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Identity Representations of Turkey and Europe in Global and Regional Media

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ABSTRACT

This FEUTURE paper examines the global (Russian and US press) and regional (Egyptian and Georgian press) media coverage of the relations between Turkey and the European Union (EU) since 1999 with respect to identity and culture. Using the Critical Discourse Analysis methodology, the research gives an outlook on how significant Others make sense of the EU-Turkey relationship in the context of Turkey's EU bid by analyzing the evolution of identity representations over time. The research findings assert that while the US media coverage supports Turkey's accession to the EU, Egypt, Russia and Georgia remain sceptical towards the possibility of Turkey's adherence to the EU. The analysis shows that the international and regional media emphasizes divergence rather than convergence between Turkey and Europe, and presents Turkey's bid to join the EU as a prolonged process.

ÖZET

Bu makale kimliğin ve kültürün 1999 yılından bu yana Türkiye ile Avrupa Birliği (AB) arasındaki ilişkilerin küresel (Rus ve ABD basını) ve bölgesel (Mısır ve Gürcü basını) medya kapsamını inceler. Kritik Söylem Çözümlemesi metodolojisini kullanarak araştırma, Türkiye'nin AB üyeliği bağlamında başkalarının AB-Türkiye ilişkisini anlamlı kıldığını, zaman içinde kimlik temsilcilerinin gelişimini analiz ederek bir görünüm verir. Araştırma bulguları, ABD medyasında Türkiye'nin AB'ye üyeliğini desteklerken Mısır, Rusya ve Gürcistan'ın Türkiye'nin AB'ye bağlı olma ihtimaline karşı şüphesi kaldıklarını iddia ediyor. Analiz, uluslararası ve bölgesel medyanın, Türkiye ile Avrupa arasındaki yakınlaşmadan ziyade farklılığı vurguladığını ve Türkiye'nin AB'ye daha uzun bir süreç olarak katılma teklifini sunduğunu gösteriyor.



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Introduction

The present paper explores regional and global perspectives on the identity/cultural dimension of EU-Turkey relations over the 1999-2016 period. The analysis is based on the Egyptian, Georgian, American, and Russian press coverage of critical junctures that have triggered in-depth discussions about European and Turkish identities and their relationship to one another in regional and global media, namely the declaration of Turkey's candidacy status to the EU with the Helsinki Summit in 1999; the start of EU-Turkey accession negotiations in 2005; Orhan Pamuk's winning the Nobel Prize in 2006; Sarkozy and Merkel's stance on Turkish accession (2007-2012); the 2011-2012 French parliament's bill on mass killings of Armenians; the EU-Turkey migration deal in 2016; and the 15 July 2016 coup attempt in Turkey.¹

According to the FEUTURE Work Package 7 conceptual framework, these aforementioned key political and cultural developments are regarded as identity drivers because they constitute milestones in the history of EU-Turkey relations "in terms of stimulating interaction (either in the form of convergence, cooperation or conflict) between Turks and Europeans and thus (re)shaping identity representations" (Aydın-Düzgit et. al., 2017a: 96). These drivers in turn reflect on one or more of the four main focal issues – civilization, status in international society, nationalism and state-citizen relations – around which Turkey and Europe have constructed their identity in relation to their significant Other (ibid: 5).²

In line with the FEUTURE paper series on Identity, the research employs Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) – one of the main branches of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) – in the empirical analysis of the newspapers sample (see Annex).³ Beyond the broad CDA interdisciplinary method that looks into the relation between discourse and the socio-political or cultural context, DHA specifically investigates the role of discourse in the construction of identities.

The newspapers were selected based on their circulation figures, ownership, and ideological and/or geographical diversity in order to provide a representative sample of populations of the countries under scrutiny. As regards regional perspectives, six Egyptian newspapers were consulted: 2 affiliated to the state (*al-Ahram* and *al-Akhbar*), two owned by the opposition (*al-Wafd* and *al-Dustur*) and two independent (*al-Masry al-Yum* and *al-Shuruk*) newspapers. It was mainly *al-Ahram*, the state-owned newspaper that addressed most of the five events through news-feeds and some editorial short/opinion articles while the opposition and independent ones remained silent or only occasionally discussed EU-Turkey relations. The Georgian press sample included liberal sources like *Amerikis Khma* (Voice of America), *Radio Tavisupleba* (Radio Liber-

¹ Five drivers were initially pre-selected by the WP leaders, namely the declaration of Turkey's candidacy status to the EU with the Helsinki Summit (11-12 December 1999); the start of EU-Turkey accession negotiations (3 October 2005); Orhan Pamuk's winning the Nobel Prize of Literature (12 October 2006); Nicolas Sarkozy's speech against Turkey during the French presidential election campaign (21 February 2007); the EU-Turkey migration deal (18 March 2016). Due to a dearth of sources, the researchers had to drop some drivers and selected others among the list provided in the Guideline Paper (pp98) that were the most covered in the newspapers of their respective regions.

² For more on the focal issues see Aydın-Düzgit et. al., 2017a

³ For more on the methodology see Aydın-Düzgit et. al., 2017b; Wodak (2001: 63-94); see Annex



ty); centrist sources: *Kviris palitra*, *Rezonansi* (Resonance) and conservative ones like: *Alia*, *Sakartvelos Respublika* (Republic of Georgia), *Adjara and Akhali Taoba* (New Generation). Turkey-EU relations were given little attention in Georgian newspapers as not all events were fully covered and often addressed through fact-based columns.

Concerning the global perspectives, Russian sources included: *Gazeta.ru* (newspaper), *Novaya Gazeta* (new newspaper), which are among the liberal sources; *Pravda* (Truth), *Rossiiskaya Gazeta* (Russian Newspaper) and *Vedomosti* from centrist sources; *RIA Novosti* (Russia's international news agency), *Argumenty I Fakty* (arguments and facts), *Vzlyad* (viw; *utro.ru* (morning); *Izvestiya* (news), *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (Komsomol Truth) and *Kommersant* (The businessman) from conservative sources. Turkey-EU relations were not given a high priority in the Russian media, which rather provided straight reporting on the drivers rather than an assessment of these events. The American press sample subsumed the rather conservative *Wall Street Journal* and *Chicago Tribune*; *The Los Angeles Times*, usually regarded as centrist⁴ and the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* recognized as liberal. The drivers were widely covered in the American media, particularly in the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times* – respectively considered the most mainstream conservative and liberal newspapers – that produced most of the opinion pieces.

With this analysis, the paper aims at giving an outlook on how significant Others make sense of the EU-Turkey relationship in the context of Turkey's EU bid by analyzing the evolution of identity representations over time. Further, it complements the work of our colleagues tracing Turkey and Europe's mutual representations over the same period.⁵

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1. 1999 Helsinki Summit – Turkey's EU Candidacy Declared

The Helsinki European Council Summit held on 10-11 December 1999 represented a major endeavour to both enlarge and deepen the European Union. During this event that paved the way for the EU's largest expansion and envisaged the creation of an independent European defence capability, Turkey was granted the candidate status, twelve years after it formally applied for EU membership.

Regional Perspectives

Most of the Egyptian articles addressing this event highlight the path towards modernity undertaken by the republican leadership since Atatürk. While this event was mostly reported as a short newsfeed in Egyptian newspapers, two opinion articles referred to Turkey as a "Muslim" and "Eastern" country that is looking forward to developing a strong tie with the European Union referred to as "the Christian Club" (1999A1; 1999A2). One of these articles mentions that the declaration of Turkey's candidacy to the EU is perceived as the peak of Turkey's willingness to be part of Europe, its endorsement of the Western, liberal and civilized traits of development (1999A1). The other indicates, "Turkey is very determined to access the EU and is looking for-

⁴ It initially targeted Republican readership but leans to the left nowadays

⁵ Deliverables D7.2 and D7.6 by the Danish Institute for International Studies.



ward to the announcement of a date for the start of accession negotiations" (1999A2). While the Egyptian press considers Turkey as a "modernizing" and "Europeanizing" entity, it also signals that the EU would show some reluctance to admit it (1999A1). It expects that Turkey's "relentless" effort to join the EU would be "futile" because the latter does not favour having Turkey as a European member due to religious, economic and security concerns. By putting into perspective cultural differences between Turkey and Europe, opinion articles in the Egyptian press emphasise the conflicting nature of their relationship.

Georgian newspapers predicate Europe and Turkey as representatives of two different civilizations. Turkey is viewed as outside Europe because it is described as more pro-American than pro-European and as a Muslim country while European states are Christian ones (1999G1). In terms of hierarchy, Turkey is perceived as inferior to Europe economically, but superior to European countries militarily, according to 1999G1 "Turkey has the biggest and strongest army in Europe". The text exaggerates European standards of living and its economic possibilities, noting that an "Economic crisis is impossible in the EU member states" (1999G1). Turkey is viewed as lagging behind the EU suggesting, "Turkey will have to make reforms to catch up European standards" (1999G3).

The arguments in all the Georgian articles suggest that recognition of candidacy status for Turkey in the Helsinki European Council Summit was not predicted. Therefore, the Georgian texts show divergence between the EU and Turkey.

Global Perspectives

US articles preponderantly predicate Europe as democratic, economically prosperous, sometimes contrasting Greece that "joined (the EU) in 1981 and rode quickly to prosperity and solid democracy" to Turkey (1999E6). Some texts however explain that Turkey's candidate status was in part delayed because of Europe's racist or xenophobic bias (1999E4, 1999E9, 1999E11).⁶ For its part, Turkey is perceived as democratizing (i.e. 1999E6, 1999E15) and Europeanizing (1999E7; 1999E13) although many texts emphasize the country's authoritarian/repressive character as a drag on the accession process that would likely make Turkey "one of the later entrants" (1999E9). While Turkey is often described as Muslim, the texts do not consider religion as a negative feature that should justify keeping Turkey outside Europe (i.e. 1999E1, 1999E11).

Praising the instrumental role of the US government in both the long-awaited European recognition of Turkey's candidacy status⁷ and Turkey's acceptance of the invitation, the American press portrays the event as a symbolic rapprochement between the EU and Turkey. Liberal texts tend to rely on the topos of universal values to argue that the recognition of Turkey's 'candidate status' indicates greater association with Europe, as it pushes the country to undertake political and

⁶ 1999E7 : « thinly disguised prejudices against the Muslim faith of most Turks ...combined to keep Ankara outside Europe ...» ; 1999E13 : « a long history of stereotyping of Turks as un-European » ; 1999E15 : « Frequently heard around EU conclaves was the racially tinged argument that the 'Turks aren't Europeans' ».

⁷ 1999E1 « Turkey has finally been invited », 1999E2 « the EU finally answered with a conditional invitation for eventual full membership », 1999E4 « Europe at last ready to welcome Turkey », 1999E 13 « Turkey had at last been admitted as a candidate for membership »

economic reforms. Most importantly, the topoi of hybridity and power/status are employed to advertise closer EU-Turkey association as mutually beneficial due to the rising influence of the EU trade bloc and Turkey's geostrategic importance.

Focal Issues

The "civilization" focal issue is extensively covered in the articles. For the Egyptian newspapers, the event demonstrates Turkey's eagerness to adopt the civilizing characteristics of Europe such as democracy, liberalism, and economic development (1999A1; 1999A2). In contrast, the US texts point to Europe and Turkey as overlapping or coexisting civilizations. While some articles emphasize Turkey's liminal position "straddling the fault line between Europe and Asia, West and East, Christianity and Islam" (1999E1), Turkey is also depicted as a positive "other" located mostly in Asia (1999E12) or in the Middle East (1999E2). For instance, 1999E3 argues, "an overture to Turkey would enhance the union's image as a multicultural alliance embracing diversity", and 1999E7 and 1999E13 refer to the brief 15th century "synthesis of Ottoman and Western cultures" as "one of the high points of world civilization". 1999E11 further stresses the civilizational implications a potential consolidation of the Turkish-Greek rapprochement and states it "could have a calming influence in the Balkans" and demonstrates "there is no reason why Muslims and Orthodox Christians should be fighting old battles".

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The civilizational undertone of most US articles, which adopt a highly Americentric stance, directly feeds into the second focal issue, "status in international society". Described as a "vital geographic bridge between Europe, Asia and the Middle East" (1999E4), a "bulwark against hostile regimes in Iran and Iraq" (1999E15) and "an honest broker between Europe and the Muslim world" (1999E11), Turkey is represented by most articles as a crucial strategic asset for both the EU and the protection of US interests – "a stalwart member of the NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] alliance that staved off the Soviet Union for decades", (1999E1). The Georgian texts perceive the EU as a union of developed countries, while Turkey is not as developed as the EU, "In case of Turkey joining the European Union, the EU has to put a lot of efforts into making Turkey as developed as the EU countries" (1999G1). The Georgian press also perceives Turkey as an occupier of part of Cyprus that is not willing to withdraw its army, which is unacceptable for the EU.

Regarding the focal issue of "state-citizen relations", the Egyptian, Georgian and US texts tend to consider Turkey as inferior in terms of political, economic, human and ethnic minority rights. The Egyptian and American texts additionally claim the "candidate status" incentivizes Turkey to democratize. The Egyptian press presents the reconsideration of minority rights, the limitation of military intervention in politics and the consolidation of a free civil society as the main steps that should be adopted by Turkey in order to be accepted as a member state in the EU (1999A1). Most liberal-oriented US newspapers also argue it already had a positive influence on minority rights, particularly for the Kurds (1999E14, 1999E15) and that it is "expected to strengthen" Turkish politicians "who favour democratic reforms (1999E3, 1999E4).

As for "nationalism", the Egyptian texts present Turkey's willingness to access the EU as a reconsideration of the nationalist/authoritarian tenets of the Republic (1999A1; 1999A2).



2. EU begins full membership negotiations with Turkey (3 October 2005)

The EU formally opened accession negotiations with Turkey on October 3, 2005 after a two-day diplomatic deadlock occasioned by Austria's populist government, which eventually dropped its last-minute objections to Turkey's full membership. Considered "truly historic", Turkey's beginning of full membership negotiations nevertheless took place in a particularly tense atmosphere, notably after the Netherlands and France's rejection of a European Constitution following consultative referenda.

Regional Perspectives

The Egyptian texts gave more importance to this event by providing six opinion articles about Turkey's membership negotiations. Three among the six articles underline divergence between Turkey and Europe. Although they represent Turkey as a nation that "follows the European model" and acts like a "bridge" between the East and the West, they view Europe as "reluctant" to Turkey's EU bid (2005A1; 2005A2; 2005A3). In this regard, an article adds that the start of negotiations does not mean Turkey's eventual accession to the EU since these negotiations would take more than ten years (2005A4). Along other articles, it elaborates more on this assertion by mentioning that Islamophobia is one of the main reasons behind some European countries' reluctance to Turkey's membership in spite of its persistent fulfilment of the EU conditionality (2005A4; 2005A5; 2005A6). Some articles underline that Turkey's accession process is an "illusion" and a "misleading" process as it is "lagging behind the EU conditionality" due to different obstacles. Moreover, Turkey is portrayed as a country having an "identity crisis" that is looking forward to being part of Europe in spite of being Muslim (2005A3; 2005A5). In spite of the announcement of a date for the start of accession negotiations, a lot of predicaments that troubled bilateral relations throughout 15 years or more still exist, notably the Cypriot issue and the Armenian genocide. While some European countries like Germany called for a privileged partnership rather than full membership, one article emphasizes that the Brussels' document is not paving the way towards an automatic accession once the EU conditionality is fulfilled but indicates that Turkey's accession is a goal, which is a different thing (2005A2).

In the Georgian media Turkey is viewed as outside of Europe, because it is described as an Islamic country, while European states are described as Christian ones (2005G7; 2005G5; 2005G6). In addition, Turks are characterised differently from Europeans, Turks are viewed as "temperamental people", while Europeans are perceived as "cold-minded people" (2005G5). In terms of hierarchy, Turkey is perceived as inferior to Europe, because it is poorer than the EU states. The EU is viewed as a leading actor, whose rules Turkey should follow. However, Turkey is getting closer to Europe, because Turkey is developing "with giant steps" (2005G5) and is now one of the strongest countries, which always should be taken into account by others, although there are still lots of obstacles related to human and minority rights and the issue of Cyprus in Turkey.

The arguments in all of the Georgian articles suggest negotiations regarding Turkey's full membership in the EU will not be possible in the near future. The main reason is that Turkey should fulfil quite a few EU requirements, some of which seem unacceptable for Turkey and lead rela-

tions between Turkey and the EU towards conflict, because the EU requires Turkey to recognize occupation of Cyprus and the Armenian genocide, which Turkey is not willing to do it (2005G4).

Global Perspectives

Despite the eventual opening of the negotiations, Europe is depicted negatively in the US media. Some articles are highly critical of Austria's 'disgraceful' (2005E4) attempt to block the process, calling the country "racist" and even alluding to Austria's Nazi past (2005E6; 2005E7). Labelled "elite club" (2005E10), "very exclusive club" (2005E5) or "Christian Club" (2005E7), Europe is described as parochial and "increasingly sceptical" (2005E2).

In most articles, the description of Turkey as "predominantly Muslim, large and poor" is used as a strategy to implicitly criticize the EU, which has used this argument as a pretext to keep Turkey outside Europe (2005E3, 2005E4, 2005E11).⁸ This contrasts with the positive representations of Turkey, praised for adopting "a flurry of reforms" (2005E12), "racing toward European-style democracy" (2005E5), and moving "mountains to qualify merely to *start* membership negotiations" (2005E7).

The US press describes the opening of the accession negotiations as a "crisis averted" (2005E1). The event is framed as Turkey and the EU avoiding to further distance themselves rather than greater association with each other. Mainly relying on the topoi of culture and nationalism, the texts tend to warn about the obstacles to greater EU-Turkey association lying ahead of a long process with a more than uncertain outcome.

All the Russian texts predicate the European Union and Turkey as different entities, representatives of two different civilizations. A conservative view expressed in 2005R1 states that Turkey represents a "completely different culture, religion and political traditions." The other conservative view is stated in 2005R2 and is concurrent in its representation of Turkey and Europe as different civilizations, the former being representative of Islam, and the latter – of Christianity. In the liberal sources, Turkey is claimed to be alien to Europe "by religion, mentality, way of life" (2005R3). An interesting point is raised about Turkey being a country of "young aggressive male energy" and Europe being "an aging and gender-equal society" while 2005R5 makes a statement that the beginning of talks with Turkey changes Europe's "whole organism."

Almost similar arguments to Egyptian and Georgian articles are discussed in the Russian sources. The start of negotiations for the admission of Turkey to the European Union is presented as either being destructive for the EU because it challenges European values or as a process that is too long and without a clear outcome in sight. 2005R1, 2005R3, and 2005R5 argue that the acceptance of Turkey into the European Union will be too costly for Europe because "extending one's hand to foreign-born neighbours is one thing, letting them live in your home is another" (2005R1), because the EU is not a superpower and such acceptance might lead to the "militarization" of European politics, which will hurt European values (2005R3), and because the EU chose enlargement in favour of integration and internal consolidation (2005R5). 2005R2 and 2005R4

⁸ 2005E11 explicitly claims Turkey is geographically partly inside Europe but not accepted as such by Europeans because of culture and religion.

both doubt the success of the talks because "there are too many in the EU who do not desire Turkey's accession" (2005R2) and if referenda were to take place in member states, European bureaucrats would have to "postpone the started negotiations or bury them altogether." In all the liberal sources the European Union is viewed as a struggling actor. For instance, 2005R3 states upfront that Europe is not a superpower, and does not wish to become one. 2005R4 points out that in comparison to Europe, Turkey has several aces in its hands that it can use to "blackmail" and "play on the fears of Europeans."

Focal Issues

Regarding "civilization," the Egyptian texts indicate that, in spite of cultural differences, in case Turkey becomes a member of the EU, although a far-fetched dream, it would be beneficial for the latter by acting as a mediator between two civilizations, the East and the West, which would promote coexistence and multiculturalism (2005A3). In contrast, the Russian sources cast Turkey and the EU in opposition due to different values and directions in international politics. Similarly, the Georgian texts also represent Turkey and Europe in different civilizations. 2005G7 indicates that Turkey will need a "cultural revolution" for membership of the EU. The US texts also portray distinct civilizations facing growing difficulties cohabiting with each other. For instance, 2005E3 describes Europe in the midst of an identity crisis, to which the question of Turkey's membership – with its "vastly different cultural and economic heritage" – has become "central to the debate". Some texts contend that Europe hardly averted a civilizational clash by nearly rebuffing the only Muslim EU candidate (2005E1) and that the outcome was viewed as a "barometer of the West's broader relations with the Muslim world" (2005E8). Other texts clearly frame Austria's opposition to Turkey as historic civilizational animosity dating back from the Hapsburg/Ottoman wars (2005E7, 20005E8, 2005E11).

As for the "status in international society" focal issue, the American press implies that, although Europe avoided losing credibility in the eyes of the Muslim world, its international status has nevertheless been weakened by the internal identity crisis and circumvolutions of increasingly inward-looking member states (i.e. 2005E4, 2005E7). Focusing on Turkey, the Georgian sources claim the country's international status is not strong as Turkey has many problems it should solve if it wants to join the EU. 2005G4 points out that there is a frequently asked question of whether Turkey needs the EU and vice-versa. Russian sources show there is no precise agreement on what position Turkey occupies in relation to the EU. The Egyptian sources, however, present Turkey's status in international society in a more positive light. They claim that, by complying with the EU conditionality on the political, economic, social and foreign policy levels, Turkey would succeed in connecting with Europe (2005A4; 2005A5).

State-citizen relations are a problematic issue in Georgian sources. Turkey is perceived as inferior to Europe; the rights of the Kurds as an ethnic minority are not protected in Turkey. The same goes for religious minorities, as religion freedom does not exist. The US texts focus on the role of the EU in Turkey's democratization process. Given Turkey's fast pace of reforms, the texts argue that it was Europe's responsibility to guarantee the opening of the accession negotiations in order to prevent destabilizing a reformist government that has tied "its future on building ties



with the West" (2005E1). The texts therefore suggest that not opening the accession talks could have halted Turkey's democratic transition (2005E4, 2005E12).

Finally, the US press also widely covers "nationalism" as a major challenge for greater EU-Turkey association. Nationalism stemming from both sides could derail the entire accession process. Some texts argue that increasingly xenophobic and Eurosceptic attitudes across Europe have contributed to reviving nationalist sentiments in Turkey (2005E5, 2005E10). Others contend Turkish ultranationalists who fear the government is selling out their country's territorial integrity and sovereignty with the impressive reforms is even more a threat to Turkey's EU bid than the "country's size, religion and Middle Eastern borders" (2005E2, 2005E12).

3. Orhan Pamuk Wins The Nobel Prize In Literature (13 October 2006)

On October 13, 2006, less than a year after he was charged for "insulting Turkishness" over an interview in which he mentioned the mass killings of Armenians and Kurds, Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk was awarded the Nobel Prize of Literature by the Swedish Academy. The event also took place on the same day the French lower house of Parliament voted a bill criminalizing the denial of the Armenian genocide.⁹

8

Regional Perspectives

The Egyptian newspapers treat the attribution of the Nobel Prize to Orhan Pamuk as a political news underlining conflict between Turkey and Europe without providing opinion articles on it. One newsfeed contends that the "West" adopted an "unexpected gesture" towards Turkey by awarding a Turkish writer a prize for his criticism towards Turkey's historical policies against Armenians and practices against Kurds (2006A1). Two Egyptian newspapers' reports indicate that the prize was awarded to Pamuk after the drop of his judicial pursuit in Turkey that is used by the EU against Turkey in the accession negotiations (2006A2; 2006 A3).

The Georgian texts also represent the event mostly as a political one. The texts point out the writer had some troubles with the Turkish government and the judiciary. He was accused because of his comments on the Armenian genocide and repression of the Kurds. Turkey is portrayed as being inferior to Europe, because the accusation was deemed an unfair reaction and a violation of human rights, especially in the EU. In 2006G4 Pamuk is perceived as the only one in Turkey, who dares to speak widely about the killings of Armenians during the First World War and Kurds' partisan fighting, and who would be punished if European countries had not expressed their disapprobation of Pamuk's prosecution. In the Georgian sources the case of Orhan Pamuk and the Turkish government's decision to sue him in the court is mostly viewed as Europe keeping its distance from Turkey. The texts point out that the event was unfair and unacceptable for Europe. Therefore, there is a divergence between Turkey and the EU.

⁹ The bill was eventually rejected by the French Senate



Global Perspectives

In the US newspapers, articles that specifically mention Europe usually describe it as increasingly Islamophobic (2006E6; 2006E7).¹⁰ Some accuse European governments of hypocrisy and suggests they are not as free and liberal as they seem (2006E3) whereas others criticize the Swedish Academy for being overly political and moralistic sarcastically referring to it as "the progressive arbiters of taste in Europe" (2006E10). Turkey is presented as a fragmented society. On one hand, articles predicate a "modern", "free" and "Europeanizing/Westernizing" Turkey represented by Pamuk elevated as a champion of free speech (i.e. 2006E2) and a supporter of Turkey's EU bid (2006E5). On the other, they portray a more "traditional" Turkey, embodied by "religious conservatives" and "ultranationalists" (2006E9).

Several American texts indicate that Pamuk's victory represents a greater cultural association of Turkey and Europe through the topoi of literature and hybridity. 2006E9 depicts Pamuk as "the West's literary guide to the East" and 2006E11 argues that many more readers will reach the viewpoint that East and West can combine after Pamuk's Nobel. 2006E10 however argues that "Turkey desperately lacks a writer to explain itself to the world" implying that Pamuk is too elitist (from a Westernized wealthy family of Istanbul) to be representative of the Turkish society. Like the Georgian and Egyptian media, many US articles contend the awarding of the Nobel was politically motivated and in turn implicitly indicate Turkey and Europe are distancing themselves not at the cultural but rather at the political (i.e. 2006E2; 2006E3, 2006E8, 2006E12).

Referring to Turkey, the Russian texts view the EU as a homogeneous entity, whereas Turkey is heterogeneous, which is most obvious from the internal disagreements that the image of Orhan Pamuk has gained in the country. 2006R1 is satirically called "The under-repressed," referring to Pamuk's troubles with the Turkish government. Parallels are drawn between Soviet Nobel's laureates including Solzhenitsyn, who was "thankfully, not yet stripped of his citizenship" when granted the prize (2006R1). The implication is that both Turkey and Russia try to censor unfavourable views, while the EU is implicitly assumed to have no such repression. The conflict between the EU and Turkey is implicit in 2006R3, where it is claimed that Turkey was pressured to not persecute Pamuk after he spoke out about the Armenian genocide and the repression of Kurds. The conflict is more explicitly declared in 2006R4 as it states that Turkey (and Russia) is a country "traumatized by nostalgia for imperial glory" and "vacillating between the West and the East." Only one article departs from looking at Turkey that way. 2006R5 rejects easy characterizations of Turkey. For example the claim that Turkey has "genes of Muhammad" is called a "European heresy" (2006R5). The claim in this article is that there are no inherent characteristics, Turkey is equal but different with its own path of development, where there are tensions between people looking to liberalize and the ideology built on taboo since the time of Mustafa Kemal.

¹⁰ 2006E6, "Anti-Islamic sentiments have shifted from the far right to the center of European political life".



Focal Issues

Regarding the focal issue of "civilization" Georgian newspapers mostly refer to Pamuk's novels, rather than Turkey and the EU. The texts underline that Pamuk's novels discuss the disposition of West and East in Turkish culture and show that Turkish culture is partly European. The focal issue of civilization also figures prominently in the argumentation of Russian newspapers. Some articles claim there is a tension between the two civilizations, which are able to coexist but are not entirely reconcilable (2006R4); others that the tension is part of normality and the difference in the level of modernization (2006R2); and yet another article completely rejects the notion of widely different civilizations (2006R5). The article where this last argument is made also stresses the heterogeneity of Turkey, where some parts of the society are more Europeanized than others. For their part, the US articles present Pamuk's victory as evidence that "East" and "West" can co-exist at a time of growing tensions between the "West" and "Islam" or that European and Turkish civilizations overlap.¹¹

"State-citizen relations" are also discussed in the Egyptian, Georgian, Russian and US articles. Based on Pamuk's case, the Georgian texts show that human rights are not protected in Turkey, which is unacceptable for EU standards. In both Russian and US sources the persecution of writers, restrictions on freedom of speech and the role of literature in providing criticism of the state is emphasized. One Russian article focuses on the cultural rights of the literary world and "literature with a human face" is compared to the state of the country where it is unacceptable for individuals to criticize (2006R5). A US text argues, "Turkey continues to demonstrate its unreadiness to join the rank of mature democracies" but also shames European governments that "twist language into politics by criminalizing speech" in reference to the French Parliament's attempt to enact a law on the mass killings of Armenians (2006E3). For the Egyptian press, two reports indicate that the event is a "slap" against Turkey in spite of its deployment of a lot of efforts towards its "liberalization", adoption of a political, cultural and educational system close to the West and rapprochement towards the latter (2006A2; 2006A3).

The issue of "nationalism" is represented in the Egyptian, Georgian and US sources as Turkey distancing itself from Europe. The Georgian sources explain it is the consequence of the European Union's condemnation of Turkey following the latter's prosecution of Pamuk. For some US articles, the Nobel Prize is regarded as an "anti-nationalist slap in the face" (2006E4) by many Turks because of Pamuk's controversial comments.

Regarding the "status in international society" focal issue, Europe is perceived as a leading actor and Turkey a declining one in the Georgian and Russian articles. The Georgian texts argue that Turkey was forced to drop the charges against Pamuk because of Europe. For the Russian newspapers, Europe is considered a leading actor and Turkey the follower, since the Nobel Prize is presented as a valuable prize to receive, with a large influence on public opinion. To a lesser extent, the US press touches upon the issue and, by contrast with the Georgian and Russian texts, claim Pamuk's victory has also elevated Turkey's status in international society culturally as it "signalled the emergence of Turkish literature as a genre" (2006E12).

¹¹ 2006E2 "an act of reaching across the gulf of cultural differences"; 2006E11: European and Turkish cultures are "far more intermingled than the leaders of his (Pamuk) parents' generation would admit"



4. Merkel And Sarkozy Sceptical Of Turkey's EU Membership (2007-2012)

Turkey's accession to the EU has been problematic for many European countries, notably France and Germany especially after conservative parties came to power. As the leader of the Christian Democratic Party in Germany and the leader of the Union for a Popular Movement in France, Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy have respectively expressed their parties' concerns as regards the accession of a majority-Muslim populated country lying mostly in Asia to the European Union.

Regional Perspectives

The Egyptian texts underline conflict in the EU-Turkey relations by referring to Turkey as the "eastern" and "Muslim" nation. Two opinion articles emphasize these attributes as the main reasons behind both Sarkozy and Merkel's resilience towards Turkey's candidacy even if it fulfils all the accession requirements (2007A1; 2007A2). Similar to the second driver, Turkey is referred to as a "nation that has an identity crisis". It is striving to adopt a secular system with functioning Western norms and principles but is still dominated by religious and traditional values that are promoted by the Justice and Development party (AKP) and social practices, notably regarding the veil issue and the constitutional amendments (2007A1; 2007A2).

The Egyptian newspapers underline religion as the main factor for the EU's rejections of Turkey's accession since its identity constitutes a matter of concern for the public opinion in many EU countries. According to one opinion article, although Turkey has tried hard to be a European state, has achieved a lot, notably at the economic and political levels, and is an important security partner for Europe, Turkey's relationship with the EU is a "one-sided love" (2007A1).

The Georgian articles predicate Turkey as an outsider, inferior to Europe hierarchically and spatially, which tries to get closer to the EU. Compared to Europe, Turkey is a poorer country with a fast-growing population. However, Turkey is viewed as an ambitious country, which is searching new relationships outside of Europe and getting closer to Eastern countries. Only in 2009G2 Turkey is viewed as equal to the EU, wherein it is described as an "important super-state in the region economically and military", which can "decide its destiny itself". 2009G3 also indicates Turkey is a "rapidly developing super country".

Mostly relying on the topoi of universal values, power/status and religion, the argumentation strategy of the Georgian texts indicates that Europe is distancing itself from Turkey. The arguments suggest that Turkey's membership of the EU is not possible in the near future. There are some reasons why the Turkey-EU relationship is perceived as conflictual. The texts show that some leading states in Europe such as France and Germany, do not wish Turkey to be part of the EU. However, there are some states, which are against this attitude. The texts say Sarkozy and Merkel offered Turkey a Privileged Partnership, but Turkey did not agree to the offer, because, as 2009G3 claims, Turkish politicians are tired of waiting for the EU, and while Turkey still decided to maintain goodwill towards the EU, it also looks at Eastern Arabic countries, which respect Turkey much more than the EU does.

Global Perspectives

Underlying four of the five Russian articles analysed is the notion that Turkey is an outsider to Europe like the Georgian press. 2007R1 defines Europe as "Christian" through the way that Austrians describe themselves and particularly the Union for Austrian Future and Freedom party. Turkish people are grouped together with Bosnians, Albanians, and Arabs clearly based on their Muslim majorities. 2007R2 praises Germany for "finally" doing something about Turkish immigrants, who have not been successfully integrated. 2007R4 states that Turkey is not a European country from a geographic and cultural-historic perspective. Another Russian article, 2007R5, presents a view where Merkel is "imperturbable" in her opposition to Turkey joining the EU. One article does not explicitly identify the EU and Turkey as opposites: 2007R3 claims that Turkey joining the EU is a problem specifically for European conservatives.

Similar to the Georgian texts, the Russian articles all suggest to different degrees that Turkey's EU membership is not possible in the near future. Divergence between EU-Turkey is caused by the difficulty of integrating Turkish immigrants into Europe, especially Germany (2007R1, 2007R2).

Focal Issues

Civilization is widely discussed in the selected texts. 2010G1 suggests that EU membership entails "building a western style developed country" for Turkey. 2009G3 shows that EU and Turkey are two different civilizations in terms of religion and underlines that Turkey is a Muslim country, while the EU is a union of Christian states. Egyptian newspapers similarly highlight the religious divide and argue that Turkey's rejection was made on cultural and religious bases (2007A1; 2007A2). In the Russian press, there are contradictory views. According to the conservative view, Christian Europe and Muslim Turkey represent separate civilizations, which is evident from the lack of integration of some Muslim communities in Europe (2007R1) while a liberal article does not perceive the West and the East as necessarily at odds with each other (2007R4).

As for 'status in international society', predominant in the Russian sources, Europe is described as a leading actor with a developed economy. Accordingly, Turkey is an actor that needs to develop economically to convince member states and catch up to the European standards. Most Georgian texts also indicate Europe is a leading actor because Turkey's membership of the union depends on the EU's solutions. Turkey is shown to accept whatever the EU decides. However, 2009G3 notes that while Turkey is perceived as a country which keeps waiting for the EU, it also tries to create an image of itself as a peaceful neighbour among Eastern Arabic states.

Regarding "nationalism" in the Russian articles, Turkey's EU membership is mentioned in the context of the national preservation of European countries, specifically Germany. For the Egyptian press, the rise of nationalism in the Turkish society would undermine the achievements of the Turkish state with regard to the adoption of the EU conditionality (2009A1).



5. The French Parliament Passes A Bill On The Mass Killings Of Armenians (December 2011 – January 2012)

On December 22, 2011, France's lower house of Parliament passed a bill outlawing the denial of the 1915 mass killings of Armenians just two months after French President Sarkozy warned his country would consider amending its legislation on the issue. The bill led Turkey to temporarily freeze political and military relations with France and marked one of the lowest points in French-Turkish relations during Sarkozy's presidency. While the French Senate approved the law in January 2012, it was eventually ruled unconstitutional and overturned by France's highest court a month later.

Global Perspective

In general Europe is implicitly predicated as less free while France is specifically portrayed as censorious and singled out as Turkoskeptic alongside Germany (2012E1, 2012E4, 2012E5, 2012E6). Although 2012E6 mentions "EU-candidate country Turkey", 2012E4 characterizes the country as repressive (2012E4 "Turkey's own parlous record on free speech") and implicitly locates it outside Europe.

Given the nature of the event, the texts unsurprisingly indicate Europe is alienating Turkey through the topoi of law and history. With the exception of 2012E3, the articles take the stance that it is not the legislator's role to supplant the historian in defining a nation's past and that France's bill constitutes a serious violation of freedom of expression and opinion.¹² 2012E6 suggests Turkey distances itself from Europe as the dispute over the bill "could spread beyond Paris to affect broader EU ties" and 2012E4 warns temptation for Turkey to shift eastward would grow.

Focal Issues

In regard to "status in international society", 2012E4 presents Europe as a declining actor economically with people fretting "about paychecks and their abrupt disappearance, a jittery currency and suffocating debt" therefore inclined to look at "the past for salvation". Conversely, Turkey is depicted as a leading actor, "an increasingly sharp-elbowed NATO ally and regional player" (2012E4), which "takes on an increasingly influential role in the Middle East" (2012E6). Therefore, some articles hint at the bill's inauspicious timing for EU-Turkey relations and more broadly for US interests in the region.

The texts also largely focus on "state-citizen relations" and shame France for legislating on Turkey's past. France, in some way, contravenes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (2012E2) as the bill constitutes "a monstrous violation of free speech" and "an egregious act of pre-emptive censorship" (2012E1). On that specific human rights issue, France and Turkey are negatively considered equal. 2012E5 states "Asserting the reality of the Armenian genocide is no less risky in Istanbul than is contesting it in Paris".¹³

¹² None of the articles however deny the mass killings of Armenians.

¹³ 2012E5 « The position of the French Parliament is hardly more commendable than that of the Turkish authorities, for whom references to the Armenian genocide are seen as an insult to « Turkishness »



"Nationalism" is also discussed in relation to history and calls for Europe distancing itself from Turkey. The texts denounce the uptrend in the regulation of collective memory (2012E5) and constructions of the "founding myths and taboos of national identity", increasingly being used for political gain (2012E4).

To a lesser extent, 2012E4 also touches upon "civilization". It locates Turkey in between a "prosperous tranquil West" and a "rougher unstable neighbourhood" and implies Germany and France implacably oppose Turkey's membership because it is a Muslim candidate country.

6. A Joint Agreement On Refugees Was Reached By The EU And Turkey (March 2016)

On March 18, 2016 the EU signed an agreement on refugees with Turkey in an attempt to prevent the deepening of the most serious migration crisis in Europe since World War II. Under this agreement, Turkey committed to accept the return of all irregular migrants that transited through the country in exchange for re-energized accession negotiations, concessions on visa liberalization for Turkish citizens and billions of euros in assistance for refugees relocated to Turkey.

Regional Perspectives

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With regard to the agreement, Egyptian sources referred to Turkey as a country that is "trading" with the refugees' souls in the intention of inciting the EU to move forward in the accession process. The EU critical position towards the refugees' deal with Turkey shows how this driver underlines conflict between Turkey and the EU. The Egyptian press indicates that Sarkozy is completely against the refugees' deal with Turkey and the financial and visa-related concessions granted to the latter (2017A1). He considers it as an "insult" to the EU that becomes the subject of "manipulation by Turkish authorities." Egyptian newspapers underscore the government condemnation of the deal whereby Turkey is "using" Syrian refugees as a means to negotiate its accession to the EU, which turned refugees' camps into "centres of detention" and instigated the UNHCR's reserves (2016A1; 2017A2). Also, it is mentioned that Turkey's demand to have access to the Schengen area by July 2016 and to make further progress in the accession negotiations seem an impossible step to achieve in return for limiting the flows of refugees to the EU (2017A1). This argument is further highlighted by the following quotes reported by al-Shuruq newspaper: "Erdoğan threatens the EU: I will teach you vandalism and if you continue to act that way no European citizen will feel safe anywhere;" "Turkey will abrogate the deal in case the EU doesn't fulfil its promises of granting free access to Turkish citizens to the Schengen area" (2017A1).

In the Georgian press, Turkey is predicated as an unwelcoming country for refugees that looks like a prison to migrants. 2016G2 notes that Turkey is not safe place for migrants to live there. 2016G3 indicates that Turkey leads the situation, because Europe needs Turkish assistance. Turkey is however still perceived as inferior to Europe because it received a warning from Merkel to protect all standards related to refugees (2016G6).



Arguments in the Georgian texts show that Turkey is now useful for and getting closer to the EU. Turkey will help Europe to handle the refugee crisis, while the EU will grant some benefits to Turkey. The texts also show that the EU is not going to change its views about ongoing prosecutions related to the media and political opposition in Turkey.

Global Perspectives

The US texts seem to indicate the gap between Europe and Turkey has widened. On one hand, Europe is again predicated as increasingly inward-looking and xenophobic. The texts describe the rise of the right-wing parties across Europe boosted by populations increasingly wary of migrants (2016E2, 2016E3, 2016E6). On the other hand, Turkey is presented as increasingly repressive, de-democratizing and de-Europeanising (2016E3, 2016E4) with articles denouncing the government's crackdown on the opposition (2016E7), particularly on the journalists (2016E1, 2016E6) and the war against Kurdish separatists (2016E3).

The US articles mainly discuss the deal through the topoi of universal values and law. They present the migration deal as symbolizing closer institutional cooperation of Europe with Turkey, whether they support it (2016E2) or not (2016E3, 2016E4, 2016E7). 2016E2 calls the deal "sadly necessary" and "the best of some bad options", 2016E1 states "such was Europe's desperation", and 2016E3 argues it was a "show of support" to the Turkish regime. At the practical level, the texts however indicate the deal would be difficult to implement and suggest it would not lead to convergence. 2016E5 contends Turkey did not obtain all the concessions initially discussed with the EU and quotes the British Prime Minister stating Turkey's membership was "not remotely on the cards". 2016E7 highlights the tensions between Turkey and the EU during the negotiations of the agreement caused by the Turkish Prime Minister's discontent at the "EU leaders for allowing pro-Kurdish demonstrations" and the "European Council President defending the right to protest as a core European value". The article further quotes a former EU ambassador to Turkey claiming, "The Erdoğan government does not truly want E.U. membership".

In the Russian sources Turkey is mostly predicated as being outside Europe. 2016R1 states that Turkey does not belong to Europe spatially, in addition to raising questions about human rights and state violence. The EU is said to be begging the "intransigent" Turkey (2016R4). The EU is described as a "club of values" and not geopolitics, it is called "amorphous" and "incapable" (2016R4). The approach of Europe in the EU "untied the hands of Erdogan" leading the EU to fall into a "dangerous dependency on Turkey" (2016R6).

When presenting EU-Turkey relations, the Russian articles either emphasize the difference between the EU and Turkey (2016R1, 2016R2) or focus on the diplomatic games/relations between the two (2016R3, 2016R5). This difference is asserted to be ideological or value-based (2016R1, 2016R2, 2016R4). At the same time the cooperation between the EU and Turkey is presented as being beneficial to Turkey, because the refugee deal gives the country the potential to acquire a visa-free regime with the EU (2016R3) and the ability to control the EU's external borders (2016R5). The EU is described as disengaging itself from the crisis in Syria (2016R3), being forced to make a deal with Turkey (2016R1), and being blackmailed by Turkey (2016R4). In 2016R1 there are references to Kurdish demonstrations at the time of the refugee deal negotiations. The Kurdish insurgency threatens Turkish sovereignty, which is what Davutoğlu was unhappy about

during the negotiations, because the demonstrations were not prevented from happening. 2016R1 claims that Europe is ready to accept the refugees, and it is only the speed at which it is happening that needs to be regulated. This is contrasted to the way Turkey treats the refugee deal – as a political expediency (2016R1). On the other hand, 2016R4 asserts that refugees are not welcome in Europe, but that Europe is willing to take them with a bargain.

Focal Issues

In the texts under scrutiny, status in international society is widely discussed. Turkey is viewed in the Georgian sources as a necessary country for the EU. . 2016G6, however, shows Turkey as a declining actor, which follows EU in order to improve its position regarding EU membership. In the Russian sources, the refugee deal is presented as a bargaining chip for Turkey in its negotiations with the EU. Four out of five sources present Turkey as a rising actor and Europe as a declining one (2016R1, 2016R3, 2016R4, 2016R5). For its part, the US press tends to focus on the EU which is presented as a declining actor because the migration crisis has “plunged Europe into one of its biggest existential crisis” and demonstrated the member states’ inability to “tackle the challenge and maintain unity” (2016E1). Even though a deal was reached with Turkey, disagreements among member states over the resettling of migrants still persist. Hence, the highly pessimistic article 2016E6 suggests the threat to the EU’s survival posed by the migration crisis may even be growing despite the deal and a failure of the latter could make the bloc implode. With the agreement, the EU is seen as downgrading its own moral, legal and humanitarian standards and is therefore perceived as declining normatively (2016E3, 2016E4, 2016E7).¹⁴

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Egyptian, Georgian and American sources, all discuss “state-citizen relations”. Turkey is depicted as inferior to Europe in terms of political and human rights. The Georgian texts also highlight that Turkey is not a safe place for refugees and migrants’ rights are not protected. For the Egyptian newspapers, the AKP leadership tightens the security grip of the state on citizens with the initiation of further authoritarian measures limiting public freedoms and liberties (2017A3). In the American press, 2016E3 explicitly portrays Turkish President Erdoğan as someone “who has turned his back on democracy and the fundamental values of the European Union” and “reignited a war against Kurdish separatists”. Europe is in turn presented as bailing out of its responsibilities towards the refugees. 2016E1 puts into perspective the irony of declaring Turkey a “safe country” for migrants when “each year at least one of every five Turkish citizens who apply for asylum is granted it in some European countries.” 2016E7 further hints the deal could also endanger Turkish citizens by likely providing “a big boost at home to Turkey’s authoritarian president, now in the midst of a crackdown on domestic dissent”.

Egyptian and Russian sources also cover the issues of “civilization” and “nationalism”. For the Egyptian press, Turkey’s inability to become a EU member is undermining its civilizing character and increasing the nationalist tone used by the AKP leadership (2017A2). Russian articles present the Kurdish insurgency as threatening Turkish sovereignty. Furthermore, 2016R2 constructs the otherness of Turkey on the basis of civilizational arguments. Comparing the Cyprus issue to the

¹⁴ 2016E4 « In its rush to get rid of people it does not want, Europe is acting with cynical disregard for the welfare of human beings who have already suffered much – in violation of its own laws.



Russian annexation of Crimea, the article presents Europe as progressive while Turkey is viewed as an occupant.

7. 15 July Coup-Attempt In Turkey (July 2016)

On 15 July 2016, a faction within the Turkish Army attempted to dislodge President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and overthrow his government. The coup was rapidly aborted the following day and, in response, the Turkish leadership proceeded with mass arrests of military personnel. It has, since then, widened the purges to include civil servants, journalists, political opponents, and other segments of the Turkish civil society.

Global Perspective

The Russian sources predicate both Europe and Turkey as actors pursuing their interests. As was the case with the 'Refugee Deal' driver, Russian texts claim Turkey is able to exert pressure on Europe and US-led NATO by "blackmailing" them. In 2016R7, Turkey is an international actor in trouble, managing to "spoil relations with practically all world and regional players." Before the coup, Turkey was an actor "at the same level" or in the "position of strength" but after Turkey had its Army and Special Services purged, the position will further weaken (2016R7). According to 2016R8 the coup was an attempt to overthrow a legitimate government. The West "practically tacitly supported" the coup attempt in Turkey, according to 2016R9. The article also claims the West is displeased with the renewal of friendship between Turkey and Russia. A proverb is used to describe the relationship between Russia and Turkey: "a familiar slipper is better than an unfamiliar boot" (2016R9).

The sources are unanimous in their argumentation that the EU and Turkey drifting apart while Russia and Turkey are coming close together. 2016R6 draws parallels between Turkey and Russia, such as the use of "propagandistic dirt," inflation, investor flight, laws that allow putting opposition in prison, and imperialistic ambitions. The argument here is that the new "friendship" between Turkey and Russia can be easily reversed depending on political circumstances (2016R6). In the opinion expressed in 2016R7, Turkey has lost the opportunity to influence developments in Syria and Iraq, making Russia the winner in the diplomatic game, while the coup attempt gave Moscow an opportunity to change its relations with Turkey. In the view expressed in 2016R8, there is a growing rift between the West and Turkey, with the latter reorienting itself towards the East. A zero-sum approach is evident in 2016R9, which sees that the mutually beneficial friendship between Russia and Turkey is against the interests of Europe and the US. According to communist *Pravda*, the coup was probably prepared by the United States with the possible assistance of Germany, and motivated by the closer relations of Russia and Turkey (2016R10).

According to 2016R6, the relationship between Russia and Turkey is based on "shared resentment of the West," while Turkey is a rising international actor that is able to pressure the tandem of the EU and the US. In 2016R7, Turkey is portrayed as a declining actor, which seeks to establish friendship with Russia. In both 2016R9 and 2016R10, Turkey is said to be looking for friendship with Russia due to attempts to influence its internal affairs, as it was "stabbed in the back" by NATO allies (2016R9, 2016R10). The Russo-Turkish alliance is seen as a necessity that

helps break the Western "encirclement" (2016R9); meanwhile neither Turkey, which had foreign interference on its soil, nor the EU, which is but a follower of the USA, are seen as leading actors (2016R10). Hence, Turkey has to navigate the shifting dynamics of bigger powers, of which Russia is one (2016R8). Only one of the sources criticized the new laws that clamped down on freedom in Turkey after the coup, comparing this to the situation in Russia (2016R6).

Focal Issues

The most prominent focal issue discussed in the sources selection is that of Status in International Relations. The dynamics of EU-Turkey relations are viewed from the perspective of their influence on Russian position internationally: Turkish estrangement from the EU is beneficial for Russia and for Turkey. The second important focal issue discussed is that of State-Citizen Relations, with only one article criticizing repression in Turkey.

Conclusion

The analysis of the seven drivers rather sheds a negative light on EU-Turkey relations. Stressing divergences rather than closer association between Turkey and Europe, international and regional media have generally presented Turkey's EU bid as a long and uncertain process. Overall, there are significant continuities in the way the press in each country constructed Turkey and Europe's identities. In the discursive and argumentation strategies, Egyptian and American media tend to be more critical of Europe as regards slowing down the accession process and usually portray Turkey as Europeanising. The latter's identity is therefore not fixed but instead changes as a result of the accession process (i.e. "a reconsideration of the nationalist/authoritarian tenets of the Republic"). Spotlighting what they perceive as Turkey's essentialist/inherent characteristics antithetical to Europe's (i.e. "temperamental people" versus "cold-minded people"; "young aggressive male energy" versus "aging and gender-equal society"), Georgian and Russian newspapers' representations of Europe and Turkey are conversely more static and, from the outset, almost discard the possibility of converging identities.

These variations in representations can be attributed not only to the extent the different media identify with Turkey and/or Europe but also the way they rely on the Self/Other dichotomy to position Turkey and Europe vis-à-vis each other. Egyptian media, for instance, empathize with Turkey on cultural and religious grounds and therefore implicitly position themselves as Europe's Other. Although the US press clearly relates to Europe as its own Self and often refers to the EU and the US interchangeably with the 'West', Turkey has until recently stood as a positive Other. Neither quite associating with Europe nor Turkey, Georgian and Russian newspapers clearly depict Turkey as Europe's negative Other.

The way each of these regional and global media represents Turkey and Europe is also related to the socio-political context and can be affected by the relations those media's countries of origin have established with Europe and Turkey as well as their stance on Turkey's EU bid. A visible instance is the US media coverage of the drivers, which has both reflected the US official position as a fervent supporter of Turkey's EU bid and also been extremely sensitive to geopolitical changes and their impact on US-Turkish relations. As for the Egyptian press, the pessimistic tone

with regard to the possibility of Turkey's accession to the EU throughout the five drivers can be explained by a general Egyptian scepticism towards the European intentions vis-à-vis a Muslim country like Turkey. Egypt aligned with Turkey on religious and cultural basis while perceiving Europe as a previous colonizing power that doesn't want to accept a Muslim country as a member in the EU. Egyptian newspapers have generally referred to Turkey's accession process as a positive development for Turkey but were sceptical towards the possibility of its crystallization.

Out of the four focal issues, three stood out as key identity markers over the period under consideration. "Civilization" figures prominently up until 2010 in the coverage of the first four drivers. Religious and cultural differences are the most recurrent reasons advanced to explain why Turkey has remained at Europe's doorstep. Egyptian and US newspapers more or less explicitly blame Europe's rising Islamophobia while sometimes representing Turkey's EU membership as mutually beneficial (i.e. drivers 1 and 2). This is particularly true for US media that have presented Turkey's hybridity as an asset to the so-called 'West' where the country came to epitomize the compatibility of Islam and democracy. In the post 9/11 context (second and third drivers), EU-Turkey interactions represent a microcosm of the broader 'Christian-West' 'Muslim East' relationship in the US press. Opinion articles in the Egyptian press emphasized the opening of negotiations with Turkey encourages the latter's achievements on the political, economic and social levels (driver 1 and 2) and enriches Europe's cultural background (driver 1, 2 and 4). Meanwhile, civilization, as a focal issue, has underscored the presence of obstacles that stand between both Turkey and the EU throughout most drivers. For Georgian and Russian media, Turkey and Europe belong to different civilizations chiefly because of the religious divide. In contrast to Egyptian and US newspapers, they seem to condone and even support the idea that Turkey should remain outside Europe as Turkey's EU membership would otherwise spoil Europe's identity and values. Perhaps one notable exception that differs from the usual conflicting representations in Georgian and Russian media is the coverage of the cultural driver (Pamuk's Nobel Prize) where Turkey is recognized as partly European and Georgian newspapers do not use religion as a strategy to oppose Europe and Turkey.

Particularly salient in Russian and US media, "status in international society" has become the main focal issue from 2011 onwards and created more dynamic representations of Europe and Turkey. Based on the author's interpretation, the Egyptian newspapers have deemphasized the positive aspect of Turkey's accession to the EU from 2002 onwards due to the anti-Mubarak Islamists' cheers with the AKP's arrival to power and the fact that Turkey has overshadowed Egypt's regional, in spite of a general sympathy with Turkey as a Muslim country. In the first half of the period, media usually portray Turkey as lagging behind an economically prosperous and sometimes idealized (Georgian sources) Europe but militarily strong or even superior to the European member states. In the US media, for instance, the rationale underpinning positive representations of Turkey is based on the premise that Turkey's anchor to the EU is crucial to the protection of US strategic interests. In the first three drivers, US sources combine "status in international society" with "civilization" to present Turkey not only as a vital NATO ally but also a culturally hybrid one therefore equipped to counter potential threats emanating from hostile Middle Eastern countries or to appease tensions within Europe. In contrast, Turkey's military capacity/superiority in relation to the accession process is either regarded as an obstacle (Cyprus prob-

lem) or a potential identity spoiler (militarization of European politics) in Georgian and Russian media. From the late 2000s, the Turkish leadership's zero-problems-with-neighbours policy seems to have triggered a break in the representations of Turkey. Georgian sources, which had previously questioned whether Turkey and Europe needed each other (second driver), label Turkey a "super-state" and associate the country's foreign policy shift eastward with its rising influence in international society. In the post-Arab Spring context, the media describe Turkey and Europe's respective identities as growing increasingly antithetical (see also state-citizen relations below). Russian texts depict Turkey in a more positive light, praising the recalibration of its foreign policy. Conversely, Turkey's clout and assertiveness becomes an increasing source of concern for the US press (see driver 5) to the point that it makes no reference to the country as a NATO ally in the 2016 migration driver – as was previously the case with all the political drivers under scrutiny. In parallel, the media progressively describe Europe as a declining actor both normatively and materially.

Finally, the issue of "state-citizen relations" has been a constant identity marker in the Egyptian, Georgian and American coverage of the drivers. On one hand, the media unanimously present Europe as a democratic referent. Portraying the EU as the guarantor of the liberal democratic values and standards – alongside the United States – US texts go further so as to suggest it is Europe's responsibility to ensure Turkey's democratic transition through the accession process. This in turn leads to negative representations of Europe that is sometimes held accountable for endangering Turkey's EU bid. On the other hand, Turkey's identity is contested. The Georgian texts recurrently cover state-citizen relations as a thorn in the side of Turkey. Insisting on the latter's democratic deficit and the gap that exists with Europe, the sources only once acknowledge Turkey's reforms (driver 2). Conversely, Egyptian and American media use this focal issue to affirm Europe's democratizing effect and Turkey's Europeanness. The Egyptian press, for instance, considers that Turkey has succeeded in complying with EU conditionality as a result of substantive reforms to the point that it underwent an identity crisis (driver 2). From 2011, Turkey however ceases to be portrayed as democratizing/Europeanising and the most prominent break in identity representations occurs under the migration deal driver. Not only do media explicitly contest Turkey's democratic credentials and Europeanness but the country is also – and for the first time – implicitly portrayed as unfit for EU membership in the US press. Furthermore, Europe is not described as a prosperous democratic community spreading its values but rather as undermining them through its interactions with Turkey.

Looking into a causal relation between identity representations of Europe and Turkey in international media and the future of EU-Turkey relations is beyond the scope of this paper, and in that regard, further research is needed. The analysis of the international and regional press coverage over the 1999-2016 period rather serves as a basis for comparing identity representations by European and Turkish media over the same period and hints at how significant others are likely to make sense of the evolving EU-Turkey relationship. Georgian and Russian representations of Turkey and Europe in antithetical terms supported the deterioration of EU-Turkey relations toward conflict, even when these were making headway toward membership. It is therefore safe to assume Georgian and Russian media will continue depicting Turkey and Europe's respective identities as conflictual. Egyptian and American views on EU-Turkey relations appeared to be

more sensitive to the political context. The Egyptian press produced less conflicting representations than Georgian and Russian media, notably through "state-citizen relations", even though the articles' undertone grew increasingly pessimistic about Turkey's EU membership prospects. The biggest shift in representations occurred with US media that initially appeared to have a more optimistic perspective on civilizational divides being superseded through EU-Turkey relations but later became increasingly sceptical about Turkey's candidacy as status in international society overrode civilization as a key identity marker. Furthermore, American representations of Turkey were highly positive when Europe and Turkey were heading toward convergence whereas Russian media portrayal of Turkey became conversely more favourable when EU-Turkey relations hit rock bottom. At the time Turkey's EU membership prospects have never been more doomed and "status in international relations" constitutes the lion's share of the international press content related to EU-Turkey relations, Turkey may well continue turning into a negative Other in the US media and perhaps even become Russia's positive Other.

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Annex

Critical Discourse Analysis Template:

CATALOGUE INFORMATION	
Text number	
Bibliographic entry	
Period	
Date	
Driver category	
Driver specific	
European or Turkish	
Author (if any)	
Newspaper (if applicable)	
Original Language	
DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES	
Nomination	
How does the text mainly refer to Europe? (Identify at most one dominant representation (1) and at most two other secondary representations (0.5))	
<i>as EEC/EC/EU</i>	
<i>as nation-states of Europe</i>	
<i>as Europeans (public)</i>	
<i>interchangeably with West</i>	
<i>interchangeably with Free World</i>	
<i>interchangeably with Great Powers</i>	
<i>Other 1 (pls indicate)</i>	
How does the text refer to Turkey? (Identify at most one dominant representation (1) and at most two other secondary representations (0.5))	
<i>as Ottoman Court (Sublime Porte, Sultan, etc.)</i>	
<i>as Anatolia</i>	
<i>as the Turk</i>	
<i>as Republic of Turkey</i>	
<i>interchangeably with Muslim world</i>	
<i>interchangeably with Asia/ Orient/ Middle East</i>	
<i>Other 1 (pls indicate)</i>	
Does the text constitute Europe as homogenous (0) or heterogenous (1)? If heterogenous, what is the main axis of differentiation?	
Does the text constitute Turkey as homogenous (0) or heterogenous(1)? If heterogenous, what is the main axis of differentiation?	
Predication	
How does the text predicate Europe? (identify at most three dominant predicates(1))	



Predicate	Explicit/Implicit	Inherent/ Acquired ¹⁵	Positive/Negative
civilized			
modern			
economically prosperous			
technologically advanced			
free, liberal			
secular			
capitalist			
powerful			
democratic			
egalitarian			
moral			
imperialist			
degenerate			
Christian			
nationalist			
parochial			
xenophobic			
racist			
Other			
How does the text predicate Turkey? (identify at most three dominant predicates)			
Predicate	Explicit/Implicit	Inherent/ Acquired	Positive/Negative
barbaric			
traditional			
backward			
poor			
agrarian			
traditional			
Muslim			
Repressive/authoritarian			
aggressive			
authentic			
Oriental			
secular			
modern			
democratic			
democratizing			
European			
Europeanizing			
White			
Other			
Structure of Self/Other Differentiation (indicate all that apply)			
Spatial axis			
<i>Turkey is inside Europe; Turkey is partly inside of Europe; or Turkey is outside of Europe</i>			
Hierarchy			

¹⁵ Inherent: The attribute is considered an inherent characteristic, which cannot change.; Acquired: The attribute is considered an acquired characteristic, transient, and possible to change.



Turkey is inferior to Europe; Turkey is equal to Europe; or Turkey is superior to Europe								
Temporal axis								
Turkey is ahead of Europe; Turkey is behind Europe; or Turkey is moving away from Europe								
Argumentation:								
Does the text make an argument? If so, how (indicate all that apply):								
Argument/ Topoi	Culture	Geography	Power /status	universal values	Threat from Turkey or Europe	National-ism	Progress	Other
Greater association of Europe with Turkey								
Europe's distancing itself from Turkey								
Greater association of Turkey with Europe								
Turkey's distancing itself from Europe								
FOCAL ISSUE ANALYSIS:								
Civilization								
Single civilization or Multiple civilizations								
If single:		If multiple:		If hierarchy:		Stable	Rising	Declining
Possibility of civilizational excess		Mutually exclusive civilizations		West above the Rest or Rest above the West				
Possibility of civilizational decline		Overlapping, hybrid civilizations						
Turkey is civilized		Coexisting civilizations						
Turkey is barbarian		Clashing civilizations						
Universal		Turkey and Europe in same civilization						
Particular to Europe		Turkey and Europe in different civilizations						
		Civilizational equality						
		Civilizational hierarchy						
Status in International Society								
	Self-perception	Other-perception	Globally	Regionally	Materially	Normatively		
Europe as leading actor								
Europe as lagging/declining actor								
Nation-state as leading actor								
Nation-state as lagging/declining actor								
Turkey as leading actor								
Turkey as lagging/declining actor								
Nationalism								



	German	French	British	Turkish	minority nationalism		
Does the text make reference to nationalism?							
Nationalism/ associated with							
race							
culture							
history							
religion							
ethnicity/kinship							
self-determination							
national survival/ territorial integrity							
imperialism							
world order/ peace							
conflict/ war							
Nationalism calls for							
closer relations with Turkey							
distancing from Turkey							
closer relations with Europe							
distancing from Europe							
State-citizen relations							
Issue/ assessment	Europe inferior		Turkey inferior		Europe equal to Turkey		
Political Rights							
Economic Rights							
Cultural Rights							
Equality							
Inclusion (migrants-hospitality)							
citizen activism							
ethnic minorities							
religious minorities							
women							
Turkish issue/European responsibility	colonialism	military intervention	sanctions	withholding incentives	provision of incentives	shaming/ criticism	no responsibility
non-Muslim minorities							
Kurds							
women							
assimilation							
repression							
discrimination							
violence/ genocide							



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ABOUT FEUTURE

FEUTURE sets out to explore fully different options for further EU-Turkey cooperation in the next decade, including analysis of the challenges and opportunities connected with further integration of Turkey with the EU.

To do so, FEUTURE applies a comprehensive research approach with the following three main objectives:

1. Mapping the dynamics of the EU-Turkey relationship in terms of their underlying historical narratives and thematic key drivers.
2. Testing and substantiating the most likely scenario(s) for the future and assessing the implications (challenges and opportunities) these may have on the EU and Turkey, as well as the neighbourhood and the global scene.
3. Drawing policy recommendations for the EU and Turkey on the basis of a strong evidence-based foundation in the future trajectory of EU-Turkey relations.

FEUTURE is coordinated by Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Wessels, Director of the Centre for Turkey and European Union Studies at the University of Cologne and Dr. Nathalie Tocci, Director of Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome.

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The FEUTURE consortium consists of 15 renowned universities and think tanks from the EU, Turkey and the neighbourhood.

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