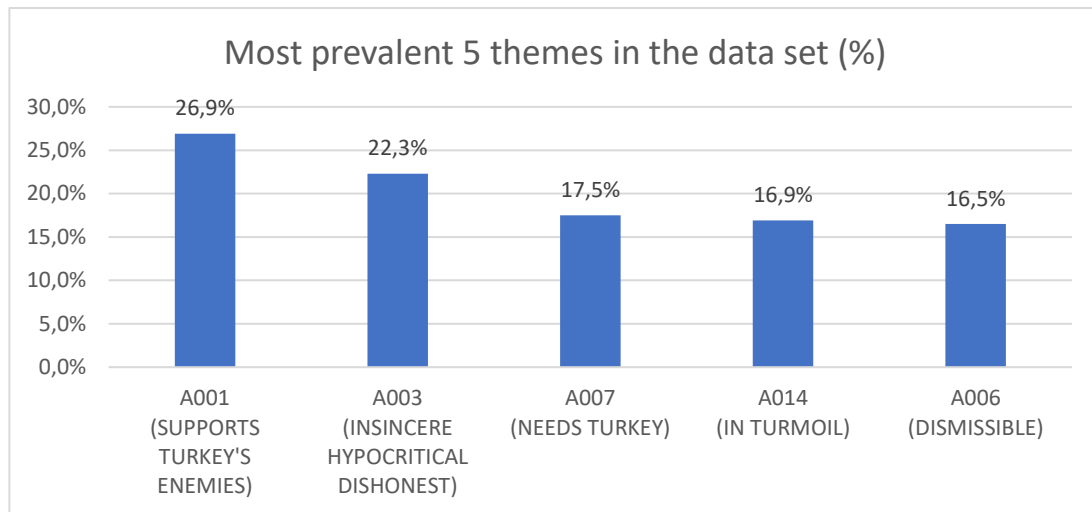
¹²⁰ <https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/duran-burhanettin/2016/11/24/why-is-erdogan-disillusioned-with-the-west> , Accessed 22.12.2017.

¹²¹ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/mustafa-akyol/a-sad-farewell-to-the-european-union-106173> , Accessed 22.12.2017.

As explained in Chapter 2, the research conducted for this thesis is primarily a qualitative one. The themes analyzed in Chapters 3 and 4 are not uniform in their manifestness. For some of the codes such as A013 or A019, specific phrases are searched for, as it would be expected from a traditional form of content analysis. In most others, the themes are monitored at a more latent level, often identifying the themes within the context of paragraphs or the overall tone of the articles. The specificity of the descriptions of codes are not uniform as well. Some of them, such as A012 or A002 are very specific, resulting in the leaving out of closely related discourses. Others, such as A014, have more generalized descriptions and consequently have more items assigned to them. And, also as explained in Chapter 2, the codes were developed using the inductive method, identifying the themes as they are observed during the familiarization process with the data set. Therefore, another researcher may develop a different set of themes using the same data set, and to some extent, may even assign different items to different codes using the themes developed for this thesis. Moreover, the discursive methods analyzed in Chapter 5 are not quantified at all.

Given the points mentioned above, determining the importance or dominance of discursive strategies across the data set through mere statistics of prevalence and frequency is not possible. However, a statistical analysis of the codes still provides valuable insight into the overall tone and dominant discourses in the data set. Patterns such as appearing more frequently across the data set, appearing more uniformly among the four publications, or appearing more in some publications than other, are helpful in the process of identifying the discourses that are more dominant.

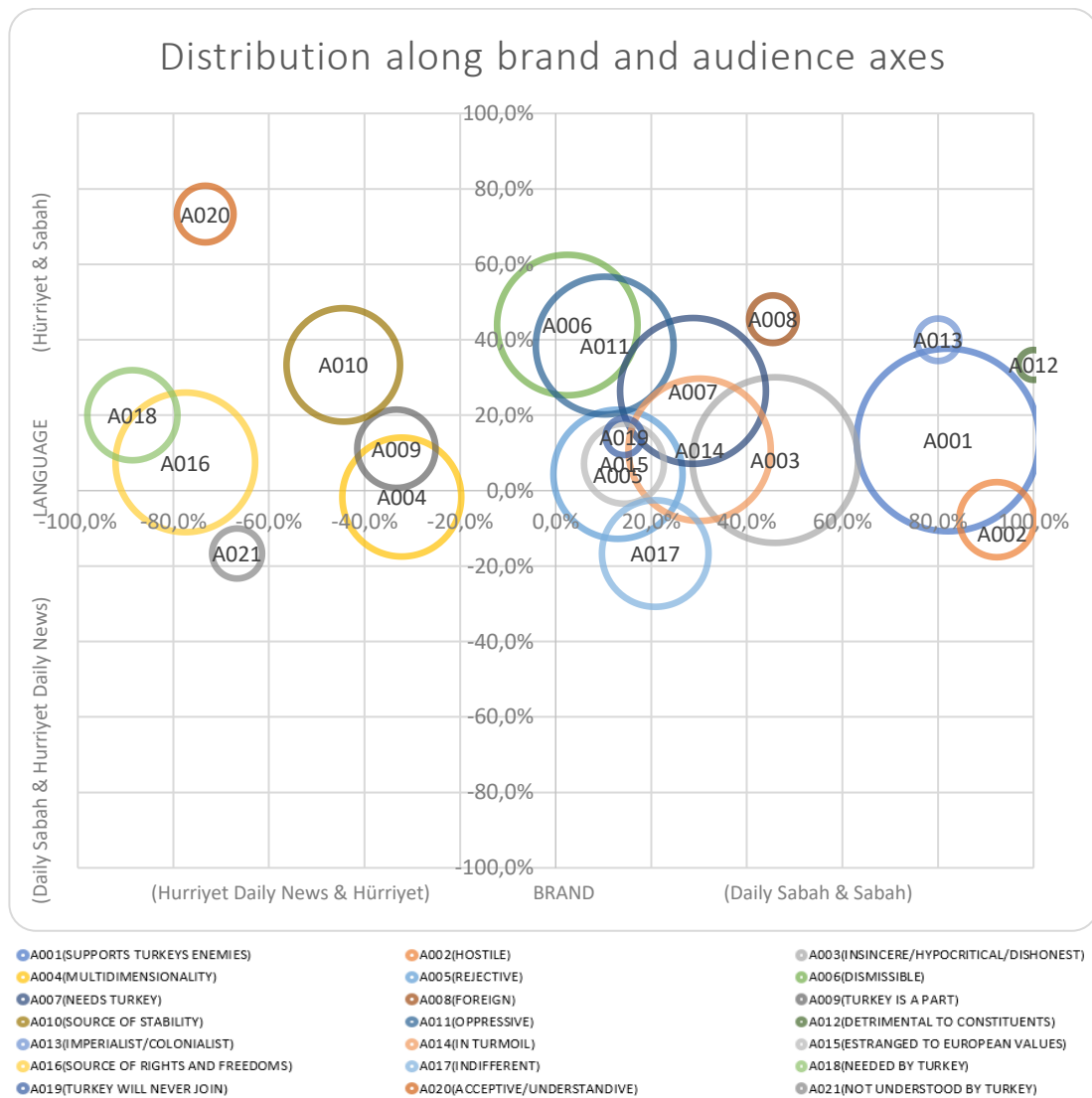
Figure 6.1: Most prevalent 5 codes in terms of their ratio in the data set.



As Figure 6.1 demonstrates, the most frequently identified 5 discursive strategies in the data set are Europe as a harbinger or accomplice of Turkey's adversaries (134 items or 26,9% of data set), Europe as an insincere, hypocritical, or dishonest entity (111 items or 22,3% of data set) Europe as an entity that needs, beware or should beware Turkey (87 items or 17,5% of data set), Europe in social, economic or political turmoil (84 items or 16,9% of data set), and Europe as an entity that is dismissed or dismissible for Turkey (82 items or 16,5% of data set) respectively.

If the research conducted for this thesis was a traditional content analysis with code descriptions of more or less uniform scope, one could argue that these five are the most dominant discourses in the data set. However, while the pattern in Figure 6.1 is not insignificant, a such evaluation would be problematic not only because the codes are not uniform, but because there is a very high level of divergence along the brand axis of publications. In fact, A001, the code with the highest number of articles assigned, has a considerably specific description and therefore its prevalence is specifically indicative of a pattern. However, its distribution is highly polarized, with 91% assigned items appearing in either Daily Sabah or Sabah. This skewness necessitates a closer look at the distribution of codes among the publications.

Figure 6.2: Divergence of codes along the brand and language axes of publications. Numbers indicate the difference between the sums of coverage percentage of each group, or propensity. The codes that have a lower value along the brand (x) axis tend to appear more in Hurriyet Daily News and Hurriyet, while the ones that have a higher value tend to appear more in Daily Sabah and Sabah. The codes that have a lower value along the language (y) axis tend to appear more in English language publications, while the ones that have higher values tend to appear more in Turkish language publications. The larger the circle around codes are, the higher the number of items assigned to them in all publications.



As explained earlier in Chapter 2, the four publications selected for this research are grouped together along two axes. The brand axis groups Hurriyet Daily News and Hürriyet; and Daily Sabah and Sabah together because the ones in the same group are owned by the same publishing group and therefore are assumed to have similar political alignments. The language axis groups Daily Sabah and Hurriyet Daily News, and Hürriyet and Sabah together because the ones in the same group produce content in the same language, and therefore their target audiences are assumed to be similar.

By looking at Figure 6.2, one can easily observe that codes are assigned to a higher number of articles in publications owned by Turkuvaz, and publications in Turkish language. This is an expected pattern, because the data set includes more articles in Turkish (320 of 498) and more articles are published in Daily Sabah and Sabah (272 of 498). However, the important pattern in the chart to note is the high level of divergence along the brand axis compared to the language axis. In the language axis, all codes but a minor one (A020) fall somewhere within the range of -17% to 46% propensity. On the other hand, the codes are far more sparsely distributed along the brand axis, ranging from -89% to 100% propensity.

Another indicator of divergence along the editorial lines can be seen by looking at the position of the codes with relatively high number of articles assigned. If the editorial lines and political alignments of publications published by different groups, namely Doğan and Turkuvaz were more convergent, the codes with larger circles around them would be expected to be closer to the origin, given the higher number of samples assigned to them. However, some of the codes with relatively high number of items assigned tend to lean to the extremes of the x (brand) axis, with the striking example of A001, the code with the highest number of items assigned.

While the divergence along the brand axis indicates a pattern, it also comes as problematic for the research question of this thesis. This is because the aim of this research is to provide an insight into the discourses in the Turkish news media, and publications are selected on the grounds of being long-standing media establishments well recognized by the public (and in the case of Daily Sabah and Hurriyet Daily News,

being the sister publications of these establishments), and not on any particular political alignments that they may have. However, given the high level of divergence along the brand axis, the patterns arising from these alignments also need to be covered briefly.

Examining the descriptions of the 7 codes that have a propensity value below 0% in the brand (x) axis of chart, which means a higher tendency to appear in either Hurriyet Daily News or Hürriyet, reveals an important pattern: The descriptions of all these 7 codes either indicate an overall positive view of Europe such as being a source of fundamental rights, freedoms or stability; or more inclusionary discourses such as Turkey's need for Europe, stress on Turkey's place in Europe or mutual interests. While the discourse of Europe as an entity that is not understood by Turkey (A021) may seem to stand out as an exception, this discursive strategy also is consistent with the pattern, given that these articles tend to describe this situation as a deficiency.

The pattern mentioned above may be read in reverse: Publications owned by Turkuvaz, namely Daily Sabah and Sabah, tended to employ discursive strategies that are inclusionary or tending to present a positive view of Europe less. Without going much into details of the political aspects of this pattern, it should be noted once again that November 2016 is a period of crisis between Turkey and the EU, and both Sabah and Daily Sabah are openly pro-government publications. Therefore, the fact that these publications tended to employ discourses that are exclusionary or that present a more negative view of Europe, in line with official Turkish discourse, during a time a time of political crisis should not be surprising.

Another way to identify the discursive strategies that are among the dominant ones across the entire data set would be looking at the percentages of articles assigned to a certain code relative to the number of all articles sampled from each publication individually, rather than in comparison to one another.¹²² For example, although the discursive strategy represented by A003 (Europe as an insincere/hypocritical/dishonest entity) is moderately skewed towards Daily Sabah and Sabah along the (x) axis in

¹²² The charts presenting this data are available in Chapter 4 and 5 for 20 codes.

Figure 6.2, it covers a relatively high portion of articles in all publications (Figure 3.24). In fact, the three codes that cover at least 10% of items in each publication individually are A003, A006 (Europe as an entity that is dismissible for Turkey), and A014 (Europe in turmoil). The percentages of articles assigned to A007 (Europe as an entity that needs, bewares or should beware Turkey), A005 (Europe as an entity that rejects or temporizes Turkey) and A011 (Europe as an oppressive authority) are also close to at least 10% in all publications, if not above.

It should also be noted that despite the polarization outlined above, all but 2 (A001 and A016) of the 10 codes with the highest number of articles assigned (which also incidentally correspond to the only codes that cover over 10% of the data set) are still positioned within the relatively narrow propensity range of -45% to 46% along the (x) axis of the chart in Figure 6.2. Due to this fact, the data set as a whole is considered to be a relevant reference point in this chapter, despite the divergence along the brand axis.

6.2. Results

The discursive strategies represented by A005 (Europe as an entity that rejects or temporizes Turkey), A006 (Europe as an entity that is dismissible for Turkey), A011 (Europe as an oppressive authority), and A003 (Europe as an insincere/hypocritical/dishonest entity) may be singled out as the ones that are most relevant to the entire data set of this thesis. This is because they appear more uniformly among the publications with different editorial lines, while having relatively high number of items assigned to them. As such; representations of Europe as an entity that rejects or resists the inclusion of the Turkish identity; and in turn, the representations of a dismissible Europe are two of the most dominant discursive strategies employed by the four publications during 1 to 30 November 2016. As such, prospects of Turkey and Europe having divergent paths in the future is accompanied by the discourse of a not too distantly related representation: Europe as an oppressive authority; scolding,

punishing and threatening Turkey at every given opportunity. Just as the tone of Rauf Tamer's article mentioned at the beginning of this chapter indicates, the dominant sentiment in the discourses employed by media is resentment and exhaustion caused by a perceived, never-ending mistreatment and rejection by Europe.

Thus, Europe and the European are discursively constructed as an entity that Turkey can do without, and an identity that Turkish people may give up on being a part of. The code that represents this discursive strategy, A006, is present in publications owned by Turkuvaz and Doğan in almost equal frequency, having the least propensity towards either side on the x axis. It is also remarkable that this strategy is also one of the most skewed towards publications in Turkish language, indicating that it may be aimed at flattering the national pride of a Turkish speaking audience rather than being a well-grounded conviction. This is also in parallel with Tamer's article, in which the author suggests that as a former pro-European, even he is inclined to vote in favor of ending Turkey's EU membership negotiations, although he is not convinced that this may be in the country's best interests.

The representations of Europe as dismissible do not seem to arise only from Europe's perceived never-ending mistreatment of Turkey, or because of its perceived dishonest attitude (A003), another dominant theme in the data set. Perceptions of a Europe that has grown weak with consecutive political, social and economic crises (A014) apparently feeds into the idea of a Europe that needs Turkey or should refrain from alienating Turkey (A007), and thus reinforcing the discourse of a Europe that Turkey no longer needs. The discursive strategies represented by A014 and A007 indeed present very similar characteristics, both in terms of their prevalence in the entire data set and also in terms of their position in Figure 6.2.

However, even if Europe is frequently represented as an entity grown weak, its relevance to Turkey's interests is not lost altogether in the discourse employed by the Turkish media. Even though the discursive strategies that construct Europe as a source of political, economic or social stability (A010), or those that stress the mutual interests and multidimensional aspect of the relations (A004) appear more frequently in *Hurriyet*

Daily News and Hürriyet, they are not on the extremes of the chart in Figure 6.2. An interesting point to note here is that, although the more tangible merits of Europe as represented by A010 are more or less accepted by all publications; Europe as a source of more morally defined values such as democracy (A016) is a significantly contested one. The discursive strategy ranks considerably high, or sixth to be precise, among others in terms of the number of items assigned. However, it presents near exclusivity to Hurriyet Daily News and Hürriyet with a combined total of 89% of all articles assigned to the code appearing in either publication.

The pattern mentioned above bears uncanny similarities with the findings of Gencel-Bek's research, which covers articles published in Turkish newspapers in 1999. In her article, the author argues that the economic benefits of EU membership were pronounced in the Turkish media, while the democratization aspect was seen as a burden that might weaken Turkey's hand in its fight against terrorism (Gencel-Bek, 2001). On the other hand, Koenig et al. mentions a shift in this pattern, where Copenhagen criteria were presented as valuable in themselves in the articles from 2004 (Koenig, Downey, Gencel-Bek and Mihelj, 2006: 21). The fact that the discursive pattern observed in the data set of this thesis, comprised of articles from 2016, bears more resemblance with those from 1999 than from 2004 is notable.

The descriptions of codes that are on the extreme ends of the brand (x) axis also bear extremely strong value judgements.¹²³ This pattern is assumed to arise from sharpening of discourses during a period of crisis in the EU-Turkey relations. As mentioned earlier, while the accusation that Europe is co-operating with Turkey's enemies (A001) is the theme with the highest number of items assigned, it is almost exclusive to Daily Sabah and Sabah. Therefore, its prevalence is suggested to be arising from the strong emphasis put on the theme by the two publications, rather than being a dominant theme across the data set. This evaluation is also applicable to the closely

¹²³ While a certain discourse, namely Europe as an entity detrimental to its constituents (A012), presents 100% propensity (which amounts to exclusivity) along the brand axis, its unique status as a sub-theme is discussed in Chapter 5 and it is not taken into account within this context.

related discourse that Europe is openly hostile towards Turkey (A002), which is situated very similar in the chart in Figure 6.2. On the other hand, the discursive strategy that is positioned at the opposite end of the chart is the representations of Europe as an entity that Turkey needs or wants to be a part of (A018). Although this discursive strategy covers a moderate percentage of the entire data set, it almost exclusively appears in Hurriyet Daily News and Hürriyet. In this case, too, the discursive strategy appears as a strong emphasis of pro-European sentiments aimed at influencing the public opinion during a period when Turkey's abandoning of its EU ambitions was publicly and heavily debated, rather than a dominant theme across the data set.

The discursive strategies that are positioned at the extreme ends of the language axis of the chart in Figure 6.2 also present a pattern. With an equal value of -16,7% propensity each, the discourses that tend to appear in English language publications than Turkish publications most are in fact two closely related ones: Europe as an entity that is not understood by Turkey (A021) and Europe as an entity that does not understand or is indifferent to Turkey (A017). Given that the English language publications are assumed to be targeting an international audience, this pattern may be interpreted as framing the recent crisis in EU-Turkey relations within a context of inability or reluctance of establishing communication; rather than attempting to identify a party at fault. The discursive strategy that is at the opposite end of the language (y) axis, in other words the one that tends to be communicated to a Turkish-speaking audience rather than an English-speaking audience, is a similarly suggestive one: Europe as an entity that accepts/understands Turkey (A020). Although the presence of this discourse is also heavily skewed along the brand axis and the small number of samples assigned indicates a weaker statistical significance, it can still be interpreted as an attempt to communicate the message that Europe is not as malignant as and the "inherent other" as the dominant discourse in the recent public debates indicate, to the Turkish audience.

Before concluding, it may be helpful to address two important questions of why the two discursive methods explained in Chapter 5 were treated differently than the 21 other discursive strategies, and why some themes that may appear as obvious are not coded and specifically analyzed.

The two discursive methods of “marginalizing” and “generalizing” Europe are analyzed in isolation in their respective chapter and they are not mapped or quantified for assessing their prevalence or dominance. This is because as explained earlier, these methods involve non-descriptive frames and the articles assigned to codes with B-prefix tend to make statements on Europe through any of the discursive strategies represented by the codes with A-prefix that they may have been also assigned to instead. And although the perception of a “generalized” Europe (B002) may indeed constitute a justified description, this indicates a much weaker value judgement compared to the 21 discursive strategies represented by codes with A-prefix and its prevalence or dominance would entail an entirely different research question. On the other hand, marginalization of European actors (B001) is assumed to be journalistic practice less unique to the subject of Europe, and its prevalence would also entail a research question of its own as well. Therefore, the examination of the discursive methods covered in Chapter 5 constitutes an auxiliary effort to provide an insight into the tools at the disposal of Turkish media in reproducing Europe.

As for the other themes that could have been included in this research; while the coding process favored more generalized descriptions to avoid “micro” themes where possible as explained in Chapter 2, over-generalized descriptions were also avoided. For example, the use of the words “Eurosceptic” and “Euroscepticism” was intentionally refrained from throughout the thesis as much as possible. This is because Euroscepticism is assumed to be a too encompassing term to associate the discursive strategies analyzed in this research with. Similarly, Turkey’s disassociation from Europe could also have emerged as a theme when looking at the data set. However, it is a too dominant theme to be coded alongside those in Annex B.1, given the political climate during the timeframe of this thesis.

Finally, the reason behind the absence of the theme that emerges as the dominant one in Gencel-Bek's study of the news articles from 1999 from this thesis is remarkable. As explained in Chapter 1, Gencel-Bek suggests that the prospective effects of EU membership on the daily life in Turkey were keenly debated in Turkish media when the country's candidacy was accepted in 1999. As the author explains, EU regulations were often sensationalized in the news and the Turkish media curiously speculated on issues such as whether the application of EU standards would result in a ban on popular offal dishes, or refurbishment of all traffic signs across the country.

The theme outlined above is absent in the thesis, because it is also absent in the data items examined. Apart from rare examples such as Zeynep Bilgehan's report on Erasmus student exchange program, the Turkish media appears to have fallen completely silent about the EU's effects on daily life in November 2016. This shift becomes even more interesting when one is reminded that despite the stagnation in its EU accession process, Turkey continues to incorporate the EU *acquis* in its laws and continues to update its laws according to the ever-changing EU regulations on areas ranging from food safety to financial actions, as monitored and documented by the European Commission in its annual reports. However, the regulations or other initiatives that affect the daily life in Turkey are apparently not associated with the EU by the Turkish media after almost twenty years, even if Europe remains the driving force behind them. The reasons behind this outcome is, of course, not covered by the research question of this thesis and its investigation may provide valuable insight into the shift in the perception of Europe in Turkish media.

CONCLUSION

Chapters 3 to 5 demonstrated the discursive strategies identified in this research, employed by the Turkish news media in the construction and reproduction of the schemas of Europe and the European during November 2016. The sampling process involved generating a data set of 498 items, comprising all articles that mention Europe, excluding the ones filtered out using the method outlined in Chapter 2, published by the online editions of Daily Sabah, Hurriyet Daily News, Hürriyet and Sabah during the timeframe in focus. The discursive strategies identified were analyzed using a methodology that combines different aspects of thematic analysis, content analysis and discourse analysis. The patterns of distribution and dominance of the identified discursive strategies, as well as their relations with one another are presented in Chapter 6.

It was argued in this thesis that assessing the dominance of the identified discursive strategies by only examining their ratios of coverage was not possible due to the divergent approaches by different publications and the varying levels of specificity of the strategies identified. Therefore, the prevalence of the discursive strategies across the entire data set and their frequency of appearance in different publications are analyzed in conjunction.

The results of the analysis indicate that the most dominant discursive strategies in the timeframe in focus tended to reproduce a Europe that is perceived as a dishonest and oppressive authority figure, which is both rejective of Turkey and dismissible for Turkey. These reproductions are complemented by discursive strategies of secondary dominance, that construct a Europe grown weak with social, economic and political crises that can no longer exert the same influence on Turkey it did in the past. On the other hand, a different group of discursive strategies of secondary dominance constructed Europe as still relevant for Turkey's tangible economic and political

interests, but controversially so as a moral model. However, it is acknowledged that the political climate during the timeframe in focus contributed to the agitated state of the discourses employed, and the discursive strategies employed were of overwhelmingly nationalist nature, constructing the schema of Europe mainly from the viewpoint of its relation to Turkey.

While this research aimed to provide an insight into the discursive reproduction of Europe in the Turkish media, especially in the ways it relates to or in some cases even contradicts the schema of Turkey (in other words, the national), it is acknowledged that these perceptions of Europe are closely related to the wider discussion on “the west”. As seen in some examples mentioned in chapters 3 to 5, the words “west” and “Europe” are sometimes used interchangeably and the discourses related to Europe in specific are inferred from the overall context of these articles. However, the methodology employed in this thesis limits the data set, and therefore its analysis, to articles that specifically refer to Europe.

As the discursive methods explored in Chapter 5 suggest, the distinction between schemas of Europe, European organizations, institutions, countries or other actors are also vague in the discourses employed by the Turkish media. Within the frameworks of these articles, sometimes even a German newspaper or a company is constructed as the representation of Europe itself. In other articles, Europe is embodied in the person of, for example, Hungarian politicians. Therefore, the discursive strategies that contribute to the construction of the perception of Europe are extremely varied, to the extent that the explicit mention of Europe might not even be necessary.

It is not claimed in this thesis that the data set covers all possible samples that are relevant to its research question, and it is acknowledged that the hybridity of the methodology employed makes the research prone to vulnerabilities of both thematic analysis, content analysis and discourse analysis in an exponential way, because these vulnerabilities tend to add up when combined. However, the patterns that meaningfully relate to each other suggest a high level of consistency in the results of this research effort. And it is assumed that this thesis contributes to the previous academic work in

the field of media studies that involve the context of Turkey's relations with Europe, by introducing some basic elements of quantitative methods to an essentially qualitative methodology. It may also serve as an update on the common discourses, themes and frames employed by the Turkish media in 1999 as explored by Gencel-Bek and in 2004 as explored by Koenig et al. respectively. That being said; the data set, codes, and the coding process may always be refined further and different interpretations of the discourses are always possible.

References

AA. "AB gerçeği görmeye başladı." *Sabah*. 15 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/15/ab-gercegi-gormeye-basladi>>. [21 December 2017]

AA. "Avrupa geri adım atmaya başladı." *Sabah*. 12 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/12/avrupa-geri-adim-atmaya-basladi>>. [21 December 2017]

Afyoncu, Erhan. "160 yıllık Batı yalanı Siz Avrupalısınız." *Sabah*. 27 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/erhan-afyoncu/2016/11/27/160-yillik-bati-yalani-siz-avrupalisiniz>>. [29 November 2017]

Aliyev, Nezir. "AP'nin kararı Türkiye için şans'." AA. 25 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/apnin-karari-turkiye-icin-sans/693315>>. [21 December 2017]

Altınok, Melih. "It is the EU's turn to become concerned." *Daily Sabah*. 17 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/melih-altinok/2016/11/17/it-is-the-eus-turn-to-become-concerned>> [19 December 2017]

Aktaş, İhsan. "The rise of racism and Islamophobia in continental Europe." *Daily Sabah*. 26 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ihsan-aktas/2016/11/26/the-rise-of-racism-and-islamophobia-in-continental-europe>>. [29 November 2017]

Akyol, Mustafa. “A sad farewell to the European Union.” *Hurriyet Daily News*. 16 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/mustafa-akyol/a-sad-farewell-to-the-european-union-106173>>. [19 December 2017]

Akyol, Taha. “İdam!” *Hürriyet*. 1 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/taha-akyol/idam-40265767>>. [16 December 2017]

Ardıç, Engin. “Yok öyle yirmi beş kuruşa köşk.” *Sabah*. 26 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/ardic/2016/11/26/yok-oyle-yirmi-bes-kurusa-kosk>> [19 December 2017]

Aydın-Düzgit, Senem. *Constructions of European Identity: Debates and Discourses on Turkey and the EU*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2012.

Atar, Ersan. “Uzun tutuklulukta takip kararı kalktı.” *Sabah*. 18 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/18/uzun-tutuklulukta-takip-karari-kalkti>> [19 December 2017]

Barlas, Mehmet. “Şimdi sıra ‘Avrupa Baharı’nın kasırgalarında.” *Sabah*. 11 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2016/11/11/simdi-sira-avrupa-baharinin-kasirgalarinda>>. [16 December 2017]

Babaoğlu, Haşmet. “Avrupa.” *Sabah*. 8 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/babaoğlu/2016/11/08/avrupa>>. [13 December 2017]

Bekdil, Burak. "Erdoğan is right: Turkey should vote on EU membership." *Hurriyet Daily News*. 18 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/burak-bekdil/erdogan-is-right-turkey-should-vote-on-eu-membership-106246>>. [29 November 2017]

Beki, Akif. "Understanding Turkish Deputy PM Şimşek." *Hurriyet Daily News*. 28 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/akif-beki/understanding-turkish-deputy-pm-simsek-106632>>. [13 December 2017]

Berger, Arthur A. *Media and Communication Research Methods: An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks, 2011.

Bilgehan, Zeynep. "Despite low numbers, Istanbul's Erasmus students defy security worries." *Hurriyet Daily News*. 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/despite-low-numbers-istanbuls-erasmus-students-defy-security-worries--106647>>. [16 December 2017]

Bilgehan, Zeynep. "OHAL'de Erasmus." *Hürriyet*. 26 November 2016. Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ohalde-erasmus-40289454>>. [16 December 2017]

Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. SAGE Publications, London, 1995.

Birsel, Gülse. "Nelerin gündem olmasını istiyorum." *Hürriyet*. 15 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/gulse-birsel/nelerin-gundem-olmasini-istiyorum-40278832>>. [16 December 2017]

Braun, Virginia. and Clarke, Victoria. "Using thematic analysis in psychology." *Qualitative Research in Psychology*. Vol: 3. No: 2. 2006. pp 77-101.

Bryman, Alan. “*Social Research Methods, 4th Edition.*” Oxford University Press, New York, 2012.

Can, Metin. “İş dünyasına AB şantajı.” *Sabah*. 25 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2016/11/25/is-dunyasina-ab-santaji>>. [27 November 2017]

Cantürk, Safure. “AB’ye rest, AK’ye jest!” *Sabah*. 14 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/14/abye-rest-akye-jest>>. [29 November 2017]

Cantürk, Safure. “Firari Can Dündar Türkiye’yi Avrupa’ya şikâyet etti.” *Sabah*. 10 November 2016. Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/10/firari-can-dundar-turkiyeyi-avrupaya-sikyeyet-etti>>. [17 December 2017]

Ceyhun, Ozan. “Try to understand Turkey instead of fending it off.” *Daily Sabah*. 29 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ozan-ceyhun/2016/11/29/try-to-understand-turkey-instead-of-fending-it-off>>. [12 December 2017]

Council of Europe. *EU-Turkey statement, 18 March 2016*. 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/18/eu-turkey-statement/>>. [26 December 2017]

Council of Europe. *Turkey*. 2017.

Available from: <<http://https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/turkey>>. [14 August 2017]

Çekirge, Fatih. “AP’nin Türkiye kararı Saksonya meselesidir.” *Hürriyet*. 24 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/fatih-cekirge/o-ucagin-ucus-kayitlari-40287736>>. [27 November 2017]

Çekirge, Fatih. “Avrupa’nın bu yaptırım kafası nereye kadar.” *Hürriyet*. 14 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/fatih-cekirge/avrupanin-bu-yaptirim-kafasi-nereye-kadar-40277855>>. [12 December 2017]

Çekirge, Fatih. “Eyvah! O Silahları Alamazsak Ne Yaparız.” *Hürriyet*. 28 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/fatih-cekirge/bahceli-bunu-yapar-mi-40291188>>. [21 December 2017]

Çevik, İlnur. “Now EU is talking about economic sanctions.” *Daily Sabah*. 15 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ilynur-cevik/2016/11/15/now-eu-is-talking-about-economic-sanctions>>. [29 November 2017]

Çeviköz, Ünal. “Muasır medeniyetler seviyesinden bıkmak” *Hürriyet*. 16 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/unal-cevikoz/muasir-medeniyetler-seviyesinden-bikmak-40279908>>. [13 December 2017]

Çoğalan, Sultan. “Dışişleri Bakan Çavuşoğlu: AB ülkeleri teröristler için bir cennet bahçesi.” *AA*. 4 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/-disisleri-bakan-cavusoglu-ab-ulkeleri-teroristler-icin-bir-cennet-bahcesi/678981?amp=1>>. [17 December 2017]

Daily Sabah. *Can new US president win over estranged allies?*. 9 November 2016.
Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/editorial/2016/11/09/can-new-us-president-win-over-estranged-allies>> [19 December 2017]

Daily Sabah. *EU will have to accept consequences if it halts Turkey's accession*. 9 November 2016.
Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/09/eu-will-have-to-accept-consequences-if-it-halts-turkeys-accession>>. [18 December 2017]

Daily Sabah. *EU parliament vote on Turkey carries no importance: PM Yildirim*. 24 November 2016.
Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/24/eu-parliament-vote-on-turkey-carries-no-importance-pm-yildirim>>. [18 December 2017]

Daily Sabah. *EU's tolerant and hypocritical stance on PKK terrorism draws Turkey's ire*. 28 November 2016. Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/29/eus-tolerant-and-hypocritical-stance-on-pkk-terrorism-draws-turkeys-ire>>. [17 December 2017]

Daily Sabah. *Germany admits EU falling far short on 3-billion-euro refugee deal with Turkey*. 29 November 2016.
Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2016/11/29/germany-admits-eu-falling-far-short-on-3-billion-euro-refugee-deal-with-turkey>>. [21 December 2017]

Daily Sabah. *Trumpism marching on Western democracies, threatens European mainstream*. 10 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2016/11/10/trumpism-marching-on-western-democracies-threatens-european-mainstream>> [19 December 2017]

Daily Sabah. *Wave of far-right populism threatening EU's wobbling house of cards*. 29 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2016/11/29/wave-of-far-right-populism-threatening-eus-wobbling-house-of-cards-1480362640>> [19 December 2017]

Demirtaş, Serkan. “Does Turkey want to be a third-world country?.” *Hurriyet Daily News*. 12 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/serkan-demirtas/does-turkey-want-to-be-a-third-world-country-106031>>. [16 December 2017]

Demirtaş, Serkan. “Freezing Turkey-EU talks will benefit no one.” *Hurriyet Daily News*. 23 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/serkan-demirtas/freezing-turkey-eu-talks-will-benefit-no-one--106446>>. [12 December 2017]

de Vreese, Claes H., Boomgarden, Hajo G. and Semetko, Holli A. “(In)direct Framing Effects: The Effects of News Media Framing on Public Support for Turkish Membership in the European Union.” *Communication Research*. Vol: 38. No: 2. 2006. pp. 179 – 205.

DHA, “Erdoğan'ın resti Avrupa'yı titretti.” *Sabah*. 28 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/28/erdoganin-resti-avrupayi-titretti>>. [18 December 2017]

DHA. “Kılıçdaroğlu, Suriye için hükümete sağduyu çağrısı yaptı (6).” *Hürriyet*. 25 November 2016. Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kilicdaroglu-suriye-icin-hukumete-sagduyu-cagr-40287772>>. [25 November 2017]

Diez, Thomas. “Constructing the Self and Changing Others: Reconsidering ‘Normative Power Europe’” *Millenium: Journal of International Studies*. Vol. 33, No. 3, 2005. pp 613 – 638.

Donat, Yavuz. “Avrupa Birliği... ‘Büyüklerle masallar’.” *Sabah*. 29 November 2016. Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/donat/2016/11/29/avrupa-birligi-buyuklere-masallar>>. [29 November 2017]

Duran, Burhanettin. “AB ne yaptığının farkında mı?.” *Sabah*. 15 November 2016. Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/duran/2016/11/15/ab-ne-yaptiginin-farkinda-mi>>. [18 December 2017]

Duran, Burhanettin. “Future direction of Turkish-EU relations.” *Daily Sabah*. 22 November 2016. Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/duran-burhanettin/2016/11/22/future-direction-of-turkish-eu-relations>> [19 December 2017]

Duran, Burhanettin. “Why is Erdoğan disillusioned with the West?.” *Daily Sabah*. 24 November 2016. Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/duran-burhanettin/2016/11/24/why-is-erdogan-disillusioned-with-the-west>>. [22 December 2017]

Durham, Meenakshi Gigi. and Kellner, Douglas M. “Adventures in Media and Cultural Studies: Introducing the KeyWorks.” *Media and Cultural Studies Keyworks*. edited by

Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner, Blackwell Publishing, Padstow 2006. pp. ix -xxxviii.

Erdem, Umut. “İhsanoğlu’nun ‘Islamophobia’sı artık Rusça’da.” *Hürriyet*. 5 November 2016.

Available from: <[http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ihsanoglunun-islamophobiası-artık-ruscada-40268961](http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ihsanoglunun-islamophobiası-artık-rusça-da)> [19 December 2017]

Erkuş, Sevil. “Turkey ‘fed up with’ EU’s arrogant attitude.” *Hurriyet Daily News*. 15 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-fed-up-with-eus-arrogant-attitude-106152>>. [17 December 2017]

Ertem, Cemil. “Turkey-EU: Facts and solutions” *Daily Sabah*. 16 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/cemil-ertem/2016/11/16/turkey-eu-facts-and-solutions>>. [16 December 2017]

European Commission. *Negotiating Framework*. 3 October 2005.

Available from: <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/pdf/turkey/st20002_05_tr_framedoc_en.pdf>. [14 August 2017]

European Commission. *Standard Eurobarometer 86 – European Citizenship*. 2016.

Available from: <<http://ec.europa.eu/COMMFrontOffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Survey/getSurveyDetail/instruments/STANDARD/surveyKy/2137>>. [8 December 2017]

European Commission. *Turkey*. 2016.

Available from: <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/turkey_en>. [14 August 2017]

European Council. *Foreign Affairs Council, 14-15/11/2016*. 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/fac/2016/11/14-15/>>. [21 December 2017]

European Court of Human Rights. *European Convention on Human Rights*. 2010.

Available from: <http://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf>. [14 August 2017]

European Parliament. *Joint motion for a resolution on EU-Turkey relations (2016/2993(RSP))*. 23 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=MOTION&reference=P8-RC-2016-1276&language=EN>>. [21 December 2017]

Fligstein, Neil. *Euroclash: The EU, European identity and the future of Europe*. Oxford University Press, Kings Lynn, 2008.

Gayberi, Meryem. “Avrupa ‘sömürgeciliği’ bırakmıyor.” *Sabah*. 17 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/site/gayberi/2016/11/17/avrupa-somurgeciligi-birakmiyor>> [20 December 2017]

Gencil-Bek, Mine. “Media and the Representation of the European Union: An Analysis of Press Coverage of Turkey’s European Union Candidacy.” *Kültür ve İletişim/Culture and Communication*. Vol: 4. No: 2. 2001. pp. 121-146.

Gönen, Emre. “Is Turkey still European?.” *Daily Sabah*. 16 November 2016.

Available from: < https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/emre_gonen/2016/11/16/is-turkey-still-european>. [16 December 2017]

Hakan, Ahmet. “Avrupa Birliđi ancak ayardan anlıyormuş.” *Hürriyet*. 15 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ahmet-hakan/ahmet-altan-neden-ve-nasil-aturkcu-oldu-40278840>>. [18 December 2017]

Hakan, Ahmet. “Hangisine yanalım?.” *Hürriyet*. 25 Kasım 2016. Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ahmet-hakan/koyun-degildir-bu-millet-40288756>>. [17 December 2017]

Hall, Stuart. Encoding/Decoding.” *Media and Cultural Studies Keywords*. edited by Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner, Blackwell Publishing, Padstow, 2006. pp. 163 -173.

Harcup, Tony. *A Dictionary of Journalism*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2014.

Hebdige, Dick. “(i) From Culture to Hegemony; (ii) Subculture: The Unnatural Break.” *Media and Cultural Studies Keywords*. edited by Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner. Blackwell Publishing, Padstow, 2006. pp. 144 – 162.

Huntington, Samuel P. “The Clash of Civilizations?.” *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 72, No. 3, 1993. pp. 22 – 49.

Hurriyet Daily News. *Turkey, EU officials to meet in Brussels to discuss migrant deal*. 28 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-eu-officials-to-meet-in-brussels-to-discuss-migrant-deal--106658>>. [25 November 2017]

Hurriyet Daily News. *Turkey seeks NATO's support against terrorism*. 21 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-seeks-natos-support-against-terrorism--106359>>. [17 December 2017]

Hurriyet Daily News. *Turkish Central Bank raises rates for first time in 3 years as Turkish Lira plunges*. 24 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-central-bank-raises-rates-for-first-time-in-3-years-as-turkish-lira-plunges-106515>> [19 December 2017]

Hürriyet. *Schulz müzakerelerin kesilmesine karşı çıktı*. 18 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/schulz-muzakerelerin-kesilmesine-karsi-cikti-40282114>>. [21 December 2017]

İdiz, Semih. "The rise of populist demagoguery." *Hurriyet Daily News*. 15 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/semih-idiz/the-rise-of-populist-demagoguery--106120>> [19 December 2017]

Jacobs, Dirk. Maier, Robert. "European identity: construct, fact and fiction." *A United Europe: The Quest for a Multifaceted Identity*. edited by Marja Gastelaars and Arie de Ruijter, Shaker Publishing B.V., Maastricht, 1998. pp. 13-34

Available from: <<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/summary?doi=10.1.1.524.3597>>. [07 December 2017]

Jay, Martin. "Turkey is hopeful over Trump, but showdown with Brussels is going to backfire on EU." *Daily Sabah* 24 November 2016.

Available from: < <https://www.dailysabah.com/op-ed/2016/11/24/turkey-is-hopeful-over-trump-but-showdown-with-brussels-is-going-to-backfire-on-eu>>. [16 December 2017]

Kahraman, Hasan Bülent. “Avrupa AB ve ben.” *Sabah* 30 November 2016.
Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/kahraman/2016/11/30/avrupa-ab-ve-ben>>. [29 November 2017]

Kanlı, Yusuf. “Could it be Trexit?.” *Hurriyet Daily News*. 16 November 2016.
Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/yusuf-kanli/could-it-be-trexit-106170>>. [17 December 2017]

Kanlı, Yusuf. “EU, Shanghai and beyond....” *Hurriyet Daily News*. 21 November 2016.
Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/yusuf-kanli/eu-shanghai-and-beyond-106348>>. [16 December 2017]

Kanlı, Yusuf. “The problem of a regressive mentality.” *Hurriyet Daily News*. 4 November 2016.
Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/yusuf-kanli/the-problem-of-a-regressive-mentality--105709>> [19 December 2017]

Kaplan, Hilal. “My message to the European Parliament.” *Daily Sabah*. 26 November 2016.
Available from: <https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/hilal_kaplan/2016/11/26/my-message-to-the-european-parliament>. [17 December 2017]

Kaya, Raşit. and Çakmur, Barış. “Politics and the Mass Media in Turkey.” *Turkish Studies*. Vol. 11, No. 4, 2010. pp. 521 -537.

Koenig, Thomas., Downey, John., Gencel-Bek, Mine. and Mihelj, Sabina. "Media framings of the issue of Turkish accession to the European Union: A European or National Process?" *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Sciences*. Vol: 19. No: 3. 2006.

Available from: <<https://dspace.lboro.ac.uk/dspace-jspui/handle/2134/14258>> [Accessed: 8 December 2017]

Külahçı, Ahmet. "Türkiye'ye rest çekmek, AB'ye de Avrupa Parlamentosu'na da Almanya'ya da yakışmıyor." *Hürriyet*. 26 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/turkiyeye-rest-cekme-abye-de-avrupa-parlamentosuna-da-almanya-da-yakismiyor-40288881>>. [13 December 2017]

Lapadat, Judith C. "Thematic Analysis." *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research*. edited by Albert J. Mills, Gabrielle Durepos and Elden Wiebe, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks, 2010.

Available from: < <http://sk.sagepub.com/reference/casestudy/n342.xml>>. [03 December 2017]

Lemke, Jay L. "Multimedia and discourse analysis." in *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. edited by James Paul Gee and Michael Handford, Routledge, Abingdon 2012. pp 79 – 89.

MacMillan, Catherine. "Competing and Co-Existing Constructions of Europe as Turkey's 'Other(s)' in Turkish Political Discourse." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*. Vol. 21, No. 1, 2013. pp. 104 – 121.

Marketing Türkiye, “Türkiye medyasının en beğenilen markaları.” 8 April 2015. Available from: < <https://www.marketingturkiye.com.tr/arastirmalar/turkiye-medyasinin-en-begenilen-markalari/>>. [24 January 2018]

Metykova, Monika. “European Media Policy: Why Margins Actually Matter.” *Media, Margins and Civic Agency*. edited by Alexander, Jenny; Jackson, Daniel; Savigny, Heather and Thorsen, Einar, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2015.

Nelson, Thomas E. Clawson, Rosalee A. and Oxley, Zoe M. “Media Framing of a Civil Liberties Conflict and Its Effect on Tolerance.” in *The American Political Science Review*. Vol. 91, No. 3, 1997. pp. 567 – 583.

Neumann, Iver B. Welsh, Jennifer M. “The Other in European Self-Definition: An Addendum to the Literature on International Society.” *Review of International Studies*. Vol. 17, No. 4, Cambridge University Press, 1991. pp. 327-348.

Neumann, Iver B. “EU Expansion, and the Integration/Exclusion Nexus.” *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*. Vol. 23, No. 3, 1998. pp. 397-416.

Official Journal of the European Communities. *Agreement establishing an Association between the European Economic Community and Turkey*. 31 December 1977.

Available from: <http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2003/december/tradoc_115266.pdf>. [28 November 2017]

Oruç, Merve Şebnem. “The way things are going EU can't put the blame on Turkey anymore.” *Daily Sabah*. 19 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/merve-sebnem-oruc/2016/11/19/the-way-things-are-going-eu-cant-put-the-blame-on-turkey-anymore>> [19 December 2017]

Oruç, Merve Şebnem. “Will Turkey join Shanghai Cooperation Organization?.” *Daily Sabah*. 26 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/merve-sebnem-oruc/2016/11/26/will-turkey-join-shanghai-cooperation-organization>>. [16 December 2017]

Öcal, Hakkı. “Dont tread on me.” *Daily Sabah*. 21 November 2016. Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/hakki-ocal/2016/11/21/dont-tread-on-me>> [19 December 2017]

Öncel, Naci Cem. “Avrupa’nın Türkiye’yle ne derdi var?.” *Hürriyet*. 26 November 2016. Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/naci-cem-ocel/avrupanin-turkiyeye-ne-derdi-var-40289443>> [20 December 2017]

Övür, Mahmut. “Baykal’ın Ahmet Türk ziyareti ve sorular.” *Sabah*. 25 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/ovur/2016/11/25/baykalin-ahmet-turk-ziyareti-ve-sorular>> [20 December 2017]

Özalp, Güven. *AP’de ‘Türkiye ile müzakereleri dondurun’ çağrısı*. *Hürriyet*. 23 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/apde-turkiye-ile-muzakereleri-dondurun-cagrisi-40285658>>. [21 December 2017]

Özcan, Celal. “Diyalog elini tutun.” *Hürriyet*. 8 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/diyalog-elini-tutun-40272407>>. [13 December 2017]

Özcan, Celal. “Türkiye’nin anahtar rolünü çok iyi bilen, bunu her fırsatta vurgulayan bir politikacı.” in *Hürriyet*. 16 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/turkiyenin-anahtar-rolunu-cok-iyi-bilen-bunu-her-firsatta-vurgulayan-bir-politikaci-40279023>>. [16 December 2017]

Özkök, Ertuğrul. “Those were the hopeful days with the EU.” *Hurriyet Daily News*. 26 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/ertugrul-ozkok/those-were-the-hopeful-days-with-the-eu---106583>>. [18 December 2017]

Özmen, Engin. “Bulgaristan ile Yunanistan, mülteci tedbirlerini artırdı” *DHA*. 28 November 2016.

Available from: <http://arsiv.dha.com.tr/bulgaristan-ile-yunanistan-multeci-tedbirlerini-artirdi_1395482.html>. [18 December 2017]

Özyurt, Ahu. “‘Out-Trumping’ Trump.” *Hurriyet Daily News*. 16 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/ahu-ozyurt/out-trumping-trump--106168>> [19 December 2017]

Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. *The functioning of democratic institutions in Turkey*. 22 June 2016.

Available from: <<http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-XML2HTML-en.asp?fileid=22957&lang=en>>. [14 August 2017]

Paksoy, Yunus. “Turkish-EU dispute: Membership talks, fragile migrant deal in jeopardy.” *Daily Sabah*. 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/16/turkish-eu-dispute-membership-talks-fragile-migrant-deal-in-jeopardy>>. [21 December 2017]

Procter, James. *Stuart Hall*, Routledge, London, 2004.

Ramođlu, Ersin. “Şanghay Beşlisi mi Avrupa Birliđi mi?.” *Sabah*. 22 November 2016. Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/bolgeler/ramoglu/2016/11/22/sanghay-beslisi-mi-avrupa-birligi-mi>>. [28 November 2017]

Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Council of Europe*. 2017. Available from: <<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/council-of-europe.en.mfa>>. [14 August 2017]

Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Turkey-EU relations*. 2017. Available from: <<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-the-european-union.en.mfa>>. [28 November 2017]

Rumelili, Bahar. *Constructing Regional Community and Order in Europe and Southeast Asia*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2007.

Rumelili, Bahar. “Türkiye'nin Avrupa'yı Yeniden İnşası: Üyelik ve Vatandaşlık.” *Marmara Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*. Vol. 23, No. 2, 2015. pp. 79 – 98.

Sabah. *AP Başkanı Schulz'den komik tehdit*. 13 November 2016. Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/13/ap-baskani-schulzden-komik-tehdit>>. [29 November 2017]

Sabah. *Avrupa görevden alınan FETÖ'cüler için fon oluşturdu!*. 7 November 2016.
Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/fotohaber/gundem/avrupa-gorevden-alinan-fetoculer-icin-fon-olusturdu/2>>. [21 December 2017]

Sabah. *Avrupa sonunda itiraf etti*. 18 November 2016.
Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/18/avrupa-sonunda-itiraf-etti>>. [19 December 2017]

Sabah. *Dolardaki düşüşü AP kararı frenledi*. 25 November 2016.
Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2016/11/25/dolardaki-dususu-ap-karari-frenledi>> [19 December 2017]

Sabah. *HDP/PKK'nın gazetesinden alçak manşet*. 12 November 2016.
Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/12/hdppkknin-gazetesinden-alcak-manset>>. [21 December 2017]

Sabah. *Skandalın adı: Pizzagate Mağdur: Çocuklar*. 27 November 2016.
Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/pazar/2016/11/27/skandalin-adi-pizzagate-magdur-cocuklar>>. [17 December 2017]

Sabah. *Terör destekçisi AB işine baksın*. 5 November 2016.
Available from: <<https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/05/teror-destekcisi-ab-isine-baksin>>. [17 December 2017]

Sak, Güven. “Europe needs a Turkey strategy.” *Hurriyet Daily News*. 26 November 2016.
Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/guven-sak/europe-needs-a-turkey-strategy-106582>>. [29 November 2017]

Selvi, Abdülkadir. “İdam ve başkanlıkta yeni gelişme.” *Hürriyet*. 7 November 2016.
Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/abdulkadir-selvi/idam-ve-baskanlikta-yeni-gelisme-40271391>>. [21 December 2017]

Simon, Adam. and Xenos, Michael. “Media Framing and Effective Public Deliberation.” *Political Communication*. Vol: 17. No: 4. pp. 363 – 376.

Schudson, Michael. *The Sociology of News*. W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 2003.

Smith, Charles P. (ed.). “*Motivation and personality: Handbook of thematic content analysis*.” Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992.

Tamer, Rauf. “Ne denir?.” *Hürriyet*. 6 November 2016.
Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/rauf-tamer/ne-denir-40270247>>. [17 December 2017]

Tamer, Rauf. “Sabır Taşı.” *Hürriyet*. 15 November 2016.
Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/rauf-tamer/sabir-tasi-40278814>>. [22 December 2017]

Tezel, Mevlüt. “Almanlar 27 yıl sonra duvar ördü.” *Sabah*. 17 November 2016.
Available from: <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/gunaydin/sb-mevlut_tezel/2016/11/17/almanlar-27-yil-sonra-duvar-ordu> [20 December 2017]

Usta, Onur. “Fransa Başbakanı Valls: Avrupa ölebilir.” *AA*. 17 November 2016.
Available from: <<http://aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/fransa-basbakani-valls-avrupa-olebilir/687679?amp=1>> [19 December 2017]

Varlı, Ali. “En büyük bayram Berlin’de kutlandı.” *Hürriyet*. 1 November 2016. Available from: < <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/en-buyuk-bayram-berlinde-kutlandi-40264954>> [23 December 2017]

Vaismoradi, Mojtaba., Turunen, Hannele. and Bondas, Turunen. “Content Analysis and Thematic Analysis: Implications for Conducting a Qualitative Descriptive Study.” *Nursing and Health Sciences*. Vol: 15. pp. 398 – 405.

van Dijk, Teun A. “*News as Discourse*.” Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, New Jersey, 1988.

van Dijk, Teun A. “Principles of critical discourse analysis.” *Discourse & Society*. Vol: 4. No: 2. SAGE Publications, 1993. pp. 249-283.

Yeni Şafak. *Artık sizi u-mur-sa-mı-yo-ruz*. 5 November 2016. Available from: <<http://www.yenisafak.com/dunya/artik-sizi-u-mur-sa-mi-yo-ruz-2558973>>. [17 December 2017]

Yeşil, Bilge. “*Media in New Turkey: The Origins of an Authoritarian Neoliberal State*.” University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Chicago and Springfield, 2016.

Yetkin, Murat. “*Kendisini trafik polisi zanneden mahalle delisi*.” *Hürriyet*. 14 November 2016. Available from: <<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/murat-yetkin/kendisini-trafik-polisi-zanneden-mahalle-delisi-40277813>>. [18 December 2017]

Yılmaz, Emre. “What's the European criteria for banning political parties and detaining politicians?.” *Daily Sabah*. 29 November 2016.

Available from: <<https://www.dailysabah.com/op-ed/2016/11/29/whats-the-european-criteria-for-banning-political-parties-and-detaining-politicians>>. [17 December 2017]

Yılmaz, Mehmet. “AB'nin güvenliği Türkiye'nin istikrarına bağlı.” AA. 14 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/abnin-guvenligi-turkiyenin-istikrarina-bagli/685538>>. [21 December 2017]

Yılmaz, Mehmet. “Macaristan Başbakanı Orban: Türkiye'deki iç siyasetin tek muhatabı Türklerdir.” AA. 11 November 2016.

Available from: <<http://aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/macaristan-basbakani-orban-turkiyedeki-ic-siyasetin-tek-muhatabi-turklerdir/683882>>. [21 December 2017]

Yinanç, Barçın. “EU referendum is a possibility in Turkey.” *Hurriyet Daily News*. 17 November 2016. Available from: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/barcin-yinanc/eu-referendum-is-a-possibility-in-turkey-106205>>. [29 November 2017]

ANNEX A.1: Data Set

Item no.	Date	Publication	Title	URL	Codes Assigned	Exclusiveness*	Number of quoted parties	Background information*
1	01.11.2016	Daily Sabah	What is the reality of Western society?	https://www.dailysabah.com/life/2016/11/02/what-is-the-reality-of-western-society	A014	1	0	0
2	02.11.2016	Daily Sabah	PKK abductions not terrorism, Belgium court says in controversial ruling	https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/11/03/pkk-abductions-not-terrorism-belgium-court-says-in-controversial-ruling	A001	0	3	1
3	04.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Europe fails humanity test once again	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ilnur-cevik/2016/11/03/europe-fails-humanity-test-once-again	A013, A003, A014	0	0	0
4	04.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Germany's tolerance for terror suspects raises Turkey's ire	https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/11/04/germanys-tolerance-for-terror-suspects-raises-turkeys-ire	A001	0	1	1
5	04.11.2016	Daily Sabah	PKK actions prove the obvious about HDP	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ilnur-cevik/2016/11/04/pkk-actions-prove-the-obvious-about-hdp	A003, A001	0	0	0
6	05.11.2016	Daily Sabah	EU supporting PKK terrorists while lecturing Turkey about rule of law, says FM Çavuşoğlu	https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/11/05/eu-supporting-pkk-terrorists-while-lecturing-turkey-about-rule-of-law-says-fm-cavusoglu	A001	0	1	1
7	05.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Greece hit by protests against Athens mosque construction, 15 arrested	https://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2016/11/05/greece-hit-by-protests-against-athens-mosque-construction-15-arrested	A014	0	0	0
8	05.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Oceans apart: Turkey's disagreement with the West	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ihsan-aktas/2016/11/05/oceans-apart-turkeys-disagreement-with-the-west	A011, A003, A007	0	0	0
9	06.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turkish diplomat's car set on fire in	https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/11/06/turkish-diplomats-car-set-on-fire-in-germanys-hannover-a-day-after-pkk-demonstration	A001, A003	0	0	1

* 1 = item has the value, 0 = item does not have the value

			Germany's Hannover a day after PKK demonstration					
10	07.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Calls to halt Turkey's EU accession talks racist, EU Minister Çelik says	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/07/calls-to-halt-turkeys-eu-accession-talks-racist-eu-minister-celik-says	A001, A003, B002	0	1	1
11	07.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Elections and more questions	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/kilic-bugra-kanat/2016/11/07/elections-and-more-questions	A014	0	0	1
12	07.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Germany insists on not understanding Turkey's concerns	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/duran-burhanettin/2016/11/07/germany-insists-on-not-understanding-turkeys-concerns	A017, A001, A003, A004, A007	0	1	1
13	07.11.2016	Daily Sabah	How the HDP got to this point	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/duran-burhanettin/2016/11/08/how-the-hdp-got-to-this-point	A001, A011	0	2	1
14	07.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Terrorist PKK followers continue to target Turks across EU cities	https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/11/08/terrorist-pkk-followers-continue-to-target-turks-across-eu-cities	A001	0	0	1
15	07.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turkey furious at Europe's continued failure to stand up against PKK terrorism	https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/11/08/turkey-furious-at-europes-continued-failure-to-stand-up-against-pkk-terrorism-1478554643	A001, A003	0	3	1
16	07.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turkish consulate in France attacked with Molotov cocktail	https://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2016/11/07/turkish-consulate-in-france-attacked-with-molotov-cocktail	A001	0	0	1
17	08.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Did the EU ever consider Turkey a part of Europe?	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ilnur-cevik/2016/11/08/did-the-eu-ever-consider-turkey-a-part-of-europe	A001, A003, A005, A012, A014, A015, A017	0	1	1
18	08.11.2016	Daily Sabah	PKK terrorizes Europe, poisons youth while EU remains tolerant, PM says	https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/11/08/pkk-terrorizes-europe-poisons-youth-while-eu-remains-tolerant-pm-says	A001, A003, A017	1	2	1
19	08.11.2016	Daily Sabah	The EU aligns itself with the foes of Erdoğan	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ozan-ceyhun/2016/11/08/the-eu-aligns-itself-with-the-foes-of-erdogan	A001, A003, A011	0	0	1
20	08.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turkey expects solid action from EU in anti-terror fight	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/08/turkey-expects-solid-action-from-eu-in-anti-terror-fight	A003	0	2	0

21	08.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Where do Turkey's Kurds stand on HDP detentions?	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/yahya_bostan/2016/11/08/where-do-turkeys-kurds-stand-on-hdp-detentions	A017	0	0	1
22	09.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Can new US president win over estranged allies?	https://www.dailysabah.com/editorial/2016/11/09/can-new-us-president-win-over-estranged-allies	A010	0	0	1
23	09.11.2016	Daily Sabah	EU will have to accept consequences if it halts Turkey's accession	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/09/eu-will-have-to-accept-consequences-if-it-halts-turkeys-accession	A007, A003	0	2	1
24	09.11.2016	Daily Sabah	President Erdoğan urges EU to make its decision on Turkish application quickly	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/09/president-erdogan-urges-eu-to-make-its-decision-on-turkish-application-quickly	A001, A003	0	1	0
25	09.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turkey ignores EU's threats of freezing accession talks	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/10/turkey-ignores-eus-threats-of-freezing-accession-talks	A001, A006	0	3	1
26	09.11.2016	Daily Sabah	'Voting for Trump is like asking me to drive...'	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/emre_gonen/2016/11/09/voting-for-trump-is-like-asking-me-to-drive	A010, A011	0	0	1
27	10.11.2016	Daily Sabah	EU deal in shambles as Turkey continues to stem refugee flow	https://www.dailysabah.com/turkey/2016/11/11/eu-deal-in-shambles-as-turkey-continues-to-stem-refugee-flow-1478818811	A003, A010	0	1	1
28	10.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Trumpism marching on Western democracies, threatens European mainstream	https://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2016/11/10/trumpism-marching-on-western-democracies-threatens-european-mainstream	A014	0	6	1
29	11.11.2016	Daily Sabah	EU envoys alienating our masses	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ilnur-cevik/2016/11/11/eu-envoys-alienating-our-masses	A001, A003, A005, A006, A015, A002	0	1	0
30	11.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Rise of extremism cause of concern among Muslims in Netherlands	https://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2016/11/11/rise-of-extremism-cause-of-concern-among-muslims-in-netherlands	A014, B002	1	3	1
31	12.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Europe may go back to pre-WWII period, says Islam expert	https://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2016/11/12/europe-may-go-back-to-pre-wwii-period-says-islam-expert	A014	1	1	0
32	12.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Terror victims protest France	https://www.dailysabah.com/turkey/2016/11/12/terror-victims-protest-france-over-pro-pkk-stance	A001	0	1	1

			over pro-PKK stance					
33	14.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Boris Johnson tells EU minister not to harm interests by pushing Turkey 'into corner'	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/14/boris-johnson-tells-eu-minister-not-to-harm-interests-by-pushing-turkey-into-corner	B001	0	2	1
34	14.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Latest EU progress report echoes typical Western anti-Turkey propaganda	https://www.dailysabah.com/op-ed/2016/11/15/latest-eu-progress-report-echoes-typical-western-anti-turkey-propaganda	A001, A002, A003, A005, A017, A004	0	0	0
35	14.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Top EU diplomats agree to keep communication channels open with Turkey	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/14/top-eu-diplomats-agree-to-keep-communication-channels-open-with-turkey	A004	0	3	1
36	14.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turks concerned over racism ahead of Germany's integration talks	https://www.dailysabah.com/turkey/2016/11/15/turks-concerned-over-racism-ahead-of-germanys-integration-talks	A014	0	1	1
37	15.11.2016	Daily Sabah	EU capitals should not decide on Turkey accession talks, German FM Steinmeier says	https://www.dailysabah.com/diplomacy/2016/11/15/eu-capitals-should-not-decide-on-turkey-accession-talks-german-fm-steinmeier-says	B001	0	2	0
38	15.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Now EU is talking about economic sanctions	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ilnur-cevik/2016/11/15/now-eu-is-talking-about-economic-sanctions	A001, A003, A007, A002, A011, A017, A019	0	0	1
39	15.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Right-wing asylum-related attacks rising in Germany	https://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2016/11/15/right-wing-asylum-related-attacks-rising-in-germany	A007	0	1	1
40	15.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Threatening Turkey would undermine the EU	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ozan-ceyhun/2016/11/15/threatening-turkey-would-undermine-the-eu	A001, A003, A005, A007, A015, A004, A009	0	2	1
41	16.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Ankara urges Brussels to take action against terrorism rather than talk	https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/11/17/ankara-urges-brussels-to-take-action-against-terrorism-rather-than-talk	A001, B002	0	1	1
42	16.11.2016	Daily Sabah	FETÖ role in coup attempt not deniable, EU	https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/11/16/feto-role-in-coup-attempt-not-deniable-eu-commission-yp-says	A020	0	3	1

			Commission VP says					
43	16.11.2016	Daily Sabah	French court orders satellite provider Eutelsat to resume broadcast of PKK-linked TV channels	https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/11/16/french-court-orders-satellite-provider-eutelsat-to-resume-broadcast-of-pkk-linked-tv-channels	A001	0	0	1
44	16.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Herr Steinmeier, we really beg to differ	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ilnur-cevik/2016/11/16/herr-steinmeier-we-really-beg-to-differ	A001, A003, A005, A007, A011	0	0	1
45	16.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Is Turkey still European?	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/emre_gonen/2016/11/16/is-turkey-still-european	A005, A011, A018, A010, A021 , A009	0	0	1
46	16.11.2016	Daily Sabah	It is the EU's turn to become concerned	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/melih-altinok/2016/11/17/it-is-the-eus-turn-to-become-concerned	A001, A003, A005, A006, A007, A011, A013, A014, A012	0	1	1
47	16.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turkey won't bow to Brussels	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/duran-burhanettin/2016/11/17/turkey-wont-bow-to-brussels	A006, A007, A011, A014	0	1	1
48	16.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turkey, Europe and the fight against terrorism	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ibrahim-kalin/2016/11/16/turkey-europe-and-the-fight-against-terrorism	A001, A003, A005, A011, A015, A017, A004	0	0	1
49	16.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turkey-EU: Facts and solutions	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/cemil-ertem/2016/11/16/turkey-eu-facts-and-solutions	A002, A005, A007, A011, A017, A004, B002	0	1	1
50	16.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turkish-EU dispute: Membership talks, fragile migrant deal in jeopardy	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/16/turkish-eu-dispute-membership-talks-fragile-migrant-deal-in-jeopardy	A001, A003, A007, A011, B001	1	4	1
51	17.11.2016	Daily Sabah	The rise of extremism and racism in the West	https://www.dailysabah.com/op-ed/2016/11/17/the-rise-of-extremism-and-racism-in-the-west	A014	0	0	0
52	18.11.2016	Daily Sabah	End to Turkey's EU negotiations not a win for EU, EP President says	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/18/end-to-turkeys-eu-negotiations-not-a-win-for-eu-ep-president-says	A003, A017	0	2	1
53	18.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Europe faces risk of collapse, French PM warns	https://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2016/11/18/europe-faces-risk-of-collapse-french-pm-warns	A010, A014	0	2	1
54	18.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Europeans should focus on their own problems	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/fahrettin-altun/2016/11/18/europeans-should-focus-on-their-own-problems	A005, A014, A011, A002, A007, A004	0	0	0

55	18.11.2016	Daily Sabah	PKK supporters vandalize Turkish mosque in Germany	https://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2016/11/18/pkk-supporters-vandalize-turkish-mosque-in-germany	A001	0	0	0
56	19.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Calexit, Turexit or just plain 'We've had enough'	https://www.dailysabah.com/feature/2016/11/19/calexit-turexit-or-just-plain-weve-had-enough	A005, A006, A003, A014	0	0	0
57	19.11.2016	Daily Sabah	EU highlights Turkey's significance to Europe amid recent row	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/19/eu-highlights-turkeys-significance-to-europe-amid-recent-row	A001, A017, A007	0	2	1
58	19.11.2016	Daily Sabah	The way things are going EU can't put the blame on Turkey anymore	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/merve-sebnem-oruc/2016/11/19/the-way-things-are-going-eu-cant-put-the-blame-on-turkey-anymore	A001, A002, A007, A014, A017	0	0	0
59	19.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turks in Europe stage democracy protests in response to EU's tolerance to terror	https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/11/19/turks-in-europe-stage-democracy-protests-in-response-to-eus-tolerance-to-terror-1479503711	A001	1	2	1
60	20.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Thousands in Belgium protest EU's tolerance to terror	https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/11/20/thousands-in-belgium-protest-eus-tolerance-to-terror	A001	0	1	0
61	21.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Calais refugee children describe French reception centers as 'prisons'	https://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2016/11/21/calais-refugee-children-describe-french-reception-centers-as-prisons	A014	0	0	0
62	21.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Dont tread on me	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/hakki-ocal/2016/11/21/dont-tread-on-me	A011, A016, A003, A009, A018	0	0	0
63	21.11.2016	Daily Sabah	European Parliament insists on repeating its mistakes	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ozan-ceyhun/2016/11/22/european-parliament-insists-on-repeating-its-mistakes	A002, A007, A017	0	0	0
64	21.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Future direction of Turkish-EU relations	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/duran-burhanettin/2016/11/22/future-direction-of-turkish-eu-relations	A001, A005, A002, A014, A004	0	0	0
65	21.11.2016	Daily Sabah	No, the government does not shelter rapists... but what about Europe?	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/saadet-oruc/2016/11/21/no-the-government-does-not-shelter-rapists-but-what-about-europe	A011, B002	0	0	0
66	21.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Pro-PKK group attacks Turkish demonstrators in Paris	https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/11/21/pro-pkk-group-attacks-turkish-demonstrators-in-paris	A001	0	0	0
67	21.11.2016	Daily Sabah	The crisis with the EU is not new	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/beril-dedeoglu/2016/11/22/the-crisis-with-the-eu-is-not-new	A009, A005	0	0	0

68	21.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turkey urges EU, NATO allies to take measures against PKK terror activities in member states	https://www.dailysabah.com/diplomacy/2016/11/21/turkey-urges-eu-nato-allies-to-take-measures-against-pkk-terror-activities-in-member-states	A001, A003, A007	0	3	1
69	22.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Belgian PM may disagree but PKK, FETÖ feel at home in Brussels	https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/11/22/belgian-pm-may-disagree-but-pkk-feto-feel-at-home-in-brussels	A001	1	4	1
70	22.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Elbowed by the West, Turkey seeks new friends	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ilnur-cevik/2016/11/22/elbowed-by-the-west-turkey-seeks-new-friends	A015, A017, A001, A011	0	0	0
71	22.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Salih Muslim, other PKK killers face prosecution	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ilnur-cevik/2016/11/23/salih-muslim-other-pkk-killers-face-prosecution	A001	0	0	1
72	22.11.2016	Daily Sabah	The new center of the world	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/cemil-ertem/2016/11/23/the-new-center-of-the-world	A003, A005, A015	0	0	1
73	23.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Colonel in tears while testifying on July 15 Gülenist coup attempt	https://www.dailysabah.com/turkey/2016/11/24/colonel-in-tears-while-testifying-on-july-15-gulenist-coup-attempt	A001	0	1	1
74	23.11.2016	Daily Sabah	EP vote on Turkey's membership has no value, President Erdoğan says	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/23/ep-vote-on-turkeys-membership-has-no-value-president-erdogan-says	A017, B001	0	2	1
75	23.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turkey to chair 2017 Energy Club of Shanghai Cooperation Organization	https://www.dailysabah.com/energy/2016/11/23/turkey-to-chair-2017-energy-club-of-shanghai-cooperation-organization	A006	0	0	0
76	23.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turkish nation infuriated by EU's tolerance toward PKK, FETÖ terrorists	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/24/turkish-nation-infuriated-by-eus-tolerance-toward-pkk-feto-terrorists-1479936895	A006, A017, A001, A005, A015	1	7	1
77	24.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Ankara dismisses EP resolution on membership talks, describes it as null and void	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/25/ankara-dismisses-ep-resolution-on-membership-talks-describes-it-as-null-and-void	A015, A014, A007, B001	0	5	1
78	24.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Austrian far-right Hofer to push for EU referendum	https://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2016/11/25/austrian-far-right-hofer-to-push-for-eu-referendum	A014	0	0	1
79	24.11.2016	Daily Sabah	EU Parliament backs motion to temporarily freeze	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/24/eu-parliament-backs-motion-to-temporarily-freeze-turkeys-accession	A017, A003, A001, B001	0	2	1

			Turkey's accession					
80	24.11.2016	Daily Sabah	EU parliament vote on Turkey carries no importance: PM Yildirim	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/24/eu-parliament-vote-on-turkey-carries-no-importance-pm-yildirim	A006	0	3	1
81	24.11.2016	Daily Sabah	The root cause of new nationalism is the West, not Turkey	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/fahrettin-altun/2016/11/25/the-root-cause-of-new-nationalism-is-the-west-not-turkey	A014	0	1	0
82	24.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turkey is hopeful over Trump, but showdown with Brussels is going to backfire on EU	https://www.dailysabah.com/op-ed/2016/11/24/turkey-is-hopeful-over-trump-but-showdown-with-brussels-is-going-to-backfire-on-eu	A002, A003, A005, A001, A014	0	0	0
83	24.11.2016	Daily Sabah	What would EU have done if the coup had not failed?	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ilnur-cevik/2016/11/25/what-would-eu-have-done-if-the-coup-had-not-failed	A017, A001, A015, A002, A005, A019, A006, A013	0	0	0
84	24.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Why is Erdoğan disillusioned with the West?	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/duran-burhanettin/2016/11/24/why-is-erdogan-disillusioned-with-the-west	A001, A003, A005, A007	0	0	1
85	25.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Erdogan says Turkey will open gates to Europe for refugees if Europe goes too far	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/25/erdogan-says-turkey-will-open-gates-to-europe-for-refugees-if-europe-goes-too-far	A017, A003, A007	0	2	1
86	25.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Europe, Turkophobia and a perilous future	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ibrahim-kalin/2016/11/26/europe-turkophobia-and-a-perilous-future	A001, A002, A005, A008, A006, A014, A015, B002	0	0	0
87	25.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Freedom of speech under attack in France	https://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2016/11/26/freedom-of-speech-under-attack-in-france	A014	0	1	1
88	25.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Islamophobia debates in Japan	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/kilic-bugra-kanat/2016/11/26/islamophobia-debates-in-japan	A014	0	0	1
89	25.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Millions of refugees in Turkey ready to move on as readmission deal with EU enters death spiral	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/26/millions-of-refugees-in-turkey-ready-to-move-on-as-readmission-deal-with-eu-enters-death-spiral	A007, A003	1	5	1
90	25.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Minister Çelik calls on EU to hold summit in	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/26/minister-celik-calls-on-eu-to-hold-summit-in-turkey-to-discuss-relations	B001	0	5	1

			Turkey to discuss relations					
91	25.11.2016	Daily Sabah	My message to the European Parliament	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/hilal_kaplan/2016/11/26/my-message-to-the-european-parliament	A001, A005, A011, A003, A007, A014, A006, B002	0	1	1
92	25.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turkish economy: Constructed risk perceptions vs real dynamics	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/sadik_unay/2016/11/26/turkish-economy-constructed-risk-perceptions-vs-real-dynamics	A010	0	0	0
93	25.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Turks in Europe hold rallies against terrorism	https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/11/26/turks-in-europe-hold-rallies-against-terrorism	A017, A001	0	0	1
94	25.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Will Turkey join Shanghai Cooperation Organization?	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/merve-sebnem-oruc/2016/11/26/will-turkey-join-shanghai-cooperation-organization	A001, A005, A006, A003, A014, A007, A004	0	0	1
95	26.11.2016	Daily Sabah	The Pacific-Atlantic battle and Turkey	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/alkin-kerem/2016/11/26/the-pacific-atlantic-battle-and-turkey	A007	0	0	1
96	26.11.2016	Daily Sabah	The rise of racism and Islamophobia in continental Europe	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ihsan-aktas/2016/11/26/the-rise-of-racism-and-islamophobia-in-continental-europe	A016, A015, A005, A014, A006	0	0	1
97	27.11.2016	Daily Sabah	EU leaders stress closer cooperation with Turkey, disregard EP's baseless decision	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/28/eu-leaders-stress-closer-cooperation-with-turkey-disregard-eps-baseless-decision-1480272655	A007, A011, B001, A001	0	3	1
98	27.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Germany and the PKK	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/saadet-oruc/2016/11/28/germany-and-the-pkk	A001, B002, A002	0	0	1
99	27.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Thousands protest PKK, Daesh terror in France	https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2016/11/27/thousands-protest-pkk-daesh-terror-in-france	A001	0	1	1
100	28.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Despite US, Castro dies of natural causes	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ilnur-cevik/2016/11/29/despite-us-castro-dies-of-natural-causes	A001	0	0	0
101	28.11.2016	Daily Sabah	EU minister in Brussels to hold talks on future of ties	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/29/eu-minister-in-brussels-to-hold-talks-on-future-of-ties	B001	0	4	1
102	28.11.2016	Daily Sabah	EU's tolerant and hypocritical stance on PKK terrorism draws Turkey's ire	https://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2016/11/29/eus-tolerant-and-hypocritical-stance-on-pkk-terrorism-draws-turkeys-ire	A001, A003, A006	0	3	1
103	28.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Try to understand Turkey instead of fending it off	https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ozan-ceyhun/2016/11/29/try-to-understand-turkey-instead-of-fending-it-off	A005, A002, A001, A003,	0	0	0

					A017, A015, A007, A004			
104	28.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Wave of far-right populism threatening EU's wobbling house of cards	https://www.dailysabah.com/europe/2016/11/29/wave-of-far-right-populism-threatening-eus-wobbling-house-of-cards-1480362640	A014	0	4	1
105	28.11.2016	Daily Sabah	What's the European criteria for banning political parties and detaining politicians?	https://www.dailysabah.com/op-ed/2016/11/29/whats-the-european-criteria-for-banning-political-parties-and-detaining-politicians	A003	0	0	1
106	29.11.2016	Daily Sabah	Germany admits EU falling far short on 3-billion-euro refugee deal with Turkey	https://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2016/11/29/germany-admits-eu-falling-far-short-on-3-billion-euro-refugee-deal-with-turkey	B001, A003	0	3	1
107	01.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	More Turkish journalists in jail, and not just that...	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/more-turkish-journalists-in-jail-and-not-just-that.aspx?pageID=449&nID=105596&NewsCatID=409	A016	1	4	1
108	01.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Turkish PM downplays Europe's 'red line' on press freedom after detentions	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-pm-downplays-europes-red-line-on-press-freedom-after-detentions.aspx?pageID=238&nID=105622&NewsCatID=338	A016	0	2	1
109	01.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	US, Europe criticize Turkey over Cumhuriyet raids, detentions	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/us-europe-criticize-turkey-over-cumhuriyet-raids-detentions.aspx?pageID=238&nID=105601&NewsCatID=339	A016	0	8	1
110	03.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	A pull effect for nationalists is a push effect for democrats in Turkey	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/a-pull-effect-for-nationalists-is-a-push-effect-for-democrats-in-turkey.aspx?pageID=449&nID=105681&NewsCatID=412	A016	0	0	1
111	03.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Turkey debates the non-retroactive death penalty	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-debates-the-non-retroactive-death-penalty-.aspx?pageID=449&nID=105678&NewsCatID=458	A014, A010, A016, B002	0	1	1
112	03.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Turkey turns its back on Europe	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-turns-its-back-on-europe.aspx?pageID=449&nID=105676&NewsCatID=416	A005, A006, A016, A006	0	0	1
113	04.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	EU alarmed over detention of HDP lawmakers	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/eu-alarmed-over-detention-of-hdp-lawmakers.aspx?pageID=238&nID=105735&NewsCatID=351	A016	1	8	1
114	04.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	The problem of a regressive mentality	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/the-problem-of-a-regressive-mentality-.aspx?pageID=449&nID=105709&NewsCatID=425	A016	1	1	1

115	04.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Turkey vows to extend state of emergency 'until threat is fully eradicated'	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-vows-to-extend-state-of-emergency-until-threat-is-fully-eradicated-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=105713&NewsCatID=351	A016, A017, A006	1	2	1
116	06.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	EU report on Turkey to flag 'relapse' on press freedom	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/eu-report-on-turkey-to-flag-relapse-on-press-freedom.aspx?pageID=238&nID=105803&NewsCatID=351	A016	0	0	1
117	06.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Turkish EU Minister Çelik calls EU envoys for meeting after arrests criticism	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-eu-minister-celik-calls-eu-envoys-for-meeting-after-arrests-criticism.aspx?pageID=238&nID=105785&NewsCatID=510	A016	0	2	1
118	07.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Ankara hits out at EU's PKK 'double standards'	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/ankara-hits-out-at-eus-pkk-double-standards.aspx?pageID=238&nID=105836&NewsCatID=338	A003	0	1	1
119	07.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Where is Turkey going at full speed?	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/where-is-turkey-going-at-full-speed.aspx?pageID=449&nID=105802&NewsCatID=409	A016, A006	0	0	1
120	08.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	EU's Juncker warns Turkey's Erdoğan on visa deal	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/eus-juncker-warns-turkeys-erdogan-on-visa-deal.aspx?pageID=238&nID=105885&NewsCatID=351	A007	0	2	1
121	08.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Turkey's freefall into the abyss	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkeys-freefall-into-the-abyss.aspx?pageID=449&nID=105857&NewsCatID=412	A016	0	1	1
122	09.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Ankara rebuffs EU's harsh progress report	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/ankara-rebuffs-eus-harsh-progress-report.aspx?pageID=238&nID=105914&NewsCatID=510	A016	0	3	1
123	09.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Why is Turkey rebuffing whatever the West says?	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/why-is-turkey-rebuffing-whatever-the-west-says.aspx?pageID=449&nID=105903&NewsCatID=409	A016, A017, A006	0	4	1
124	10.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Council of Europe warns Turkey of flood of cases at ECHR due to state of emergency measures	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/council-of-europe-warns-turkey-of-flood-of-casesat-echrdueto-state-of-emergency-measures.aspx?pageID=238&nID=105972&NewsCatID=351	A016	1	1	1
125	11.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	A Turkey torn from EU would be seen as a third-world country: Deputy PM Şimşek	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/a-turkey-torn-from-eu-would-beseen-as-a-third-world-country-deputy-pm-simsek.aspx?pageID=238&nID=105999&NewsCatID=344	A010	1	1	1
126	12.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Does Turkey want to be a third-world country?	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/does-turkey-want-to-be-a-third-world-country.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106031&NewsCatID=429	A018, A010, A016, A020, A004, A021	0	1	1

127	12.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	It is not for West to decide reintroduction of death penalty: President Erdoğan	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/it-is-not-for-west-to-decide-reintroduction-of-death-penalty-president-erdogan.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106053&NewsCatID=338	A016	0	3	1
128	14.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Respect for democratic freedoms is an urgent priority for Turkey	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/respect-for-democratic-freedoms-is-an-urgent-priority-for-turkey-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106079&NewsCatID=396	A016	0	0	1
129	15.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Europe losing leverage on Turkey	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/europe-losing-leverage-on-turkey.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106135&NewsCatID=409	A001, A006, A004, A003, A005	0	2	1
130	15.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	The rise of populist demagoguery	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/the-rise-of-populist-demagoguery-.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106120&NewsCatID=416	A014	0	0	1
131	15.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Turkey 'fed up with' EU's arrogant attitude	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-fed-up-with-eus-arrogant-attitude.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106152&NewsCatID=351	A011	0	2	0
132	16.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	'Out-Trumping' Trump	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/out-trumping-trump-.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106168&NewsCatID=515	A010	0	0	1
133	16.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	A sad farewell to the European Union	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/a-sad-farewell-to-the-european-union.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106173&NewsCatID=411	A010, A005, A017, A016, A014, A006, A009	0	1	1
134	16.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Could it be Brexit?	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/could-it-be-brexit.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106170&NewsCatID=425	A010, A003, A009	0	0	1
135	17.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	EU referendum is a possibility in Turkey	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/eu-referendum-is-a-possibility-in-turkey.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106205&NewsCatID=412	A014, A018, A010, A016, A005, A004	0	0	1
136	17.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Euro MPs cancel trip over rapporteur crisis	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/euro-mps-cancel-trip-over-rapporteur-crisis.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106226&NewsCatID=351	A016	0	4	1
137	17.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	The end of the line for Turkey and the EU	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/the-end-of-the-line-for-turkey-and-the-eu.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106206&NewsCatID=416	A003, A005, A011, A006, A021, A016	0	0	1
138	18.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Erdoğan is right: Turkey should vote on EU membership	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/erdogan-is-right-turkey-should-vote-on-eu-membership.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106246&NewsCatID=398	A008, A006, A005	0	1	1
139	18.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	EU approves Ukraine visa-free travel	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/eu-approves-ukraine-visa-free-travel.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106282&NewsCatID=351	A003	0	2	1
140	18.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Turkish businesses concerned over EU row: TÜSİAD	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-businesses-concerned-over-eu-row-tusiad.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106310&NewsCatID=345	A010, A016	0	1	1
141	19.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Why the Brexit debate?	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/why-the-brexit-debate.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106311&NewsCatID=403	A010, A016, A018, A004	0	0	0

142	20.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	President Erdoğan: EU not everything, Turkey may join Shanghai Five	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/president-erdogan-eu-not-everything-turkey-may-join-shanghai-five.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106321&NewsCatID=338	A009	0	1	1
143	21.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Rejected European Parliament rapporteur hopes for fruitful talks in Turkey in future	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/rejected-european-parliament-rapporteur-hopes-for-fruitful-talks-in-turkey-in-future.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106350&NewsCatID=351	A004	1	1	1
144	21.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Turkey seeks NATO's support against terrorism	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-seeks-natos-support-against-terrorism-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106359&NewsCatID=510	A001	0	1	1
145	22.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	EU, Shanghai and beyond...	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/eu-shanghai-and-beyond.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106348&NewsCatID=425	A016, A018	0	1	1
146	23.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Ahead of key vote, CHP tells EU 'Turkey is bigger than Erdoğan'	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/ahead-of-key-vote-chp-tells-eu-turkey-is-bigger-than-erdogan-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106491&NewsCatID=338	A009	0	2	1
147	23.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	European Parliament's vote on freezing membership talks has no value for Turkey: Erdoğan	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/european-parliaments-vote-on-freezing-membership-talks-has-no-value-for-turkey-erdogan.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106449&NewsCatID=510	A016	1	6	1
148	23.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	NATO chief recalls Turkey's commitment to Article 5 amid calls to join Shanghai 5	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/nato-chief-recalls-turkeys-commitment-to-article-5-amid-calls-to-join-shanghai-5-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106421&NewsCatID=359	A009	1	1	1
149	23.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Turkey's 'My Fair Lady' problem	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkeys-my-fair-lady-problem.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106440&NewsCatID=398	A019, A008	0	3	1
150	24.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Ankara in fury after Euro parliament vote	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/ankara-in-fury-after-euro-parliament-vote.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106529&NewsCatID=338	A016, A003	1	3	1
151	24.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Checking the winds of populism in Europe	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/checking-the-winds-of-populism-in-europe-.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106483&NewsCatID=468	A014	0	0	1
152	24.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	EU will leave decision to freeze accession talks to Turkey	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/eu-will-leave-decision-to-freeze-accession-talks-to-turkey.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106481&NewsCatID=412	A007, A003, A004	0	0	0
153	24.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Freezing Turkey-EU talks will benefit no one	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/freezing-turkey-eu-talks-will-benefit-no-one-.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106446&NewsCatID=429	A003, A016, A017, A004	0	1	1

154	24.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	NEWS ANALYSIS: Freezing EU accession talks no easy process	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/news-analysis-freezing-eu-accession-talks-no-easy-process-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106531&NewsCatID=510	A004	0	0	1
155	24.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Scrapping Turkey's EU accession talks now will only make things worse	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/scrapping-turkeys-eu-accession-talks-now-will-only-make-things-worse.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106485&NewsCatID=396	A005, A006, A015, A007, A014, A004	0	0	1
156	24.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	The populist explosion	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/the-populist-explosion.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106489&NewsCatID=474	A014	0	0	0
157	25.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	EU shouldn't freeze accession talks with Turkey: Germany	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/eu-shouldnt-freeze-accession-talks-with-turkey-germany-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106568&NewsCatID=351	B001	0	1	0
158	25.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	EU-Turkey crisis could bring opportunities	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/eu-turkey-crisis-could-bring-opportunities.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106532&NewsCatID=409	A005, A011, A003, A014, A002, A004	0	0	1
159	25.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	In search for Turkey's new economic narrative	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/in-search-for-turkeys-new-economic-narrative.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106542&NewsCatID=540	A010, A004	0	0	0
160	25.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Turkey will 'open up border gates' if EU goes further: Erdoğan	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-will-open-up-border-gates-if-eu-goes-further-erdogan.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106550&NewsCatID=510	A007	0	1	1
161	26.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Europe needs a Turkey strategy	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/europe-needs-a-turkey-strategy.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106582&NewsCatID=403	A017, A018, A016, A011, A004	0	1	1
162	26.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	The road from Brussels to Shanghai	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/the-road-from-brussels-to-shanghai.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106579&NewsCatID=411	A017, A005, A007, A016, A004	0	0	1
163	26.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Those were the hopeful days with the EU	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/those-were-the-hopeful-days-with-the-eu-.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106583&NewsCatID=401	A010, A017, A018, A004	0	0	1
164	26.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Turkey's playing of the migrant card not ethical	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkeys-playing-of-the-migrant-card-not-ethical.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106578&NewsCatID=429	A003	0	2	1
165	27.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	75 pct of Turkish citizens believe Turkey is drifting away from EU	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/75-pct-of-turkish-citizens-believe-turkey-is-drifting-away-from-eu.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106613&NewsCatID=338	A018	0	0	0
166	27.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Kılıçdaroğlu to EU: Don't punish 80 million people	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/kilicdaroglu-to-eu-dont-punish-80-million-people-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106609&NewsCatID=510	A011	0	1	1
167	28.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	'Know your limits,' Erdoğan	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/know-your-limits-erdogan-tells-european-parliament-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106616&NewsCatID=510	A016, A003	0	3	1

			tells European Parliament					
168	28.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Despite low numbers, Istanbul's Erasmus students defy security worries	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/despite-low-numbers-istanbul-erasmus-students-defy-security-worries-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106647&NewsCatID=341	A004	1	4	1
169	28.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Elephants and the grass	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/elephants-and-the-grass.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106612&NewsCatID=425	A016	0	0	1
170	28.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	EU-Turkey rift no temporary matter	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/eu-turkey-rift-no-temporary-matter.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106600&NewsCatID=406	A018, A009, A011, A016, A003, A004, A021	0	0	0
171	28.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Suspending accession talks would be more counterproductive than helpful	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/suspending-accession-talks-would-be-more-counterproductive-than-helpful.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106622&NewsCatID=351	A003, A017	1	1	1
172	28.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Turkey and the EU must find a new way	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-and-the-eu-must-find-a-new-way.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106618&NewsCatID=409	A001, A018, A009, A004	0	5	1
173	28.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Understanding Turkish Deputy PM Şimşek	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/understanding-turkish-deputy-pm-simsek.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106632&NewsCatID=518	A018, A004, A021	0	1	1
174	29.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Turkey says 'no' to second class EU membership	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-says-no-to-second-class-eu-membership-.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106716&NewsCatID=429	A004, A009	1	1	1
175	29.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Turkey's anti-Gülen campaign may be harmful to Turks living abroad	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkeys-antigulen-campaign-may-be-harmful-to-turks-living-abroad.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106669&NewsCatID=412	A001	0	0	1
176	29.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	When will normality return to Turkey?	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/when-will-normality-return-to-turkey.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106666&NewsCatID=416	A018, A010, A016, A007, A021	1	1	1
177	30.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Turkey's 'foreign martyrs'	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkeys-foreign-martyrs.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106707&NewsCatID=398	A018, A021	0	2	1
178	30.11.2016	Hurriyet Daily News	Who will blink first, Turkey or Europe?	http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/who-will-blink-first-turkey-or-europe.aspx?pageID=449&nID=106687&NewsCatID=409	A005, A007, A004	0	1	1
179	01.11.2016	Hürriyet	AP'ye Cumhuriyet tepkisi: Çizginize mizginize bakmam	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/apye-cumhuriyet-tepkisi-cizginize-mizginize-bakmam-40265704	A006	0	1	0
180	01.11.2016	Hürriyet	Başbakan Yıldırım'dan AP'ye 'kırmızı çizgi' tepkisi	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/basbakan-yildirimdan-flas-aciklamalar-40265062	A006	0	1	0

181	01.11.2016	Hürriyet	İdam!	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/taha-akyol/idam-40265767	A018, A014, A016, A010, A004, B002, A009	0	4	1
182	01.11.2016	Hürriyet	İnsanlar neden korkuyor...	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/gulsel-birsel/insanlar-neden-korkuyor-40265748	A016, A010	0	0	0
183	01.11.2016	Hürriyet	Otomotiv ve AB sağ olsun	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/otomotiv-ve-ab-sag-olsun-40265750	A010	1	1	1
184	01.11.2016	Hürriyet	Türkiye kendi başına bir gezegen değildir	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ismet-berkan/turkiye-kendi-basina-bir-gezegen-degildir-40265747	A005, A016, A010, A018, A009	0	0	1
185	01.11.2016	Hürriyet	Ya sapık diye asılsaydı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/akif-beki/ya-sapik-diye-asilsaydi-40265762	A018, A016	0	2	1
186	01.11.2016	Hürriyet	Yıldırım'ı zora soktu	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yildirimi-zora-soktu-40265721	A016	1	1	1
187	02.11.2016	Hürriyet	AVRUPA'DAN UZAKLAŞMA HESABI	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/mehmet-y-yilmaz/meger-bylocku-kimler-kullanivormus-40266821	A016, A010	0	1	1
188	03.11.2016	Hürriyet	Bir insanın mahrem odasından son hatıra	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ertugrul-ozkok/bir-insanin-mahrem-odasindan-son-hatira-40267893	A010	0	0	0
189	03.11.2016	Hürriyet	Da da da dannn!	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/mehmet-y-yilmaz/da-da-da-dannn-40267851	A010	0	1	1
190	03.11.2016	Hürriyet	Kaos çağı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/taha-akyol/kaos-cagi-40267854	A014	0	1	1
191	04.11.2016	Hürriyet	AB ve AP'den Türkiye'deki gelişmelerle ilgili açıklamalar	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gozaltina-alinan-hdplilerle-ilgili-avrupadan-ilk-tepki-40268015	A016	0	4	0
192	04.11.2016	Hürriyet	Almanya, Türk maslahatgüzarı çağırdı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/almanya-turk-maslahatguzari-cagirdi-40268355	A016	1	6	0
193	04.11.2016	Hürriyet	Aman dikkat	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/taha-akyol/aman-dikkat-40268918	A016	0	0	1
194	04.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avrupa ve ABD: Derinden rahatsız etti	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/avrupa-ve-abd-derinden-rahatsiz-etti-40268937	A016	0	9	1
195	04.11.2016	Hürriyet	Belçika'nın insanlık suçu	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/belcikanin-insanlik-sucu-40267922	A015	0	0	1
196	04.11.2016	Hürriyet	HDP yanlışı ve bir sonraki	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/murat-yetkin/hdp-yanlisi-ve-bir-sonraki-40268787	A006, A007	0	4	1
197	04.11.2016	Hürriyet	İhsanoğlu'nun 'Islamophobia'sı artık Rusça'da	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ihsanoglundun-islamophobiasi-artik-rusca-40268961	A014	1	1	0
198	05.11.2016	Hürriyet	Normal akılla olmaz, galiba bir üst akıl var	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ahmet-hakan/normal-akilla-olmaz-galiba-bir-ust-akil-var-40269640	A010	0	0	0
199	05.11.2016	Hürriyet	Tehditlere duyarsızım	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/tehditlere-duyarsizim-40269648	A017	0	2	1

200	05.11.2016	Hürriyet	Yaşadıklarımız kusursuz fırtına	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/jale-ozgenturk/yasadiklarimiz-kusursuz-firtina-40269623	A010	0	2	0
201	06.11.2016	Hürriyet	Almanya, Akdeniz'de kurtarılan mültecileri Afrika'ya göndermek istiyor	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/almanya-akdenizde-kurtarilan-multecileri-afrikaya-gondermek-istiyor-40270017	A014	0	3	0
202	06.11.2016	Hürriyet	Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'a diktatör denilir mi?	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/murat-yetkin/cumhurbaskani-erdogana-diktator-denilir-mi-40270362	A016, A009	0	1	1
203	06.11.2016	Hürriyet	En olumsuz ilerleme raporu	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/en-olumsuz-ilerleme-raporu-40270376	A011	0	0	1
204	06.11.2016	Hürriyet	Ne denir?	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/rauf-tamer/ne-denir-40270247	A015, A006, A001, B002	0	0	1
205	07.11.2016	Hürriyet	'AB ile kırılğan bir dönemdeyiz'	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ab-ile-kirilgan-bir-donemdeyiz-40271367	A007	0	1	0
206	07.11.2016	Hürriyet	Batı düşman mı?	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/taha-akyol/bati-dusman-mi-40271400	A016, A003, A005, A010	0	2	1
207	07.11.2016	Hürriyet	İdam ve başkanlıkta yeni gelişme	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/abdulkadir-selvi/idam-ve-baskanlikta-yeni-gelisme-40271391	B002	0	2	1
208	07.11.2016	Hürriyet	Lüksemburg'dan Türkiye tehdidi	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/luksemburgdan-turkiye-tehdidi-40270815	B002, A011	0	2	0
209	08.11.2016	Hürriyet	Batıyla ipler kopacak mı dersiniz?	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/murat-yetkin/batiyla-ipler-kopacak-mi-dersiniz-40272352	A016, A017	0	3	1
210	08.11.2016	Hürriyet	Bu iyi bir gösteri olmadı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/mehmet-y-yilmaz/bu-iyi-bir-gosteri-olmadi-40272384	A010, A016, A018, A004	0	1	1
211	08.11.2016	Hürriyet	Diyalog elini tutun	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/diyalog-elini-tutun-40272407	A004, A009, A020	0	1	0
212	08.11.2016	Hürriyet	Sol Parti milletvekilinden terör örgütü PKK talebi	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/sol-parti-milletvekilinden-teror-orgutu-pkk-talebi-40271849	A001	0	1	0
213	09.11.2016	Hürriyet	AB'ye: Nazi sizsiniz	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ab-ye-nazi-sizsiniz-40273500	A003, A011, A014	0	1	0
214	09.11.2016	Hürriyet	AB'yle karar anına doğru	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ab-yle-karar-anina-dogru-36738733	A003, A011, A005, A004	0	2	1
215	09.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avrupa'dan Türkiye'ye: Kararını ver	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/avrupadan-turkiye-ye-kararini-ver-40273503	A011, A005	0	2	1
216	09.11.2016	Hürriyet	En sert rapor	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/en-sert-rapor-40273501	A016	0	0	0
217	09.11.2016	Hürriyet	İçişlerimize karşımayın!	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/icislerimize-karismayin-40272524	A016, A021	0	0	1
218	09.11.2016	Hürriyet	'Rapor AB için utanç vesikası'	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/rapor-ab-icin-utanc-vesikasi-40273507	A011	0	1	0
219	09.11.2016	Hürriyet	Yeni dünya düzeni?	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/taha-akyol/yeni-dunya-duzeni-40273477	A014	0	2	1

220	10.11.2016	Hürriyet	AB raporunun şifreleri	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ab-raporunun-sifreleri-40274523	A017, A016	0	0	1
221	10.11.2016	Hürriyet	Almanya Dışişleri Bakanı: Türkiye yol ayrımında	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/almanya-disisleri-bakani-turkiye-yol-ayriminda-40274428	A020, A006	0	5	0
222	10.11.2016	Hürriyet	Elitizmin ve yerleşik düzenliliğin sonu...	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ismet-berkan/elitizmin-ve-verlesik-duzencilig-in-sonu-40274499	A014	0	0	0
223	10.11.2016	Hürriyet	Kılıçdaroğlu tek başına Taksim'e mi çıksın?	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/yalcin-bayer/kilicdaroglu-tek-basina-taksime-mi-ciksin-40274493	A010	0	1	0
224	11.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avrupa'ya sitem Beyaz Rusya'ya övgü	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/avrupaya-sitem-beyaz-rusyaya-ovgu-40275541	A014	0	1	0
225	12.11.2016	Hürriyet	Küresel 'Trump'etler çalmaya başladı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ugur-gurses/kuresel-trumpetler-calmaya-basladi-40275449	A014	0	0	1
226	12.11.2016	Hürriyet	MÜSLÜMANLARIN İHTİYACI	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/taha-akyol/hangi-akil-40275520	A001, A016, A018	0	1	0
227	13.11.2016	Hürriyet	'Türkiye-AB anlaşması mülteci krizine en iyi umut'	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/turkiye-ab-anlasmasi-multeci-krizine-en-iyi-umut-40276888	A007	0	1	0
228	13.11.2016	Hürriyet	Almanya'dan kritik ziyaret	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/almanyadan-kritik-ziyaret-40276923	A016	0	0	1
229	13.11.2016	Hürriyet	AP Başkanı Schulz'dan Türkiye'ye yaptırım tehdidi	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ap-baskani-schulzdan-turkiye-ye-yaptirim-tehdidi-40276442	A011	0	1	0
230	13.11.2016	Hürriyet	Trump ve Ankara	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/taha-akyol/trump-ve-ankara-40276904	A016, A010, A004	0	1	1
231	14.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avrupa ile bozuşmak	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/taha-akyol/avrupa-ile-bozusk-40277872	A010, A011, A021, A020, A016	0	4	1
232	14.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avrupa'nın bu yaptırım kafası nereye kadar	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/fatih-cekirge/avrupanin-bu-yaptirim-kafasi-nereye-kadar-40277855	A015, A011, A013, A006, A017	1	1	0
233	14.11.2016	Hürriyet	Erdogan'dan Schulz'a: Terbiyesiz, sen kimsin ya	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/erdogandan-schulza-terbiyesiz-sen-kimsin-ya-40277834	A006, A011	0	1	0
234	14.11.2016	Hürriyet	Kendisini trafik polisi zanneden mahalle delisi	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/murat-yetkin/kendisini-trafik-polisi-zanneden-mahalle-delisi-40277813	A006, A011, A016, A003, A014	0	2	1
235	15.11.2016	Hürriyet	AB 'diyaloga devam' dedi	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ab-diyaloga-devam-dedi-40277932	A007	0	3	1
236	15.11.2016	Hürriyet	AB ÖFKESİNİN NEDENİ	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/mehmet-y-yilmaz/darbe-girisimiyle-ilgili-sorular-40278865	A010, A018	0	2	1

			EKONOMİNİN DURUMU					
237	15.11.2016	Hürriyet	AB'nin güven kaybı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/fikret-bila/abnin-guven-kaybi-40278871	A006, A003, A005, A018, A001, A009, A011	0	1	1
238	15.11.2016	Hürriyet	AB'ye sitemler: Bıktık	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/abve-sitemler-biktik-40278919	A006, A011	0	1	0
239	15.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avrupa Birliği ancak ayardan anlıyormuş	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ahmet-hakan/ahmet-altan-neden-ve-nasil-aturkcu-oldu-40278840	A007	0	1	0
240	15.11.2016	Hürriyet	BATILI ORTA SINIF KAYBETTİ	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ismet-berkan/kuresellesmenin-intikamini-sol-degil-sag-mi-alacak-40278830	A014	0	0	0
241	15.11.2016	Hürriyet	Durun gitmeyin! Siz kardeşiniz!	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/anlatanadam-yaziyor/durun-gitmeyin-siz-kardessiniz-40278818	A014	0	0	0
242	15.11.2016	Hürriyet	'Eleştirileri esefle karşılıyoruz'	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/elestirileri-esefle-karsiliyoruz-40278918	A011	0	1	0
243	15.11.2016	Hürriyet	Müzakere için böyle dedi: Türkiye karar verir	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/muzakere-icin-boyle-dedi-turkiye-karar-verir-40278920	B001, A004	0	1	0
244	15.11.2016	Hürriyet	Nelerin gündem olmasını istiyorum	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/gulsel-birsel/nelerin-gundem-olmasini-istiyorum-40278832	A010, A018	0	0	1
245	15.11.2016	Hürriyet	Sabır taşı!	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/rauf-tamer/sabir-tasi-40278814	A005, A006, A011, A004	0	1	0
246	15.11.2016	Hürriyet	Türkiye'siz olmaz	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/turkiyesiz-olmaz-40277997	A020, A004	1	1	1
247	16.11.2016	Hürriyet	'Kati Piri olmazsa Ankara'ya gelmeyiz'	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kati-piri-olmazsa-ankaraya-gelmeyiz-40279923	A011	1	1	1
248	16.11.2016	Hürriyet	AB terörist vermiyor... 9 yılda sadece 11 iade	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ab-terorist-vermiyor-9-yilda-sadece-11-iade-40279945	A001	1	0	0
249	16.11.2016	Hürriyet	AKP'ye sağduyu hâkim olur mu?	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/mehmet-y-yilmaz/akpye-sagduyu-hakim-olur-mu-40279973	A016	0	1	1
250	16.11.2016	Hürriyet	Muasırlar medeniyetler seviyesinden bıkmak	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/unal-ceviko/muasir-medeniyetler-sevivesinden-bikmak-40279908	A019, A020, A016, A018, A010, A003, A005, A006, A004, A021	0	0	1
251	16.11.2016	Hürriyet	Türkiye'nin anahtar rolünü çok iyi bilen, bunu her fırsatta vurgulayan bir politikacı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/turkiyenin-anahtar-rolunu-cok-iyi-bilen-bunu-her-firsatta-vurgulayan-bir-politikaci-40279023	A014, A020, A004, B001	0	0	1

252	17.11.2016	Hürriyet	Dışişleri Sözcüsü Müftüoğlu: AB ülkelerinin 'çifte standart' siyasetlerinin bir örneğini teşkil etmektedir	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/disisleri-sozcusu-muftuoglu-ab-ulkelerinin-ci-40280738	A003, B002	0	1	0
253	17.11.2016	Hürriyet	Trump style	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/nilgun-tekfidan-gumus/trump-style-40281044	A014	0	0	1
254	18.11.2016	Hürriyet	AP'den gerilimi artıracak manevra	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/apden-gerilimi-artiracak-manevra-40282115	A011, B001	1	1	1
255	18.11.2016	Hürriyet	GERÇEĞİN SONRASI?	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/taha-akyol/populizm-modasi-40281077	A004	0	2	1
256	18.11.2016	Hürriyet	Onlara göre Türkiye'nin AB'de yeri yok	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/onlara-gore-turkiyenin-abde-veri-yok-40281252	A005	0	2	1
257	18.11.2016	Hürriyet	Schulz müzakerelerin kesilmesine karşı çıktı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/schulz-muzakerelerin-kesilmesine-karsi-cikti-40282114	A007, B001	0	1	0
258	19.11.2016	Hürriyet	Bozdağ'dan NATO toplantısında HDP'li vekille tartıştı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/bozdagdan-nato-toplantisinda-hdpli-vekil-tartisti-40282322	A011	0	5	0
259	19.11.2016	Hürriyet	'İstismarcıya evlen kurtul' tartışmasının perde arkası	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/murat-yetkin/istismarciya-evlen-kurtul-tartismasinin-perde-arkasi-40282464	A016	0	5	1
260	20.11.2016	Hürriyet	'Varsa yoksa AB' demeyin, Şanghay 5'lisi bizi rahatlatır'	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/varsayoksa-ab-demeyin-sanhgay-5lisi-bizi-rahatlattir-40282883	A006	1	1	0
261	20.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avrupa'nın 4 şehrinde terörü protesto ettiler	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/berlin-ve-brukselde-terore-hayir-demokrasive-evet-mitingi-40282966	A001	0	1	0
262	20.11.2016	Hürriyet	Şanghay 5'lisi nedir? İşte 10 soruda Şanghay İşbirliği Örgütü	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/10-maddede-sanhgay-isbirligi-orgutu-40283558	A005, A009	0	0	1
263	20.11.2016	Hürriyet	Türkiye'nin AB içinde yeri olduğuna şahsen inanıyorum	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/turkiyenin-ab-icinde-yeri-olduguna-sahsen-inaniyorum-40283528	A018, A011, A020, A006, A001, A003, A005	1	1	1
264	21.11.2016	Hürriyet	AP'de kritik Türkiye oturumu	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/avrupa-parlamentosunda-turkiye-icin-kritik-oturum-40284479	A020	0	0	1
265	21.11.2016	Hürriyet	Aşırı sağcılar ekonomiye zarar verir	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/asiri-sagcilar-ekonomiye-zarar-verir-40283686	A014	0	1	0

266	21.11.2016	Hürriyet	Cumhurbaşkanı'nın rüyası	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/mehmet-y-yilmaz/darbe-girisiminin-karakutulari-40284545	A016	0	0	0
267	21.11.2016	Hürriyet	Çin ve Rusya'dan Türkiye'ye olumlu sinyaller	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/erdoganin-sanghai-beslisi-cikisina-rusyadan-ilk-yorum-40283613	A006	0	2	0
268	21.11.2016	Hürriyet	Fransız sağında Fillon depremi	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/fransiz-saginda-fillon-depremi-40284584	A005	0	2	1
269	21.11.2016	Hürriyet	Türkiye Avrupa'yı krizden kurtardı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/turkiye-avrupayi-krizden-kurtardi-40284205	A007	0	1	0
270	21.11.2016	Hürriyet	Türkiye set uyarısı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/turkiye-set-uyarisi-40284622	A007	0	1	0
271	22.11.2016	Hürriyet	Alternatifi yok	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/alternatifi-vok-40284702	A014	0	1	1
272	22.11.2016	Hürriyet	EKONOMİK SORUNLAR CİDDİYET GEREKTİRİYOR	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/mehmet-y-yilmaz/o-cocuklara-devlet-baksin-o-adamlar-degil-40285651	A010	0	0	1
273	22.11.2016	Hürriyet	Mogherini: Türkiye ile AB üyelik müzakereleri sona ererse iki taraf da kaybeder	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/mogherini-turkiye-ile-ab-uyelik-muzakereleri-sona-ererse-iki-taraf-da-kaybeder-40285623	A007, A004, B001	0	8	1
274	23.11.2016	Hürriyet	AP'de 'Türkiye ile müzakereleri dondurun' çağrısı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/apde-turkiye-ile-muzakereleri-dondurun-cagrisi-40285658	B001, A005	0	1	1
275	23.11.2016	Hürriyet	At binenin, kılıç kusananın	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/unal-ceviko/atal-binenin-kilic-kusaninin-40286709	A014	0	0	1
276	23.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avrupa Parlamentosu'nda kritik 'Türkiye' oylaması	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kritik-oylama-40286697	A020, A016	0	0	1
277	23.11.2016	Hürriyet	BATI'NIN DOĞU UCU MU KUZEYİN GÜNEY UCU MU	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ertugrul-ozkok/seks-bagimliliği-tedavisi-goren-erkek-ne-hale-gelir-40285660	A016	0	0	0
278	23.11.2016	Hürriyet	Erdogan'dan flaş AP açıklaması: 'Oylamanın kıymeti yok'	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/erdogandan-flas-ap-aciklamasi-40285800	A006	0	1	0
279	23.11.2016	Hürriyet	Merkel: Ankara ile diyalog sürmeli	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/merkel-ankara-ile-diyalog-surmeli-40286695	A007, B001	0	1	0
280	23.11.2016	Hürriyet	Türkiye NATO'yu zayıflatıcı hamle yapmaz	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/turkiye-natoyu-zayiflatici-hamle-yapmaz-40285655	A009	1	1	1

281	23.11.2016	Hürriyet	Türkiye'de iddiayla gerçek örtüşmüyor	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/turkiyede-iddiayla-gercek-ortusmuyor-40285729	A009	1	1	0
282	24.11.2016	Hürriyet	AP'nin Türkiye kararı Saksonya meselesidir	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/fatih-cekirge/o-ucagin-ucus-kayitlari-40287736	A014, A015, A016, A005, A006, A011, A018	0	0	1
283	24.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avrupa Parlamentosu 'Türkiye ile müzakereler dondurulsun' dedi	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/avrupa-parlamentosu-turkiye-ile-muzakereleri-40287154	A007	0	1	1
284	24.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avrupa Parlamentosu Başkanı Martin Schulz görevini bırakıyor!	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/avrupa-parlamentosu-baskani-gorevini-birakiyor-40287061	A007	0	2	1
285	24.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avrupa Parlamentosu 'Dondurun' dedi... Ankara, kararı iade edecek!	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/avrupa-parlamentosu-dondurun-dedi-40287750	A006	0	1	1
286	24.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avrupa'nın yanlışlı fırsata dönüştürülebilir	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/murat-yetkin/avrupanin-yanlisi-firsata-donusebilir-40287654	A011, A017, A007, A015, A006, A016	0	0	1
287	24.11.2016	Hürriyet	Köye dönüş	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/rauf-tamer/koye-donus-40287652	A006, A011, A005	0	0	1
288	24.11.2016	Hürriyet	Krizi yönetmek	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/taha-akvol/krizi-yonetmek-40287747	A015, A014, A016, A021, A020	0	2	1
289	24.11.2016	Hürriyet	Ne güzel bir geceydi o ne güzel bir umuttu	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ertugrul-ozkok/ne-guzel-bir-geceydi-o-ne-guzel-bir-umuttu-40287737	A010, A017, A018	0	0	1
290	24.11.2016	Hürriyet	Türkiye'nin hamlesi AP'yi şaşkına çevirdi	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/putin-erdogan-ve-trump-ab-modelini-tehdit-ediyor-40285684	A007	0	8	1
291	25.11.2016	Hürriyet	AP'nin yeni başkanı CSU'lu Weber mi olacak?	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/apnin-yeni-baskani-csulu-weber-mi-olacak-40288348	A005	0	1	1
292	25.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avusturya Parlamentosu'nda n Türkiye'ye silah ambargosu kararı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/avusturya-parlamentosundan-turkiyeye-silah-ambargosu-karari-40287763	B001	0	1	1
293	25.11.2016	Hürriyet	Dertlerimiz çeşit çeşit	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/resat-kutucular/dertlerimiz-cesit-cesit-40288469	A010	0	0	0
294	25.11.2016	Hürriyet	Dolduruşu mı getiriyoruz?	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/akif-beki/feonun-kovanina-bal-yapiyor-olmayalim-40288766	A018	0	1	1
295	25.11.2016	Hürriyet	Erdoğan'ın 'Kapılar açılır'	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/erdoganin-kapilar-acilir-cikisina-almanyadan-yanit-40288251	B001, A007	0	4	1

			çıkışına ilk yanıt Almanya'dan					
296	25.11.2016	Hürriyet	Hangisine yanalım	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ahmet-hakan/koyun-degildir-bu-millet-40288756	A003, A010, A008	0	0	0
297	25.11.2016	Hürriyet	'Karar yok hükümde'	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/karar-yok-hukmunde-40287753	A006	0	5	0
298	25.11.2016	Hürriyet	Kati Piri'den AB'ye eleştiri	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kati-piriden-muzakerelerin-dondurulmasiyla-ilgili-ilk-aciklama-40288347	A011, B001	0	2	1
299	25.11.2016	Hürriyet	Salondaki Avrupa isyanı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/fatih-cekirge/--evli-misin-maalesef-40288765	A011, A006, A014, A015	1	0	0
300	25.11.2016	Hürriyet	Türkiye'nin yeri	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/fikret-bila/turkiyenin-yeri-40288781	A003, A005, A016, A017, A004, A009	0	0	1
301	25.11.2016	Hürriyet	Yok hükümde!	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/taha-akyol/yok-hukmunde-40288775	A010, A011, A018, A004	0	1	1
302	26.11.2016	Hürriyet	"Bir kişiye kızıp 80 milyona yaptırım uygulama"	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/bir-kisiye-kizip-80-milyona-yaptirim-uygulama-40289492	A004	0	1	0
303	26.11.2016	Hürriyet	"Kendi kendilerine gelin güvey oluyorlar"	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kendi-kendilerine-gelin-guvey-oluyorlar-40289093	A006	0	1	0
304	26.11.2016	Hürriyet	AP'ye tepki: Vizyonsuzluk	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/apye-tepki-vizyonsuzluk-40289473	A015	0	1	0
305	26.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avrupalı Türkler dört şehirde sokağa çıkıyor	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/avrupali-turkler-dort-sehirde-sokaga-cikiyor-40287899	A001	0	0	0
306	26.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avrupa'nın Türkiye'yle ne derdi var?	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/naci-cem-oncel/avrupanin-turkiyeyle-ne-derdi-var-40289443	A014, A015, A005	0	0	1
307	26.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avrupa'ya mülteci resti: Kapılar açılır	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/avrupaya-multeci-resti-kapilar-acilir-40288816	A007	0	1	0
308	26.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avrupa'yla boy ölçüşme eşiği	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ahmet-hakan/otur-da-kendini-asagi-la-40289483	A010, A003	0	0	0
309	26.11.2016	Hürriyet	Daron Acemoğlu: 'Türkiye'de umutlanacak şeyler de var'	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/daron-acemoglu-turkiyede-umutlanacak-seyler-de-var-40289135	A009, A018, A010	1	1	0
310	26.11.2016	Hürriyet	Erdogan'dan Avrupa'ya mesaj: Sana ne	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/erdogandan-avrupaya-mesaj-sana-ne-40289192	A011	0	1	0
311	26.11.2016	Hürriyet	Kim haklı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/rauf-tamer/kim-hakli-40289396	A011, A006, A007, A003	0	0	0
312	26.11.2016	Hürriyet	OHAL'de Erasmus	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ohalde-erasmus-40289454	A004	1	7	1
313	26.11.2016	Hürriyet	Türkiye'ye rest çekmek, AB'ye de Avrupa Parlamentosu'na	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/turkiyeye-rest-cekme-abye-de-avrupa-parlamentosuna-da-almaniyaya-da-yakismiyor-40288881	A018, A020, A003, A005	0	0	1

			da Almanya'ya da yakışmıyor					
314	27.11.2016	Hürriyet	CHP'ye vurmakla AB işleri düzelse...	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/murat-yetkin/chpye-vurmakla-ab-isleri-duzelse-40290036	A003, A015, A017, A020, A016, A010, A018	0	5	1
315	27.11.2016	Hürriyet	Çıpras: Türkiye ile kanallar açık tutulmalı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/cipras-turkiye-ile-kanallar-acik-tutulmal-40289491	A007, B001	0	2	1
316	27.11.2016	Hürriyet	Erdoğan'ın AB'ye daha çok ihtiyacı var	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/erdoganin-abye-daha-cok-ihciyac-40290189	A018	0	1	0
317	27.11.2016	Hürriyet	Ey ruh	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/rauf-tamer/ey-ruh-40290069	A011, A006, A003	0	1	0
318	27.11.2016	Hürriyet	Hans'ın ağzına bakmam	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/hansin-agzina-bakmam-40289484	A006	0	1	0
319	27.11.2016	Hürriyet	Kıbrıs, Avrupa Birliği, Türkiye... Çözüm ne?	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/unal-ceviko/kibris-avrupa-birlii-turkiye-cozum-ne-40290128	A019	0	0	1
320	27.11.2016	Hürriyet	NEDEN KİMSE BOYKOT ÇAĞRISI YAPMIYOR?	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ahmet-hakan/her-bocalama-devresinde-ak-partide-sunlar-oluyor-40290140	A018	0	0	0
321	28.11.2016	Hürriyet	Avusturya'da cumhurbaşkanı adayından şok 'Türkiye' çıkışı	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/avusturyada-cumhurbaskani-adayindan-sok-turkiye-cikisi-40290349	A007	0	3	1
322	28.11.2016	Hürriyet	Başbuğ'un partisi	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/taha-akvol/turkes-ne-dedi-40291198	A018	0	1	1
323	28.11.2016	Hürriyet	Eyvah! O silahları almazsak ne yaparız	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/fatih-cekirge/bahceli-bunu-yapar-mi-40291188	A015, A014, A003, A006, B002	0	0	1
324	28.11.2016	Hürriyet	Yunanistan'ı endişelendiren senaryo!	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yunanistani-endiselendiren-senaryo-40290319	A007	0	3	1
325	29.11.2016	Hürriyet	Erdoğan mı pes edecek? Yoksa...	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/murat-yetkin/erdogan-mi-pes-edecek-yoksa-40292226	A005, A017, A016, A004, A018, A007	1	1	1
326	29.11.2016	Hürriyet	Geçmiş olsun! Global olmuşsun, yeni duydum	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/anlatanadam-yaziyor/gecmis-olsun-global-olmussun-yeni-duydum-40292157	A006	0	0	0
327	29.11.2016	Hürriyet	Herkes Türkiye'yi sordu	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/herkes-turkiye-yi-sordu-40291321	A004, A007	1	2	0
328	29.11.2016	Hürriyet	Kıbrıs'ta "Kanlı Noel"i unutmayınız	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/yalcin-bayer/turizme-tim-ornegi-40292206	A003, A006	0	0	0
329	29.11.2016	Hürriyet	Parmak sallamayın, biz eziliyoruz	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/parmak-sallamayin-biz-eziliyoruz-40291296	A016, A017	1	1	0

330	30.11.2016	Hürriyet	Almanya ve Türkiye: Ne yapmamalı?	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/murat-yetkin/almanya-ve-turkiye-ne-yapmamali-40293214	A007, A006, A005, A010, A017, A016, A004	0	0	1
331	30.11.2016	Hürriyet	Ömer Çelik'ten AB Komiseri Hahn'a sert eleştiri	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/omer-celikten-ab-komiseri-hahn-a-sert-elestiri-40293283	A011, A006	1	2	1
332	30.11.2016	Hürriyet	TÜRKİYE, AB'NİN UÇBEYLİĞİ Mİ?	http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/mehmet-y-yilmaz/1-yil-once-1-yil-sonra-40293258	A010, A007	0	1	1
333	02.11.2016	Sabah	Bütün kırmızı çizgilerin morardığı bir dönem	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2016/11/02/bütün-kirmizi-cizgilerin-morardigi-bir-donem	A006, A003	0	2	1
334	02.11.2016	Sabah	Küresel kaos içinde Türkiye ekonomisi	https://www.sabah.com.tr/egeli/2016/11/02/kuresel-kaos-icinde-turkiye-ekonomisi	A010	0	0	0
335	04.11.2016	Sabah	Almanya anlamamakta ısrarcı!	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/duran/2016/11/04/almanya-anlamamakta-ısrarci	A001, A017, A003, A004, A007	0	2	1
336	04.11.2016	Sabah	Gaflet cehalet kadar köttür	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2016/11/04/gaflet-cehalet-kadar-kotudur	A003	0	1	1
337	04.11.2016	Sabah	Türkiye'den AB'ye vize resti	https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/04/turkiyeden-abye-vize-resti	A007	0	1	0
338	05.11.2016	Sabah	10 soruda AB ile ipler kopar mı?	http://www.sabah.com.tr/fotohaber/dunya/10-soruda-ab-ile-ipler-kopar-mi	A003, A007, A004, A006, A001	0	0	1
339	05.11.2016	Sabah	AK Parti idam cezası için çalışma başlattı	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/05/ak-parti-idam-cezasi-icin-calisma-baslatti	A016	0	0	1
340	05.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa'ya 'alet olmayın' uyarısı	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/05/avrupaya-alet-olmayin-uyarisi	A001	0	1	0
341	05.11.2016	Sabah	HDP bu noktaya nasıl geldi?	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/duran/2016/11/05/hdp-bu-noktaya-nasil-geldi	A016	0	2	1
342	05.11.2016	Sabah	Papaz her zaman pilav yemez	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/bolgeler/ramoglu/2016/11/05/papaz-her-zaman-pilav-yemez	A001	0	0	1
343	05.11.2016	Sabah	Terör destekçisi AB işine baksın	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/05/teror-destekcisi-ab-isine-baksin	A001, A003, A011	0	6	1
344	05.11.2016	Sabah	Yeni bir dünya için yeni bir Türkiye...	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/muderrisoglu/2016/11/05/yeni-bir-dunya-icin-yeni-bir-turkiye	A006	0	0	1
345	06.11.2016	Sabah	'Temelsiz ön yargıları bırakın'	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/06/temelsiz-on-yargilari-birakin	A017	0	1	0
346	06.11.2016	Sabah	"İttifak", "dayanışma" gibi kavramlar anlamlarını yitirdi	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2016/11/06/ittifak-dayanisma-gibi-kavramlar-anlamlarini-yitirdi	A001, A003	0	0	0
347	06.11.2016	Sabah	Kendilerini içeri attırdılar	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/ardic/2016/11/06/kendilerini-iceri-attirdilar	A001, A011	0	0	1

348	07.11.2016	Sabah	Aslolan Batı'nın değil milletimin ne dediğidir	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/07/aslolan-batinin-degil-milletimin-ne-dedigidir	A006	0	1	0
349	07.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa görevden alınan FETÖ'cüler için fon oluşturdu!	https://www.sabah.com.tr/fotohaber/gundem/avrupa-gorevden-alinan-fetoculer-icin-fon-olusturdu/3	A001, A003, B002	0	1	1
350	07.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa kendi tarihine baksın	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/07/avrupa-kendi-tarihine-baksin	A003	0	0	1
351	07.11.2016	Sabah	Türkiye bu çapsizliklerin ilk kez hedefi değil ki	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2016/11/07/turkiye-bu-capsizliklerin-ilk-kez-hedefi-degil-ki	A001, A005, A006, A003	0	0	0
352	08.11.2016	Sabah	'AB, çifte standarda düzenleme getirmeli'	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/08/ab-cifte-standarda-duzenleme-getirmeli	A003	0	1	1
353	08.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa	http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/babaoglu/2016/11/08/avrupa	A003, A021, A013, A011	0	0	0
354	08.11.2016	Sabah	Bakan Çelik'ten AB'ye tokat gibi yanıt!	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/08/bakan-celikten-abye-tokat-gibi-yanit	A001	0	1	0
355	09.11.2016	Sabah	AB Bakanı Ömer Çelik: Bunlar akademisyen değil gazeteci de	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/09/ab-bakani-omer-celik-bunlar-akademisyen-de-degil-gazeteci-de	A001	0	1	0
356	09.11.2016	Sabah	Ama Sartre büyük adam!	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/hilalkaplan/2016/11/09/ama-sartre-buyuk-adam	A013, A001, A014	0	0	1
357	09.11.2016	Sabah	Nerdeyse davetiye yollayacak!	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/09/nerdeyse-davetiye-yollayacak	A001, A011	0	1	0
358	09.11.2016	Sabah	Sağa, sola hırlayan terörist yardağçılıarı Avrupa'daki saraylarda süklüm püklüm	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/09/saga-sola-hirlyayan-terorist-yardakcilari-avrupadaki-saraylarda-suklum-puklum	A001	0	1	0
359	10.11.2016	Sabah	"Türkiye'nin başına ne bela geldiyse Avrupa'dan geldi"	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/10/turkiyenin-basina-ne-bela-geldiyse-avrupadan-geldi	A001	0	1	0
360	10.11.2016	Sabah	'Bu rapor AB için utanç vesikasıdır'	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/10/bu-rapor-ab-icin-utanc-vesikasidir	A001, A011	0	1	0
361	10.11.2016	Sabah	'Kim bize düşmansa Batı onun sponsoru'	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/10/kim-bize-dusmansa-bati-onun-sponsoru	A001	0	1	0
362	10.11.2016	Sabah	Firari Can Dündar Türkiye'yi Avrupa'ya şikayet etti	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/10/firari-can-dundar-turkiyeyi-avrupaya-sikayet-etti	A001, A011	0	1	0
363	11.11.2016	Sabah	PKK sevici AP raportörü Kati Piri'ye şok	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/11/pkk-sevici-ap-raporturu-kati-piriye-sok	A001	0	0	1

364	11.11.2016	Sabah	Sen gelme Kati!	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/11/sen-gelme-kati	A001, A011	1	2	1
365	11.11.2016	Sabah	Şimdi sıra "Avrupa Baharı"nın kasırgalarında	http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2016/11/11/simdi-sira-avrupa-baharinin-kasirgalarinda	A002, A004, A003, A014	0	0	0
366	11.11.2016	Sabah	Terör destekçisi Belçika'ya tepki	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/11/teror-destekcisi-belcikaya-tepki	A001	0	1	0
367	12.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa geri adım atmaya başladı	http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/12/avrupa-geri-adim-atmaya-basladi	B002, B001	0	1	0
368	12.11.2016	Sabah	HDP/PKK'nın gazetesinden alçak manşet	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/12/hdppkknin-gazetesinden-alcak-manset	A001, B002	0	0	1
369	12.11.2016	Sabah	Hoşgörüsüzlük veba gibi yayılıyor	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/12/hosgorusuzluk-veba-gibi-yayiliyor	A014	0	1	0
370	13.11.2016	Sabah	AP Başkanı Schulz'den komik tehdit!	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/13/ap-baskani-schulzden-komik-tehdit	A005, A006, A007	0	1	1
371	13.11.2016	Sabah	Batı'da şirazesinden çıkmış bir yapı var	http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/hilalkaplan/2016/11/13/batida-sirazesinden-cikmis-bir-yapi-var	A001	0	1	0
372	14.11.2016	Sabah	AB'ye rest, AK'ye jest	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/14/abye-rest-akye-jest	A005, A004, A009	1	1	1
373	14.11.2016	Sabah	Alayına trexit	http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/melihaltinok/2016/11/14/alayina-trexit	A012, A003, A014, A007, A006	0	0	0
374	14.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa'yı nasıl ikna edebiliriz?	http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2016/11/14/avrupa-birligini-nasil-ikna-edebiliriz	A001, A010	0	2	1
375	14.11.2016	Sabah	Elinden geleni arkana koyma	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/14/elinden-geleni-arkana-koyma	A006	0	1	0
376	14.11.2016	Sabah	Sığınmacılara sadece Türkiye sahip çıkıyor	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/14/siginmacilara-sadece-turkiye-sahip-cikiyor	A015	1	2	1
377	14.11.2016	Sabah	Trump ve tarihin sonu	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/hilalkaplan/2016/11/14/trump-ve-tarihin-sonu	A014	0	0	1
378	15.11.2016	Sabah	AB gerçeği görmeye başladı	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/15/ab-gercegi-gormeye-basladi	A007, B001, B002	0	1	0
379	15.11.2016	Sabah	AB ne yaptığının farkında mı?	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/duran/2016/11/15/ab-ne-yaptiginin-farkinda-mi	A014, A007, A006, A001, A004	0	2	1
380	15.11.2016	Sabah	AP bir rezalete daha imza attı	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/15/ap-bir-rezalete-daha-imza-atti	A001	0	0	1
381	15.11.2016	Sabah	İki ay sabredelim sonra millete gidelim	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/15/iki-ay-sabredelim-sonra-millete-gidelim	A006	0	1	0
382	15.11.2016	Sabah	Ömer Çelik Brüksel'de: Türkiye	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/15/omer-celik-brukselde-turkiye-konusunda-ders-calismadiklari-gibi	A017	0	1	0

			konusunda ders çalışmadıkları gibi...					
383	15.11.2016	Sabah	Türkiye: “Stratejik bakış”	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/muderrisoglu/2016/11/15/turkiye-stratejik-bakis	A017, A003, A016, A009	0	0	0
384	16.11.2016	Sabah	AB sözcüsünden ilginç PKK savunması	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/16/ab-sozcusunden-iliginc-pkk-savunmasi	A003, A001	0	2	1
385	16.11.2016	Sabah	AB'nin aşağılayıcı tavırlarından bıktık	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/16/abnin-asagilayici-tavirlarindan-biktik	A011	0	2	0
386	16.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupalılar kendi derdine yansın	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/fahrettinaltun/2016/11/16/avrupalilar-kendi-derdine-yansin	A005, A014, A011, A001, A007	0	0	0
387	16.11.2016	Sabah	Erdogan resti çektii, AB ‘U’ dönüşü yaptı	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/gunaydin/sb-mevlut-tezel/2016/11/16/erdogan-resti-ckti-ab-u-donusu-yapti	A007, A003, A005, A014	0	1	1
388	16.11.2016	Sabah	FETÖ'nün küresel ağı çökertilecek	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/16/feotonun-kuresel-agi-cokertilecek	A001	1	0	0
389	16.11.2016	Sabah	Kaçak HDP'liler AP'de cirit atıyor	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/16/kacak-hdpliler-apde-cirit-atiyor	A001	0	0	0
390	16.11.2016	Sabah	Türkiye düşmanlarına Almanya kalkanı	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/16/turkiye-dusmanlarina-almanya-kalkani	A001	0	0	1
391	16.11.2016	Sabah	Yargıda Birlik Derneği'nden AB Hakimlerine sert tepki	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/16/yargida-birlik-derneginden-ab-hakimlerine-sert-teпки	A001	0	1	0
392	17.11.2016	Sabah	Almanlar 27 yıl sonra duvar ördü	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/gunaydin/sb-mevlut-tezel/2016/11/17/almanlar-27-yil-sonra-duvar-ordu	A015, A014, A003	0	0	1
393	17.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa “sömürgeciliği” bırakmıyor	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/site/gayberi/2016/11/17/avrupa-somurgecilig-i-birakmiyor	A015, A013, A001, A002, B002, A011, A003	0	1	1
394	17.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa teröre yataklık yapıyor	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/17/avrupa-terore-yataklık-vapiyor	A001	0	1	0
395	17.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupalıların tümü akılsız ve sorumsuz değil ki	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2016/11/17/avrupalilarin-tumu-akilsiz-ve-sorumsuz-degil-ki	A020	1	2	1
396	17.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa'nın göbeğinde büyük skandal	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/17/avrupanin-gobeginde-buyuk-skandal	A001	0	0	0
397	17.11.2016	Sabah	Bizi kamplarda Almanlar eğitti	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/17/bizi-kamplarda-almanlar-egitti	A001	1	0	0
398	17.11.2016	Sabah	PKK'lı teröristlerin anavatanı Almanya	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/17/pkkli-teroristlerin-anavatani-almanya	A001	1	1	1

399	17.11.2016	Sabah	Türkiye'den Avrupa'ya rest!	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/17/turkiyeden-avrupaya-rest	A007	0	1	0
400	18.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa sonunda itiraf etti	http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/18/avrupa-sonunda-itiraf-etti	B002, A014	0	1	1
401	18.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa'nın kalbinde lanetlenecek	http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/18/teror-avrupanin-kalbinde-lanetlenecek	A001	0	1	1
402	18.11.2016	Sabah	Değişen "hükümet sistemi" mi "rejim" mi?	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/duran/2016/11/18/degisen-hukumet-sistemi-mi-rejim-mi	A016, A004	0	0	1
403	18.11.2016	Sabah	FETÖ'nün üs geçidi!	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/18/fetonun-us-gecidi	A001	0	0	0
404	18.11.2016	Sabah	Her ilimiz Türkiye'den ayrılıp tek başına AB'ye girebilir mi?	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2016/11/18/her-ilimiz-turkiyeden-ayrilip-tek-basina-abye-girebilir-mi	A008	0	1	1
405	18.11.2016	Sabah	Uzun tutuklulukta takip kararı kalktı	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/18/uzun-tutuklulukta-takip-karari-kalkti	A016	0	0	1
406	19.11.2016	Sabah	'Turist gibi geldik örgüte katıldık'	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/19/turist-gibi-geldik-orgute-katildik	A003, A001, A011	1	1	1
407	19.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa ile nereye?	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/duran/2016/11/19/avrupa-ile-nereye	A003, A011, A005, A014, A001, A004	0	3	1
408	20.11.2016	Sabah	AB bizim için hayırlı rüya görmez	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/oguz/2016/11/20/ab-bizim-icin-hayirli-ruya-gormez	A001	1	1	0
409	20.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa'ya hodri meydan: Reste rest	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/20/avrupaya-hodri-meydan-reste-rest	A002, B002	1	0	0
410	20.11.2016	Sabah	Dertleri PKK'yı legal yapmak	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/20/dertleri-pkkyi-legal-yapmak	A001	0	2	0
411	20.11.2016	Sabah	Erdoğan AB'nin alternatifini açıkladı: Neden olmasın?	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/20/erdogan-abnin-alternatifini-acikladi-neden-olmasin	A006	0	1	0
412	20.11.2016	Sabah	Popülizmden şikâyet yeterli mi? Onun panzehiri nedir?	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/hanioglu/2016/11/20/populizmden-sikayet-yeterli-mi-onun-panzehiri-nedir	A014	0	0	0
413	20.11.2016	Sabah	Schulz'a ders gibi mektup	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/20/schulza-ders-gibi-mektup	A003, A011, A001	0	1	0
414	20.11.2016	Sabah	Teröre güvenlik desteği demokrasiye tel örgü	https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/20/terore-guvenlik-destegi-demokrasiye-tel-orgu	A001, A003, B002	0	0	1
415	20.11.2016	Sabah	Türk avukattan Martin Schulz'a	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/20/turk-avukattan-martin-schulza-ders-niteliginde-mektup	A001, A003	0	1	0

			ders niteliğinde mektup					
416	21.11.2016	Sabah	AB'ye terör tepkisi, Türkler ayakta	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/21/ab-ye-teror-tepkisi-turkler-ayakta	A001, A003	0	1	0
417	21.11.2016	Sabah	Belçika'nın çifte standardının kanıtı	https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/21/belcikanin-cifte-standardinin-kaniti	A001	1	5	1
418	21.11.2016	Sabah	Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'ın çıkışına Rusya ve Çin'den yanıt geldi	https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/21/cumhurbaskani-erdoganin-cikisina-rusya-ve-cinden-yanit-geldi	A006	0	3	1
419	21.11.2016	Sabah	Erdoğan: Terör örgütü PKK'nın AB'de rahat dolaşmasını hazmedemiyoruz	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/21/erdogan-teror-orgutu-pkknin-abde-rahat-dolasmasini-hazmedemiyoruz	A001	0	1	0
420	21.11.2016	Sabah	Pasifik - Atlantik kapışması ve Türkiye	http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/kerem-alkin/2016/11/21/pasifik-atlantik-kapismasi-ve-turkiye	A001, A007	0	0	0
421	22.11.2016	Sabah	'Demokratik kurumlar güçlendirilmeli'	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/22/demokratik-kurumlar-guclendirilmeli	A016	0	1	0
422	22.11.2016	Sabah	Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan hepimizin duygularına tercüman oldu	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2016/11/22/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-hepimizin-duygularina-tercuman-oldu	A001, A007, A004	0	1	1
423	22.11.2016	Sabah	Erdoğan'ın Batı ile "hayal kırıklığı"?	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/duran/2016/11/22/erdoganin-bati-ile-hayal-kirikligi	A005, A003, A017, A014	0	0	0
424	22.11.2016	Sabah	Şanghay Beşlisi mi Avrupa Birliği mi?	http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/bolgeler/ramoglu/2016/11/22/sanghay-beslisi-mi-avrupa-birligi-mi	A005, A008, A001, A003, A011, A007	0	0	0
425	22.11.2016	Sabah	'Türkiye'ye kapıyı kapatmak stratejik bir hata olur'	https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/22/turkiye-ye-kapiyi-kapatmak-stratejik-bir-hata-olur	B001, A007	0	3	1
426	22.11.2016	Sabah	Yargıtay'dan AB'ye sert yanıt: FETÖ terör örgütüdür	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/22/yargitaydan-abye-sert-yanit-feto-teror-orgutudur	A017	0	1	0
427	23.11.2016	Sabah	İçimizdeki İrlandalılar ve siyasi şantajcılar...	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/dilek-gungor/2016/11/23/icimizdeki-irlandalilar-ve-siyasi-santajcilar	A008, A007	1	2	1
428	23.11.2016	Sabah	İtalya'dan AB'ye Türkiye uyarısı	http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/23/italyadan-abye-turkiye-uyarisi	A007	0	1	0
429	23.11.2016	Sabah	Türkiye'nin adımı AP'yi şaşırttı	http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/23/turkiyenin-adimi-apyi-sasirtti	A003, A007, A005	0	2	1

430	24.11.2016	Sabah	“AP'deki oylamanın kıymeti harbiyesi yok”	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/24/apdeki-oylamanin-kiymeti-harbiyesi-yok	A006	0	1	0
431	24.11.2016	Sabah	10 bin çocuk nerede?	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/site/gayberi/2016/11/24/10-bin-cocuk-nerede	A003, A001, A014	0	2	1
432	24.11.2016	Sabah	AB Bakanı Ömer Çelik: Bu karar bizim için yok hükmündedir	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/24/ab-bakani-omer-celik-bu-karar-bizim-icin-yok-hukmindedir	A006	0	1	0
433	24.11.2016	Sabah	Adana ve Şırnak'taki terör saldırıları	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/24/adana-ve-sirnaktaki-teror-saldirilari	A017	0	1	0
434	24.11.2016	Sabah	AP'nin kararları Rusya ve Türkiye'yi yakınlaştırıyor!	https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/24/apnin-kararlari-rusya-ve-turkiyeyi-yakinlastiriyor	A007	0	1	1
435	24.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa Parlamentosu'nda n Türkiye kararı!	http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/24/avrupa-parlamentosundan-turkiye-karari	A006	0	1	1
436	24.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa Parlamentosu'nda n utanç sansür kararı	http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/24/avrupa-parlamentosundan-utanc-sansur-karari	A003	0	1	0
437	24.11.2016	Sabah	Bahçeli: Avrupa terörizme yakasını kaptırdı	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/24/bahceli-avrupa-terorizme-yakasini-kaptirdi	B002	0	1	0
438	24.11.2016	Sabah	Bülent Turan: AP'nin, Türkiye'ye demokrasi dersi verecek haddi yoktur	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/24/bulent-turan-apnin-turkiyeye-demokrasi-dersi-vercek-haddi-yoktur	A011	0	6	0
439	24.11.2016	Sabah	Ne ittifaktan ne de dostluktan hayır var	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2016/11/24/ne-ittifaktan-ne-de-dostluktan-hayir-var	A001	0	0	0
440	24.11.2016	Sabah	Siyasi krizler ve turizmde yeni senaryo	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/ovur/2016/11/24/siyasi-krizler-ve-turizmde-yeni-senaryo	A010	1	2	0
441	24.11.2016	Sabah	Türkiye dönem başkanı	https://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2016/11/24/turkiye-donem-baskani-1479944715	A006	0	1	1
442	25.11.2016	Sabah	24 Kasım operasyonu...	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/melihaltinok/2016/11/25/24-kasim-operasyonu	A002	0	0	0
443	25.11.2016	Sabah	AB'ye sert tepki	https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/25/abye-sert-tepki	A014, A012	0	1	1
444	25.11.2016	Sabah	Almanya'dan mülteci açıklaması	https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/25/almanyadan-multeci-aciklamasi-1480083214	A007	0	2	1

445	25.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa Parlamentosu'nun anlayamadığı...	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/duran/2016/11/25/avrupa-parlamentosunun-anlayamadigi	A003, A014, A001, A017, B002	0	2	1
446	25.11.2016	Sabah	Ayrılık değil kenetlenme zamanıdır Kemal Bey	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/bolgeler/ramoglu/2016/11/25/ayriliik-degil-kenetlenme-zamanidir-kemal-bey	A002, A006, A001	0	0	0
447	25.11.2016	Sabah	Baykal'ın Ahmet Türk ziyareti ve sorular	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/ovur/2016/11/25/baykalin-ahmet-turk-zivareti-ve-sorular	A015, A003, A001	0	1	1
448	25.11.2016	Sabah	Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan uzun süre ayakta alkışlandı	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/25/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-uzun-sure-ayakta-alkislandi	A006	0	1	0
449	25.11.2016	Sabah	Çok beklersiniz!	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/hilalkaplan/2016/11/25/cok-beklersiniz	A003, A011, A001, A006, A013, A012, A014, A007	0	1	2
450	25.11.2016	Sabah	Dolardaki düşüşü AP kararı frenledi	https://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2016/11/25/dolardaki-dususu-ap-karari-frenledi	A010	0	0	1
451	25.11.2016	Sabah	Hırvatistan'dan Türkiye açıklaması	https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/25/hrvatistandan-turkiye-aciklamasi	A007, B001	0	1	0
452	25.11.2016	Sabah	İş dünyasına AB şantajı	http://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2016/11/25/is-dunyasinab-ab-santaji	A011, A010, A003, A002, B002	1	0	0
453	25.11.2016	Sabah	Kırgızistan'dan AP'ye sert karar	https://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/25/kirgyzistandan-apye-sert-karar	A007, B001	0	1	3
454	25.11.2016	Sabah	Meğer bu sonu olmayan bir uzun yürüyüşmüş	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2016/11/25/meger-bu-sonu-olmayan-bir-uzun-yuruyusmus	A005, A006	0	0	0
455	25.11.2016	Sabah	Merkez'in imtihanı...	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/dilek-gungor/2016/11/25/merkez-in-imtihanı	A010	0	0	1
456	25.11.2016	Sabah	Tam bağımsız Türkiye	http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/uluc/2016/11/25/tam-bagimsiz-turkiye	A005	1	1	1
457	25.11.2016	Sabah	Terörde destek Türkiye'ye köstek	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/25/teroriste-destek-turkiyeve-kostek	A001, A002	0	7	1
458	25.11.2016	Sabah	Yanlış yolda doğru aranmaz	https://www.sabah.com.tr/egeli/2016/11/25/yanlis-yolda-dogru-aranmaz	A014	0	1	0
459	26.11.2016	Sabah	AB'nin geleceğini tehlikeye düşürüyorlar	https://www.sabah.com.tr/egeli/2016/11/26/abnin-geleceğini-tehlikeye-dusuruyorlar	A007	0	1	0
460	26.11.2016	Sabah	AP kafeteryasında FETÖ - PKK mesaisi	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/26/ap-kafeteryasinda-feto-pkk-mesaisi	A001	1	1	0
461	26.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa'dan PKK'ya 30 milyon euro	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/26/avrupadan-pkkyaya-30-milyon-euro	A001, A003	0	0	0
462	26.11.2016	Sabah	Başbakan Yıldırım'dan	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/26/basbakan-yildirimdan-apnin-skandal-kararina-sert-teпки	A011	0	1	0

			AP'nin skandal kararına sert tepki					
463	26.11.2016	Sabah	Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan: Batı şimdi koynunda bunları besliyor	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/26/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-konusuyor-canli	A001	0	1	0
464	26.11.2016	Sabah	Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan: Siz kendinizi ciddiye almıyorsunuz ki ben alayım	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/26/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-siz-kendinizi-ciddiye-almiyorsunuz-ki-ben-alayim	A003, A006	0	1	0
465	26.11.2016	Sabah	Haftanın özeti	https://www.sabah.com.tr/guney/2016/11/26/erhan-ozmen-haftanin-ozeti	A010	0	0	1
466	26.11.2016	Sabah	Kadınları birlik olan Türkiye'yi yıkmak zor!	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/kadak/2016/11/26/kadinlari-birlik-olan-turkiyeyi-yikmak-zor	A010	0	0	0
467	26.11.2016	Sabah	Ne oldu, yine mi indiremediniz?	http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/fahrettinaltun/2016/11/26/ne-oldu-yine-mi-indiremediniz	A001, A004	0	1	1
468	26.11.2016	Sabah	Sanki tam üye oluyorduk da Avrupalılar bizi durdurdu	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2016/11/26/sanki-tam-uye-oluyorduk-da-avrupalilar-bizi-durdurdu	A005, A006	0	0	0
469	26.11.2016	Sabah	Yaprağını yerken kıştır kıştır, sapına gelince me!	http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/melihaltinok/2016/11/26/yapragini-yerken-kitir-kitir-sapina-gelince-me	A003, A001, A011	0	1	1
470	26.11.2016	Sabah	Yetti gayrı	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/donat/2016/11/26/yetti-gayri	A003, A006	0	1	0
471	26.11.2016	Sabah	Yok öyle yirmi beş kuruşa köşk	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/ardic/2016/11/26/yok-oye-yirmi-bes-kurusa-kosk	A007, A009, A012, A014, A001, B002, A019	0	0	0
472	27.11.2016	Sabah	160 yıllık Batı yalanı: Siz Avrupalısınız	http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/erhan-afyoncu/2016/11/27/160-yillik-bati-yalani-siz-avrupalisiniz	A008, A003	0	0	0
473	27.11.2016	Sabah	Bakan Çavuşoğlu: Savaş öncesine dönülmesinden endişe ediyoruz	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/27/bakan-cavusoglu-savas-oncesine-donulmesinden-endiseleniyoruz	A014	0	1	1
474	27.11.2016	Sabah	Bize demokrasi dersi vermek hadleri değil	https://www.sabah.com.tr/egeli/2016/11/27/bize-demokrasi-dersi-vermek-hadleri-degil	A011	0	1	0
475	27.11.2016	Sabah	Kendi kendilerine gelin güvey oldular	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/27/kendi-kendilerine-gelin-guvey-oldular	A006	0	1	0
476	27.11.2016	Sabah	Merkel: Anlaşma konusunda B planım yok	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/27/merkel-anlasma-konusunda-b-planim-yok	A007	0	1	0
477	27.11.2016	Sabah	Skandalın adı: Pizzagate Mağdur: Çocuklar	https://www.sabah.com.tr/pazar/2016/11/27/skandalin-adi-pizzagate-magdur-cocuklar	A003, A014	0	0	1

478	27.11.2016	Sabah	Suriyeli mültecilerle Avrupa hizaya gelecek	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/bolgeler/ramoglu/2016/11/27/suriyeli-multecilerle-avrupa-hizaya-gelecek	A005, A007, A003, A001, A002, A008, A014	0	0	0
479	27.11.2016	Sabah	Tren kalkıyor	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/pazar/sancar/2016/11/27/tren-kalkiyor	A008, A002, A011, A005	0	0	0
480	28.11.2016	Sabah	Bizim rotamızı milletimiz çizer	https://www.sabah.com.tr/egeli/2016/11/28/bizim-rotamizi-milletimiz-cizer	A006	0	1	0
481	28.11.2016	Sabah	Erdoğan'n resti Avrupa'yı titretti	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/28/erdoganin-resti-avrupayi-titretti	A007	0	2	1
482	28.11.2016	Sabah	Erdoğan'n resti Avrupa'yı titretti!	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/28/erdoganin-resti-avrupayi-titretti	A007, B002	0	3	1
483	28.11.2016	Sabah	Mısır'da da bir FETÖ bozuntusu varmış	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2016/11/28/misirda-da-bir-feto-bozuntusu-varmis	A007, A006	0	1	0
484	28.11.2016	Sabah	Numan Kurtulmuş: Avrupa bu işten zararlı çıkacak	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/28/bakanlar-kurulunun-ardindan-onemli-aciklamalar-canli	A007	0	1	0
485	29.11.2016	Sabah	Almanya itiraf etti: Taahhüt edilen para Türkiye'ye ulaşmadı	http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/11/29/almanya-itaraf-etti-taahhut-edilen-para-turkiyeve-ulasmadi	A003	0	1	1
486	29.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa Birliği... "Büyüklerine masallar"	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/donat/2016/11/29/katki	A005, A019, A001, A017, A003	0	0	1
487	29.11.2016	Sabah	Bunun adı İstiklal Savaşı	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/gunaydin/aytug/2016/11/29/bunun-adi-istiklal-savasi	A002, A011	0	0	0
488	29.11.2016	Sabah	Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan: Alternatiflerle görüşmelere başladık	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/29/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-alternatiflerle-gorusmelere-basladi	A006	0	1	0
489	29.11.2016	Sabah	Devlet Bahçeli: Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'n dediği gibi Türkiye kendi yolunu çizebilir	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/29/mhp-genel-bahceli-grup-toplantisinde-konusuyor-canli	A006	0	1	0
490	29.11.2016	Sabah	Önümüzdeki 10 ay kritik!	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/duran/2016/11/29/onumuzdeki-10-ay-kritik	A014, A004, A009, A011	0	0	0
491	30.11.2016	Sabah	"AB daha çok kaybeder"	http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/30/ab-daha-cok-kaybeder	A007	0	1	0
492	30.11.2016	Sabah	AB rengini belli etsin	https://www.sabah.com.tr/egeli/2016/11/30/ab-rengini-belli-etsin	A003	0	1	0
493	30.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa Parlamentosu'nda n müdahale	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/hilalkaplan/2016/11/30/avrupa-parlamentosundan-mudahale	A011, A001	0	0	1

494	30.11.2016	Sabah	Avrupa, AB ve ben	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/kahraman/2016/11/30/avrupa-ab-ve-ben	A009, A013, A005, A014, A016	0	0	0
495	30.11.2016	Sabah	Hayat bir sürat koşusu değil bir maratondur	https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2016/11/30/hayat-bir-surat-kosusu-degil-bir-maratondur	A010	0	0	1
496	30.11.2016	Sabah	Mehmet Şimşek iğneyle çuvaldızı karıştırıyor	http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/melihaltinok/2016/11/30/mehmet-simsek-igneye-cuvaldizi-karistiriyor	A011, A014, A002, A013	0	0	0
497	30.11.2016	Sabah	Ömer Çelik: AB dayanışmak yerine köşeye sıkıştırmak istiyor	https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/11/30/omer-celik-ab-dayanismak-yerine-koseye-sikistirmek-istiyor	A002	0	1	0
498	30.11.2016	Sabah	Reis'i hibrit savaşıyla bitirmek istediler	http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/bolgeler/ramoglu/2016/11/30/reisi-hibrit-savasiyla-indirmek-istediler	A008	0	1	1

ANNEX B.1: Codes and Descriptions

Code	Description	Number of articles assigned	Data set coverage
A001	Europe as a harbinger/accomplice of Turkey's adversaries	134	26,9%
A002	Europe as an entity openly hostile to Turkey	26	5,2%
A003	Europe as an insincere, hypocritical, dishonest entity	111	22,3%
A004	Multidimensionality of European-Turkish relations/Mutual interests	59	11,8%
A005	Europe as an entity that rejects/temporizes Turkey	69	13,9%
A006	Europe as an entity that is dismissed/dismissible for Turkey	82	16,5%
A007	Europe as an entity that needs/beware or should beware Turkey	87	17,5%
A008	Explicit statements that Europe is an entity foreign to Turkey	11	2,2%
A009	Implications that Turkey is a part of Europe	27	5,4%
A010	Europe as a source of political/economic/social stability	54	10,8%
A011	Europe as an oppressive authority	78	15,7%
A012	Europe as an entity detrimental to its constituents	6	1,2%
A013	Europe as an imperialist/colonialist entity	10	2,0%
A014	Europe in social, economic, political turmoil	84	16,9%
A015	A Europe estranged to European values	28	5,6%
A016	Europe as a source of fundamental rights and freedoms	80	16,1%
A017	Europe as an entity that does not understand/indifferent to Turkey	48	9,6%
A018	Europe as an entity Turkey needs/wants to be a part of	35	7,0%
A019	Europe as an entity that Turkey "never" will be part of	7	1,4%
A020	Europe as an entity that accepts/understands Turkey	15	3,0%
A021	Europe as an entity that is not understood by Turkey	12	2,4%
B001	Marginalizing Europe	27	5,4%
B002	Generalization of Europe	28	5,6%