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How does Europeanisation influence domestic LGBT discourses? Evidence from the Turkish press, 2005-2010

Abstract

While research has established the political impact of Europeanisation on candidate countries, the impact of discursive Europeanisation on cultural issues such as LGBT norms remains understudied. This article pursues this agenda by exploring the impact of Europeanisation on Turkey's domestic discourse on LGBT issues – specifically, whether Europeanisation has influenced the media discourse of LGBT issues in Turkey. Turkey presents an interesting case as its largely conservative society is in contrast with the EU in which LGBT acceptance has gained unprecedented traction. A media content analysis comparing Turkish media reports from the year of 2005 and 2010 is used to test this thesis. The study discovers that prospective European integration has influenced the LGBT discourses of Turkey over the study period; while the majority of reports on LGBT issues continues to be negatively represented, results show an improvement over the study period. The changes effectuated were statistically significant and suggest that LGBT and possibly other cultural norms may not be as resistant to discursive Europeanisation. This study also highlights how regional integration continues to be an effective avenue for inducing normatively positive change.

Key words:

Europeanisation, Framing, Media Studies, LGBT, Norms Diffusion

Introduction: The impact of Europeanisation on domestic cultural discourses

The processes of democratisation experienced by Central and East European countries have given momentum to the integration process Europe has been experiencing. The European Union (EU) has created powerful mechanisms that can influence political structures in these countries through conditionality and other outcomes directly associated with EU accession (Börzel and Risse, 2003). Yet, the Europeanisation process in various candidate and neighbourhood states has also shown that the transformation towards a more European model of governance is not a linear process, but one that varies across time, issue areas and countries, with the impact of the EU understood to be dependent on the different association frameworks, the involvement of other international institutions, as well as the domestic environment (see for example Moga, 2010, Featherstone and Kazamias, 2014, Giuliani, 2014).

A key question in this field of research has been the extent to which prospective European integration induces normatively desirable forms of discursive adaptation in national media and cultural discourses (Jones and Clark, 2008). The likelihood of a pan-European discursive and media sphere emerging from continued European integration is generally thought to be low (Koopmans and Statham, 2010). However, it is expected at least that a degree of discursive Europeanisation of media discourses would occur as a result of the processes of norms diffusion, socialisation and adherence to accession conditionalities. This research pursues this strand of the debate by exploring the impact of discursive Europeanisation on Turkey's media discourse of LGBT issues – specifically, whether Turkey's prospective European integration has influenced the media discourse of LGBT issues in Turkey to lead to a more positive representation of these topics. This is particularly cogent because of how the mass media mediates audience's cognizance of issues and people through news reports produced for public consumption, thus possessing the capacity to steer audiences "to adopt certain attitudes toward particular characters" based on the choice of attitudes exhibited (LeBesco, 2006, p. 41). The ways in which news reports about LGBT issues are presented in the mass media can

influence societal attitudes and cultural perceptions towards the LGBT community in general. Indeed, the LGBT community remains one of the largest groups that continues to be marginalised in Turkey (Idiz, 2014). An analysis of parliamentary debates in Turkey by Engin (2015) reveals how political attitudes toward homosexuality continue to be hostile, and that LGBT people continue to report experiencing increasing discrimination, harassment and even violence. Turkey serves as an interesting case as its largely conservative society is in contrast with the EU in which LGBT acceptance has gained unprecedented traction in recent years. In order to study how the Turkish media has framed LGBT issues and whether the prospect of EU membership has influenced media representations of these issues over time, a quantitative media content analysis comparing Turkish media's online press products from the year of 2005 and 2010 is used to test this thesis.

This article builds on research examining the issue of Europeanisation in non-member and candidate states (see Schroedter and Rössel, 2014, Aydın-Düzgit and Kaliber, 2016, Rumelili and Boşnak, 2015, Alpan and Diez, 2014). Having undergone extensive reforms in the wake of the ground-breaking Helsinki Summit in 1999 (Togan, 2004), the expectation is that Europeanisation would have brought about an extent of change in the domestic discourses of Turkey, particularly in the period between 2005 to 2010 which saw the highest number of EU negotiation chapters being opened (Blockmans, 2014). Second, this study will contribute to present attempts to better understand the function of contemporary modes of soft governance - such as framing in the mass media - that rely primarily on deliberation, influence and learning rather than harsh punitive laws to reduce pushback and achieve their goals (Héritier, 2003). In that vein, this research makes a novel contribution on the potential of EU's discursive influence specifically on gender and LGBT issues, advancing understanding of how norm diffusion as perpetuated via regional integration can potentially be a powerful way to protect the rights of marginalised social groups such as women and the LGBT community, and advance the human rights agenda.

Finally, by studying the news media's representation of LGBT issues in a conservative country such as Turkey, this study identifies how the mass media frames these topics to the disadvantage of the LGBT community. By adopting certain phrases over others, news reports provide an emphasis to certain news angles and stereotypes that ultimately become what the public uses to make judgments about certain communities (Price et al., 2005). Therefore when news reports on LGBT issues are dominated by negative expressions, it is logical to assume that the community will correspondingly be stigmatised and socially excluded. The results of this study will equip civil society-at-large with information on stereotypes being used to frame LGBT issues in Turkey, contributing to measures aimed at reducing overall discrimination against the LGBT community.

This article is organised as such: the next section explores academic literature examining the phenomenon of discursive Europeanisation as well as its varying effects upon different political institutions within Turkey in particular. Secondarily, the communicative role of media and the predominant influence it portends upon society would be briefly reviewed, with emphasis on its power to negatively skew public opinion against marginalised communities. Next, the paper details the research design and key hypotheses that would be tested. Finally, the article concludes with a presentation of the results, a discussion of findings and directions for future research.

Discursive Europeanisation

In the most general sense, research on Europeanisation is about the causal explanation of change in actors' attitudes, public policies and institutions (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 2019). The transformations of domestic structures brought about by Europeanisation, including of national media discourses, can be meaningfully understood as a:

a) construction, b) diffusion and c) institutionalisation, of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and

consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, political structures and public policies (Radaelli, 2000 p.4).

According to Börzel and Risse (2003), Europeanisation provides new opportunities and constraints for societal and political actors in the domestic sphere, steering actions in accordance to incentives supplied by the accession process. However, compliance with EU rules is not only the result of a rational cost-benefit analysis, but also of redefining identities and interests (Jacquot and Woll, 2003). Through processes of socialization and soft power, the EU tries to create a larger norm ownership and to convince candidate countries to redefine their cultures and identities. Although envisioned as a primarily asymmetrical 'top-down' process of influence by the 'first generation' of Europeanisation literature (Goetz and Dyson, 2003), the process is now conceptualised by more recent studies as a two-way conditionality-driven process (Alpan and Diez, 2014). Kaliber (2013, p54) in particular advances that the impact of Europeanisation in a given society is heavily conditioned by the extent in which Europe is used as a context by domestic actors to promote their political projects.

Diez et al. (2005) further identifies three fundamental strands of Europeanisation: Policy Europeanisation, Political Europeanisation and Discursive Europeanisation. Discursive Europeanisation - the subfield this article engages the most with – seeks to investigate the extent in which divergent domestic discourses on a range of issues are affected or brought into convergence by European integration (Jones and Clark, 2008). During the process of European integration there has been a series of interplay and synthesis between national and supranational discourses. The regulations and cultural values enshrined in the *Acquis Communautaire*[1] prompt the countries to commit to a streamlined economic and socio-political ideology, altering their respective discourses and shaping them in line with the European norms (Krizsan and Popa, 2008).

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[1] Acquis Communautaire refers to the body of formal and informal legislation which in sum comprise EU law.

Empirical studies demonstrate that domestic discourses often reflect an extent of discursive Europeanisation. In an exploratory study on the media of large EU countries, Adam (2012) identifies an increased tendency of certain European topics such as economic issues to experience significant discursive Europeanisation as compared to other issues. Research into Austria's public sphere also shows evidence of Europeanisation and corroborates the thesis that Europeanisation is mainly induced by conflict between entrenched domestic norms and European norms (Brantner et al., 2005). In this study, the comparison of levels of discursive Europeanisation across media discourses in Austria shows a higher density of references to the EU in communitised[2] policy issues (Environment & Food, Politics, Economic Issues, Infrastructure & Energy) compared to policy issues with strong national regulatory competencies (Education, Cultural and Social Affairs). The findings of this study suggest that cultural and social issues tend to be more resistant to the influence of discursive Europeanisation, as compared to more 'scientific' issues such as that of the economy.

In the context of discursive Europeanisation of cultural issues, Hoskyns (1996) suggests how European integration can act as an impetuous tide, speeding up the liberalisation of domestic social norms such as gender equality and minority rights. In that vein, a study by Vaughan and Kilcommins (2007) into the impact of European integration and the diffusion of human rights values in Ireland highlights how these norms provide a resource for citizens to mobilise against perceived abuse, triggering a discursive shift from a repressive model of criminal justice to a more symmetrical model. On the flipside however, Lewis et al. (1994) argue that states often fall back on historically entrenched gender discourses rather than comply to the EU norms. A large scale comparison among member states' media reports on EU gender equality discourses by Liebert and Sifft (2003) reveals that gender equality measures within states have only converged in a moderate diversity. They go on to posit that this is because the process of Europeanisation adapts organically to the reality that EU

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[2] This term became popular during the 1997 Amsterdam negotiations. It describes the process of allowing supra-national institutions such as the European Parliament to get involved in certain national policies which had previously been controlled by state governments.

gender equality norms varies according to national cultures and according to different framings of gender issues in different circumstances. Another comparative study of the Finnish and Swedish media concludes that Europeanisation of the mass media related to immigration remains inconsistent and intricately linked to state interests (Horsti, 2008). In the context of immigration, the resulting discursive pattern is not one of convergence but of "differential adaptation with national colours" as participation in the construction and adaption of EU norms on immigration vary significantly across member states (Baun and Marek, 2013, p.4). Thus far, while studies have shed light on the extent of the impact of Europeanisation on various different types of domestic discourses – highlighting how cultural issues grounded in longstanding domestic traditions tend to exhibit resistance towards discursive Europeanisation – the influence of discursive Europeanisation with regards to the specific cultural issue of LGBT norms remains understudied.

Europeanisation and Turkey

There is a growing body of literature that examines the impact of Europeanisation in the context of Turkey as a candidate country, particularly after the watershed Helsinki Agreement in 1999 which resulted in Turkey's EU negotiation being placed back on track. Sarigil's (2007) study of the impact of Europeanisation on the Turkish military finds that the military, which expressed its commitment to further integration with the EU, is as a result 'rhetorically entrapped' by its ideational interests, contributing to the subordination of the military to civilian authority. This is consistent with the work of İçduygu (2007), who argues that the transformation of national immigration policies and practices in Turkey can be understood to be brought about by the process of European integration. However, Bolukbasi et al. (2010, p464) note that much of these initial studies examining the Europeanisation research programme in Turkey have tended to adopt a top-down structure in which Europeanisation is generally presented as an external trigger leading to a realignment of Turkish politics.

Indeed, even though Turkey is often perceived as having turned away from the EU in the last few years, the lasting effects of Europeanisation observed upon the country's institutions continue to present an academic intrigue (Alpan and Diez, 2014). This has spurred a shift in more recent works which have started to focus more on how Turkish political actors have responded to EU pressures, incentives and opportunities according to their own interests. In seeking to explain the puzzle of continued reforms in the fight against corruption and minority rights within Turkey given the limited impact of EU incentives, Yılmaz and Soyaltın (2014) find that policy change in the fight against corruption has been driven by the domestic agenda of the governing party and its political preferences, emphasising the importance of heeding the role of domestic actors. Extending this further, Kaliber (2016) argues that within the context of the effects of Europeanisation on Turkey's Cyprus policies, domestic actors can even be perceived to be the principal creators of Europeanisation whereby the impact of this process is largely shaped by actions and discourses of domestic actors.

Presently, while Turkey has embraced EU norms on economic reforms, it has rejected outside interference in domestic democratisation and human rights matters on nationalistic grounds (Rumford, 2001). Despite the human rights and sexuality protections the government has to implement within the EU's human rights framework, Turkey's government continues to adopt an ultra-conservative discursive stance in its political agenda. In late 2005, the prosecutor's office accused KAOS-GL, a leading LGBT activist group of establishing an illegal organisation that perpetuates immorality (Sinclair-Webb, 2008). The government's conservative stance persists in contemporary times: recently, Istanbul pride faced police action and shutdown because it was held in the month of Ramadan (Mortimer, 2015). Arat and Nuñez (2017) observe that the policy of tolerance by the government towards the LGBT community has failed to ensure non-discrimination, freedom from persecution, or the cessation of violence. The government's hostile attitude towards its LGBT community thus presents a scenario of high conflict and contradiction between conservative

domestic norms and the mandatory liberal regulations stipulated for full accession to the EU. Within this scenario of conflicting norms, to what extent would discursive Europeanisation impact on domestic LGBT discourses within Turkey within a period where accession talks were productive – and thus conditionality would be considered the most effective? It is at this juncture of Europeanisation research that this study into the impact of European integration on Turkey's media discourse of LGBT issues takes as its starting point. The importance of the media in shaping discourses will next be briefly reviewed.

Media representation of marginalised communities

Media effects research can offer the field of discursive Europeanisation key insights into the importance of media in influencing the issues audiences care about. The agenda setting theory posits that the frequency and importance that media wilfully accords to certain issues directs readers to believe that these topics are more salient in their lives (McCombs et al., 2013). Because of the public's inherent limited capacity to pay attention to every single problem all the time, the media's choice of news stories influence which issues are placed on the public agenda (Erbring et al., 1980). A landmark study into the agenda-setting effect of the media discovered that the audiences' opinion on what the most pressing concerns were during the 1968 presidential elections adhered closely to the issues that the media reported on; correlation was ruled out as news reports were the primary information source during the election period (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). This study's findings about the primacy of information sources are especially relevant to LGBT issues in Turkey because it remains an under-discussed topic - one that the Turkish society-at-large are not exposed to other than via the mass media. Therefore, the media can be very influential in Turkey when reporting on LGBT issues.

The ability of the media to frame issues must also be considered. Frames are discursive constructs used to direct interpretation, allowing individuals to identify and label issues (Nisbet, 2009). Henson et al. (2009) explain that framing involves attributing certain aspects of a phenomenon salience in order to influence readers' opinions about that issue; therefore, framing can affect not only issues but also cultural identities, with real adverse social consequences: a study by Easteal et al. (2015) reveal how the media consistently frames family violence and sexual assault using a recurrent theme of mutuality of responsibility, contradicting the feminist understanding of these harms as gendered and impeding efforts to protect women from violence and improve access to justice. The LGBT community can be considered as one of the largest groups that continues to face discrimination in almost every society. Thus, media framing has the ability to favour certain communities without revealing bias while conversely also possessing the power to attract hostile attitudes toward them. Another important factor to consider is whether news reports are couched in an episodic or thematic frame. Essentially, an episodic frame presents the incident as an individual, one-off occurrence while a thematic frame provides contextual information, situating the problem within a wider narrative (Gross, 2008). A key finding pertaining the usage of episodic or thematic frames is that they influence readers' opinion about whether the problem is an individual or societal issue - exposure to episodic frames makes audiences less likely to hold society or state institutions responsible for causing that problem, and also for resolving it (Aarøe, 2011).

In general, one of the main findings on how the mass media reports on issues concerning marginalised communities is that they have been historically represented negatively in the media. Van Dijk (1989) postulates about a new form of racism within the mass media - a subtle form of discrimination that sees minorities not as inferior but different as a result of deficiencies that have to be corrected. He identifies a list of topics typically used to cast non-objective reports of minorities: illegal immigrant, related problems and public response, social problems, cultural characterisations, threats, integration conflicts (Van Dijk, 2000). A study by Barclay and Liu (2003) into New

Zealand's print media's representation of the Maori minority finds that their quoted representation are often lacking and reframed to the diminution of the community's agency. Adjacent to this is the concept of symbolic annihilation, which describes the absence of marginalised groups (often based on racial, gender or sexual orientation attributes) within the mass media as a means of promoting stereotypes and denying existence (Tuchman, 2000). Tuchman elaborates on the concept of symbolic annihilation on women, highlighting how it works via three facets of omission, trivialisation and criticism. As such, symbolic annihilation not only negatively characterises certain group identities, it also works to make them invisible through the explicit lack of representation – such as the lack of depictions of strong female characters in positions of responsibility or authority and defining the female gender purely in terms of its relationship with men – in all forms of media. When certain communities lack proportionate representation in the media, they are not accorded recognition and are dismissed by the wider public and people in power.

It is clear from the literature that the media plays a crucial function in the way the LGBT community is represented, which influences audiences' perceptions around the issue. Stereotypes and negative episodic frames or complete exclusions reduce the ability of the public to perceive important systemic causes and effects of discrimination against the LGBT community. Since the general public is unlikely to be familiar with LGBT issues and discrimination in Turkey - especially the factors that contribute to its perpetuation - it is important to investigate the Turkish media's framing of LGBT issues.

Research design and methods

This article focuses on the impact of prospective European integration on the media discourse of Turkey pertinent to the reporting of LGBT issues; two research questions are posed:

RQ1: How has the media portrayed and framed LGBT issues in Turkey?

RQ2: How has the prospect of European integration affected the Turkish media discourse of LGBT issues?

The following hypotheses would be tested:

H[1]: There will be more reports on LGBT issues in 2010 compared to 2005

H[2]: Quotes from the LGBT community will be used more in 2010 compared to 2005

H[3]: LGBT stories will be reported in a more positive tone in 2010 compared to 2005

H[4]: Episodic frames will be the predominant frame in both the years of 2005 and 2010

H[5]: LGBT issues will be stereotyped less in 2010 compared to 2005

The first two hypotheses measure the change in visibility of LGBT issues in Turkish media discourse as a result of prospective European integration. Previous literature has established how not only has the media traditionally underrepresented marginalised groups by not quoting from the community, it can also systematically erase representation via symbolic annihilation. Such challenges confronting the LGBT community within Turkey's conservative climate no doubt continue to persist; nonetheless as a consequence of mandatory EU human rights and LGBT protection requirements, it is expected that the media discourse of LGBT issues would be steered into increased representation and a more proportionate portrayal of the LGBT community in the media. Additionally, because Europeanisation helps to define the expectation gap between prescribed EU standards of LGBT protection and present implementations in Turkey, this would legitimise and encourage discourse (Hathaway, 2007) – resulting in an overall increase in visibility of LGBT issues in the Turkish media. Hypothesis 3 seeks to measure the overall improvement of media portrayals of LGBT issues in Turkey. Keohane (2001) posits that a convergence of norms occurring over time cannot be taken for granted as it rests upon the assumption that the end goals of contending parties would always be the same. In this instance however, it is expected that convergence would be induced because

Turkey's end goal of EU integration would supply rational and sociological incentives to comply. As past studies detailed in the literature review have charted how national discourses on a plethora of issues have been impacted by the prospect of EU integration, all this is hence likely to be reflected in a statistically significant improvement of the reporting of LGBT issues by the media in Turkey. Hypothesis 4 corresponds with previous literature that elucidates how negative portrayals predominantly employ episodic frames which focus solely on the immediate incident and blame the individual, while positive portrayals tend to employ thematic frames that provide an overarching narrative and shift the blame to society. The expectation is that while there may be an increase in thematic frames used in 2010, episodic frames would continue to be the dominant frame employed in LGBT media reports. Finally, Hypothesis 5 measures the extent of stereotypical and negative representations of the LGBT community in Turkey's media and its change from 2005 to 2010 using two categories of derogatory frames and topical stereotypes derived from previous research on how marginalised communities have been represented in the media.

This paper employs a quantitative content analysis to study the impact of prospective European integration on the media discourse of Turkey in LGBT issues. Content analysis is ideal for comparing news representation of events over time as well as mass-mediated coverage of people or events (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2010). Using content analysis to study Turkish media's portrayal of LGBT issues over time would shed light on the impact of prospective European integration on national cultural discourses, as well as provide understanding to the circumstances of social exclusion the LGBT community faces in Turkey. The study will contrast data from content analyses conducted on newspaper articles from Turkey in 2005 and 2010. The year 2005 was chosen as the baseline point-of-departure as it was the year in which Turkey and the EU officially began accession negotiations (Schimmelfennig, 2008); 2010 was chosen because an interval of half a decade between 2005 and 2010 can be considered a sufficient amount of time in which it is possible to assume at least that a certain amount of discursive change as effected by Europeanisation would have taken

place. More crucially, because Turkey's accession process has been a protracted one with numerous tides of traction and setbacks, the period between 2005 to 2010 is one where accession negotiations can be considered productive with highest number of negotiation chapters being opened during the period (Blockmans, 2014); the discursive influence of Europeanisation can be assumed to be the most impactful then.

A suitable sampling strategy enables a researcher to determine the key aspects of a population size by directly observing only a portion of it (Marshall, 1996). For this study, individual newspaper articles would constitute the unit of analysis. The sample was drawn from the two most prominent and widest-circulating newspapers in Turkey – Hurriyet Daily News, the longest running English-language daily newspaper in Turkey, and Today's Zaman, the English edition of the Turkish major daily newspaper Zaman. The news reports were retrieved from the newspapers' digital archives available publicly online. Using the key search terms including "LGBT", "gay", "lesbian", "bisexual", "homosexual" and "transgender", all articles published by Hurriyet Daily News and Today's Zaman, including commentaries, features and hard news reports, were used. Each report in the original story was reviewed for relevance; stories that used coincidental terms such as the *Enola Gay* atomic bomb were eliminated. A total of 310 relevant news reports remained after exclusions were applied, including 217 articles from the Hurriyet Daily News and 93 articles from Today's Zaman. This final sample of 310 newspaper articles would constitute the basis of this research.

The coding scheme developed was based off key findings highlighted by previous research into media portrayals of minorities and LGBT as well as an initial reading of the news articles with the aim of categorising the ways in which the media has framed LGBT issues. The newspaper articles collected were manually analysed, with an emphasis on metaphors and terms that constitute frames in media reports about LGBT issues within the context of the report. For instance, an emphasis on homosexuality "causing natural disasters" is considered a negative frame that stems from religious opposition. For each news report, a codebook was used to record thirteen different data-points; the

two main types of information collected are basic article details including publishing newspaper and date of publication as well as framing details including tone of article and quotes used.

This research is limited by the sample used as only two leading newspapers, out of over thirty-nine newspapers in Turkey, were used. While they may not be completely representative of the entire country's media discourse, they are able to provide an indication of developing and upcoming trends. The objective of this study is to provide an exploratory precedent after which a more detailed examination of the impact of Europeanisation on the media discourse of LGBT issues in Turkey can be undertaken using a larger sample and range of media content, including other language media and news sources such as radio news. Subsequent studies can also examine the discursive impact of European integration on other candidate and members countries and on other domestic cultural discourses, allowing for broader conclusions to be drawn.

Results

In order to answer the research questions and test the hypotheses, a quantitative analysis has been carried out to obtain the mean scores, frequency distribution as well as the relational patterns between relevant variables. In addition, t-test and chi-square test were used to test the statistical significance of the relationships between the variables. The data analysed provide insight into the impact prospective European integration has on Turkey's media discourse of LGBT issues and provide valuable information about how the mass media report on the LGBT community and issues about them within Turkey's societal context. The findings show that prospective European integration has led to an improvement in the Turkish media's representation of LGBT issues from 2005 to 2010. Notably, there is an increase in the visibility of LGBT issues, an overall improved tone of reporting and fewer negative or stereotypical frames of reporting used. On the overall however, the news media continues to negatively represent the LGBT community and its issues in Turkey even in 2010.

H[1]: There will be more reports on LGBT issues in 2010 compared to 2005

First, the total number of newspaper articles obtained on LGBT issues for the year of 2005 were compared to the number of newspaper articles obtained for the year of 2010.

Table 1: Number of LGBT media reports

Newspaper	Year		Total	Change (%)
	2005	2010		
Today's Zaman	12	81	93	+69 (+575%)
Hurriyet Daily News	86	131	217	+45 (+52%)
Total	98	212	310	+114 (+116%)

Overall, there is an increase of 114 (116%) in newspaper articles on LGBT issues in the year of 2010 compared to 2005. Interestingly, the change in media reports reflected across both newspapers vary vastly: Today's Zaman recorded a 5.75 times increase in media reports on LGBT issues from 2005 to 2010, while Hurriyet Daily News recorded a more moderated 0.52 times increase. Examination into the newspaper articles' sources reveal the logic behind this difference. As part of the codebook, the source of the article (whether it is cited from a foreign news agency or produced locally) was coded. The results show that 87% of news reports on LGBT issues in Today's Zaman were produced domestically, while only 42% of these reports in Hurriyet Daily News were produced locally. Therefore it is logical that Today's Zaman would experience a greater increase in reports on LGBT issues from 2005 – 2010 due to the conservative domestic climate leading to a lower news visibility of LGBT issues in 2005. On the other hand, Huriyet Daily News had experienced a lower increase because it already has a higher number of reports on LGBT issues in 2005 due to its practice of sourcing news from more liberal international news agencies. It is also expected that the political stance of the newspapers would affect the number of reports. The more conservative Today's Zaman would feature fewer news reports on LGBT issues - particularly in 2005 - while Hurriyet Daily

News's more liberal stance accordingly reflects in the larger number of reports on LGBT issues in both years.

Beyond charting the change in number of LGBT newspaper reports, it is also important to assess the change in centrality of LGBT issues in the articles from 2005 to 2010. To test this, each article was coded for its news angle, indicating whether the report discusses LGBT issues as its main news angle or whether LGBT issues are only mentioned as a secondary angle or in-passing. From 2005 to 2010, the number of newspaper articles featuring LGBT issues as its main angle increased from 9 to 42 (representing a relative 11% increase). The number of articles featuring LGBT issues as its secondary angle increased from 89 to 170 – however this represents a relative decline, from 91% to 80%. The chi-square test shows that this relationship is statistically significant (chi-square = 5.5072, $p = 0.019$, d.f. = 1). However, most newspaper reports continue to feature LGBT issues as its secondary and not primary news angle. The marked increase in newspaper articles covering LGBT issues as well as the statistically significant increase in reports featuring LGBT issues as the primary news angle show support for Hypothesis 1.

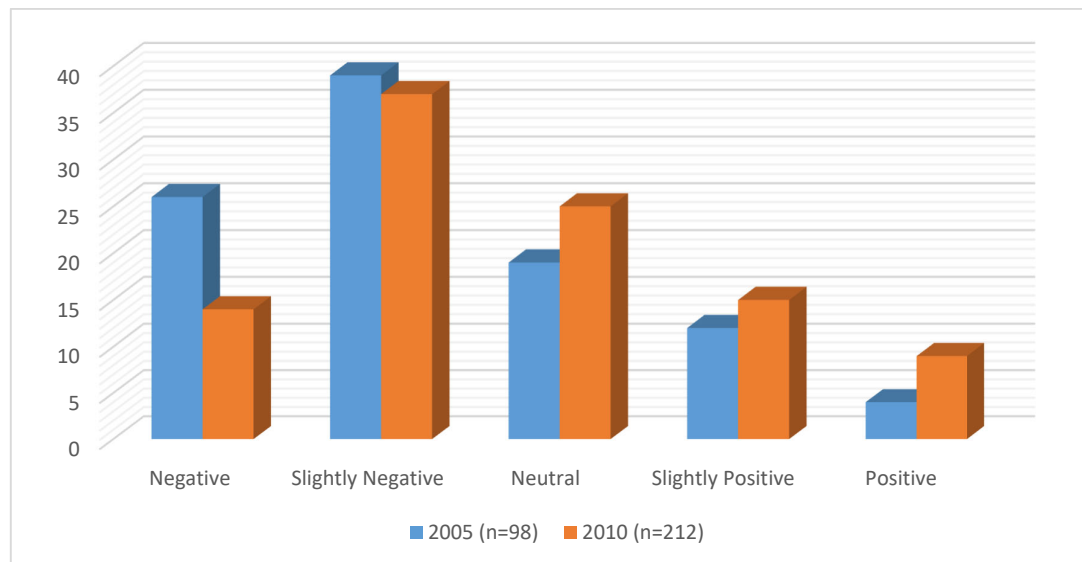### H^2: Quotes from the LGBT community will be used more in 2010 compared to 2005

Each article was coded for the presence of quotes from the LGBT community to test whether quoted representation of the LGBT community has improved from 2005 to 2010. The findings show that in the years of 2005 and 2010, even though the newspaper articles were reporting on LGBT issues, they did not quote proportionately from the LGBT community but largely relied instead on quotations supplied by the non-LGBT community. The number of newspaper articles using quotes from the LGBT community increased from 19 out of 98 (19%) in 2005 to 44 out of 212 (21%) in 2010. The chi-square test shows that this relationship is not statistically significant and may therefore be attributed to random errors (chi-square = 2.5830, $p = 0.275$, d.f. = 2). Hypothesis 2 is thus not

supported; there is no change in the proportion of LGBT quotes used, and the LGBT community continues to be underrepresented in terms of quotations used in the Turkish media.

H^3: Reporting of LGBT stories will generally improve from 2005 to 2010

Two different indicators – tone and blame attribution – were examined to provide a measure of the overall change in reporting of LGBT issues by Turkey's media. To test whether the average tone of story has improved from 2005 to 2010, all articles were coded to reflect its written tone – Negative (0), Slightly Negative (1), Neutral (2), Slightly Positive (3) and Positive (4).

Table 2: Comparison of Tone of Newspaper reports

The results show that for both years, most news reports on LGBT issues continue to be presented in a negative tone. Stories that reflected a negative tone decreased from 65% in 2005 to 51% in 2010, while stories with a positive tone increased from 16% in 2005 to 24% in 2010. The number of neutral stories also saw a moderate increase of 6%. The Chi-square test confirms that this improvement in tone is statistically significant at 0.05 level (chi-square = 9.5786, p = 0.048, d.f. = 4). The mean tone for 2005 is 1.29, while the mean tone for 2010 is 1.68. The t-test also verifies that this
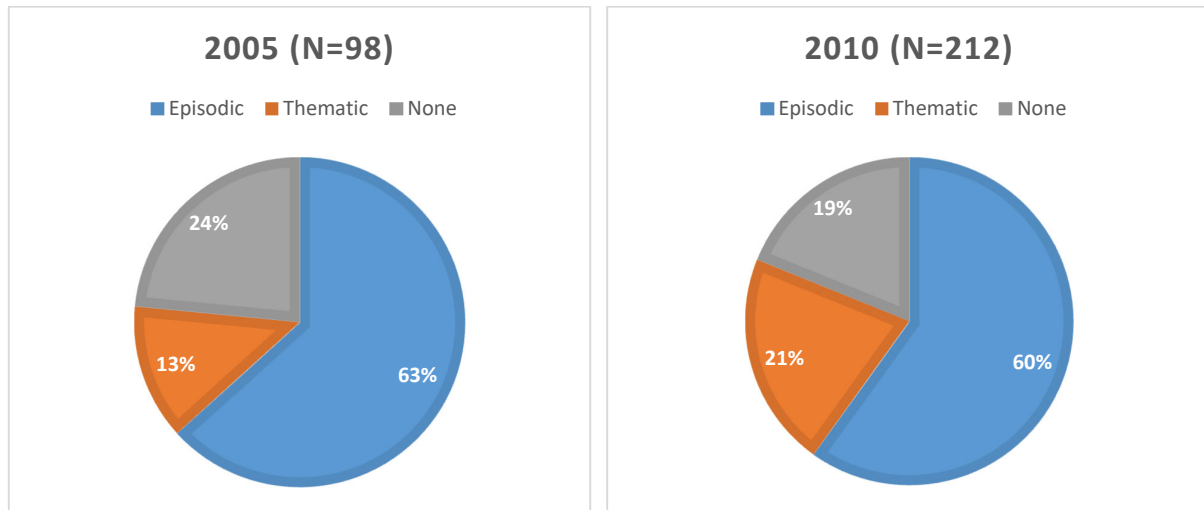
improvement in mean tone is statistically significant (t = -2.8123, p = 0.0052, df = 308), providing support for Hypothesis 3.

Looking at each newspaper individually, the mean tone of newspaper reports on LGBT issues by Today's Zaman changed from a deeply negative (0.92) to slightly negative (1.11) from 2005 to 2010, while Hurriyet Daily News's reports on LGBT issues changed from slightly negative (1.34) to close to neutral (1.93). This is consistent with the reporting biases of the news institutions, with Hurriyet Daily News and Today's Zaman being more secular and conservative respectively.

The newspaper reports were also coded to reflect whether they attribute blame to the LGBT community (within the context of particular incidences such as social conflict and disputes or overall symbolic condemnation such as spreading immorality). The findings show that slightly less blame is attributed to the LGBT community in 2010 (49 out of 212, or 23%) than in 2005 (24 out of 98, or 25%). However, this relationship is statistically insignificant (chi-square = 0.9474, p = 0.623, d.f. = 2). Hypothesis 3 is thus partially not supported.

H[4]: Episodic frames will be used to frame the majority of reports on LGBT issues in both 2005 and 2010

Table 3: Comparison of Narrative frames

2005 (N=98) — Episodic 63%, Thematic 13%, None 24%

2010 (N=212) — Episodic 60%, Thematic 21%, None 19%

Hypothesis 4 predicts that episodic frames would continue to be the dominant frame employed in all newspaper articles on LGBT issues. The results indeed support the hypothesis, as episodic frames that lack general context and collective evidence continue to be the leading frame used in newspaper articles on LGBT issues in 2005 (63%, n=98) and 2010 (60%, n=212). Adjacent to that, however, the newspaper articles also show a relative increase of 8% in the usage of thematic frames. This is a positive development as the usage of thematic frames can lead to readers acquiring a more profound understanding and empathy towards LGBT issues. However, the chi-test shows that this change is statistically insignificant (chi-square = 3.0926, p = 0.213, d.f. = 2); broader conclusions are thus unable to be drawn from this difference.

H^5: LGBT issues will be less stereotyped in 2010 compared to 2005

Prior studies on the framing of marginalised communities have established how these communities have been generally represented negatively in the media. In order to evaluate the extent of negative stereotypes and framing in newspaper articles of LGBT issues in Turkey, all newspaper articles were coded to indicate its general topic in accordance to the typology of topics that a majority of reports

on marginalised communities have been found to reflect: illegal immigrant, complications, social problems, cultural characterizations, threats and integration conflicts (Van Dijk, 2000).

Table 4: Typology of Topics

	Year	
	2005	2010
Integration Conflicts	5 (5%)	32 (15%)
Illegal Immigrant	1 (1%)	2 (1%)
Threats	11 (11%)	23 (11%)
Cultural Characterisation	43 (44%)	72 (34%)
Social Problems	23 (24%)	31 (15%)
Complications	5 (5%)	6 (3%)
Others*	10 (10%)	46 (21%)
Total	98 (100%)	212 (100%)

*Other topics identified as not belonging to the typology of topics include the following: Politics (e.g. participation in politics; 15 total), Social life (e.g. Marriage; 19 total), Events (e.g. Gay art/movies/events; 9 total) and Success Stories (13 total).

The results show that in general, an overwhelming majority of newspaper articles on LGBT issues in both 2005 and 2010 continue to be casted within negative topical stereotypes. However, several interesting trends can be detected. First, there is a relative decline of the two largest news story topics of Cultural Characterisation (-10%) and Social Problems (-9%) from 2005 to 2010, which is correspondingly reflected in an increase in topics of Integration Conflicts (+10%) and the generally positive 'Others' category (+11%). This relationship is statistically significant at 0.05 level (chi-square = 16.2827, p = 0.012, d.f. = 6).

This change can be explained from the rising understanding and acceptance of LGBT issues precipitated by discursive Europeanisation, resulting in an overall reduction in negative topics reported and, as well, shifting these topics from negative topics as derived from historical stereotypes (largely coded under Cultural Characterization and Social Problems) to reflect more contemporary

issues including protests and tensions between the LGBT community and conservative elements of Turkey's society (coded under Integration Conflicts).

Six derogatory frames common in news reports on LGBT issues were also included in the analysis: Unnatural, Sissy, Non-religious, Mentally-ill, Criminal, Western-import.

Table 5: Derogatory frames used

Derogatory Frames	Year	
	2005	2010
Unnatural	7 (7%)	11 (5%)
Sissy	3 (3%)	2 (1%)
Non-religious/sinner	40 (41%)	74 (35%)
Mentally-ill	8 (8%)	9 (4%)
None	12 (12%)	42 (20%)
Criminal	23 (24%)	32 (15%)
Western-import	5 (5%)	42 (20%)
Total	98 (100%)	212 (100%)

The top negative frame used in both 2005 and 2010 is the religiosity frame, which frames the LGBT community-at-large as being unreligious and immoral. This is in line with the demographical reality of Turkey as a conservative society that is deeply religious (Oktem, 2002). On the overall, the usage of derogatory frames also reflected an improvement, decreasing from 88% to 80%. The changes in negative frames used are statistically significant at 0.05 level (chi-square = 19.2336, p = 0.004, d.f. = 6). Notably, the results show a sharp increase in the framing of LGBT issues/lifestyles as being a Western-import, rising from 5% to 20%. This is in line with expectations of a pushback against the discursive effects of Europeanisation - presented with a scenario of high conflict between liberal EU norms and a conservative domestic climate, the adaptational pressure on Turkey to embrace LGBT rights and equality has thus generated resistance and pushback by entrenched domestic interests; within the context of national media discourses, this has taken the form of the discursive framing LGBT issues as a Western-import that is to be rejected (Rumford, 2001).

Implications for Europeanisation and the LGBT rights movement

This article had sought out to examine the extent to which prospective European integration has impacted the domestic media discourse of LGBT issues in Turkey - a promising EU candidate country - between the periods of 2005 and 2010 where accession negotiations were considered productive; consequently, the impact of Europeanisation on Turkey's domestic systems can be expected to be the most momentous then.

Several key findings and trends can be established. First, there is a significant improvement in the media's reporting of LGBT issues in Turkey. The most promising change would be the increase in visibility of LGBT issues in newspaper reports over the years that is empirically ratified, with more reports being published on LGBT issues and also more reports discussing these issues as its main news angle. While an increase in visibility may not lead directly to a positive change, heightened discussion over complete absence constitutes the critical first step in facilitating greater understanding and tolerance by society (Kane, 1994). Also notably, the tone of overall reporting of LGBT issues improved by a statistically significant margin, and fewer news stories about LGBT issues were cast in a negative and stereotypical frame and topic. Nonetheless, the results confirm that in general, LGBT issues persist to be poorly represented in Turkey's media, even in 2010. Episodic frames remain exceedingly dominant in news reports, as are the usage of derogatory frames and stereotypical news topics. Further, the LGBT community continues to be overtly blamed and underrepresented in terms of quotes used. While the LGBT rights movement has over the years made remarkable strides in Turkey (Fishman, 2013), this study shows that equality and parity in the media reporting of LGBT issues continues to remain a distant goal.

These results engage with essential aspects of the media effects literature. This study adds to literature affirming the negative representation of marginalised communities-at-large, with symbolic annihilation reflecting in the empirically documented lack of visibility and underrepresentation of

LGBT issues in Turkey especially at the initial year of 2005. Beddoe (2013) asserts that inaccurate or stereotypical frames used by the media have led to a vicious cycle of violence and discrimination against marginalised communities. Indeed, because continued use of episodic frames denies readers cognizance of the patterns of discrimination, its occurrence is normalised and blamed on the individual rather than on societal conditions. The derogatory framing of LGBT issues by the media also obscures understanding of the challenges they face and entrenches stereotypes against the community. This is consistent with the empirical reality, with the Turkish LGBT community experiencing continued exclusion, discrimination and harassment (Ataman, 2011).

These results also engage with expectations set out by the discursive Europeanisation literature. Consistent with the literature, European integration has indeed affected Turkey's media discourse on LGBT issues. However, even though past studies on Europeanisation have posited that communitised issues such as economic matters rather than cultural issues tend to be more profoundly impacted by Europeanisation, the results show that for the cultural issue of LGBT rights within Turkey, a greater than expected amount of convergence was effectuated. This suggests that LGBT and potentially other cultural issues may not be as resistant to Europeanisation as prior research has suggested. The improvement of media's representation of LGBT issues in Turkey was precipitated not because of an inevitable decline of conservatism within Turkey, but because of the rationalisation and socialisation incentives leading up to European integration that is supplied by adhering to EU norms (Zihnioglu, 2013). The significant impact of discursive Europeanisation on Turkey is also ratified by previous studies which have found conditionality to be the most effective in this pre-accession phase (Haughton, 2007). In all, this study suggests that regional integration may be an effective avenue for inducing normatively positive change. Given the bleak outlook for LGBT rights in Turkey (see Engin, 2015, Arat and Nuňez, 2017, Birdal, 2015), it may be worthwhile for activism to be directed towards maintaining the EU's commitment to Turkey (and vice-versa), inducing as a potential consequence normatively positive changes in the social discourses of Turkey.

Beyond that, the findings also confirm previous research that within a scenario of high conflict between European and domestic norms, there will be significant resistance exhibited domestically against discursive Europeanisation despite political will and incentives; this is evidenced in the study by the surge in frames portraying LGBT issues as a contemporary extension of 'Western imperialism'. This result also aligns with Birdal's (2015) findings, which show how the discourses perpetuated by the dominant Justice and Development Party (AKP) have sought to construe the LGBT as the 'other' of the Turkish nation. On the overall, this study suggests that the more that the European discursive constructs are consistent with domestic identities, the easier it is for domestic institutions to embrace and assimilate these norms into national discourses – in other words, the greater the effect of discursive Europeanisation.

Although this study has highlighted the main effects of prospective European integration on Turkey's media discourse of LGBT issues, its generalisability remains limited in several aspects. A major limitation of the analysis is that because only English-language newspapers in Turkey are used, they may not be representative of the positions and discourses advanced by Turkish-medium newspapers. Nonetheless, even though it is unlikely that media coverage by English-medium newspapers is as influential on public discourses vis-à-vis Turkish-language newspapers with wider readership, the utility of English newspapers in Turkey as a proxy reflecting shifts in wider societal discourses in Turkey remains valuable. Future studies could also develop this research angle further by including more forms of mass media, such as television and radio programmes, as well as other types of domestic and cultural discourses beyond the discourse of LGBT issues. Finally, while quantitative content analysis is invaluable for analysing vast amounts of data, supplementing it with qualitative methods would allow for more robust conclusions to be generated. An interesting angle would be to examine contemporary Turkish discourses developing in response to the continued EU negotiation process: with the accession process between Turkey and EU stalling in present times as a result of stalled negotiations and a recalibration of political calculus domestically and within the EU

(Eldem, 2013), would the domestic discourses of Turkey (including of LGBT issues) correspondingly experience a rollback, diverging once again from EU norms to entrenched domestic ones? This is reminiscent of postulations about a certain ongoing 'De-Europeanisation' process that is the focus of recent scholarship in this field (see Onursal-Beşgül, 2016, Cebeci, 2016, Saatçioğlu, 2016).

Conclusion

This article has examined the impact of prospective European integration on Turkey's media discourse of LGBT issues. In line with the literature on Europeanisation, it was found that prospective European integration has influenced the domestic discourses of Turkey, leading to an improvement in news representation of LGBT issues in Turkey over the period of 2005 to 2010. The results show that out of the five formulated hypotheses, three were supported while one was partially supported. First, there is an increase in visibility of LGBT issues in newspaper reports over the years. The tone of overall reporting of LGBT issues also improved, episodic frames continue to be predominantly employed and there were also fewer news stories about LGBT issues that were reported using derogatory frames or a cast within a stereotypical topic. Two hypotheses were not found to be supported by the results: there was no significant difference in the amount of media quotes used from the LGBT community as well as the blame attributed to the LGBT community in news reports. In all, despite an improvement, the majority of newspaper reports on LGBT issues in Turkey continue to be negatively casted.

Beyond illuminating the circumstances of media hostility the LGBT community in Turkey is confronted with, this study contributes to the literature on discursive Europeanisation. Even though the field of LGBT norms presents a scenario of high conflict between European values and Turkey's more conservative domestic norms, the changes effectuated were statistically significant and

suggests that cultural issues may not be as resistant to change as were suggested in previous studies.

In line with expectations from prior research, results also show that significant resistance was

exhibited domestically against discursive Europeanisation; in this study, this can be discerned from

the increase in media reports portraying LGBT issues as a contemporary extension of 'Western

imperialism'. Further studies providing a more detailed examination of the impact of

Europeanisation on the media discourse of LGBT issues in Turkey can be undertaken using a larger

sample and range of media content, including other languages and news sources. It would also be

worthwhile to examine the discursive impact of European integration on other forms of cultural

discourses in candidate and member countries, allowing for broader conclusions to be drawn.

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