# Reflections of the Turkey in the Mirror of Orientalism: Orientalist Discourse in the British Press Regarding Turkey's EU Membership

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**Abstract:** As a basic discourse resource, media narratives and especially news reports play an important role in the construction and representation of nations and national identities. Thus, in order to comprehend how Turkey and Turkish identity are constructed and represented in the Western media, 'news discourse strategies' should be analyzed. This study addresses the issues regarding the Orientalist construction of Turkey and Turkish identity in two leading British newspapers, *The Guardian* and *The Times* in the year of 2004. In addition it is argued that both of these newspapers that are respectively defined as liberal and conservative regenerate an Orientalist discourse presenting Turkey as a 'non-European' space and culture, and Turkish identity as the out-group / other. Orientalist discourse that is constructed in the news of *The Guardian* and *The Times* regarding Turkey can be clearly seen in referential strategy or strategy of nomination and predication strategy.

**Keywords:** Orientalism, critical discourse analysis, British press, construction of Turkey and Turkish identity

## Şarkiyatçılığın Aynasında Türkiye Suretleri: Britanya Basınında Türkiye'nin AB Üyeliğine İlişkin Haberlerde Şarkiyatçı Söylem

**Özet:** Temel söylem kaynağı olarak medya anlatıları ve özellikle haberler ulusların ve ulusal kimliklerin inşa ve temsilinde özel bir rol oynarlar. Bu nedenle Türkiye ve Türk kimliğinin Batı medyasında nasıl inşa edildiğini anlayabilmek için haber söylem stratejileri incelenmelidir. Bu çalışma, Britanya basınının iki önemli gazetesi olan *The Guardian* ve *The Times'* da Türkiye ve Türk kimliğinin Şarkiyatçı inşasına ilişkin sorunlara işaret etmektedir. Liberal ve muhafazakâr nitelikteki bu iki gazetenin de Türkiye'yi Avrupadışı bir mekân ve kültür ve Türk kimliğini de grupdışı-öteki olarak temsil eden Şarkiyatçı bir söylemi yeniden üret-tiklerini tartışmaktadır. *The Guardian* ve *The Times* gazetelerinin Türkiye'ye ilişkin haberlerinde inşa edilen Şarkiyatçı söylem kullanılan göndergesel, adlandırma ve yüklem stratejilerinde açıkça görülebilmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Şarkiyatçılık, eleştirel söylem analizi, Britanya basını, Türkiye ve Türk kimliğinin inşası

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> "There is no document of civilization, which is
> not at the same time a document of barbarism."
>
> W. Benjamin

### Introduction

Both in the Turkish press and the Western press, metaphors such as 'the bridge between East and West', 'where Asia and Europe meet' are frequently used when defining Turkey. These metaphors are phrases that generally emphasize the Asian aspect of Turkey instead of the European, in other words, the Eastern one rather than the Western. These don't just indicate a geographical Asian or Eastern position, they also indicate a cultural one. Moreover, the news today which is the main circle of the discourse clearly carries the traces of this Orientalist language and approach. In the right- and left-wing mainstream Western newspapers' news related to Turkey, this language and approach can be clearly seen as a common attitude. This attitude reveals itself especially in the language that questions the Western characteristics and that emphasizes the Non-European identity of Turkey and the Turkish public in the news regarding Turkey, whose amount has increased in the Western press with Turkey's European Union (EU) candidacy. The analysis of this discourse that is created with this language and popularized with these news will help us understand the impact of this Orientalist cultural heritage of the West. Moreover it helps us to see the image of Turkey as reflected to the world through Western and the Western public's eyes, language and Western mirror. It would not be surprising to see that this image attributes an Eastern rather than Western identity to Turkey and Turkish public, in other words, an Islamic and Asian one. It is really interesting to see the increase in these attributes and the objections against Turkey's membership to EU that generally define the cultural characteristic of European civilization as Turkey speeds up the enactment of EU harmonization laws and declares the importance it attaches and will attach to democratic processes with respect to the rule of law and human rights (Casanova, 2006, p. 236). Also, the analyses of the discourse strategies used in the news published in the Western press regarding Turkey's EU membership may help us in explaining the nature of these objections.

In various comparative studies, it is stated that the British press' approach is positive to Turkey's EU membership. That is why it would be especially enlightening to analyze which discourse strategies the British press use while representing and constructing Turkey and Turkish identity, and whether this discourse has Orientalist traces or not. For this purpose, the objective of this study is to analyze the discourse construction strategies of news reports regarding EU membership of Turkey published in the newspapers *The Guardian* and *The Times* that represent two different political approaches of the British press which are respectively the liberal-left and conservative-right. The aim of this study is to assess the degree and the discourse strategies, that carry the traces of the West's Orientalist reflex and history were used in these newspapers' stories related to Turkey's EU membership.

### News as a Discourse Resource

According to the definition of Said (1999, p. 12); "Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident.'" Said, who claimed that the main dynamics of this distinction between East and West can be understood by analyzing Orientalism as a discourse, argues the following: "European Culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self" (Said, 1999, p. 13). As Coşkun states, (2008, p. 18) when considered Orientalism's knowledge of the Orient was created through the text analyses, Said's suggestion to analyze Orientalism as a discourse becomes valid.

With the realization that one of the most effective ideological institutions of modern society is mass media and that ideologies are typically obtained through discourse (Chomsky et al., 2004; Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1988), it was argued that most social practices are encouraged by ideologies and circulated with discourse. The relationship between ideology, discourse and hegemony attracted attention with the studies of Althusser, Gramsci and Foucault, and the role of communication and the media in these processes took its place among the important subjects of communication science studies.

As researchers such as Hunter and Nelkin attract attention, the primary area where public discussions regarding cultural and social conflicts are made is the news media (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Discussions about public issues can also be seen as a symbolic struggle for determining the dominant interpretation. The discussion regarding Turkey that especially accelerated in the West with the EU membership process is one of the important public discussions of recent years and its symbolic struggle arena is the media.

The Media as main information and news source of the masses also has a special importance with the claim that the media objectively 'represents the truth' and 'reflects the reality'. As Mayers and Caniglia state,

> It is a truism that the mass media, both print and broadcast sources, have powerful impact on how we understand the social world and how we live our lives. News sources, in particular, do much to help us know the world around us. In fact, most of our knowledge about political and social conditions in our country and abroad comes either directly or indirectly from the mass media. (2004, p. 519).

With this quality, today's media and particularly the news is the main tool that constructs the reality and reproduces and popularizes the dominant discourse. As Van Dijk states, ideologies are generally obtained through discourse and the main establishment that circulates the discourse is the mass media (2003, p. 55). In Bourdieu's words, at this point the intellectuals, capital owners who 'act as an accomplice' of media and journalists who connected to both groups cannot be trusted (Tekinalp and Uzun, 2006, p. 174).

According to Said, Orientalism is the way of the West to dominate the East by dominating knowledge about the East to the advantage of the Western powers. Today, in the shadow of the wars whose purpose is to dominate the East once again, print and broadcast news extends the discourse of the humanist West bringing democracy to the terrorist, despotic East. On the other hand, even if the West is responsible for the wars that caused millions of casualties in Afghanistan and Iraq (and recently Libya can be added to this list following the NATO bombings), this could not be questioned in the news. This atmosphere that is dominant in the mainstream world media requires analysis of the media and particularly news stories as an Orientalist discourse resource. This is especially important with respect to revealing whether nominations regarding Turkey and Turkish identity carry the traces

of Orientalist images and apprehensions or not, in other words whether Orientalist reflexes are effective or not in news production practices or in the media. We should keep in mind that the media is the largest and most effective area representing and defining the East and Eastern people in the news that constructs the truth regarding the world.

### Scope, Content, Method and Problematic of the Study

> "Everyone who writes about the Orient must locate himself or herself vis-a-vis the Orient; translated into the text, this location includes the kind of narrative voice adopted, the type of structure built, the kinds of images, themes, motifs circulated in the text: all of which add up a deliberate way of addressing the reader." (Said, 1999, p. 29).

As it is about the East, the reporters who have increasingly written stories about Turkey in recent years also position themselves and this positioning is revealed by the discourse created with the narration structure, the image, and theme and motif type extending in the news text. Thus, in this study, news discourse analysis is used and accepted as an applicable method to reveal the position of the reporter and the cognitive function of the news.

### *Scope and Content*

The studies indicate that the British press displays the most positive attitude towards Turkey's EU membership among Western national press (Aksoy, 2009; Negrine et al., 2004). Thus, this study aims to analyze whether or not this positive news discourse on Turkey abstains from an Orientalist language and construction.

The scope of the study includes the news of newspapers *The Guardian* and *The Times*, which are both considered quality-prestigious newspapers in the British press. *The Guardian* began to be published back in 1821 and it is defined as a newspaper close to liberal-left wing. Moreover *The Guardian* is a newspaper that appeals to the educated, upper income group of Britain with its daily circulation over 250 thousand and is the newspaper that is read the most on the Internet after the *New York Times*. *The Times* began to be published in 1875, and it is a newspaper traditionally known

as a Conservative Party supporter and accepted to be moderate centre right wing. Moreover, when compared with other serious newspapers, The Times is the newspaper which is read by the highest income group, and has a daily circulation of over 500 thousand. British Business Survey defines *The Times* as the leading daily newspaper in Britain. The reason why two newspapers with different tendencies were selected from the British press is to achieve the goal of showing whether different political views create a special impact in the discourse of the news. In addition, the subject of analysis in this study is to ascertain whether or not the discourse of the newspapers shown to be positive about Turkey's EU membership carries the traces of Orientalist image, theme and motifs

The database that forms the content of the study is the 2004 news stories of both newspapers regarding Turkey's EU membership. The year 2004 is especially significant since it is the year that the European Commission announced the Progress Report (October 6, 2004), recommendation decision and impact report; it was also when the Brussels Summit was organized (December 17, 2004) and finally, it was the year that the decision regarding the beginning of EU membership negotiations between EU and Turkey was made. In the selection of the news, in other words, in data collection, the Lexis-Nexis Academic News Index database accepted in the international academic world was used. Lexis-Nexis Index is a database that provides access to full news texts using a flexible number of flexible search options. Lexis-Nexis, which provides service in the libraries of more than 1500 universities in the world including Istanbul University, is widely used in media studies as a standard research resource.

The selection of news stories that form the basis for compilation is the result of searches made in the Nexis-Lexis Academic Index for the year 2004 between 1st May and 31st December with the key words of "Turkey and European Union". All the articles including the related words were scanned and reviewed, and 57 news reports directly related to Turkey's EU accession, including 27 articles from *The Guardian* and 30 articles from *The Times* were accepted as the research data.

## *Method*

In the assessment of the compiled data, two main approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will be used. Based on their significant contributions to the critical discourse analysis field as founding theorists, the *Socio-cognitive Approach* model of Teun van Dijk and *Discourse-Historical Approach* model of Ruth Wodak are the main research models. Through these models, it is aimed to reveal the dominant discourse patterns and discourse strategies in the news headlines and texts.

CDA, as in the definition of Fairclough, is an interdisciplinary discourse study approach that sees languages as the form of social practice and that focuses on the regeneration of social and political dominance through text and speech (Wodak & Meyer, 2000, p. 27). Wodak defines CDA as an interdisciplinary study field that approaches the use of language from a critical perspective and argues that it should be methodologically placed in the hermeneutic tradition instead of the analytic-deductive tradition (Wodak & Meyer, 2000, p. 28). Generally CDA is problem-focused and that is why it is defined with eclectic and interdisciplinary characteristics both in theory and practice (Wodak & Meyer, 2000, p. 3).

Another characteristic feature of CDA is its common and popular interest in revealing the ideology inside the discourse. Based on these reasons, Critical Discourse Analysis approaches the discourse with a critical interest that focuses on concepts such as power-dominance, ideology and hegemony as being different than other discourse analysis methods, and attaches a special interest to the examination of news discourse. Van Dijk, who states that the final success of CDA can be measured with its effectiveness and contribution to change, reminds that proof of this success can be clearly seen in the class struggle, anti-colonialist movement, the civil rights movement and the women's rights movement (van Dijk, 1993, p. 252). This reminder verifies the compatibility of CDA method for the scope and content of the study.

By examining the global meaning and mental models of the news with the socio-cognitive CDA method, we can reveal how Turkey is defined. Besides this, we can reveal in-group or out-group identity positioning of Turkish identity by examining the semantic and discourse strategies of the news.

Moreover, by examining the used referential and nomination and predication strategies, it will be revealed whether Orientalist names, references and definitions are used in the construction of Turkey and Turkish identity.

### *Problematic*

The main problem of this study is whether or not there is an Orientalist Turkey and Turkish identity representation in news stories concerning European Union (EU) membership of Turkey in the British press. Also, another problem of this study is whether representation and discourse differ in the news stories of two different right-conservative and left-liberal newspapers.

### Dominant Orientalist Themes and Motifs in the Representation of the East and the Eastern

Rodinson (qtd. In Kumar, 2010) explains that Easterner representation changed after the Middle Age within the historical process.

> The Oriental may always have been characterized as a savage enemy, but during the Middle Ages, he was at least considered on the same level as his European counterpart… In the nineteenth century, however, he became something quite separate, sealed off in his own specificity, yet worthy of a kind of grudging admiration. This is the origin of *homo islamicus*, a notion widely accepted even today ( p. 258)

Coşkun, who discussed how Orient and Oriental are perceived by the West during the Middle Age in the scope of financial and intellectual resources of the Renaissance, states that crusades were organized as strategy to be freed from all kinds of deprivation that dominated the entire Western geography, and that the motivation behind this act was to conquer the East perceived as the wealthy country and its wealth:

> During the time that the idea of crusades was suggested, there was a chaos in Europe as a result of the years-long existence of problems such as hunger, poverty and land shortage. This economical pressure that caused the crusaders to move, move forward is mainly the hunger of the lower degree royal class of France and Holland for land, and the will of the villagers of these countries to run away from their poor lands, recent floods and scar-

cities, and to migrate to these legendary countries of wealth. In the entire West to be attracted by this call lead by the church, the population increase, poverty, and the image of rich East were effective. The legend of settling in the East lands covered with gold where "milk and honey runs from the streets" according to the Bible, was a dream that attracted all the villagers. East's developed cities, civilization and high quality of life awoke an image of welfare that the pilgrims returning to their country paint in the minds of their friends. (Coşkun, 2003, p. 50)

While the East, which was perceived as a resource of wealth and welfare, was constructed as a civil, modern culture and space in the Europe of the Middle Ages Eastern was perceived according to Rodinson as at least as being equal to the European as the owner of this culture and space. However, in time, after the Enlightenment, this perception changed drastically, East and Eastern were reconstructed by 'other'ing.

The famous poem of Kipling named *White Man's Burden,* which is one of the typical Orientalist texts of reconstruction period, was first published on February 4th, 1899 in *The Times,* which is the subject of this study. The poem fortifies common opinion at the end of the 19th century and the belief in the superiority of the West and as a result its obligation to carry the burden of civilizing the East. It describes the act of colonizing as civilizing uncivilized-backward non-Western spaces and protecting and civilizing its "half devil, half child" public (Kumar, 2010, p. 257). Kipling is not alone in this effort; the duty of constructing an Eastern space and Eastern identity that justify the burden and obligation of the White Men to civilize the East and Eastern as the necessity of the colonization age is executed by Orientalists. While Orientalist discourse constructs the West and Westerners as a dynamic, complex and constantly changing society-space, it constructs the East and especially the Islamic world as a barbarian, despotic and backward society-space. That is why in Orientalist texts, the East is presented as a space-society that requires the intervention of the West for the realization of progressive changes (Kumar, 2010, p. 258). The arguments that the West uses today to justify the destruction and war they brought to the Muslim countries such as bringing democracy to Iraq or saving Afghan women from the enslavement of the burqa, or freeing Libya from the despotism of Kaddafi are just like sounds that echo from the poem of Kipling to today.

As Said explained in detail in his breakthrough study *Orientalism*, Orient and Oriental is a space and identity created by the West. This space and identity were constructed as 'the other' and it is assumed that they have the qualities that 'another' shall have. The member of British parliament, J.M. Robertson's century-old question summarizes the matter in the best possible way: "What right have you to take up these airs of superiority with regard to people whom you choose to call Oriental?" (Said, 1999, p. 41). The superiority that is questioned with these words is the West's ethnocentric, Orientalist world view which was shaped with the assumption that European identity is superior to the Oriental one (and all other identities). Moreover, the assumption of Europe and European as the most civilized-developed and humane culturally, religiously and morally, with the assumption that the Orient and Oriental are uncivilized-backward and despotic, became one of the main theses of Orientalism. Unfortunately, this kind of misperception of the Orientalist world view still keeps its validity today. Media news is one of the areas that the Orientalist East representation is seen most widely, and where the Orientalist themes and motifs of the past are still vivid. As the following studies show, the East and Islam are constructed with a new Orientalist language in today's Western media and Orientalist discourse functions as a part of the dominant Western discourse.

### *New Orientalism and Representation of East and Islam in Today's Western Media*

After September 11, the number of the critical studies conducted on the traces of Orientalism in the Western media started to increase. These studies agree on the common idea that today's Western media creates an Orientalist world of thought by using the New Orientalism that they inherited from Classical Orientalism, and presents the East and Islam that is described as its principal quality being their negative properties and by 'other'ing them (Elgamri, 2008; Izadi and Saghaye-Bria, 2007; Kumar, 2010; Malcolm & Bairner and Curry, 2010; Marsden and Savigny 2009; Poole, 2009; Richardson, 2004, Vultee, 2006).

These studies show that while representing the East, Western press mostly emphasizes the fact that its religion is Islam and its public is Muslim. This type of emphasis results in as it is reminded by Elgamri (2008, p. 216), "the overall Picture of Islam and Muslims depicted by the press reinforces the pre-existing negative image of East in the readers' collective memory." Since the East is described under the dominance of monolithic Islamic view that is violent, intolerant and full of hatred against everything about West, the Muslim cultures are directly linked in the news with being intolerant, opposing modernism, pluralism, freedom, uniquely sexist and male dominant (*ibid,* p. 214). When the entire Islamic picture drawn in the news of British newspapers *The Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Independent* analyzed by Elgamri is seen, it is obvious that the Islamic image is reflected negatively. "The overall picture drawn by the news reports portrays a negatively projected image of Islam. This picture mirrors a trend by newspapers analyzed to depict Muslims as perpetrators of violence, lacking in the common values of tolerance and freedom of thought and expression, and unable to accept ideas and opinions contrary to theirs." (*ibid*, p. 216).

A similar finding is reached by Kumar who worked on the USA political news discourse and the cultural discourse circulated via TV and movies. Kumar states that five discourse frameworks dominant in the discussions regarding Islam with Orientalist qualities are used in representing Muslims and the "Muslim World" in the post September 11 political arena: 1) Islam is a monolithic religion. 2) Islam is a uniquely sexist religion. 3) The "Muslim mind" is incapable of rationality and science. 4) Islam is inherently violent. 5) The West spreads democracy, whereas Islam spawns terrorism.

Positioning Islam as a threat for West in the discourse of the elite USA press is shown in the study of Izadi and Saghaye-Biria (2007, p. 161), who state "today, Orientalist depiction of Muslim countries and their political issues concentrate around the idea that Islam is a threat". The findings of the study show that the framework used in the main articles of *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post* is carried out with the selection of words and names constructing the strategies of discourse that strengthen the perception of "Oriental untrustworthiness and Islam as threat".

Moreover, Vultee who showed in his study how the word 'fatwa' gained the meaning of 'death sentence' in the USA news language and popular culture (2006, p. 320), states that Western discourse mainly constructed Middle Eastern identity around the concept of "the ideology of difference" and that journalists contributed to this with their practices of creating meaning as in the Orientalism study of Said.

Therefore it would be beneficial to discuss how Islam is represented in the news of *The Times* and *The Guardian* that compose the database of this study in the following sections. Acknowledging the kind of Islam-Muslim image and representation that is dominant in the news of these newspapers' discourse is important in respect of reminding how the readers comprehend the words 'Islam' or 'Muslim' and what kind of a meaning world is created when these words are used to nominate Turkey.

The studies that analyzed the representation of Islam in the news of *The Times* and *The Guardian* reveal that these newspapers tend to identify Islam with the most extreme radical interpretations of Islam and Muslims with extreme radicalists even though the slight differences in the news language and discourse of these two newspapers can be found: e.g. both of these newspapers do not use the comments of Muslim leaders in the news regarding acts of violence by Muslim militants even though these leaders express their strong condemnation. Thus this news both strengthens the Islamophobia and represents Islam as a monolithic, extremely radical religion as Said states (Elgamri, 2008; Malcom, 2010). In the news of *The Times* and *The Guardian*, the acts of violence that continued for years in Britain between Catholic and Protestant Irish people and the British forces were never named as Catholic violence or Protestant terrorism, nor were the actors in these acts named as Catholic terrorists or Protestant terrorists. However, the acts of violence that Muslims played a role in are defined as "Islamic terror", "Islamic violence", "Islamic radicalism", and actors are defined as "Muslim terrorists", "Islamic fundamentalist gunmen" using cliché attributions. Thus all Muslims were labeled in such news and they were defined by being identified with terror and violence (Elgamri, p. 217-218).

Furthermore, the study that Malcom et al. (2010) conducted on the news in the sports pages and supplements of *The Times* and *The Guardian* (in the

news regarding the death of Pakistan cricket team trainer Woolmer) showed that the dominant discourse and framework recreate the Orientalist irrational, violent, fanatic Muslim cliché; emphasize the barbarism, violence/inertia and rigidity of Islamic world, and the existence of absolute and systematic differences between West and East; and regenerate Orientalism. Malcolm, who states that Richardson's view, namely that "When Muslims engage (or perceived to engage) in violent, repressive or intolerant activities, 'it seems to activate within the journalist a reservoir of ideas, or core images about 'Muslims'" is accurate, reminds us that the Muslim image hidden in these lands is violent, repressive or intolerant, traditionalist and irreconcilable differences. Moreover, the study indicates that the dominant media narration represents Muslims as dishonest, sexually corrupted elements.

In light of this information, the findings shall be assessed by considering which images are triggered from the image database of the readers' mind that had been exposed to the presentations of these newspapers when the words Muslim and Islam are used while defining Turkey and Turkish people in *The Times* and *The Guardian*.

### *New Orientalism and Representation of Turkey's EU Membership Candidacy Process in Today's Western Media*

Especially with Turkey's EU membership process, the number of news stories published about Turkey in the Western press has increased (Aksoy, 2009; Arcan, 2010). Based on this increase, there has also been an increase in the studies conducted on discourse regarding the presence and presentation of Turkey and Turkey's EU membership in the Western press. These studies indicate that the news in the European press discussed Turkey's EU membership in the context of Europe's cultural and social character, and European identity. Even though such news stories differ in each country, many studies showed that they mainly represent the concern about the differences between Europe and Turkey (Aksoy, 2009; Arcan 2010; Christensen, 2005; Christensen, 2006; Negrine et al., 2004; Tekin, 2008).

Christensen (2005, p. 113-112) states that the history of Muslim nations' presence in the Non-Muslim nations' press is highly filled with

essentialist, cliché judgments and disabled by being out-of context, and adds: "Historically, representation of Muslims and Islam to the non-Muslim world by the international press has been problematic." Christensen gives the American and British press coverage of the AKP's victory in the 2002 elections in Turkey as the 'victory of Islam' which is an example of this problematical attitude of the international press. Christensen also reminds us that Orientalist Turkish representation is still vivid in the Western press; the chief editor of Christian Science Monitor published an article regarding the 2002 elections in Turkey which begins with *The Ballad of East and West* by Kipling, which is known as an example of Orientalist literary corpus.

Another warning regarding how Turkey (and Turks) is represented with Orientalist language and tone in the Western press comes from the studies of Chouliaraki. Her study in which she analyzed the political discourse in the news (2000, p. 303) is enlightening and striking in this sense. In the study Choulraki says that Turkish and Western identity construction is given in the contrast between "barbarian" and "civil", in other words "we" vs. "other". In the anthropological sense, 'barbarism' is a Western concept and it is an indication of being the 'other', in other words having different cultural practices and values. It indicates the polarization of different moral values and barbarism "is also a disciplinary discourse of Western moral-ity, because in addition to setting up a cultural opposition of moralities, it also evaluates these moralities, and stresses the difference between right and wrong, civilized and barbaric moral values." (*ibid*, p. 303). This point indicates the test for Turkey with human rights, democracy and legal order that are presented as Western values. Human rights  as a democratic attitude are made one of the main criteria of Westernism and the violations of human rights, anti-democratic and unlawful practices are presented in the Western press as evidence of Turkish people not being civil and Western and humane, in other words being barbarian according to Chouliaraki. Thus, it is not a coincidence that the hardest criticism of the EU regarding Turkey focuses on human rights in the EU membership process (Arcan, 2010).

Another study, conducted by Negrine and his colleagues (2008, p. 54) examines how Turkey's EU membership process is presented in the British, French, Greek and Turkish press. The study reaches the conclusion that the

reason most widely used in the news stories defending that the EU should not begin membership negotiations with Turkey is 'Turkey's cultural, religious and geographical difference'. Negrine et al draw attention to an editorial from France's *Le Figaro* titled 'Turkish Poison' which called on the European Council to recognize that "'historically, culturally and geographically, Turkey is not European'" (*ibid*, p. 63) which is a direct example of Orientalist discourse. Moreover, the finding of the study regarding how politicians and newspapers objecting to Turkey's acceptance to the EU refer to the completed and unchangeable European identity and to its historical construction, also show that today's Western press is not that free from Orientalist discourse.

There are especially many examples that Turkey and Turkish identity is 'other'ed by means of a comparison between 'us' and 'them' that reveals the roots of Orientalism in the discourse of the French press. In the study of Tekin (2008, p. 748), the discourse of the news given by quoting from *Le Monde* is just like it is echoed from the Middle Ages: "If we don't do anything, 'they' (Turks) will settle in our cathedrals, 'they' will sleep with your daughters." These statements show that the "Lustful Turks" image of the Orientalist literature is still alive in today's European's mind and "the historical image of Ottoman Empire still alive in the French social imaginary" says Tekin, (*ibid*, p. 738). Another point that Tekin (*ibid*, p.739) takes our attention to is the fact that Turkish people are defined as ignorant, arrogant, disrespectful to the rules of the game, unreliable, dishonest while Europeans are mainly defined as moderate, tolerant, democratic, respectful, liberal, peaceful and rational in the construction of European (we) and Turkish (other) in French discourse opposing Turkey's EU membership. Such ethnocentrism and cliché judgments are reinforced and regenerated. The French right wing, which declares its unhappiness regarding the way the Turkish delegation works on EU platforms, uses definitions such as 'chantage oriental' (*ibid*, p. 740) and 'oriental know-how' (*ibid*, p. 740), proving the actuality of Orientalist discourse.

**Findings:**

**Construction of Turkey and Turkish Identity in the News of *The Guardian* and *The Times***

"Since every search for identity includes differentiating oneself from what one is not, identity politics is always and necessarily a politics of the creation of difference." (Benhabib, 1996, p. 3). As these words that belong to Benhabib, who was born in Istanbul and became one of the important thinkers of our age, reveal clearly, "othering" is an obligatory stop in the process of identity construction. While 'self' is constructed by emphasizing the qualities different than the 'other', both identities are constructed. As it is detailed in the studies that Wodak and Van Dijk focused on decoding the racist discourse, while 'self' or 'us' is constructed as an in-group iden-tity, 'other' or 'them' is constructed as out-group identity (van Dijk, 2007; Wodak, 2009). Thus by emphasizing the differences between 'us' and 'them', polarization and opposition are created. By creating a discriminative dif-ferentiation in the identity hierarchy, the desired and the undesired identity is clarified. The method that Orientalism uses to construct Oriental identity is not different from the above at all. After all, "Orientalism was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them'." (Said, 1999, p. 53). Regarding this subject, Said states that the process of constructing an identity necessitates the existence of another, different and rival alter-ego in every culture. The Orient is constructed as the alter-ego of the West in the process that West constructed itself and thus the vocabulary of Orientalism is composed on dualities such as East versus West, despotism versus democracy, cruelty versus fair treatment, irrational versus rational, and cunning versus trust (Izadi & Saghaye-Bria, 2007, p. 144). Since the news is also constructed based on these dualities, Turkey is constructed as the opposite of Christian Europe and the EU.

*Construction of a Muslim Turkey as the Opposite of Christian Europe and the EU*

The mental models used in the news stories of *The Times* and *The Guardian* analyzed in  light of previous information, are Eurocentric and

Orientalist models. Moreover the Turkish identity that is represented with the use of these models is the out-group, 'other', not European. The representation and construction of Turkey as the 'other' is made through the use of various discourse construction strategies. Through referential and/or nomination strategies, 'Us' and 'Them' categories are created, while 'us' is constructed as an in-group identity, 'them' is constructed as an out-group identity. This process is the 'discourse construction of identity creation' and 'othering' through language. The values that are attributed to the identities define how the identities are categorized. The attributes are not independent of values and norms, and loaded with ideological meanings, and with these properties, they manipulate the short-term memory and social cognition (van Dijk, 2006). While 'us' identity is represented positively at this stage, the 'other' identity is represented negatively. In this representation, while 'us' is described with words having positive meanings and positive properties are highlighted, the 'other' is described with negative words and the negative properties are highlighted. As Van Dijk says, these strategies that are at various levels of the discourse are not surprising and they are ordinary ideological applications of the group polarization discourse (*ibid*).

In the news, while Turkey as a country, as its public and rulers, as a society and as its individuals, is defined with a selection of words that bring negative meanings and attributes, its properties that are highlighted are also the negative ones. Turkey and Turkish identity is constructed as out-group non-European, as the 'other' identity. This attitude is widely seen in the news stories of left-liberal *The Guardian* as well as in the right-conservative *The Times*.

In the news discourse, generalizations and denotations that emphasize the polarizing negative differentiation of 'us' and 'them' are used. Turkey is generally defined with negative attributes with its public, culture, country and history, and judged. These judgments construct the background of the representation in a subjective manner. These generalizing judgments are usually in the form of sharing the opinions of Europe and EU opinion leaders. The following examples indicate the type of negative and adverse qualities these judgments attributed to Turkey and Turkish people:

"Turkey's entry into Europe is… a Trojan horse in the heart of the West." (*The Guardian*; December 20, 2004)

"Could it be that they (USA) fear a strong EU, and they want to use Turkey as a Trojan Horse?" (*The Times*; September 29, 2004)

"Turkey, however changed, remains overwhelmingly Muslim, historically hostile and geographically Asian." (*The Guardian*; December 14, 2004)

"Whether or not Turkey is culturally European is a more valid question… The difference of religion will be an obstacle." (*The Times*; September 29, 2004)

"Do we want the river of Islam to enter the riverbed of secularism?" (*The Guardian;* June 30 / September 29 / October 2, 2004, this quote is used in 3 different articles by different writers.)

"Turkey has always represented another continent… in permanent contrast with Europe." (*The Guardian*; December 14, 2004)

"Turkey was in permanent contrast to Europe and joining Europe would be a mistake… Turkey has always represented a different continent, in permanent contrast to Europe." (*The Times*; August 12, 2004)

"Turkish membership would signal 'the end of the EU'." (*The Guardian*; September, 2004)

"Turkey's population is expected to grow 100 million by 2050, and many European politicians worry that having a developing nation almost entirely in Central Asia as the largest member will effectively destroy the EU." (*The Times*; May 4, 2004)

"To bring Turkey into the European Union is not consistent with our concept of the European project and it is not good for Europe." (*The Guardian*; September 24, 2004)

As the news quotations show, Europe and Turkey, Christianity and Islam are positioned as opposite values, and thus they argue against Turkey's EU membership. Moreover, these two identities are not just positioned in opposite corners, but also, Turkish-Muslim country, culture and identity are positioned as threats to European-Christian identity and the EU project. Thus, Christian European identity and Muslim Turkish identity are constructed as the opposites of each other, and (Turkish) one is the destroyer of the other.

As Wodak states, the discourse construction of the similarity/difference of nations causes some of the out-group identities to be cast out socially and politically. Nations and national identities are formed with four types of

discourse macro-strategies. Constructive strategies are aimed at the construction of national identity; Protective-legitimizing strategies aim to recreate and protect the national identities or identity narrations; Transformative strategies aim to change the national identity; and Destructive strategies aim to destroy the national identity (1999, p. 187). The value-attributing judgments regarding Turkey that have been exemplified before also construct the national identity of Europe as a whole and present the EU identity as a homogenous structure composed of 27 countries. While this presentation is being composed by constructive and protective-legitimizing strategies, Turkish identity is being composed by the use of only negative judgments and destructive strategy.

### Construction of Muslim-Turkish Identity as the Opposite of Christian European Identity

A Vienna and Paris originated news story published in *The Guardian* is an example of how destructive discourse strategies are used in the construction of Turkish identity. When the news is analyzed, it can be obviously seen that it is strengthened with hidden Orientalist news language traps with its content full of Orientalist clichés. While the news constructs the Christian-European 'us' identity in opposition to Muslim-Ottoman-Turkish 'other' identity, Turkish identity is formed by destructive, absolutely bad Turkish representation. Another point that should be considered is that the news recreates the Austrian European's Turkish image in the British press.

> Sipping red wine on a hillside terrace high above Vienna, Helmut pointed to the Polish church next door, convinced that the epic drama played out here in 1683 still spoke to central Europeans after all the centuries. 'I know one Turkish bloke' said Viennese social worker. "He's got two wives. Neither of them can speak a word of German. He beats them up. He's got two sons as well. They're terrified of him. They're just different from us. We're Christians. They are Muslims. And these Muslims are getting more and more extreme. It's time to make a choice. I'm against it." "This is Europe and we're in danger of losing our identity with all these people from Turkey and Africa. We Christians are losing our faith while the Muslims are getting more fundamentalist. (*The Guardian*; September 22, 2004)

It is possible to see the otherness of Turkish identity from the denotations used to define the identity in the news. When the selection of names and adjectives used in the news stories is analyzed, the meanings evoked both

through direct content and implication strategies indicate the Orientalist references that place Europe to the center.

Moreover, the actor of the news, the European character Helmut is a news source like he just stepped out of a Hollywood movie scene. The news source, Austrian-European Helmut, is sipping his red wine in a space (probably a luxurious house or restaurant) looking out over Vienna from the top, he is an educated and European professional, who lives a prosperous life. As a social worker, his expert opinion about Turks forms the Turkish representation of the news. The Turkish bloke who has two wives (for Europeans, polygamy is a norm that is in a way synonymous with Muslim), beats his wives, is despotic, sexist, violent and whose concubine wives cannot talk a word of German, are ignorant and submissive are sample representations of the 'other' of European identity. As it is reminded at the beginning of the article, barbarian Turks that besieged Vienna came and settled in the center of the city with a poor immigrant siege this time after more than 300 years even though they are no longer wanted and they are also a kind of threat that will cause the loss of the European identity. While the meaning world that the article creates with its narration style and choice of words strengthens an 'othering' language through the 'us' and 'them' duality created with the phrase 'We are Christians, and they are Muslims', it also reminds us that the negative cultural characteristics of Islam and East are not just unique to ordinary Turks but also include the ones governing Turkey, as exemplified by the phrase of 'Turkey's Islamist Prime Minister Erdoğan'.

The producer of the othering news discourse created with Orientalist cliché writes this article with the claim of criticizing the West. This reminds us how Western intellectuals who are aware of Orientalism criticism are creative in new Orientalist strategies of today. It would be good to remind the warning of Ashcroft et al. (2000) about this subject:

> Orientalists in academic fields may now be more subtle and self-critical, but this construction still occurs in various ways-in the media, in 'expert' advice, academic study and intellectual commentary-and it rests upon a deep ground of unexamined assumptions. Such assumptions remain unexamined because they enter into language itself (p. 9).

The new Orientalist creativity that lies deep and emerged in the today's media reveals itself in Turkey originated news representing a weird, exotic, violent Turk and his search for honor:

> "'We Turks want to be a part of Europe, but with our honour and values intact': People say they cannot continue to sacrifice their culture and feel insulted by hostile European attitudes." (*The Guardian*; December 18, 2004)

The article under this title creates the impression that it is about Turkish honor and values and that it is a criticism of the hostile attitude of the Europeans against Turks. However, when we read the article, we see that the cultural value that Turks cannot give up with the enforcement of EU rules is eating sheep's intestines and that they see continuing to do this as honorable membership. ("They have already said we're not allowed to eat the intestines of sheep.") It is obvious that the image of Turks eating sheep's intestine can only correspond to weirdness and savageness in the minds of the European readers. Furthermore, it is clarified that what the Turks define as the hostile attitude of Europeans is the discomfort felt by being pushed to accept the discrimination applied to Armenians. In the mind of the European reader who thinks that the Armenian genocide by the Ottoman state is an indisputable fact, the image of denying Turks who do not accept even discrimination against the Armenians with the words 'we never did any such thing' is considerable. The article reduces the culture of Turks who want to enter into the EU with their 'honor' to eating sheep's intestines and the hostile European attitude to the right of denying the discrimination against the Armenians.

In another article, the Turkish culture is presented as a traditional and uniquely sexist culture, and Turkish parents are presented as barbarian and ruthless individuals:

> "On October 6, the day Turkey was formally recommended by the European Commission to start talks with EU, Ayse Ozgur woke up in a bank.
>
> For three weeks, she had been on run in eastern Turkey - from the man who raped her, a mother who had starved her and a father who had sold her in exchange of money and guns." (*The Guardian*; December 13, 2004)

Turkey, which is presented as a country where the women are sold by their fathers in exchange for money and guns, raped, starved to death by their mothers is constructed as the space of a belligerently frightening culture.

### *Representation of Turkey as a Spooky Culture and Geography*

In the news stories of *The Guardian* and *The Times* that were the subject of the study; the most widely-used denotation in defining Turkey, Turkish government and Turkish public was the 'Muslim-Islam' that defines the religious characteristic of the country. In addition, the most commonly-used denotation while defining the AKP Government and Prime Minister Erdoğan is 'Islamist' and other denotations defining properties of Muslims.

The conducted studies provide data that the British press misrepresents Islam and Muslims (Marsden and Heather, 2009; Poole, 2009; Richardson, 2004). It is also shown in these studies that the historical roots of this representation style is associated with Orientalist discourse and that the West's ethnocentric discourse recreates the 'Orient' with an 'Orientalist' language. According to the definition of Said, Orientalism is the misrepresentation of Islam; and in the power struggle between the Christian West and the Muslim East, the strategy of constructing the Muslim Eastern as the 'Other' is inherent to Orientalism. Thus, the Islam and Muslim denotation mentioned here is full of many associations, and positions Muslim-Eastern as a hierarchically-lower 'other' compared to Christian-Western. This positioning is constructed with the narrations that are created, based on the assumption that the East is ontologically different from the West according to Sayyid (qtd. in Richardson, 2004, p. 6). This ontological difference that is assumed to exist between the West and the East is founded on various dual contrasts. According to the Orientalist ontological scheme, the Orient is distinct, different, conservative (related to change), primitive, backward barbarian and passive. Thus it tends towards despotism, stays distant from developments, acts irrationally, does not accept change (related to dialogue and negotiations), remains monotype and incapable of knowing itself. To this ontological scheme, Yeğenoğlu suggests to add the representation of Muslim East Societies as primitive and undeveloped by being pushed socio-culturally backwards (qtd. In Richardson, 2004, p. 6-7). All this essentialist and reductive discourse mentioned above are presented to the reader as the characteristics of 'Muslim Mentality' (Poole, 2009, p. 30).

As it can be seen from the news stories that have been exemplified until now, news regarding Turkey in the Western press is part of a new

Orientalist narration that takes the entire Orientalist texts dominated by typical Orientalist themes and motifs as reference and that creates the Orient/Oriental narration of today.

When the denotation strategies which are used in the construction of the discourse of news about the Turkey's EU membership are analyzed in light of this information, the denotation of 'Muslim-Islam' is the denotation that is most widely used in defining both the country and the public. It is interesting to see the words of Muslim-Islam are being used mostly together with words such as poor, agricultural, and Asian. When the text of the news is examined, the use of the denotations together regenerates the Orientalist discourse where East is represented as backward and undeveloped as quoted before, and reinforces the Orientalist cliché in the common memory of the readers that comes from the past. It is also very interesting to see that these denotations are always used to legitimize the arguments against Turkey's EU membership.

The news story by three reporters in *The Times* which originated in Brussels and which was dated December 18th, 2004 is an example that gives us an idea with respect to examining the context and framework of the news regarding Turkey's EU membership. This quality is not just unique to this news and it is an example of the general attitude dominant in other news.

When the quotations made from this story are examined, common features with the studies detailed in the previous sections can be seen:

> "(Turkey is) a **poor**, largely **agrarian**, **Islamic** country almost entirely in **Asia** (…) Turkey arouses more passion than any country that has joined previously because it is so much bigger, **poorer** and **more culturally different** (...) average incomes in parts of Eastern Turkey **as low as** 180 Pounds a year. The conditions imposed on Turkey are aimed at calming fears that millions of Turks will migrate to elsewhere in EU, and that such a large, **poor** nation will **soak up** agricultural and development subsidies, **draining EU coffers**. With many European countries struggling to integrate Muslim minorities, the plan to make a **Muslim** country the largest in the EU is also controversial." (highlights belong to the author)

The news labels Turkey as a large, poor, agrarian Islamic country in the Asian geography- in other words, as backward, undeveloped, unindustrialized, not modern, traditional- and it is constructed as a space open to all

the implications that this selection of names makes. It is also interesting to see that the phrase 'the fear for Turkey to soak up and drain Europe and European funds'; the words of 'poor', 'Muslim', 'Islamic' are frequently used and thus labels are continuously reinforced. Indeed, the poverty of Turkey is converted into a reason that enables the justification of the special and tough conditions imposed on Turkey even though they are not and were not imposed on any other EU member candidates.

> "Mr. Erdoğan said: 'We believe that the EU should become a power which would really contribute to **world peace**.' The issue of recognizing the existence of Cyprus is deeply sensitive in Turkey, which **occupies** the northern part of the island with 35,000 troops. At one point in a row over the precise wording of the deal, which was rewritten almost a dozen times in just 24 hours, Mr. Erdoğan **threatened** to walk out of the summit… EU states, reflecting fears that Turkey's recent democratic reforms may be reversed as radical **Islam** gains influence in the country, insisted on the right to suspend negotiations in case Turkey is found guilty of 'a serious and persistent breach of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms'."

Another emphasis of the story is expressing the Prime Minister's expectations of the EU regarding 'world peace', underscoring the fact that these words are stated by the prime minister of a country that invaded Cyprus. Thus suspicions are created about the sincerity of the world peace demand of an occupying state Turkey and its public with high military sensitivities, and so the self-seeker Eastern image hiding different motivations behind its words and behaviors is reinforced.

Another point that is stressed in this section of the story is the discussions on the wording of the deal. Presenting the Turkish delegation as a group that makes others change the wording every hour, thus incapable of compromise and tolerance, does not have the ability to negotiate and thus rationalism along with a portrait of a Prime Minister who threatens the EU presidents by saying he will leave the negotiations, once again emphasizes the Eastern features of the Turkish delegation.

Again in the same article, by stressing the anti-democratic structure, which still cannot be trusted in terms of human rights and respect to freedom despite the reforms and legal regulations taken, in order to complete the unreliable self-seeker portrait as an Eastern country and people, it is

once again structured as right and expressed as natural for the West to insist on the right of intervening in the situation as a requirement of the 'White Men's burden in the probable cases of radical Islam gaining power and strong violations of human rights and basic freedoms since such values are not regarded as strange by Islamic countries.

In the same news story, the Muslim-Islamic and non-European identity of Turkey are emphasized seven times. Its poverty, backwardness, unde-veloped structure, traditional world are accentuated three times to reinforce the 'other'ness of Turkish-Muslim against the Western. The emphasis on the Muslim identity of Turkey is also widely seen in other news stories as it is exemplified below:

> "Ankara's moderate Islamist government… the impoverished country of 70 million…" (*The Guardian*; October 7, 2004)

> "…Turkey, a country of 70 million Muslims" (*The Times*; May 4, 2004)

> "… to start membership negotiations with Turkey, opening the way for the EU's borders to reach Iraq and Iran and for a poor Muslim nation in Asia." (*The Times*; December 17, 2004)

> "Turkey, however changed, remains overwhelmingly Muslim, historically hostile and geographically Asian." (*The Guardian*; December 14, 2004)

> "Turkey arouses more passion that any country that has joined previously because it is so much bigger, poorer, and more culturally different." (*The Times*; December 18, 2004)

> "Turkey would be the EU's most populous country, its poorest and the only one with a majority Muslim population." (*The Guardian*; October 29, 2004)

The news language above, associates Turkey with Muslim, poverty and backwardness. This association includes an implication of threat against the EU. As it can be seen in the following news story, it is even made un-necessary to discuss the subject of EU membership with a Turkey portrait that is open to the influence of "Islamic extremists" countries and groups by establishing hidden financial relations with rich Muslim countries that have a secret agenda as a poor and Muslim country.

> It has been said that more mosques have been built in Turkey during the past decade than in the whole of the country's previous history. Many of these have been financed by Saudi money and dedicated to the Wahhabi creed. (*The Times*; October 07, 2004)

The unfriendly discourse that this news language triggers is hostile beyond just occasionally externalizing or othering. In fact some news explicitly states that Turkey is perceived as the historical enemy of the West.

### Representation of Turkish Prime Minister as 'Islamist'

As it is seen in the news content given above, Prime Minister Erdoğan is used as a common news actor in the representation of the Turkish country and public. As mentioned before, these representations refer to Eastern and Muslim cliché. In this section, examples regarding the images used in the representation of Prime Minister Erdoğan will be given.

The education of Erdoğan, in other words lack of education, comes to our attention as one of the characteristics that is implied in the news. In one of the articles, Prime Minister Erdoğan is defined as follows:

> As a young man, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was a gifted footballer; but not quite good enough to turn professional. So he concentrated on politics instead. Now, Mr. Erdoğan is the Prime Minister of Turkey. (*The Guardian;* December 14, 2004)

This news report represents the Turkish Prime Minister as someone who in a way accidentally became Prime Minister since he could not be a professional football player. Another news story starts with the "Barbarian to East" phrase of Greek Orthodox Patriarch Chrystomos, indicating the place and status of Turkey in their eyes with the sensitivity of a public that stayed under the control of the Ottomans for 400 years. Even though the context of the news does not require such information, the story describes Prime Minister Erdoğan as an (ignorant) leader who does not know a foreign language and defines Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis as an (academician and intellectual) leader who prepared his post-doctorate study on Turkish-Greek relations in the USA and know English as a foreign language (*The Guardian*; August 5, 2004).

The Turkish Prime Minister that is pushed aside is subject to vivid portraits as a person who follows Islamic rules in the daily life practice, who is a teetotaler, who loves 'inflammatory Islamist poetry'.

> The EU leads toasted deal with **champagne** and **orange juice** for Recep

> Tayyip Erdoğan, the Turkish Prime Minister. Mr. Erdoğan is a **teetotaler** who was jailed a few years ago for reciting **inflammatory Islamist poetry** declaring that **'our minarets are our bayonets, and our mosques are our barracks'**. (*The Times*; December 18; 2004, The highlights belong to the writer.)

The article is not just underlining the difference of Islamic identity by defining the Turkish Prime Minister as a figure who is against drinking alcohol which is part of the European culture, but it also refers to the Islamist, violent nature of a poem that the Prime Minister recited in his speech as 'inflammatory Islamist poetry'. It is also interesting how these three Western reporters who prepared this story could not show the reflex of discussing the imprisonment of a political leader because of reciting a poem within the framework of freedom of expression.

In the news, both Prime Minister Erdoğan and his party, and also the government formed by them are labeled with the 'Islamist' adjective. While the Turkish Prime Minister is called with the 'Islamist' adjective that also emphasizes a political conceptualization, French former President Valery Giscard d'Estaing is named as the architect of the new European Constitution by frequently mentioning the Christian roots and nature.

> "Turkey's **Islamist** Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan, goes to Brussels tomorrow to argue for Ankara's seat at the EU table... Valery Giscard d'Estaing, **the architect of the new European constitution**…" (*The Guardian*; September 22, 2004)

On the other hand, the leader of AKP, Prime Minister Erdoğan is the head of the Turkish government, is defined by his relations with Islamist policies with denotations such as:

> "the party's root lie in **Islamist** policies" (*The Guardian*; September 24, 2004),

> "**Islamist** government" (*The Times;* September 20, 2004),

> "Mr. Erdoğan's moderate **Islamic** government" (*The Guardian*; May 8, 2004);

No other European Christian Democratic President, party or government are defined by Christian denotation or references associated with Christianity. This indicates that the denotations of 'Muslim terrorist' and 'Turkey's Islamist Prime Minister' are parts of the 'Terror spreading Islam' presentation that is present in the large Orientalist Picture, and take their place among the other Orientalist discourses and representations.

**Conclusion**

From the denotation strategies used for the Turkish identity in the discourse of the news subject of this study, it can be seen that Turkish identity is constructed as the 'other' of European identity and this construction is achieved by the use of Orientalist themes and motifs. Thus, it is seen that news discourse creates an identity hierarchy and constructs 'European' identity as the superior, desired, example-setting identity, while constructing 'Turkish' identity as the identity that has totally the opposite qualities. The arguments that make this distinction not only refer to the current performance of Turkey and the Turkish public, but also the historical ones. In these historical references, the traces of Orientalist arguments are clear. As Turkish identity and Turkey which are positioned as the opposite of European culture and identity wherein these qualities are defined as not being in harmony with the EU, its European identity and culture, but as an out-group thus there is an attempt to legitimize leaving Turkey out of the EU.

The distinctive quality of Turkish identity construction is for it to be presented as a poor Muslim Asian character. This character is constructed with representations that recreate Orientalist cliché and judgments such as poor, backward, undeveloped, irrational, wild, self-concerned, and barbarian. These representations also take their place in the two most effective newspapers representing the right-conservative and left-liberal wing of a country that is declared to approach much more positively the EU membership of Turkey in comparison to the press of other European countries. As Kumar (2010, p. 260) states, Islamophobia and Orientalism became the guaranteed framework of the quotations not just in the mainstream of the Western press but also the progressive ones. Thus seeing that the Orientalist language and Orientalist concepts that reveal themselves in the general news framing of *The Times* known for its right-conservative approach is also present in *The Guardian* known with its left-conservative approach is an indication of the popularity of Orientalism.

In conclusion, European press still uses Orientalist discourse strategies and represents Turkey as an Oriental country and Turkish identity as Oriental. Unless the Western press that construct the perception of Western public

opinion about Turkey and Turkish identity change its 'othering' discourse which is full of Orientalist clichés, the relationship between Turkey and the EU cannot be a relationship between equals.

# G E N İ Ş L E T İ L M İ Ş   Ö Z E T

## Şarkiyatçılığın Aynasında Türkiye Suretleri:
## Britanya Basınında Türkiye'nin AB Üyeliğine İlişkin
## Haberlerde Şarkiyatçı Söylem

### H. Esra Arcan[*]

Gerek Türkiye basınında gerekse Batı basınında Türkiye tanımlanırken 'Doğu ile Batı arasındaki köprü' veya 'Asya ile Avrupa'nın buluştuğu ülke' metaforları sıklıkla kullanılır. Bu metaforlar Türkiye'nin Avrupalılığından çok Asyalılığını veya diğer bir değişle Batılılığından çok Doğululuğunu vurgulayan metaforlardır. Bu metaforlar yalnızca coğrafi bir Asyalılığa veya Doğululuğa işaret etmez, aynı zamanda kültürel bir Asyalılık veya Doğululuktur işaret edilen. Günümüzde söylemin ana dolaşım alanı olan haberlerde bu kültürel işaret Şarkiyatçı dil ve yaklaşımın izlerini açıkça taşır. Ana akım Batı basınının sağ ve sol eğilimli gazetelerinde yer alan Türkiye'ye ilişkin haberlerde bu dil ve yaklaşım ortak bir tutum olarak kendini gösterir. Bu durum özellikle Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliğine (AB) üye adayı olması ile Batı basınında artan Türkiye'ye ilişkin haberlerde Türkiye'nin ve Türkiye halkının Batılılığını sorgulayan veya Avrupadışılığını vurgulayan dilde kendini açığa çıkarır. Bu dil aracılığı ile yaratılan ve haberler aracılığı ile yaygınlaştırılan bu söylemin incelenmesi Batı'nın Şarkiyatçı kültür mirasının haberlerde Türkiye temsiline etkisini anlamamıza ve dolayısı ile Batı'nın ve Batılının gözünden ve dilinden, Batı aynasından dünyaya yansıtılan Türkiye suretini de görmemize yardımcı olacaktır. Bu suretin Türkiye ve halkına Batılıdan çok Doğulu, diğer bir değişle Müslüman ve Asyalı bir kimlik atfettiğini görmek şaşırtıcı değildir. Özellikle Türkiye'nin AB'ye üyelik kriterlerini karşılamak üzere yasal düzenlemelere hız kazandırdığı, hukukun üstünlüğü ve insan haklarına saygılı demokratik uygulamalara önem verdiğini ve vereceğini beyan etmesi ile bu atıfların ve beraberinde Avrupa uygarlığının kültürel karakterini tanımlayan, Türkiye'nin AB üyeliğine karşı itirazların artması dikkat çekicidir. Bütün bunlar dikkate alındığında Batı basınında

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yer alan Türkiye'nin AB üyeliğine ilişkin haberlerin söylem stratejilerinin incelenmesi bu itirazların niteliğini açıklamamıza katkı sağlayabilir.

Bu amaçla Britanya basınının Türkiye ve Türk kimliğini temsil ve inşa ederken hangi söylem stratejilerini kullandığı ve bu söylemin Şarkiyatçı izler taşıyıp taşımadığının incelenmesi özellikle aydınlatıcı olacaktır. Bu amaçla, bu çalışmada, Britanya basınının sırasıyla liberal-sol ve muhafazakâr sağ olmak üzere iki farklı politik eğilimi temsil eden *The Guardian* ve *The Times* gazetelerinde yer alan Türkiye'nin AB üyelik sürecine ilişkin haberlerin söylem inşa stratejilerinin incelenmesi hedeflenmektedir. Her ikisi de Britanya kamuoyu üzerinde etkili olan sağ-muhafazakâr ve sol-liberal, Türkiye'nin AB üyeliği konusunda Britanya hükümetlerinin Türkiye'den yana olumlu tavrını paylaşan bu gazete haberlerinde kullanılan söylem stratejilerinin hangi ölçü ve şekilde Batının Şarkiyatçı refleks ve tarihinin izlerini taşıdığı bu çalışmanın odak noktasıdır.

Araştırma veritabanı Britanya basınında ciddi-prestijli gazete örnekleri olan, liberal-sol eğilimli *The Guardian* ve muhafazakâr-sağ eğilimli *The Times* gazetelerinde 2004 yılında yer alan Türkiye'nin AB üyeliğine ilişkin haberleri içermektedir. Veri-haberler Lexis-Nexis Akademik Haber İndeksinin taranmasıyla elde edilmiş olup, özellikle eleştirel söylem analizi alanında kurucu teorisyenler olarak önemli katkılarda bulunmuş Teun van Dijk'ın *Sosyobilişsel Yaklaşım* (Sociocognitive Approach) modeli ile Ruth Wodak'ın *Söylem-Tarihsel Yaklaşım* (Discourse-Historical Approach) modeline başvurulmuştur. Bu modeller aracılığı ile haber başlıkları ve haber metinlerindeki egemen söylem kalıplarının ve söylem stratejilerinin açığa çıkarılması ve Türk kimliğinin temsilinin Şarkiyatçı izlek ve motifler taşıyıp taşımadığını ve inşa edilen kimliğin ötekileştirilip, ötekileştirilmediğinin açığa çıkarılması hedeflenmiştir.

Çalışmaya konu olan haberlerin söyleminde kullanılan Türk kimliğine ilişkin adlandırma stratejilerine bakıldığında Türk kimliğinin Avrupalı kimliğinin 'öteki' olarak inşa edildiği ve bu inşanın Şarkiyatçı izlek ve motiflerin kullanımıyla gerçekleştirildiği görülmektedir. Böylelikle haber söyleminin bir kimlikler hiyerarşisi oluşturduğu, bu hiyerarşi içinde 'Avrupalı' kimliğini üstün, makbul, erişilmesi, örnek alınması gereken kimlik olarak yapılandırırken, 'Türk' kimliğini ise bunlara karşıt niteliklere sahip

kimlik olarak konumlandırdığı görülmektedir. Bu tespiti gerekçelendiren argümanlar sadece günümüz Türkiye'sinin ve Türkiye halkının bugünkü performansına referansla değil, tarihsel Türkiye ve Türk referanslarına da başvurmaktadır. Bu tarihsel referanslarda da Şarkiyatçı argümanların izleri açıktır. Bu nitelikleri ile Avrupa kültür ve kimliğinin karşıtı olarak konumlandırılan Türk kimliği ve Türkiye aslında AB ve onun Avrupalı kimlik ve kültürü ile uyumsuz ve grupdışı olarak tanımlanırken, AB dışı bırakılması da meşrulaştırılmaktadır.

Türk kimlik inşasının belirleyici özelliği Müslüman, yoksul, Asyalı karakteri olarak sunulmaktadır. Bu karakter yoksul, geri, akıldışı, vahşi, hesapçı, zorba gibi Şarkiyatçı klişe ve kalıp yargıları yeniden üreten temsillerle inşa edilmektedir. Bu temsiller, çalışmalarda diğer Avrupa ülke basınlarına kıyasla, Türkiye'nin AB üyeliğine ılımlı yaklaştığı belirtilen bir ülkenin sağ- muhafazakâr ve sol liberal en etkin iki gazetesinde de yer almaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Şarkiyatçılık, eleştirel söylem analizi, Britanya basını, Türkiye ve Türk kimliğinin inşası

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