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# Media and the Representation of the European Union

## An Analysis of Press Coverage of Turkey's European Union Candidacy

## Abstract

This article aims to analyse how the mainstream Turkish press constructed European identity and the meaning of being a part of Europe in the news during the period in which Turkey's candidacy was accepted at the EU Helsinki Summit in December 1999. The article begins by summarising the history of Turkey-EU relations. The findings of a qualitative analysis of the news in three dailies is then discussed by focusing on the actors, their dispositions, the themes-which are discussed under the headings: the meaning of Europe and the EU, expectations from the EU; economic elements, conditions of and obstacles to the EU; political elements-and the ways these themes are expressed. Finally, the article argues that the newspapers analysed make up sensationalist news when rendering the EU newsworthy. Furthermore, headlines of the stories analysed and some extracts from these stories are provided in the article.

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## Media and the Representation of the European Union An Analysis of Press Coverage of Turkey's European Union Candidacy<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>  
I would like to thank to  
Alaine Chanter and Hakan  
Sıcakkan for editing it's  
English.

The objective of the Republic of Turkey since its establishment in 1923 has been determined by the prevailing political philosophy of Kemalism, and has essentially involved Westernisation. The background to the founding of the Turkish Republic was the war of independence against "Western imperialism", and the Kemalists set as a major goal their anti-imperialist preference that Turkey cease to be a colony of the West. At the same time, however, Turkey accepted Westernisation as the main target (Ahmad, 1981; Keyman, 1995) in order, as Atatürk's own words indicate, 'to reach a contemporary level of civilisation'. It is impossible to separate Westernisation and development in Turkey because

*[...] for nearly a century, 'Western-ness' has served both as a frame of reference and also as an image of the future for generations of Turkish elite, coupled and identified with progress and development (Öncü, 1993).*

The secularism principle of Kemalism, more obviously than the other five principles, was designed as a constitutive part of the modernisation and Westernisation process. In accordance with this principle, in addition to the introduction of the new alphabet, the legal system was changed, the Swiss civil code was adopted, the political rights of women were recognised the caliphate and Islamic law and courts were abolished, religious shrines, convents and religious education centres were closed, the official weekend holiday was changed from Friday to Sunday, and the calendar and measurement units were adapted to the Western model (Toprak, 1992; Akural, 1984).

Since the 1950s, Turkey has further linked itself with the Western world, especially the USA, through economic and military alliances. In addition, Turkey has worked towards integration with Europe and sought to become a full member of the European Union. Many agreements and protocols with the European Community have been established since 1960. In 1963, an Association Agreement was signed which established a relationship with Europe. Following Turkey's membership application, which was lodged on 14 May 1987, a decision was taken to postpone the review of Turkey's membership until at least 1993 (Kushner, 1994). In November 1992, Turkey joined the European Union as an associate member. In 1996, the Customs Union Agreement was realised. Turkey was excluded from the agenda of the 1997 Luxembourg Summit of the EU. Following the Cardiff, Vienna and Köln summits, the EU declared in 1999 that Turkey's candidacy would be on the agenda. Finally, Turkey's candidacy was approved in December 1999 at the Helsinki Summit.

According to international relations expert Hatipoğlu (1999), a series of political factors has contributed to this positive change including the coming to power in Germany of a new coalition government, Western worries about Kurdish demonstrations in European countries following the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan's imprisonment in Turkey, the establishment of the nationalist party as a coalition partner in Turkey following the 1999 general elections, Turkey's increasing geo-political importance, and the earthquake catastrophe of 1999.

It has been argued that Turkish membership of the EU would result in an economic advantage for the other EU countries. It would mean that foreign investment could expand without restriction and capture a larger share of the local market (Berberoğlu, 1981). The geographically strategic place of Turkey between Europe and Asia (Spencer, 1993) is also considered a factor in increasing Turkey's importance to the EU. According to Cremasco (1990), in a geographical sense, Turkey performs a 'barrier function' between Russia, the Mediterranean and the Middle East. As he argues, "European security requirements cannot, in fact, be completely and credibly satisfied without Turkey's participation and contribution".

Despite the advantages the EU could accrue, it is also argued that Turkey's membership of the EU is rather difficult because of macroeconomic factors such as Turkey's low GDP per capita, unemployment, and a rapidly increasing population (Denton, 1990). There are also differences between levels of industrialisation, economic development, and inflation (Öniş, 1995). In addition, the free movement of Turkish workers is viewed as a problem.

In the political sphere, human rights violations are seen as another stumbling block to Turkey's full membership (Balkir and Williams, 1993). Some in Turkey argue that the issue of human rights is an excuse by the Christian EU to stop entry to a Muslim country. Although defenders of the status quo in Turkey also use this as an excuse for not implementing democratic changes, it is undeniable that their cause is strengthened by this European double standard. In general, the EU tends to emphasise the cultural unity of Europe in order to compensate for the lack of a political unity, since the EU has not developed a common basis for a European political culture or a European citizenship up until now (Morley and Robins, 1997). The emphasis on the religious aspect of culture leads to exclusion in Turkey's case. When Europeans argue that Turks would not fit into the EU because of their cultural difference (Evin, 1990), the sub-text is always

religion, and Islam specifically. Robins describes Europe's relationship with Turkey as 'the closure of European culture' and argues that Europe can only see the Turks in terms of 'negative identity'.<sup>2</sup> Robins (1996) goes on to argue that European acceptance of Turkey offers the possibility for Europeans to revitalise and remoralise their culture which, as Morley and Robins argue does not at present reflect the diversity of religion, geography and ethnicity. (45)

In challenging the idea of a shared European heritage and culture, scholars (Yurdusev, 1997; Wintle, 1996) note that none of the elements attributed to the 'common European experience', such as Christianity, the Enlightenment, language and geography, were or are exclusively European. Instead of a singular European identity, there is a plurality of European identities in EU countries. The difference is not only between member and non-member countries, but also between Europeans themselves in relation to language, territory, law, religion, economic and political systems, as well as ethnicity and culture (Smith, 1999; Neumann, 1999). The issue of the extent to which European people themselves identify with the EU is debatable. A common European identity has not yet emerged, although the EU has made some attempt to create a common identity through a common currency, the European passport, the EU flag, youth programmes and many other proposals such as the establishment of a European Academy, a lottery, voluntary work camps and a Europe day (Spiering, 1999). The results of the 1991 Eurobarometer indicate that more citizens living outside EU countries can identify as European than those within the Community. For example, in Romania the percentage of the people who never felt European was only 18% compared with a rate of 69% in the UK (Hedetoft, 1997). In the 1997 Eurobarometer poll, people were asked whether, in the near future, they would see themselves in terms of 'nationality only', 'nationality and European', 'European and nationality' or 'European'. The results indicate that people felt more attachment to their nationality and less to Europe than they had in earlier polls. People who felt European were a minority (ranging from 5 percent in Greece to 27

<sup>2</sup> For a study which traces 'the other' of Europe, 'the Turk', in the Ottoman Empire period, see Iver B. Neumann, Jennifer M. Welsh (1991). "The Other in European Self-Definition: An Addendum to the Literature on International Society." *Review of International Studies* 17 (4): 327-348.

3 For a study that examines the attitudes of 'Turkish press elite', namely editors and columnists, towards West and liberal democracy, see Şahin, Alp (1993). "Journalists: Cautious Democrats." In *Turkey and the West: Changing Political and Cultural Identities*. Metin Heper et. al. (eds.) London: I.B. Tavis & Co. 69-92.

4 *Hürriyet* was founded by Sedat Semavi in 1948, and after his death in 1953, it was continued by Haldun Simavi. In 1968 he sold his shares to his brother and left because of a disagreement. His brother Erol Simavi sold *Hürriyet* to the Doğan group in 1994. It was the most selling newspaper in 1999 with its circulation more than 500.000.

5 *Sabah* was established by Dinç Bilgin in 1985. Its circulation was around 450.000 in 1999. Turkish media industry is changing rapidly in the recent years. One of the example to that is the newspaper, *Sabah* and the other media Bilgin group owned. After this research had been completed, the ownership structure of *Sabah* changed dramatically (at the end of the year, 2000): Following the bankruptcy of their bank called Etibank, 61% of Bilgin group's media, including *Sabah*, was purchased by the company called MTM that is owned by Mehmet Emin Karamehmet (who is the owner of Çukurova group, the second biggest media group of Turkey after Doğan group), Turgay Ciner and Murat Vargi.

percent in Luxembourg) (Burgoyne and Routh, 1999). When the results of polls in 1973 and 1998 are compared, the percentage of people in the EU who believed that the EC/EU is a good thing decreased on average 2 percent. While there was an increase in Holland, Denmark and the UK, there were larger decreases in Italy and France (Moisi, 1999).

### Construction of the EU in the Turkish Press

As Hall (1996) argues, identities are constituted within representation and constructed within discourse. They are produced in 'specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices'. Therefore, there is no single definition of Turkishness and Europeaness, but multiple forms of those identities and their positionings according to the changing context. Turkey's membership of the EU is a particularly good example in this respect since the Turkish media provided negative coverage of the EU summit in Luxembourg, where Turkey's candidacy was rejected, whereas the coverage was more positive when the candidacy was approved in Helsinki.

In this research, news<sup>3</sup> about the EU in three Turkish dailies was analysed in the period 9-15 December 1999. The EU summit started on the 10 December. The researcher chose to sample one day earlier in order to investigate how the news approached the EU before the decision was taken. One calendar week gave sufficient news to analyse, there being 141 stories in the three newspapers chosen. *Hürriyet* had 66, *Sabah* 62 and *Star* the least with 13. These are the highest circulation newspapers in Turkey. All are products of media conglomerates that expand to different sections of the media industry including newspapers, television, publishing, news agencies, distribution and marketing. These media conglomerates are also strong outside the media sector with their holdings in large financial institutions and banks. *Hürriyet*<sup>4</sup> belongs to the Doğan media group, *Sabah*<sup>5</sup> to the Bilgin group and *Star*<sup>6</sup> to the Uzan group. Even though almost every newspaper in

Turkey in the last two decades has undergone a tendency towards tabloidisation following the rise of commercial TV channels, *Star* still differs from the others in being a tabloid newspaper in the real sense. The newspaper has less pages than the other two, its pages feature very large headlines and photographs, and it has the least amount of news.

The analysis employs the concepts of critical discourse theorists (van Dijk, 1995; Fairclough, 1995; Bell, 1994; Bell, 1998), focusing on 'who speaks?' and 'how?' (lexical choice, foregrounding and coherence) in the news. These formal characteristics in the news are considered very important in the production of meanings.

The Helsinki Summit received broad coverage in the Turkish press as a result of Turkey's candidacy being on the agenda of the Summit. The Summit was the prominent issue in the press during the week analysed. The striking thing in the newspapers was that while they attributed great importance to Turkey's candidacy, they almost completely ignored the other issues at the Summit. That Turkey's candidacy constituted the overwhelming emphasis while other issues were being ignored, suggests the extent of the press' nationalism<sup>7</sup> which limits the information on the EU and therefore makes readers' access to information on other issues<sup>8</sup> difficult.

### Actors and Positions in the News

#### *Foregrounding positive remarks, and discrediting others*

The actors in the stories were generally Turkish politicians, EU bureaucrats, foreign politicians and business people. When the stories are analysed, it is apparent that most stories concern positive remarks<sup>9</sup> on Turkey's candidacy, made mostly by EU leaders, European politicians and European and world media.<sup>10</sup> Headlines concentrated on these actors and their remarks.<sup>11</sup> The positive remarks of Turkish politicians and business people were also evident in the headlines and/or lead.<sup>12</sup>

6 *Star* is the newspaper of Uzan holding which entered the media sector with *Star* TV in 1990. *Star* has been published since March 1999, but has become one of the most selling newspaper at the end of the year (it's monthly circulation in 1999 is around 300.000) partly because of its cheap price. It should be noted that the overall circulation in Turkey, where the population is more than 60 million, is around 4 million. For the details about the newspapers and the media industry, see Mine Gencel Bek (ed.) (2001) *MediaScape Raporları, Türkiye'de Medya 2000*. Ankara: BYAUM, Ankara Üniversitesi Basın Yayın Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi

7 As Billig argues in his 'banal nationalism' thesis, the media reminds nationhood by reproducing the world of nations routinely as the national environment; 'flagging the homeland daily', Michael Billig (1995). *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage.

8 There is only one exceptional news (H1), in which information on the other issues (like European Army, tax harmonization, intervention to Chechnya) of the EU summit takes place besides Turkey. However, even this particular news foregrounds Turkey with the headline as 'Europe's Agenda Turkey' and with prioritizing descriptions on Turkey such as 'the burning issue'.

9 See the tables 1, 2 and 3 on the headlines of the news at Appendices.

10

H16, H33, S3, S12, S33, S44, Star 1. It should be mentioned here that the most important/prestigious one is considered as the American media in the Turkish press.

11

H2, H3, H4, H6, H12, H42, H46, S1, S7, S8, S34, S47.

12

H25, H26, H27, H31, H35, H39, H40, S13, S20.

13

See the tables 1, 2 and 3 at Appendices.

14

This is an example of 'closure of European culture' in Robins's terms. The desire of knowing where Europe starts and ends completely, according to Morley and Robins, means a construction of a symbolic geography which will divide insiders from outsiders, the Others. The new Iron Curtain, therefore, is required to defend Europe against the Islamic Other (Morley and Robins, 1997: 44).

Some of the positive remarks were presented in headlines without quotation marks<sup>13</sup>, suggesting that these statements were internalised by the journalists and editors, and expressed as if they were journalists' own comments. While positive commentary is given prominence and fore-grounded in the news' headlines and via lexical choices attributing more importance to the information favourable to 'us', the opinion of the other is discredited through deployment of the word 'claim' and the use of quotation marks. For example, in the news in *Hürriyet*, (H2), Romano Prodi's (Head of the European Commission) explanation that there would not be any obstacle to Turkey gaining an official candidacy statute is given in the headline and summarised with the words 'Prodi said'. On the other hand, 'claimed' is used to refer to Günther Verheugen's (member responsible for enlargement in the EU Commission) statements (taken from the interview printed in *Die Zeit*) that Turkey will not enter the EU in the near future because Turkey is not ready for membership. His expression 'is not ready' is given in quotation marks in the story. Moreover, the coherence of stories is lost for the sake of attractive, positive headlines. For example, in S7, the Greek Prime Minister Papandreu is reported in the news as stating that 'the balance favours Turkey'. However, the headline of the news item is 'Said "yes"', even though this was not the case. Over-generalisation is also apparent in the stories that foreground positive remarks, as seen in S12 with the sentence: 'The whole world press said Welcome'. Such over-generalisation can also destroy the coherence of the news story.

The story in *Star* (Star 3) similarly uses the headline 'All happy'. However, while there are supportive statements from several leaders (Lipponen, Clinton, Chirac and Papandreu), there is one that is not supportive: Fontaine, the head of the European Parliament asks:

*What about adaptation? If Turkey is accepted to the club, can it adapt culturally? Furthermore, if we accept Turkey, Northern African countries will also apply for membership. There is confusion in concepts about where the boundaries of Europe start and end.<sup>14</sup> Suppose Turkey complied with the economic and political conditions.*

*What about cultural adaptation? I can say the 626 members of the European Parliament are divided about Turkey's candidacy.*

As is seen from the statement of Fontaine, not everyone is happy with the candidacy despite the headline, which gives the story negligible coherence.

### Star's Nationalist and Ambiguous Position

There are only a few stories in *Hürriyet* in which critical views on the EU membership appear, but even those are not against EU membership. Instead, they express the views of actors who foreground national interests and warn against giving concessions to the EU.<sup>15</sup> The tabloid newspaper *Star* on the other hand, does not present the views of actors who are critical of the EU candidacy but instead presents stories that are sceptical of or against the EU candidacy by arguing that serious concessions were given to the EU, and opposing the abolition of capital punishment that would be required for EU membership. Even though *Star* does not explicitly object to Turkey's EU membership, *Star's* nationalism does not allow EU news to be covered positively. Thus, as the three extracts below show, what is at stake here is a strong nationalism, the scope of which creates the fear of giving concessions to the EU and of being 'behind' compared to the other countries. The headline of the first story illustrates the point amply: 'Nobody could be glad because of the severe conditions'<sup>16</sup> (Star 2). The second story, 'This Europe is Real Europe', (Star 7) criticises Turkey's EU candidacy which, according to *Star*, is not deserved and may not be realised. As is frequently the case for this newspaper, football is used as the main issue in the story and is used in the European context:

*Turkey may enter the EU in 2020. The Turkish national team, on the other hand, will compete with Belgium, Sweden and Italy in the 2000 European Football Championship. The team entered the door of that championship with wrist.*

The news uses the word of 'wrist' to imply that it is a game entered with the power they have; that is, it is deserved. The story continues:

15

For example, in H36, coalition partner nationalist MHP (National Movement Party) states that they are against the abolition of capital punishment for the EU. In H38, Islamic oriented FP thinks that 'serious concessions were given on Cyprus and Aegean issues'. Similarly, in the news, H59, the FP leader Kutun states that unless it contradicts with national interest, they support the EU membership.

16

These severe conditions are listed as 'Aegean, Cyprus and Apo issues' in the news.

17

When it is directly translated, it means the central pole of the nomad's tent. The founder of the ANAP (Motherland Party) and the Prime Minister between 1983-1999, the President from 1989 until his death in 1993, Turgut Özal created this term to address the people by unifying them and dissolving their differences. It came to a point that both a worker and a boss defined themselves as *ortadirek* (for the detailed analysis of the term, see Tünay, 1993; Mutlu, 1995). However, after Özal failed to receive popular support of his Thatcherite policies, *ortadirek* has been started to be used to describe the people at the bottom and survivals. In the news, the meaning of being at the bottom is used.

18

The comparison of Turkey with the 'ex-socialist' countries in the Turkish press has been found in the earlier research (Mine Cencel Bek, *Communicating Capitalism: A Study of the Contemporary Turkish Press*, Ph.D thesis, Loughborough University, 1999) on the representation of privatization and Customs Union as well. Especially when the issue is economic liberalization, the ex-socialist countries are referred by the Turkish press with the argument of 'even they started that, even they managed that' or 'they have even gone further'. While that Turkish press not tending to compare Turkey to the other countries in terms of political rights is striking, this comparison with the ex-socialist countries in terms of economy is also an extension of a change in the world geopolitics.

*The real victory for Turkey came yesterday. Lots were drawn for the 2000 European Football Championship in Brussels. Turkey is in the same group as the countries that Turkey could approach only to take photographs with.*

Here, Turkey's presence in the EU family photograph is implied: "Rivals are strong but this time Turkey is strong too. The most important thing is we did not give concessions to anyone to achieve this success."

The idea of Turkey's not being as developed as the EU member states, and the importance of this idea for the newspaper, can be seen more clearly in the third story: 'Turkey to be Europe's *ortadirek*'<sup>17</sup> (Star 8). In it the newspaper argues that Turkey is a country with problems in relation to its 'civilization indicators', with the result that it is a 'candidate to be the *ortadirek* of Europe':

*Too backward in economic and social aspects in comparison with Europe and its 'rivals', not even in a situation to compete with most of the 11 candidate countries...even Eastern block countries, which are called Iron Curtain countries, are almost in a better condition in terms of inflation.*

The newspaper distinguishes Turkey from these countries and over-states their socialist past while ignoring the fact that these countries are no longer socialist.<sup>18</sup> The other candidates for the EU are seen as rivals.

In contrast to these stories, the other stories in *Star* that celebrate the 'world praising Turkey', show that this sensationalist nationalist tabloid admires the West at the same time:

The 'Turkey best amongst candidate countries' (Star 9) headline announces the statement made by 'the most respectable magazine in the world', 'the most influential magazine in the USA, *Time*' without quotation marks.

### The Meaning of Europe and the European Union<sup>19</sup>

It should be emphasised firstly that the stories analysed consider the EU as a homogeneous entity.<sup>20</sup> This is important

because ignoring the differences in the EU can be dangerous and can be used to further a nationalist 'us versus them'. The stories do not tend to include historical background on the Turkey-European Union relationship. Although the press had been full of negative comments on earlier EU summits decisions, these do not find place in these stories.<sup>21</sup>

The EU acceptance of Turkey as a candidate country at the Helsinki Summit is given great importance by the newspapers. The waiting period before the decision was announced is described as:

- 'Uncertainty Still Continues. We Continue Our Travel In The Horror Tunnel'(S17)
- 'Exciting Moments', 'A Real Horror Film'(S16)
- 'Europe Adventure'(Star 2)
- 'Operation Centre at Foreign Ministry' (S19)
- 'The Result Of the Helsinki Summit Which All of Turkey is Breathlessly Waiting For' (S25)

The word 'historical' is used in some stories in the sense of 'historical day' (H13), 'historical decision' (H11, S12, S20), and 'historical opportunity' (by President Demirel, H25). Metaphors of the road (H21, H50) and gate are frequently used, as in '...has been waiting in front of the gate of the EU' (H15), 'gate opened' (by Ecevit, H16, S26, S53). The word 'dream' is also used, as in: '100-years old Europe dream' (Star 1), (S27), 'We are welcomed'....'We had our heart in our mouth, but it ended well. Let's hope for the best. We are European from now on. 160-year old dream.... happy end'...(S 12). After the candidacy was granted, Turkish leaders attending the EU meeting were included in the 'historical' European family photograph finally taken 'after 36 years'. The photo is given prominence in *Hürriyet* and *Sabah*. Salona's visit to Turkey is commented on as the indication of the importance attributed to Turkey (H17). 'Possibly no candidate country in EU history was shown such great attention', states the news in *Sabah*

As Morley and Robins state (1997: 141), during the cold war period, everything which was not communist was western, or European. In this context, many Turks were thinking that being in the NATO was an evidence of being Western. After the Soviet Block collapsed, however, these have been started to be questioned. In the period in which the borders of Europe are redefined, Eastern and Central European countries are emphasising their Christian identity. Therefore, Turkey suddenly has found itself in a different context in which it is losing its European characteristics with the Muslim identity. This might be a reason of Turkish press often referring to its longer capitalist past and comparing itself with the ex-socialist countries.

19

Unless actors mentioned, the definitions belong to the newspapers.

20

'Cyprus dispute in EU' headlined news covers the debates between EU members on Cyprus (H44). Another news 'Turkey dispute in EP' (European Parliament) (H61) explains the different approaches towards Turkey as Christian Democrats, Greens, Liberals and Socialist.

21

There is only one exception: The news in *Hürriyet* (H21) is the only news which mentions Luxembourg summit (December 1997) as 'Shocking decision of Europe' and Cardiff summit (June 1998) 'backward step from the Union'.

22

This news is a summary of the column by Güngör Mengi. Thus, the news is a mixture of 'facts' and 'opinions' not only in the tabloid newspaper *Star* as seen above, but also in *Sabah* as well. *Sabah* often carries the ideas in editorials and columns to the front page news. The news in general in everywhere claims giving only facts, but contains opinion and ideology. However, this is even different from that, more overtly representation of comments in the news.

(S33). It is emphasised that European leaders in Helsinki 'queued to congratulate Ecevit' (H30, S33).

The sentiments expressed about Europe and the EU were more dramatic following the candidacy decision. Füsün Mutlu writes in her special report (S15): "...In Helsinki, I am witnessing a submission of European identity for which we struggled for many years. I am happy. All Turkish journalists here congratulate each other."

For her, this is the indication of 'Turkey being in the world's first league' (S11).

An emphasis on newness and change is another pattern in some stories: 'Our Life Will Change'... 'A New Period Is Starting From Now On' (S18). 'A New Period In Europe', 'The EU Adventure', 'Landmark In The EU Road' (S24). Stories<sup>22</sup> from *Sabah* announce (S27) that Turkey will be integrated with the 'biggest political and economic union of the world':

*Respectable, wealthy and contemporary Turkey, who's political and economic future is under insurance, is not a dream anymore... yesterday's Helsinki declaration includes Turkey in the contemporary family of civilisation.*

As is evident from these extracts, approval of Turkey's candidacy in the summit is considered a very important historical decision in the Turkish press, especially *Hürriyet* and *Sabah*, and suggest the promise of change.

### Expectations: Economic Gains from EU; Conditions: Political Obligations to the EU

The expectations from EU membership are presented in the stories as mostly economic, in the form of economic help or support. Specifically, they relate to Turkey joining commissions in the Customs Union, including agriculture and the services sector, trade agreements, starting negotiations to increase the competitive power of agricultural products, financial help, credits, foreign capital investments, development of the tourism sector,

banking...etc.<sup>23</sup> In the stories emphasising the economic dimension, Turkey is compared with the other candidates. Stories in *Hürriyet* (H23) attribute superior characteristics to Turkey compared with the other 'competing' candidates. Their comparison is therefore positive compared with that of *Star* (Star 8) which presents Turkey as being behind the socialist countries. The fact that Turkey adopted capitalism before these countries is shown as a reason for Turkey being considered more 'powerful'. The story with the headline 'If inflation goes down, we are more powerful than competitors' speaks in the name of Turkey and makes economic comparisons with the other candidates as if it were a sports game or competition. This is seen in another story that includes the claim that Turkey is taking its place 'in the premiere league compared with the 12 waiting members' (H22). A story in *Sabah*, which speaks in the name of Turkey, comments: 'If the programme succeeds, we will overtake all' (S53). This again talks about Turkey leaving the other candidate countries behind. According to the story:

*After the EU candidacy, programmes to reduce inflation gained more importance. If success is achieved, the adaptation process to the EU will be shorter...Turkey's target for the three-year programme is reducing inflation. It will also open the EU gate to Turkey...It will make Turkey a world state. If we succeed with this programme and comply with the EU countries' criteria, with the dynamism and power of our economy, Turkey will overtake the other 13 candidate countries easily.*

The 'Everything is for the EU' sub-heading is a summary of *Sabah's* policy, and so is 'Economic adaptation'. While the government's fiscal tightening programme against inflation receives great support from the media, the media coverage of workers and state officials' mass demonstrations finds less space in the newspapers. The Turkish media continues to give support to the market and economic liberalisation while failing to demonstrate significant improvement in defending the political rights of citizens with multiple identities.<sup>24</sup> 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

23

For example, H15, 19, 22, 23, 27, S36, S58 and Star 6.

24

Alankuş (1995) makes a discourse analysis of the representation of the religious and ethnic identities in TV fictions while emphasising theoretically that the media messages are open to be decoded differently by TV audience. Differently from the debate here, she shows the examples to argue for the tendency of the dominant discourse to include and tolerate the other identities; namely pluralisation of identities. However, even Alankuş recognizes that this does not mean a genuine pluralist democracy nor this tendency becomes dominant.

25  
H14, H15, H18.

26  
Star 4, Star 13, S2, S25, S36.

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. For example, a story in *Sabah* states that 'the Copenhagen criteria will make the membership road "long and with ups and downs"' (S5). According to one story (H22), adaptation to Copenhagen will constrain Turkey. Such references to the Copenhagen criteria also occur in other stories.<sup>25</sup>

The overwhelming political issue for the press in relation to the Copenhagen criteria is the Kurdish issue. It is framed by the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan's prospective execution.<sup>26</sup> *Star* frames the Kurdish issue in terms of Öcalan's (nickname 'Apo' is used) execution in a sensationalist nationalist way and expresses worries on abolishing the death penalty and, as previously mentioned, giving concessions on Cyprus.

*...From now on, Europe will have a say in every law to be enacted in the parliament. The first condition of being an EU member is abolishing capital punishment. The first issue is not to hang Apo. Those who are most pleased by Turkey's candidacy is the PKK (Star 4)*

Besides expressing these worries in a form that appears like a column, *Star* also gives place to the ideas of extreme nationalists. The headline 'Do not say I do not warn you' from Gül, who is a Member of Parliament from the MHP (National Movement Party), is presented without quotation marks. Later he states that any person who does not raise a hand for executing Apo in the parliament deserves to be beaten and adds: 'Lets hang him first and discuss later'. The abolition of capital punishment after Apo's execution is also proposed by other MHP members.

Stories in *Sabah* also focus on whether Abdullah Öcalan will be hanged. One story comments that the Helsinki summit 'affects Apo's fate closely' and that if membership is realised he will not be executed (S2). In another it is declared that the result of the Helsinki decision has importance for Öcalan 'who ties all his hope to delivery from execution' (S25). The 'Apo will not be hanged'

headline again expresses the issue in terms of corporal punishment, which is one of the main focuses on discussion of politics and the Kurdish issue. As these examples indicate, democracy is seen, in general, as a condition or requirement of the EU. The 'Coups era finishes' headline in *Sabah* (S28) mentions democracy as an outcome of the EU candidacy for the first time. According to the news, 'Turkey being an official EU candidate abolishes the possibility of military coup'. In this story, unusually, 'the first condition' of the EU membership is presented as 'full democracy'-a positive and desirable thing. However, this understanding of democracy is a lack of military rule; it does not question the effects of the military on the civilian rule in 'normal' times.<sup>27</sup> The military in Turkey is not seen as an obstacle to EU membership by either the newspapers' voice or the actors-politicians in the news. In H10, veteran generals' and MGK (National Security Council) members' idea that the MGK is not an obstacle to EU membership is presented as a headline without quotation marks. Actors in other stories also mention that there is no need to make changes in the MGK.<sup>28</sup>

While the press covers the news on political changes and EU membership, it trivialises and personalises the issues. In its discussion of Islam, the mainstream Turkish press foregrounds Merve Kavakçı, a Merit Party (Fazilet Partisi) MP. The issue discussed by the press is whether she should be allowed to enter parliament wearing her headscarf. This, in effect, personalises/limits discussion of Islam, in a manner similar to the use of 'Apo' in relation to the Kurdish issue. One headline reads 'Will Merve be allowed to enter the Parliament?' (S29). Her withdrawal of Turkish citizenship because she had concealed her American citizenship is the background to the story.

The position of the mainstream press towards Islam can also be seen in *Hürriyet* (H41). Although the stories are not directly related to EU membership, their whole context is the EU. Two events, a peaceful political demonstration aimed at abolishing the *türban* ban, later, selling dates are both framed negatively, mainly because of participants / people wearing 'unsuitable' dresses.

27  
Turkish history witnessed military coups three times: May 27, 1960, March 12, 1971 and September 12, 1980. It is not only in these extraordinary conditions that the military in Turkey has an important role; this role exists even during the civilian periods with the continuing impact of the military on political and economic life. Since the Constitution changed following each of the military coups, military power has been of influence during the civilian periods as well. There are two key mechanisms which are created by the military following the coups, which were incorporated in the Constitution. These mechanisms produce a 'double-headed political system' in Turkey as Sakallıoğlu (1997) argues: The first one is the creation of the state security courts which led to the operation of military justice alongside the civilian justice system. The second mechanism is the National Security Council which made it possible for the military to participate in the decision-making process of the civilian authorities. Having been introduced as a 'platform for the military to voice its opinion on matters of national security' by the 1961 Constitution, it was extended with the 1973 amendments, which included making recommendations to the government and further empowered with the 1982 Constitution with the statement that the military's 'recommendations would be given priority consideration by the council of ministers'.

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Demirel: 'No need to make changes in MGK' (H57); Cem: 'The issue of MGK is exaggerated. I am sometimes conservative myself compared to soldiers' (S54).

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The news uses the word *tezgahtar* for salesman by putting quotation mark to the word of *tezgah* (as *tezgahlar*) *Tezgahtar* means salesman in Turkish, but there are other words such as *sahici* to be used instead of *tezgahtar*. The reason of the preference of this word is related with the multiple meanings of the word of *tezgah*: *Tezgaht* means both loom and also contriving a scheme or trick.

*Hand to hand human chain' action arranged for tırban became a scenery for views that do not befit Turkey which struggles to be part of modern Europe. Kara çarşafılilar (black veileds) who created Saudi Arabian views could not succeed in their actions due to low participation.*

According to the news, 'While Turkey makes a great effort to enter the EU, these 'outdated views' of 'black action' become an obstacle for Turkey. The eclectic news continues with another event:

*3 days after Helsinki...While Turkey winds blows in Europe, Arabian views from the middle of Istanbul...They are in Arabian dress in order to sell 2-3 dates more. Keyfiye on their head and in long white dresses, two tezgahtar<sup>29</sup> in Medine Market opposite of Eyüp Sultan Mosque. They say that they dress as Arab in order to reminds citizens date and so sell more. Thus, religion trade, is brought down to the date loom by religion merchants.*

The stories can be understood in the context of Kemalism and the Turkish modernisation project, and the role of the media in these processes. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Kemalist elites used the media when establishing the Republic of Turkey. After its establishment, the media promoted modernisation by disseminating Western values and ways of life and the Kemalist ideology (Karpas, 1964; Oktay, 1987; Heper ve Demirel, 1996). Kemalism is not only an ideology of national independence and sovereignty but also the backbone of social change directed by an Enlightenment, modernised and Westernising vision. The principles of Atatürk and the Republican People's Party (RPP) (republicanism, revolutionism, nationalism, secularism, statism and populism) still maintain their importance (with the exception of statism in the current economy), not only in the Turkish state's concept of ideal economic and political relations but also in the mainstream media's understanding of the notion of an ideal state and society. These principles, especially nationalism and secularism are the sources of bias in the representation of Kurdish issue and Islam in the media. The principle of nationalism replaces religion and recognises Turkishness over difference between ethnic groups in the society. The principle of secularism, like that

of nationalism, aims to cut the ties of the new Turkish Republic with the Ottoman past by ending religion as a basis for society. What has been observed over the years about this principle is that it is not being used simply 'to separate ideas of religion from politics and from the affairs of the world and of the State' (Landen, 1970), as is included in the RPP Programme and as is generally claimed. Religion is not removed from public life; on the contrary, it is used by politicians and the military (especially after the 1980 military coup as an antidote to the left). As Tunçay states, secularism in Turkey in reality means the organisation of religion by the state. More specifically, it means

*the state's control of religious practices, restricting the activities of Islamic ruhban (clergy) by including them in the state, and some of the religious principles directing public life according to the needs of the state's political legitimacy (quoted in Insel, 1995).*

### Making up the News, Sensationalisation and Tabloidization of the Press

While the press conceives of the Kurdish issue and Islam as obstacles or concession, different sexual choices/identities are framed in a more sensationalist and sarcastic way, especially in *Sabah*. For example, the headline 'Equal rights to homosexuals' (S30) exudes sarcasm:

*With Turkey's EU candidacy, homosexuals became European as well... Turkey, which will require a change in thousands of pages of regulations in the process of full membership to the EU, will experience the main difficulty in accepting the 'freedom for different sexual choices' which a criterion of basic human rights in Europe requires.*

The story puts quotation marks around 'freedom for different sexual choices'. Since the newspapers analysed often fail to use quotation marks even when warranted, their use in this instance may suggest that the paper is attempting to distance itself from the statement. Also, the lexical choice of 'main difficulty' is striking. The story assumes that accepting freedom for different sexual

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Homosexuals ready for the EU' (S61) again foregrounds homosexuals in the headline as a sensational way. The news is about Police organization's regulation change in order to be adapted to the EU. 'We are ready' (subheadline) is used after headline and it sounds as if homosexuals said they are ready for the EU. In fact, this is a statement made by the Interior Minister Tantan as a reply of a question 'Is the police organization ready to the EU?' Tantan replies 'We have already done the necessary preparations'. Thus, that is police who is ready for the EU when the body of the news is read. There are some items regarding homosexuals in the regulation change, and the newspaper carries this to the headline in a sensational way. 'Judge decision is condition for virginity test' headlined news (S48) states that 'EU membership fastened work on judiciary reform'. The items in the bill is varied from capital punishment... to torture, children courts, changes in the Marital Law - ending family head, women's freedom to choose profession, property gained in marriage- From all these items, *Sabah's* foregrounding virginity control is related with its tendency of making sensational news.

31

In his book on TV news, Ergül (2000) states that *magazin* news (that is news about celebrities, models... etc), constitute 40% of the main TV news. At the same time, the news on serious events have entertaining content ('info-tainment') increasingly more as a result of the consolidation of big media groups.

choices is difficult for Turkey by speaking in the name of Turkey again.<sup>30</sup>

The tabloidisation of the news is not only an issue for the tabloid newspaper *Star*, or for *Sabah*, but for the other newspapers as well. This has been a general tendency of the Turkish press in the past decade, especially since the advent of commercial TV channels.<sup>31</sup> The Turkish press seems to be more akin to American newspapers (rather than European ones), as 'making a story' and providing 'synthetic happenings' such as 'pseudo events' are also evident in the history of American newspapers (Boorstin, 1992).

Only a few days after the candidacy declaration, the news became more sensationalised and fictional. The topics started to shift from serious political and economic issues towards more sensational ones, as seen in *Star's* announcement that not only will 'Inflation or torture', but 'even tripe consumption will be changed' (Star 4). *Sabah* also declares (S 62) that: 'one of the most interesting problems is whether *kokoreç* and *döner* is going to be banned'. *Hürriyet* addresses the readers with the news (H56) that 'tripe is allowed in the EU'. The story presumes that the public is worried about this issue and reassures it by stating that 'the worry [that] started in public opinion after the declaration of Turkey's EU candidacy that "we will not be able to eat offal products" is needless'. The news announces that the EU Commission had abolished the limitations on offal products, which were brought in because of mad cow disease, 'so that the tripe and tripe soup could obtain EU visas': In *Hürriyet*, (H66) the news mentions that the tripe can be eaten, but with the EU, it will be impossible to sacrifice an animal.

The words 'the EU', even 'Finland', gains newsworthy after the EU summit. For example, under the headline 'Helsinki brings luck' (H47) the story states that 'the consecutive events that took place in Helsinki showed that this city brings luck to Turkey'. The events listed include sport victories-the Turkish National Team beat Finland last year 2 to 1 and the Women's Volleyball National Team again won in the same week-a Turkish professor was given

'the best geophysicist prize' in a conference that took place in Helsinki; another professor living in Finland was commended for his discovery of a microbe causing kidney disease, and Helsinki University decided to open a Turkology department.

A general pattern is established in a series of stories published in *Sabah*, which presents the illusion that everything in Turkey started to change with the EU candidacy. For example, 'First traffic control in European standards' (S40) tells that the traffic police's work of the previous night had been realised with modern tools. The story continues: 'Hidden cameras found drivers exceeding the speed limit' as if this technology came to Turkey after the EU candidacy, and did not exist before then. There is no indication in the news that the tools used were European or brought as a condition of the EU. The story continues with discussion of traffic fines, but again the relation with the EU is not at all clear.<sup>32</sup>

These kinds of stories are not limited to news relating to the European Union. They are rather a result of the rise of tabloid journalism at the expense of serious, political journalism in the age of media conglomerates. What is new is that the EU has become newsworthy and a context for these fictional stories.

## Conclusion

This study has analysed the Turkish news coverage of the European Union as a supranational/regional formation. It also provides clues as to how national and sub-national identities are constructed in the Turkish press.

In the detailed analysis of the news in the three dailies, the research first investigated who the actors were in order to discover who's ideas and who's versions of the world are represented in the news. These are mostly those of Turkish and European/EU bureaucrats, politicians and Turkish businessmen. Thus, the issue of what these stories are saying has already been predetermined by the identity of the actors. The themes of the stories are also very closely related to the ways in which the stories are composed with

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There are other examples to this kind of news: *Hamsi* (anchovy in Turkish) enters first is another example (S41) of such made-up news: 'From the day we became candidate for the EU, even *hamsi* adapted to the new conditions. After *hamsi* rice, desert and burger, now *hamsi* pizza on the market (an advertisement-like news about a new pizza-*cafe* in Trabzon). There is no relation with the EU at all, unlike the headline. 'Internet course for Parliament members' (S49) is similar to the news on traffic control. Here again there is no evidence that these changes are taking place as a result of the EU candidacy. The news declares that the parliament will also be European in terms of 'physical conditions' and explains that members of the parliament will have computers and courses. 'Fines on environment increase' (S51), a similar kind of news, this time in the context of environment, states that 'Turkey which is a candidate of the EU, is going through a series of arrangements on environment before the membership'. However there is no evidence, no detailed information whether the change is related with the EU. The 'really bad' news on these kind of made-up news has the headline 'Big change in Gürel': 'State Minister Şükrü Sina Gürel also has a change in the process of the EU'. The news takes readers' attention to Gürel's using Laguna car and coming to a meeting with his new car instead of his earlier Frontera. Other news again in *Sabah* (S55) announces that 'EU wind affected

Turkish and Greek pilots as well. The news informs that both countries' pilots gave up battling in the Aegean' by emphasising that the 'rate' of battling decreased 'to a great extent in the last days'. The body of the news is exactly opposite of the headline and comment of the news. In fact, the news actor, the general in chief Air Forces, replies completely differently and states clearly that 'it has nothing to do with the EU'.

their lexical and headline choices and the issues that they foreground. In general, the stories analysed project the voices of those actors who support Turkey's EU candidacy and the EU. Besides choosing these actors, the newspapers, especially *Sabah* and *Hürriyet*, also carry headlines that celebrate the EU candidacy as a historical dream. The stories foreground the ideas of the actors who are pro-Turkish and pro-EU candidacy (for example by writing without quotation marks in the headlines) whereas the opposite happens for the few actors who think differently (as seen by the use of the word 'claimed' instead of 'said' or 'stated'), even sometimes at the expense of the story's coherence.

Despite the claims of journalists, we are seeing a blurring of the distinction between news and opinion in the Turkish press, and not only in *Star*. It is increasingly difficult to make a distinction between tabloid and quality newspapers in the Turkish press. Newspapers are increasingly dealing with the national culture in a sensationalist way (as seen in the stories on tripe or *döner*...etc), or manufacturing news stories. This is not merely an ethical violation by individual journalists, but is also a product of the media industry's current situation. The main solution to these developments is to change the current commercial, profit-driven and conglomerated media structure. In the short term, however, there is a need for some regulation which does not limit political discourse but requires that journalistic codes be followed in order to prevent sensationalism and fake news.

The economic and political dimensions of Turkey's EU candidacy are emphasised in the news more than cultural/identity issues which are mostly sensationalised. The economy is seen mostly in relation to national development and economic aid from the EU, rather than labour related issues, such as unions, unemployment insurance...etc. Speaking in the name of Turkey rather than the Turkish people with all their differences becomes more obvious in the stories on political issues. Not only in *Star*, but also in the other two newspapers, 'we' is used to represent Turkey in the news, and 'giving concessions to the EU' becomes one of the

main worries about the candidacy. The military, on the other hand, is not considered an obstacle and is not at all criticised in the news. The liberal media in an economic sense is statist in politics and considers the 'other' as a threats. The media adopts the official definition of Turkish identity rather than acknowledge multiple identities. For example, the Kurdish issue is personalised with Abdullah Öcalan while the same is done with Merve Kavakçı in discussion of Islam. Although Europeans are criticised for having double standards against Islam, the Turkish press does the same with regard to 'Eurocentrism'.

This time, again, the Turkish media is willing to take another step in promoting integration with global capital via the EU membership, while at the same time being on the side of the nation-state in politics. It is hard to say that the human rights issue is seen as a desirable thing for the Turkish press which frames the Copenhagen political criteria as a constraint and imposition of the EU. Since democratic civil institutions, organisations or unions are not represented in the news, either as actors or sources, the democratic demands of the Turkish people do not appear in the stories analysed here. If the large spectrum of democracy demands of Turkish citizens were represented, the awkwardness of the question, 'are we going to democratise just because the EU asks for it?' would be revealed. The media's viewing of political improvements as requirements or conditions, and economic changes as gains, is dangerous for democracy in Turkey, since the media does not only represent and is not only affected by, but also constitutes and affects the social reality.

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I would like to thank to  
Feyza Okan for checking my  
translation of the headlines.

APPENDIX<sup>3</sup>

**Table 1 :** Headlines of the news in Hürriyet  
(December 9, 1999- December 15, 1999)

Number-Date	Headline
H1-9 Dec.	Turkey on the European Agenda
H2-9 Dec.	Prodi: I am hopeful of candidacy
H3-9 Dec.	France: One meter left to membership
H4-9 Dec.	England: We support Turkey
H5-9 Dec.	Apo to Athens: Do not veto
H6-9 Dec.	Denmark: We already back you
H7-9 Dec.	Ankara: Agreement is condition
H8-9 Dec.	Cem's assurance softens Athens
H9-9 Dec.	Antagonism in Aegean to increase
H10-9 Dec.	National Security Council not obstacle to EU
H11-10 Dec.	Last minute in backstage
H12-10 Dec.	Earthquake warning in Helsinki
H13-10 Dec.	Historical day
H14-10 Dec.	Who wants what in summit?
H15-11 Dec.	First Muslim Candidate
H16-11 Dec.	Ecevit: Great Success
H17-11 Dec.	Exciting Friday in Ankara
H18-11 Dec.	EU: Comply with these
H19-11 Dec.	Turkey: Provide these
H20-11 Dec.	Candidacy bid hour to hour
H21-11 Dec.	Turkey passes through long thin road
H22-11 Dec.	Economy after Helsinki
H23-11 Dec.	If inflation goes down, we are more powerful
H24-11 Dec.	Become giant in 45 years
H25-11 Dec.	Demirel: Do not miss opportunity
H26-11 Dec.	Cem Duna: Turkey can be member before other candidates
H27-11 Dec.	Tourism sector happy
H28-11 Dec.	Support rally from PKK
H29-11 Dec.	Five records in stockmarket
H30-12 Dec.	Turkey wind
H31-12 Dec.	Bülent Ecevit mark in Summit
H32-12 Dec.	Denktas upset
H33-12 Dec.	What leaders say?
H34-12 Dec.	Historical statements from Papandreu: I took big risk
H35-12 Dec.	Economy world pleased
H36-12 Dec.	Helsinki dispute of government
H37-12 Dec.	Thanks to Simitis, Attila entered Europe
H38-12 Dec.	FP: Greeks are happy, so we are cheated
H39-12 Dec.	Çiller: All contributors should be congratulated
H40-12 Dec.	Anap: Özal was right
H41-13 Dec.	Not befit you
H42-13 Dec.	Turkey most attractive candidate
H43-13 Dec.	Ministry for EU establishing
H44-13 Dec.	Cyprus dispute in EU
H45-13 Dec.	Historical era in relations with Athens
H46-13 Dec.	Congratulation letter from Clinton
H47-13 Dec.	Helsinki brings luck
H48-13 Dec.	D'alema: Apo's life saved

H49-14 Dec.	Kurdish TV surprise
H50-14 Dec.	Full membership road
H51-14 Dec.	Papandreu to come in January
H52-14 Dec.	Chirac to Süleyman Demirel: We bolster you on torny road
H53-14 Dec.	Prime Minister Ecevit's Assurance to Denktas
H54-14 Dec.	Cyprus meetings end without conclusion
H55-14 Dec.	TUSIAD: Private sector support is a pre-requisite
H56-14 Dec.	EU okeys tripe
H57-14 Dec.	Demirel: No need to make changes in National Security Council
H58-14 Dec.	Altan Öymen: EU candidacy is not a victory
H59-14 Dec.	EU Commission in Virtue Party
H60-15 Dec.	France determines candidacy
H61-15 Dec.	Turkey dispute in European Parliament
H62-15 Dec.	Demirel: Fundamentalism is unacceptable for full membership
H63-15 Dec.	Full membership is not favour but Turkey's right
H64-15 Dec.	Membership and capital punishment not advocated together
H65-15 Dec.	Long struggle to start with status quo defenders
H66-15 Dec.	Eat stripe but forget animal sacrificing

## APPENDIX-B

**Table 2 :** Headlines of the news in Sabah  
(December 9, 1999-December 15, 1999)

Number-Date	Headline
S1-9 Dec.	Last minute support
S2-9 Dec.	Apo eyesdrop on radio S3-9 Dec. Edge of 'Yes'
S4-9 Dec.	'They cannot give us up'
S5-9 Dec.	Membership in 2020
S6-9 Dec.	Speedy diplomacy traffic
S7-10 Dec.	Acceptance at 8 thousand meters
S8-10 Dec.	Turkey's dismissal a historical mistake
S9-10 Dec.	Nerves war at table
S10-10 Dec.	'Turkey should not see every step as concession'
S11-10 Dec.	USA-Europe crisis in horizon
S12-11 Dec.	We welcomed
S13-11 Dec.	Developments in Helsinki in hours
S14-11 Dec.	Helsinki may be new Luxembourg
S15-11 Dec.	A minutes escape of clash
S16-11 Dec.	Athens: We want to say welcome
S17-11 Dec.	Moments of the crisis
S18-11 Dec.	Simitis: We achieved our target
S19-11 Dec.	Operation Centre: Foreign Ministry
S20-11 Dec.	Story of crisis night
S21-11 Dec.	Irtemçelik: We challenge EU
S22-11 Dec.	Calm comment from father
S23-11 Dec.	Özal applies first full membership
S24-11 Dec.	Vouchsafes this team
S25-11 Dec.	A relief for Apo
S26-11 Dec.	EU from artist's brush
S27-12 Dec.	Picture of acceptance to Europe
S28-12 Dec.	Coups era finishes
S29-12 Dec.	Assembly entrance at limbo for Merve
S30-12 Dec.	Equal rights to homosexuals

S31-12 Dec.	Parliament becomes European
S32-12 Dec.	Secret heroes
S33-12 Dec.	Thus we find our place
S34-12 Dec.	Turkey, Welcome in Family
S35-12 Dec.	Apo not to be executed
S36-12 Dec.	Who wins what?
S37-12 Dec.	Elections player Simitis won
S38-12 Dec.	Things settle down
S39-12 Dec.	Europe gets most
S40-13 Dec.	First traffic control in European standards
S41-13 Dec.	Anchovy enters before
S42-13 Dec.	EU standard in Turkish Armed Forces
S43-13 Dec.	'We have to take some steps'
S44-13 Dec.	Target 2004
S45-13 Dec.	Revolution for democracy in Turkey
S46-13 Dec.	Shines as star
S47-13 Dec.	Support Turkey with newspaper announcement
S48-14 Dec.	Court order is prerequisite for virginity test
S49-14 Dec.	Internet course for Parliament members
S50-14 Dec.	Kutan calls collectivism for applying criterion
S51-14 Dec.	Fines on environment increase
S52-14 Dec.	Big change in Gürel
S53-14 Dec.	If programme succeeds, we overtake all
S54-14 Dec.	Cem explains conditions
S55-14 Dec.	Dogs fight ends
S56-15 Dec.	EU negotiations next year
S57-15 Dec.	Simitis: We are not two rival countries anymore
S58-15 Dec.	A 2.5 trillioned dollar fortune
S59-15 Dec.	'Let's improve our record'
S60-15 Dec.	'We should leave capital punishment'
S61-15 Dec.	Homosexuals ready for EU
S62-15 Dec.	Duel for Europe

## APPENDIX-C

**Table 3.** Headlines of the news in Star  
(December 9, 1999-December 15, 1999)

Number-Date	Headline
Star1-9 Dec.	Decision day for Europe dream
Star2-11 Dec.	Let's hope for best
Star3-11 Dec.	All happy
Star4-12 Dec.	May it be easy
Star5-12 Dec.	Turks European for 600 years
Star6-12 Dec.	Candidacy OK, hope continues
Star7-13 Dec.	This Europe real Europe
Star8-13 Dec.	Turkey to become Europe's most
Star9-13 Dec.	Turkey best amongst candidate countries
Star10-13 Dec.	Musa asks people European candidacy
Star11-14 Dec.	CNN Kurd
Star12-15 Dec.	Denktas offended Ecevit
Star13-15 Dec.	Don't say I do not warn you

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## How the Quality Press Defines the World for Us: A Comparative Study of News Reporting on the Environment and Unemployment.

### Abstract

To keep informed about political, economic or social events people will, in Western countries, turn to quality papers. The role played by those papers and mass media in general is crucial in the process of transmission of knowledge about the world. Particularly in a context marked by increasing uncertainty. Conditions of employment, the way we look at the environment has completely changed over the last decades creating a certain vagueness as to how to treat those issues. Media in such a context has the power to cut through uncertainties by setting up terms of the possible. But possibilities as expressed by the quality press are very much a function of values held by newspapers themselves. When newspapers belong to large media corporations those values are marked by priorities held by a corporate world, which are then presented as the only rational options possible.

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