

Past imperfect, present continuous, future indefinite?: Images of Turkey in the context of the EU integration in Australian and New Zealand news media

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This paper investigates how the news media of the two Australasian countries – Australia and New Zealand (NZ) – frame the images of Turkey against the images of the European Union (EU) in the context of an ongoing EU integration. Due to its newsworthy attributes (drama and conflict), news about Turkey in the context of EU integration successfully competed for attention among journalists and audiences in the two countries in 2004. The images created by news media have arguably brought the distant Turkey and EU closer to the interpersonal worlds of Australians and New Zealanders, informing and educating them on the latest developments in these remote foreign counterparts. The study derives its importance from the assumption that the revealed string of representations (analyzed using the cognitive semantics tool of conceptual metaphor) are likely to influence NZ and Australian public and elite opinions about the EU (as an important international counterpart to both NZ and Australia), and of Turkey (as a possible member of the EU).

‘Trojan horse of Islam in Europe’? A ‘crucial geopolitical player’? A ‘poor and crowded Muslim nation clamoring on the doors of the Brussels’ club’? A ‘friendly voice at the table of the world's largest consumer bloc’? The images of aspiring to join the EU Turkey in New Zealand and Australian media are as diverse and intricate as the patterns of a Turkish carpet.

Standing in line to access the EU for 40 years, Turkey, a strategically located Muslim country with population of 73 million people (*UN Population Divisions*, 2005), is currently stealing the limelight in worldwide media coverage of European Union (EU) enlargement. This paper employs the results of the trans-national research project “Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the EU in the Asia-Pacific” (NCRE, 2005) to survey how the news media discourses of the two Pacific countries – Australia and NZ – frame the images of Turkey against the images of the EU in the context of an ongoing EU integration.

The portrayals of Turkey are traced in the daily coverage of the EU in 2004 in ten newspapers and four primetime television news bulletins in the two countries. The collected imagery is discussed in terms of its pragmatic implications for the dialogue between the ‘ANZAC’ community, Turkey, and the expanding EU.

Setting the Context

The EU in the Asia-Pacific: Australian and NZ Perspectives

Europe has long been an important economic power in the Asia Pacific (Maull, 2001, p.128). In recent years, an explosive growth of increasing interaction between the EU, Pacific Asia and NAFTA (Held, 2001, ¶8) led Europe to undertake significant steps to strengthen its political involvement in the Asia Pacific region. It plays a continuing role in the crisis solution on the Korean Peninsula and in East Timor, has made significant advances in its relations with China, renders substantial amounts of international aid to the countries of the Pacific, and continues its dialogue with the ASEAN, ASEM, and the Pacific Forum -- the pre-eminent forums through which various aspects of regional cooperation are addressed, be they political and security issues, economic relations, or cultural exchanges.

Australia and NZ, being an integral part and major regional players of the Asia Pacific, are acutely aware of the growing political influence and leading economic role of the EU in the region. In turn, Australia and NZ share a lot in common in their independent relations with the “composite actor”, the EU. Close economic, diplomatic and political ties between the two Pacific countries and Europe exist against the background of a strong cultural proximity; a significant majority of Australians and New Zealanders are of European descent.¹

The EU is also a major economic partner for the two countries. It is second only to Australia as NZ's largest trading partner and is the principal destination for its agricultural produce such as dairy, sheep meat, wool, and wine – NZ's most valuable commodities. It is NZ's fourth most lucrative destination for non-agricultural NZ export goods, and is the second largest source of overseas visitors to NZ. In June 2005, the EU has accounted for 15 percent of NZ exports and 19 percent of total NZ imports (Statistics New Zealand 2005; NZ MFAT 2005). Similarly, the EU has been Australia's largest and most important economic partner for the past 12 years. It is Australia's largest merchandise trading partner, the largest partner for trade in services, a principal source of import goods, and the leading investor. Australia's trade with the EU accounts for 20 percent of Australian international trade, 15 percent of exports and 23 percent of imports. It is not insignificant that 45 percent of Australian official reserves are currently held in Euro.

However, on various international relations agendas the two countries have positioned themselves differently in relation to the EU. NZ sees Europe as an important reference point for its foreign policy. Helen Clark, the NZ Prime Minister (2003), has stated that in many areas, NZ and the EU have developed very similar approaches -- across sustainable development, the Kyoto Protocol, the International Criminal Court, the path to peace between Israel and the Palestinians, and on disarmament and human rights issues in general. In these areas, as in the development of economic and social policy, NZ follows closely how Europe is thinking. In contrast, the Australian Government has successfully intensified Australia's relationship with the United States (U.S.) (Downer 2005), sharing

perspectives and endeavors on many of the foreign policy challenges, and preferring a bilateral mode of interaction with the European countries instead of dealing with the “communal” EU body.²

Australia and NZ on EU Enlargement

Despite their divergent positions towards some foreign policy issues, both Australia and NZ closely scrutinize developments in the EU. An ‘exclusive club’ of 15 in the past, the EU underwent major transformations in 2004. The fifth Enlargement brought into the European ‘fold’ eight east European countries and the two Mediterranean nations of Cyprus and Malta. Inevitably, the 25-member Union with a population of almost 450 million has necessarily faced adjustments in its political structures in order to accommodate its new members. In 2004, the Union elected its new president, introduced a new set of the EU Commissioners, held Parliamentary elections, and began negotiating a new constitutional treaty.

Of all its transformations, the fifth enlargement of the EU in 2004 appears to be both an event of major historical significance and one which undeniably presented the most consequences for third parties in terms of their interests in Europe, and their relations with individual European countries and the EU. For example, NZ Foreign Minister Phil Goff admitted that “there was a risk that the EU would be heavily preoccupied with internal concerns, and that it would be harder to make New Zealand's voice heard” (Goff, 2005). Similarly, Australia has expressed growing concern with each subsequent EU enlargement that internal distractions might cause a loss of attention in our part of the world and, as Foreign Minister Alexander Downer (Downer, 2003) has argued, that Europe’s ambitious agenda might impinge upon Australia’s interests.

It comes then as little surprise that in 2004 the international news representing the EU to Australian and NZ public was dominated by an ‘EU enlargement’ theme. This paper employed the results of the trans-national research project “Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the EU in the Asia-Pacific” to survey how the news media of the four Pacific countries – Australia, NZ, South Korea and Thailand – framed the images of the EU in 2004. The interviews with the regional news makers on the subject of the EU representations revealed that, in general, the EU is considered by news producers to be a difficult subject to ‘sell’ to their audiences. Covering the EU requires meeting the challenges of depicting the EU’s vague “hybrid” identity, its complex pattern of decision making, as well as the intricate relations between the communal bodies and the individual member states. Such routine information is usually of a non-entertaining and dry character, and thus is undesirable in the fast-paced dramatic world of the news media.

The 2004 EU enlargement introduced into worldwide EU coverage flavors of conflict and drama previously lacking. With ex-Communist countries joining the EU’s exclusive Western club, the news media stressed the dramatic end to the divide of the Iron Curtain between the East and West in Europe, and hailed the capacity to overcome the tragic legacies of the World War II and the hostilities of the Cold War on the continent. At the same time, new entrants were often presented as a source of unwanted migration and a threat to the continent’s economic stability. These representations of the conflicts within

the EU appealed to the 'newsworthy' values of "controversy" and "confrontation" often leading in international news reporting.

When the fifth enlargement was completed in May 2004, the suspected decrease in drama and conflict spurring audience's interest towards the EU did not result. Almost immediately, the Asia-Pacific news media re-directed its 'searchlight' for the dramatic and controversial towards another possible candidate for enlargement – Turkey.

The question of Turkish membership of the European Union has become an increasingly vexed, urgent and complex one. To ask -- East or West? -- is perhaps the simplest way of summing up the question. A fiercely secular state with an overwhelmingly Muslim population, a country striving for modernity yet still tainted by a reputation for a barbaric attitude towards human rights, a European 'wannabe' and a European 'wannabe'-different, Turkey is a country defined by contradictions. Its prominence in the international media has been further enhanced by yet another contradiction – its territorial squabble with Greece over Cyprus, all the while it desperately seeking membership of a Union that is defined by its attempts to transcend the conflict caused by, or at least redefine traditional concepts of nationalism and territorialism. Its past is imperfect, its presence undefined and the future, in terms of its European aspirations, certainly remains indefinite. As does Europe's future; according to Valery Giscard d'Estaing, Turkish entry signals "*the end of Europe.*" (Cohen, 2004).

For Europe, the question of Turkish membership is not simply about whether to include a predominantly Muslim country into a secular Union claiming a Christian heritage, but it is about the borders of Europe and limits of integration, and the elasticity of 'unity in diversity'. Thus, as one observer put it, "*Turkey resides somewhere deep and ambivalent in the European psyche*" (Ibid). Does Turkey offer a "*new dimension*" (Ibid) for European unity as Blair has argued or is it the wedge that may see the Union crack or crumble?

Turkey and its relations with Australia and NZ

The subject of Turkey attracted the attention of our research team investigating the coverage of the EU enlargement in the Asia-Pacific news media in four above-mentioned countries (NCRE 2005). In 2004, Turkey was found to be the second most visible EU enlargement candidate, ahead of all countries except Poland that eventually acceded to the EU on May 1, 2004, and also ahead of Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia, the next candidates for EU membership.

It is suggested here that the newsmakers' interest towards the subject of Turkey has also been influenced by the unique historical connection Turkey has with both Australia and NZ. Commemoration of coalition forces³ landing on the Gallipoli Peninsula in Turkey on 25 April 1915 known as 'ANZAC' (The Australia-NZ Army Corps) Day is an enormously significant part of the collective memory of both Australians and New Zealanders. The legacy of 'the ANZACs' has traditionally conditioned NZ's and Australia's public interest towards Turkey.

Turkey's relations with NZ are developing steadily, with no contentious issues between the two (*Turkey's political relations with NZ, 2004*, ¶8). Economically, Turkey and NZ have a strong potential to further their ties. Trade between New Zealand and Turkey is currently worth about \$80 million a year (*Turkey to begin EU accession negotiations, 2004*, ¶1), the key traditional NZ exports to Turkey being wool for the Turkish carpet industry and skin and leather for the Turkish tanning industry, and the main components of Turkish imports to NZ being grapes, dried fruit, tires, fabrics and ceramic bathroom fittings (NZ MFAT, 2004). In the future, NZ's export growth in Turkey is expected to come from NZ's expertise in earthquake engineering, selling building products, trading NZ forestry produce, and from an increasing number of Turkish students studying in NZ (*Turkey country brief, 2004*₁, p.5).

Politically, the shared sacrifice in Gallipoli laid the foundation of the very warm relations and reciprocal respect between the countries (Tizard, 2005; Clark, 2005_{1,2}). Turkey's possible accession into the EU is viewed by NZ as a positive development for both Turkey and NZ. No doubt having another friendly voice at the EU negotiation table is in NZ's interest. As a Western-style democracy, NZ has always welcomed the democratic reforms required by Turkey to meet the EU membership conditions. However, on par with enhancing trading opportunities for NZ, Turkey's possible membership in the EU also raises concern from the NZ side regarding the potential impact that Turkey, another large agricultural producer, may have on NZ-EU trade relations. There is also the concern that the EU may become too introspective and concerned with its own matters and will not have time to worry about small and distant NZ.

Similarly, Turkey's relations with Australia have been developing steadily since the 1990s. Turkey remains a relatively small though important market for Australian exports. Australian exports to Turkey are mostly commodity-based and are dominated by coal, iron ore, wool and non-monetary gold. The potential for growth in the export market is restricted, however, by a trading protection regime with the importation of livestock and meat particularly affected by trade restrictions (Australian DFAT, 2004, ¶37). Turkish imports to Australia remains high, primarily in goods including dried fruit and nuts, rubber tires, televisions, household equipment, clay construction materials, and glassware. Australian investment in Turkey, although rather limited at present, looks set to expand in the future particularly following the signing of an Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (IPPA) in June 2005 (Vaile 2005).

Politically, ties between Australia and Turkey remain strong. This close relationship has been reinforced - in addition to the shared experience of Gallipoli - by a history of Turkish immigration and the establishment of a significant Turkish community in Australia. In recent years, both Turkey and Australia have cooperated together in the Peace Keeping Operation of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET PKO), and have both participated in the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan (Downer 2004).

The framing of the fifth EU enlargement is not the primary focus of this paper.⁴ This paper also does not intend to analyze the independent images of Turkey in the Asia

Pacific news. This paper instead aims to investigate how the news media discourses of the two Australasian countries – Australia and NZ – frame the images of Turkey against the images of the EU in the context of an ongoing EU integration.

Data Overview

The portrayals of Turkey were traced in the daily coverage of the EU in 2004 in ten newspapers and four primetime television news bulletins in two countries – NZ and Australia. NZ newspapers monitored in the project were *The New Zealand Herald*, *The Waikato Times*, *The Dominion Post*, *The Press*, and *The Otago Daily Times*. The list of Australian newspapers monitored included: *The Herald-Sun*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Australian*, *The Australian Financial Review*, and *The Canberra Times*. Television news bulletins under scrutiny were NZ's *TV1 at 6pm* and *TV3 at 6 pm* and Australia's *The ABC National Nightly News at 7:00pm* and *The Channel Nine Nightly News bulletin at 6 pm*.⁵

Print media

This paper analyzed the images of Turkey and the EU in 212 articles (25 articles in NZ newspapers and 187 in Australian newspapers – or 4 and 9 percent respectively from the total EU coverage in 2004)⁶. All news texts referenced the EU and Turkey in the context of an on-going EU integration and expansion. The intricacies of Turkey-EU interactions in 2004 were found to be introduced by print media in rather substantial detail; the average length of articles in NZ was 603 words in NZ, and 714 words in Australia. Leading sources of information on Turkey-EU ties in NZ print media were the international agencies of *REUTERS* and *AP*, as well as NZ correspondents based in Europe, and freelance European correspondents writing for NZ newspapers. Australian news producers relied more heavily on news from the international wire *AFP* and on Australian correspondents in Europe.

The initial content analysis revealed that the NZ print media featured three 'spikes' in covering events around Turkey and the EU in 2004. These were Turkish involvement in the vote for Cypriot reunification on the eve of the divided island nation's accession to the EU in April; debate around Turkish decision to criminalize adultery and the EU's reaction to this in September; and EU-Turkish entry talks in December.

In Australia the print media interest seems to be more evenly distributed across the year. Nevertheless, there were a number of definite spikes in the coverage. The first of these occurred in April reflecting Turkey's role in the solution of the Cyprus conflict. There was a second spike in October and another strong peak in December, both predominantly accounted for by the accession talks. It should be noted however, that these peaks in coverage can be mostly attributed to one paper, *The Australian*; the leading Australian media outlet in terms of EU coverage.

Television media

Five news entries were located on prime time television news in the two countries (3 in NZ and 2 in Australia; correspondingly 10 and 11 percent of the total EU coverage). The seemingly small amount of news should be taken in the perspective of a dearth of EU coverage in the Pacific prime time news in general -- there were 29 stories referencing the EU in 2004 in NZ, and only 18 in Australia on the monitored TV channels. The average length of the TV news story was 457 words in NZ and 189 in Australia. The three news stories located in NZ were broadcast by the state owned channel *TV1*. In Australia, the *ABC* and *Channel 9* prime time news bulletins broadcast one story each.

NZ television focused its attention on the release of Turkish political prisoners, an event that was touted as boosting the Turkish bid for EU membership (June); massive protests in the mainly Kurdish city; and the beginning of the Turkish entry talks with the EU (both in December).

Australian television mentioned Turkey in an EU context in the presentation of a report on President Bush's meeting with the EU leaders (June) and introducing the beginning of Turkey's negotiations with the EU on its entry into the Union (December).

Findings: Framing of the Images

In 2004, two major events made Turkey the most visible actor in the context of the EU integration in the Australian and NZ media. The first was Turkey's contribution to the solution of the Cyprus conflict in April, and secondly, the historic decision by the EU to begin accession negotiations with Turkey in December. Both events were political in nature. Correspondingly, the political theme dominated the coverage of Turkey aspiring to join the EU, both in newspapers and on television. By contrast, the economic concerns of both Australia and NZ attached to the possible Turkish accession to the EU were overlooked by the media, and the visibility of the images related to the theme of economics was negligible.

The Cyprus Referendum

For over forty years Cyprus has been the site of one of the world's most protracted intra-state conflicts. The Cyprus issue has arisen from the context of a multicomunal society where two separate and distinct communities are divided along ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic lines - the two communities being the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

Turkey has traditionally been a strong supporter of the Turkish Cypriots. So long as Turkey's own EU membership bid remained stalled, Turkey gave unequivocal support to the Turkish Cypriot leadership and their call for international recognition and political equality and took steps to more deeply integrate the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus with Turkey.

However, Ankara's position towards Cyprus has altered given the linkages between the Cypriot application for EU membership, Greco-Turkish relations and Turkey's own bid for membership. Under the direction of new Prime Minister, Tayyip Erdogan, Turkey

adopted a more conciliatory stance with political elites now strongly supporting the Annan Plan (2003 UN settlement plan for Cyprus) and the simultaneous accession of Cyprus to the EU.

The conflict in Cyprus was of a special interest to both NZ and Australia. As members of the British Commonwealth, they feel attached to Cyprus, a fellow Commonwealth member and trade partner. In depicting Turkey in the EU context two distinctly different lines of imagery appeared: the one featured the EU, and the other highlighted Turkey.

Turkey

The Cyprus problem for Turkey in general was described as a “**hamper**” (Theodoulou, 2004), “**hinge**” (*Crucial talks ...*, 2004), the “**biggest hurdle**” (*State firms...*, 2004), and a “**major hurdle**” (*Door opening for Turkey*, 2004) to Turkey’s EU membership aspirations. Conflict over Cyprus “**stand[s] in the way**” of a final agreement between Turkey and the EU and could potentially “**bar the way**” (*EU agrees to talk Turkey*, 2004) for Turkey’s entrance to the Union. These metaphors provoke distinctly negative connotations.

At the time of the Cyprus referendum in April 2004, The Australian noted how “Ankara made **unprecedented efforts** for the resumption of negotiations on the island” (*Cypriot leaders agree to talks*, 2004): it “**pressed**” the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community for a resumption of talks last month (*U.S. backs...*, 2004) and it “**pushed hard**” to reunite the divided island of Cyprus (Cohen, 2004).

The Cypriot situation was also presented as a ‘gamble’ for Turkey -- its own “membership **bid**” would suffer if Cyprus were not reunified (*Cypriot leaders agree to talks*, 2004). The “**stakes are high**” (*Crucial talks...*, 2004) for Turkey. The images of gambling interpreted as risk (without heroic effort) carry neutral to negative evaluations.

EU

The EU has “**tied** negotiations on Turkish accession to a solution in Cyprus” (Ansley, 2004). This was not seen as an ideal situation for Europe – the Cyprus problem was feared to be “**imported** into the EU”. There was also a perceived danger with Europe anticipating dealing with a dangerous ‘inflammable’ substance of ethnic divisions – Cyprus is expected to “**fuel tensions** between Greece and Turkey” (Field, 2004).

Similarly to NZ newspapers, their Australian counterparts presented the EU in the EU-Turkish interactions around Cyprus as a person who “does not want **to inherit**” the problems of island division (*The Cyprus countdown*, 2004). The EU around Cyprus was seen as a person possibly making “**not the right step**” (Burgess, 2004). All listed images are of negative valorization.

Entry Talks

Turkey has been waiting in line to enter the EU for 40 years. In 2004, against the background of ongoing global terrorist activities being committed by and attributed to

Muslim extremists, the Turkish issue was pushed into sharp relief by a number of events, namely:

- the accession of ten new member states into the already bulging Union
- the December deadline for a decision to begin negotiations with Turkey leading to eventual membership
- the drafting of the Constitutional Treaty and the debate over the inclusion of religious references in the preamble and the implications of such a decision
- and the rising prominence of religious tensions due to the occupation of Iraq and the so-called 'War on Terror' which has implicitly and explicitly drawn new battle lines between East and West.

The imagery employed to depict situation around Turkey's entry talks to access the EU was again grouped into two sets -- the images of the EU and the images of Turkey.

EU

There were several dominant clusters of metaphors that presented the EU in NZ and Australian media in the light of Turkey's possible accession to the EU. The EU was presented as an exclusive appealing place. Often the EU was conceptualized as an entity either in a state of a battle or lacking wholeness inside. The EU was also depicted as a person full of negative emotions, or a person moving forward, or a person with ultimate authority, or as a person digesting food. Finally, we traced two contrasting image of the EU as a saint and a person playing the games.

EU for Turkey = An exclusive and appealing place

This metaphor carries ambivalent connotations in relation to Turkey. In the same breath Europe was depicted as a closed and exclusive space and as opening the door for and welcoming Turkey. Several images illustrated the idea of the EU as an exclusive place desirable to enter: "the EU **club**" (Rothwell, 2004₁), "**Christian club**" (Cohen, 2004), "a **cultural club** of Christian or post-Christian nations" (*The Cyprus countdown*, 2004), "the EU **fold**" (Kitney, 2004), and even the "**garden of Europe**" (*Where to the EU?*, 2004) and the "**land of miracles**" (Cohen, 2004).

The EU was described as possessing the power and will to control the entry point. Opening the door was a common metaphor. The EU is seen to be in the position to "**deny**...Turkey even a **back door** to the European integration it craves" (*The Cyprus countdown*, 2004), or it may leave just a 'slim opening' -- "Turkey's chance of entering at all would be **slim**" (*World-wise...*, 2004₂). Finally, the EU was actually described as 'opening the doors' to Turkey: "the European Commission in Brussels will today release a report **opening the door** to Turkey's eventual accession to the European Union, a change as dramatic for Europe's own self-image as for Turkey's economic prospects" (Rothwell, 2004₁). There is a reason for that action - "Europe says it wants good relations with Muslims. That being the case, it **cannot slam the door** on Turkey" (Cohen, 2004).

While the "EU **open[ed] door** to Turkey", it was "**without [the] welcome mat**" (Rothwell, 2004₂), however, after the December decision the EU had apparently revised this decision and was seen as welcoming Turkey into the fold – though only after it had

wiped its feet of human rights abuses, etc: “EU **puts out welcome mat** for Turkey” (Rothwell, 2004₁). Yet, “**entry** is by no means guaranteed”, and there were many “**conditions**” of entry, for example, Turkey has to improve rights for minorities (*News at 6pm*, 2004₃). The attendant metaphor of the EU as an exclusive club and as a gated community suggests a negative evaluation.

EU in Turkey’s Accession = in a state of a battle

NZ media noted there was “**widespread public opposition**” (*Strings attached...*, 2004) in some EU countries against Turkey’s entry. The EU leaders were said to be facing the challenge of backing up Turkey’s bid for accession. Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, for example, has consistently “**backed** Turkish entry despite the German public’s **clear opposition** to it” (Dyer, 2004₁).

The Australian media echoed these descriptions introducing images of ‘resistance’: “**resistance** to Turkey in Europe remains **strong**” (Cohen, 2004); bringing Turkey into the EU is “**resisted**” by some key European governments (Kitney, 2004₁); there is a significant public “**opposition**” to Turkey’s accession in France (Kitney, 2004₂). EU member states were seen as pushing ahead: “The EU leaders, sensing the long-term potential of Turkish membership, have **pushed ahead** with the enlargement proposal despite **clear and persistent public opposition** in two core European states, France and Germany” (Rothwell, 2004₁). Turkey was presented as EU’s “**challenge**” (Kitney, 2004₂), and the “**ultimate test**” of European expansion (*The Cyprus countdown*, 2004). European governments were also presented as overcoming “**impediments**” (*From Portugal to the Pacific*, 2004) on their road of advocating to the public Turkey’s entrance to the EU. Those were internal ‘battles’.

Turkey also caused some external EU ‘fights’. Turkey’s membership in the EU was viewed as a matter for an “**open spat**” and personal “**attacks**” between the EU and the U.S. (Kitney, 2004₃). These representations appeared in the news about the U.S. President Bush’s visit to Europe when he “**strongly urged** the Union to extend membership to Turkey”, a political statement which was viewed by some EU leaders’ as “**interfering** in the affairs of the European Union”.

EU in Turkey’s Accession = an entity lacking wholeness inside

In line with the images of battles and fights, images appeared of the EU as an entity lacking wholeness. The employed metaphors of space implied that Turkey is causing an increasing divide in Europe. The EU was described as “**deeply divided** over whether Turkey is a European or a Middle-Eastern country” (Kitney, 2004₂) – “**continental divide**” (Fray and Clark, 2004). Public opinion across Europe was described as “**divided**” about a “large, poor, mainly Muslim nation of 70 million with a patchy record on human rights” (*EU report...*, 2004). The prospect of Turkish membership has “**split** governments and public opinion across the continent” (*Strings attached...*, 2004). The images of the entity lacking its physical unity are usually perceived negatively.

EU in Turkey's Accession = a person full of negative emotions and psychological discomfort

The next cluster of metaphors, 'negative emotions and psychological discomfort', continued the line of images of poor well-being started by the metaphor "lack of physical unity". The negative evaluation of this metaphor is obvious.

The failure of the Cyprus referendum was categorized as a "**further negative**" as the EU considers closer relations with the world's most strategically important moderate Islamic country (*Cyprus to remain...*, 2004). The Australian media reported already existing "**prejudice** against the large Muslim immigrant populations in most major [EU] cities" (*2004 enlargement won't be the last*, 2004). *The Sydney Morning Herald* reported on the rise of Islamophobia in Europe (Fray and Clark, 2004). As a result, many European leaders are "**uneasy** about allowing the huge, Muslim nation into the Western club" (Fray, 2004₁). Europe remains "**uncertain** about how to integrate its growing Muslim population" (Cohen, 2004). Even Turkey's significant progress towards meeting the democratic standards required for membership left the EU officials "**unpleasantly surprised**" (Wilson, 2004) – now it had become much more difficult to defer Turkey's application.

Acceptance of Turkey by the EU was compared to an 'embrace without love', especially because there is a perceived pressure on the EU by the U.S. who "wants Europe to **embrace** Turkey" (*U.S. backs...*, 2004). The EU's reluctance to embrace Turkey is aggravated by the fact that Turkey is "**ardently courted**" by the U.S. (*Blair urges NATO...*, 2004; *True allies ...*, 2004).

Some reporters were very persistent in reporting Europe's uncertainty towards Turkey. For example, Roger Cohen (2004) described that uncertainty as residing somewhere "**deep and ambivalent** in the European **psyche**" -- Turkey left an undeniable "**imprint**" in Europe's past. The "**fear of hordes** of young Turks" invading Europe, if Turkey joins the EU, "**troubles** many people". Gloomy projections were voiced -- Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, the former President of France, declared in 2002 that Turkey's entry would mean "**the end of Europe**".

Describing popular anxiety in Europe about letting Turkey 'in', the NZ media images resonated with the Australian ones. *The New Zealand Herald*, for example, cited a European source who claimed that admitting Turkey would "**kill** the notion of "Europe" as a Christian club" (Dyer, 2004₁). In another article, Turkey was suspected to be the "**Trojan horse of Islam**" in Europe and a "**trap**" for the EU (Dyer, 2004₂). NZ television mentions that "in some member states, public opinion on the Turkey question is **less enthusiastic** than EU leaders" (*The European Union is close...*, 2004). The NZ print media repeatedly introduced images of "**fuelling fears**" and "**phobias**" (O'Sullivan, 2004₁).

With such apparent animosity, it was no surprise to read that Europe considered "**freezing** Turkey] **out**" (*Where to the EU?*, 2004) and gave it a cold greeting – the

opening of the entry talks in December “**hardly felt like a warm embrace**” (*Strings attached...*, 2004), and “the **welcome** being offered was **far from enthusiastic**, despite the remarkable reforms overseen by Turkey's Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan in the past two years” (Rothwell, 2004₂).

Relations between the two were also described by *the Herald Sun* in terms of a loveless marriage: “This is **not a love match**, but the beginning of a **carefully arranged marriage**. The partners are showing more caution than sentiment” (Ibid.). *The Australian* followed suit suggesting that “the **marriage remains to be consummated**, and it is at this stage very much a brokered exchange **rather than a romantic union...**” (Rothwell, 2004₁).

EU in Turkey's Accession = a person moving forward

Despite the abundance of negative imagery, there remained a sufficient number of deployed metaphors that projected a positive image of the EU ‘moving ahead, fast and bold’. In both the Australian and NZ media, the EU considering Turkey's accession was compared to a person undertaking a “**big**” and “**historic step**” (*From Portugal to the Pacific...*, 2004; *EU agrees to talk Turkey*, 2004). The EU's decision to open its door to Turkey was also presented as a “**major step**” in connecting Europe and the Islamic world (Kitney, 2004₁) and the “**most dramatic step** in half a century to recast their continent, offering Turkey the prospect of full membership” (Rothwell, 2004₁). Admitting Turkey would be a “**leap** of strategic faith” (Walters, 2004).

The NZ TV news called Turkey's accession “an historical opportunity to **extend the EU's zone** of peace, prosperity and democracy right up to the borders of Iraq and Iran” (*News at 6pm*, 2004₃). The decision to include Turkey in the benefits of an expanding EU zone was also compared to an “**accelerating move**” by the EU (Kitney, 2004₁). A decision to start accession talks with Turkey after 40 years of discussion was named a “**watershed** decision” (*EU report set...*, 2004) and a diplomatic “**breakthrough**” (*Strings attached...*, 2004). A negative decision would be “**looking backwards** at a time when a troubling future must be confronted” (Ibid).

EU in Turkey's Accession = a person with ultimate authority

Media in both Australasian countries provided a substantial list of images that introduced the EU in relation to Turkey as a person in the position of authority, arguably neutral in its assessment.

In Australian media, the EU was shown as a person who decides whom and when to put on a “**waiting list**” (*EU expansion a historic step*, 2004), when to “**invite** Turkey to begin the formal process of seeking membership” (Kitney, 2004₂), and when to say ‘no’ -- Turkey's ambitions to join the EU were “**rejected** in this expansion round” (*The Cyprus countdown*, 2004). The EU “**reviews**” (*2004 enlargement won't be the last*, 2004) the applicants, and ‘warns’ them occasionally: “Several EU foreign ministers **warned** Turkey the measure, which envisages jail sentences of up to two years, could jeopardize its EU hopes” (*Adultery ban row*, 2004) If Turkey complied, the EU would give a “**reward**” (for example, for Turkey's part in trying to achieve a “yes” vote in the

referendum on the reunification of Cyprus (Kitney, 2004₁) and ‘prizes’: “The EU has given away the minimum, while offering Turkey the fundamental **prize** of prospective full membership” (Rothwell, 2004₁). It is in the position to “**grant**” Turkey a date for the beginning of membership talks (*The Cyprus countdown*, 2004).

The EU ‘writes the story’ of the enlargement – *The Canberra Times* admitted that “part of the enlargement agenda for the next 10 years **ha[d] already been written**” (2004 enlargement won't be the last, 2004). The EU was described as using “carrots” instead of “sticks” in its dealings with Turkey -- the EU's present approach to assist full democracy in Turkey was termed the “**carrot approach**,” thus Turkey was conceived of as a donkey being lead in the right direction by the EU (Fray, 2004₂).

In NZ media, images of the EU with ‘authoritarian’ flavor included the image of the EU as a ‘traffic controller’. For example, Turkey, it was reported, hoped to get from the EU “**the green light** for entry negotiations” (*Where to the EU?*, 2004), on a road on “which for some reason **many red lights were erected with great skill**” (Dyer, 2004₁). It was noted to be in the position of applying an “**emergency brake**” if Ankara **slipped back** on human rights or other key issues” (*EU report set...*, 2004). If Turkey wants to be a part of the EU, it “must ... give **clear signals** of its European future” (*Strings attached...*, 2004).

The EU was also shown as a person who would “**put its foot down**” (O'Sullivan, 2004₂) if something Turkey breached EU standards (for example, Turkey’s attempt to criminalize adultery). The EU was presented as being able to “**impose tough conditions**” (*EU agrees to further expansion*, 2004) and erect “possible permanent **barriers** to Turkish migrant labor” (*EU report...*, 2004). In the end, it was the EU who “**gave its approval**” to Turkey’s successes (Dyer, 2004₁) and made a “**balanced offer**” that Turkey should be glad to accept (Strings attached, 2004).

EU in Turkey’s Accession = a person digesting food

Both the Australian and NZ media employed an image of the EU in its enlargements as a person who ‘consumes’ new candidates like food and “**digests**” them (*EU expansion a historic step*, 2004; *Where to the EU?*, 2004). In the joint Pacific media account, Turkey, due to its mere size and its relatively low economic level, could be a “**big thing to swallow**” (Cohen, 2004) and the “**toughest ... to digest**” (Wilson, 2004) – a tough Turkey, so to speak. Arguably, the evaluation of this image is neutral, yet leaning towards negative. If something is tough to swallow etc, that makes it difficult and thus negative.

Finally, two contradictory images of the EU were noticed -- **EU IN TURKEY’S ACCESSION = SAINT** and **EU IN TURKEY’S ACCESSION = PERSON PLAYING GAMES**. On the one hand, the EU in the case of Turkey’s accession was noticed to have a “**halo effect**” around it (Dyer, 2004₂). On the other hand, the EU was observed to play an exhausting “**game**” with Turkey, “**tantalizing** without admitting it” (Cohen, 2004). The perceived evaluation of the latter image is negative.

Turkey

In its aspiration to join the 25-nation bloc, Turkey was presented by the two Australasian countries in a string of several conceptual metaphors which compared Turkey's attempt to access into the EU with difficult journey – namely, moving forward with major effort, but risking possible move backwards; with trying to get into the protected space; with a battle; and with playing games. Turkey was also conceptualized in terms of an actor on the world stage, a body lacking wholeness entity, and an unstable structure.

Turkey's Attempt to Access into the EU = difficult journey (moving forward with major effort, but risking possible moves backward)

The 'journey' metaphor supplied a conceptual network for understanding Turkey's desire to join the EU's big consumer club. First, the NZ media noticed that for Turkey it would be "**the long road** to EU membership" (*The European Union is close...*, 2004). Turkey was observed to be "**far away**" from the EU (Dyer, 2004₂; *Door opening for Turkey*, 2004) and, thus, it has to "**go the extra mile**" (*Strings attached*, 2004) to reach its goal. The Australian media added to the pictured categorizations mentioning that Turkey was still "**not part** of Europe"(Wilson, 2004) – "**it has a foot** in Europe, the **rest of its body** is firmly in the Middle East, with borders to Iraq, Iran and Syria" (*The Cyprus countdown*, 2004). An image of being away from and not a part of a desired destination is usually perceived negatively.

Nevertheless, on its journey, Turkey was reported to be "**firmly looking West**" (*World-wise...*, 2004₁). It had shown itself "**responsive to** European and American **prodding**" (Cohen, 2004), and it had "**paved the way** for negotiations to begin on **its historic entry** into the European Union" (*Nightly news bulletin*, 2004). Ankara had "**moved towards** fulfilling the political and economic criteria demanded by Brussels" (Wilson, 2004), and it has made a "**significant progress**" (Dyer, 2004₁) towards meeting democratic standards required for membership. Democratic reforms in Turkey were described as "**sweeping**" (Wilson, 2004). EU membership was seen as the driving force: "The dream of becoming part of the world's largest trading zone has already **driven** considerable reform in Turkey, including the withdrawal of a law that would have criminalized adultery" (*Turkey plays its Union card*, 2004). The idea of steady and fast movement forward towards desired goal carries a positive association.

The progress along the way was noted to require a major effort on the part of Turkey. The Australian news presented image of the country 'contorting' and 'reshaping' its body: the Erdogan government has "**turned itself inside out** to meet EU standards" (*From Portugal to the Pacific...*, 2004); it has "**drastically reshaped** Turkey's legal code and struggled to bring the country of 72 million into conformity with European economic and social requirements as a prelude to the accession talks" (Rothwell, 2004₁). The EU's eventual decision on Turkey at a December summit of its members was also seen as one that would "**shape** the economic and strategic future of the Near East" (Rothwell, 2004₂).

Both the NZ and Australian news noted how Turkey had "pledged to **press forward** with democratic reforms" (*Breakfast briefing*, 2004); "pledged to **press ahead** with reforms and **backed down** over plans to criminalize adultery" (*Turkey on track*, 2004); "**bolstered** the often trampled rights of Turkey's minority Kurdish population" (Cohen,

2004). The imagery of exerting pressure has a mixed valence to it – ability and strength to push is generally seen as a positive feature, so long as it is not aggressive as in the case of a bully. However, existing obstacles that caused the need to exert pressure in the first place introduce a negative undertone to the image.

The Australasian media predicted that Turkey's 'journey' to the EU would be complicated: "Turkish membership of the EU is a decade away at least, and **must overcome many obstacles**, from Cyprus to rules on food safety... Apart from its relative poverty, it is the fact 90 percent of Turkey's 71 million people are Muslim that has been the **stumbling block** to EU membership" (*Turkey plays its Union card*, 2004). After a decade of "political turmoil and **deadlock**" in Turkey, there was still a perception that on its road to the EU Turkey may face the "**higher hurdles**" (Dyer, 2004₁). This concern was echoed by the NZ TV -- it warned that even after the EU's decision to start entry talks with Turkey, for Turkey there might be "**new hurdles to overcome**" (*The European Union is close...*, 2004).

Turkey was also compared to a vehicle on collision course: "Turkey will present a law in parliament today to ban adultery, putting it on a **collision course** with the European Union it wants to join" (*Adultery ban row*, 2004). Turkey was also seen as "**slip[ping] back**" on human rights or other key issues (*EU report...*, 2004), and making "**controversial moves**" (for example, to make adultery an offence) (*Turkey on track*, 2004).

Images of slow movement due to obstacles, movement backwards, unpredictable and reckless movement, and stops on the way traditionally carry negative evaluations.

Turkey's Attempt To Gain Access Into The EU = trying to get into the protected space

The ultimate goal for Turkey's 'journey' is its entry into the EU, an exclusive, alluring place, -- "**waiting patiently** in the wings" is Turkey, Europe's largest Muslim nation. (Walters, 2004) Turkey has firm "**ambitions**" to join the EU (*The Cyprus countdown*, 2004). Australian media was generous in describing Turkey as "European Union-**hopeful**" (*Freed Kurdish activist*, 2004), but at the same time as "**impatient**" (Cohen, 2004), and "**craving**" European integration (*The Cyprus countdown*, 2004). It "**hopes** to obtain a date to start EU accession negotiations in December" (Theodoulou, 2004), and was "**knocking at Europe's door**" (*Angst over EU rookies*, 2004). Australian sources predicted that Turkey probably would "**gain entry** in the next 10 years" (*From Portugal to the Pacific*, 2004; see also Australian Channel 9 18/12, 2004).

Similarly, the NZ media described Turkey's stubborn lobbying for the EU's consideration in terms of an applicant who had not lost "its European Union membership **aspirations**" (*State firms...*, 2004) even after "**a 40 year wait**" (*The European Union is close...*, 2004) "**in the queue**" (Wallace, 2004). Yet, it still stands "**at the end of the queue**" (Dyer, 2004₁). It comes as no surprise then that Turkey is seen to be making noise, "**banging on the door**" (*Where to the EU?*, 2004) of the EU and "**clamoring** to join the Brussels club" (*Brussels walks tightrope...*, 2004).

If the image of hope and aspiration is undeniably positive and the image of entry inside is arguably neutral, the image of the noise that accompanies the entry, however, may be perceived negatively – persistent noise annoys and exhausts its target.

Turkey's Attempt To Access Into The EU = playing game

Turkey is reported by a NZ source to “**play a subtle game**” with Europe (Sullivan, 2004₂) in its bid for entry into the EU: “Turkey **plays its Union card**” (*Turkey plays its Union card*, 2004). There are very big issues “**at stake**” for Turkey (*EU agrees to talk Turkey*, 2004). Any digression from the rules (for example, continuing detention of political prisoners) could “**wreck Turkey's bid** for EU membership” (*News at 6pm*, 2004₁). Democratic practices, on the other hand, raise Turkey's bid: the minorities in Turkey (mainly Kurds) were shown as “**backing Turkey's bid** for membership of the European Union, which they hope will mean greater freedoms for Kurds” (*News at 6pm*, 2004₂). In a game with a powerful and exclusive team of the EU “...Turkey has **waited on the sidelines** for four decades” (Cohen, 2004). However, it is developing into a sporting competitor well-placed to win: “Turkey is now **well placed** to emerge in a mere decade as a forceful and fully Westernized member of the world's second great power bloc” (Rothwell, 2004₁).

The image of playing games in international politics carries a somewhat negative evaluation -- gambling is typically frowned upon or seen as weakness. In both NZ and Australia there is always strong criticism of pro-gambling laws and regulations since it is seen as preying on vulnerable for profit.

Turkey's Attempt To Access Into The EU = battle

In fulfilling the political and economic criteria demanded by Brussels, Turkey faced a “**battle** for EU membership” (*Turkey on track*, 2004). A significant progress in meeting those criteria has been “accomplished on this **front** in the past two years” – for example, “**entrenching** European standards of free speech in Turkish law” (Dyer, 2004₁). Turkey was firm in looking forward to “**winning** a date” for EU entry talks (*Island's chance to reunite slips by*, 2004). Although the images of ‘battle’ and ‘war’ are usually strong on negative evaluation, the image of the winner in a battle for a righteous cause carries positive connotations.

Several other metaphors noted in the news texts were of secondary visibility. Among them there were

- **TURKEY = ACTOR ON THE WORLD STAGE:** a NZ source reported that Turkey “**play[s] a crucial geopolitical role**” on the modern geopolitical scene (*Russia vetoes...*, 2004);
- **TURKEY = LACKING WHOLENESS ENTITY:** Turkey was noted to have a “**patchy** record on human rights” (*EU report...*, 2004);
- **TURKEY = UNSTABLE STRUCTURE:** it has “**shaky** human rights record” (*Freed Kurdish activist...*, 2004)); the release of political prisoners was expected to “**boost** Turkey's chances of joining the European Union” (*News at 6pm*, 2004₁),

chances that otherwise seemed feeble; “The talks on Turkish accession nearly **collapsed** over the issue of Ankara's unwillingness to recognize the Republic of Cyprus, which joined the EU in April” (*Turkey plays its Union card*, 2004).

Discussion and Conclusions

This paper analyzed the media images of Turkey and the EU within the context of the Union's further integration in the news media (newspapers and television) of two Pacific countries – Australia and New Zealand. This study aimed to trace the mechanisms of meaning construction and evaluation assignment pertinent to the international news discourses in their portrayals of complex international political interactions.

Media are stunningly successful in telling us not only *what to think about*, but *how to think about* it (McCombs, 2003, p.28). Slowly but undeniably, the Australasian media is introducing a new set of attributes for Turkey – its commitment to democratic reforms, its willingness to constructively participate in resolution of major geopolitical conflicts (the Cyprus conflict), its economic progress, and its tangible pro-Western orientation. Many of these new attributes reflected by the international news may clash with old framing of Turkey that is still visible in the international reporting in the region – Turkey's relatively poor economic performance, its patchy record on human rights, and its unsatisfactory judicial system. In a cognitive orientation by the news consumer, the process of re-categorization of a concept is painful, slow and often confusing. The row of collected imagery reflected this confusion.

In our analysis, metaphorical categorizations of the EU in its dealings with Turkey provided evidence of dominant images of controversy and negativity. On the one hand, the EU was presented as an entity torn from the inside and battered in battles occurring within and outside its borders. It was also depicted as a person full of negative emotions towards and about Turkey. On the other hand, the EU was still shown as a person in charge – many metaphors advanced the image of the EU as a person with ultimate authority. Related images were of a person playing the game with Turkey and a person digesting food (where Turkey was still a dish hard to swallow).

Turkey's attempt to gain access into the EU was predominately conceptualized in terms of a difficult journey to get into a well-protected exclusive place – the EU. This image of Turkey also had a mixed evaluation to it. The image of moving forward while remaining inspired and hopeful had a definite positive assessment to it. However, the idea of moving forward at the cost of major efforts, risking possible set backs and backward movement brought negative evaluations to the conceptualization. It was also difficult to discard the Australasian media's vision of the end of Turkey's journey into the EU to be far away from the desired destination.

Arguably, the discovered imagery could be of interest to four international partners, namely, Australia, NZ, the EU, and Turkey.

First, the results are of relevance to both Australia and NZ. Both countries share strong political, historical and cultural ties to Europe. A possible impact of the imagery in its totalistic effect is that there is a risk that public and elite opinion could absorb similar ambivalent and negatively tainted attitudes towards Turkey through the power of their own association with Europe. This argument is based on the assumption that the role of the news media is to inform and educate its audience, and this role is magnified and intensified when it comes to the international reporting. Since the majority of the public have limited knowledge and experience of foreign places, news media becomes the leading source of information on the events and peoples outside national borders, in this case, the information on the EU and Turkey for the Australasian audiences. The influence of the news media on opinion formation is even more likely in this case since the news under scrutiny appeared in the reputable national media sources – the established national leaders in foreign news coverage.

This study showed that the collected imagery of Turkey and the EU in NZ and Australian leading news displayed a striking similarity across the Tasman. The parallels extend beyond content and evaluation to the focus of reporting – EU-Turkish dilemmas were overwhelmingly reported in NZ and Australia in the external (that is, not domestic) context. Undeniably, the NZ and Australian media reportage reflects that fact that the two Pacific countries are still distant watchers of the unfolding drama. The likeness of imagery and approaches to reporting are especially intriguing considering the fact that NZ and Australian news media tend to reflect different priorities in the national foreign policy-making – the realignment of key aspects of Australian foreign policy towards the U.S. line during the Howard administration, and similarity of major NZ foreign policy stances to typical ‘European’ positions during the Clark administration. It is even more puzzling considering that the two media discourses preferred different sources of news when covering the EU and Turkey interactions -- *REUTERS* and *AP* in NZ case, and *AFP* in Australian case. Yet, the striking similarities could be possibly explained by the fact that the preferred sources of news in both countries were leading Western wires.

With Turkey being “judged on the basis of its "level of civilization" (Rothwell, 2004₂) it is to Turkey’s advantage to consider information on its external representations coming from the media discourses of two OECD countries, NZ and Australia. These two nations have firmly established democratic traditions, and they themselves side with Europe on cultural, historical, (broad) political, and economic grounds. As developing nations seek to establish their identities through self-reliance, they focus increasingly on the role of international media (Richter, 1979, p.121), and, arguably, often base their claim for validation and international respect on their images in the media of the first world countries. Traditionally, Northern American and European media outlets are the primary sources for the scrutiny of developing countries as well as by communication scholars, while Australian and NZ sources are often excluded from consideration. However, the two countries are recognized as political and economic leaders of the Asia-Pacific region, the third major region in the global economy, alongside the North America/USA and Europe/the EU (Castells, 1996, p.145). This paper addresses the deficit in the scholarship and attention, offering Turkey a rare insight into their images from a more distant but still reputable and respectful perspective.

It is also to the EU's advantage to have the opportunity to see itself reflected in the mirror of 'non-Europe'. Mastering external images is an essential strategy for any organization, especially one which is grappling with its own internal definitions. This study provides fresh support for the idea that international media may play a unique role in assisting the EU to establish its identity, currently one of the most contested concepts in the Union. Turkish aspirations to become 'European' thus also serve the purpose of helping to define just what 'European' is.

With the ruling perception that Pacific audiences are only marginally interested in EU-related issues, undeniably Turkey's bid for EU membership has heightened media visibility of both Turkey and the EU in Australian and NZ. Controversies surrounding the issue of Turkey entering the EU – namely, a Muslim country coming into an exclusive Christian club, the split between European governments and the public opinion, a dim prospect of overcoming historical divide between East and West at a critical time – bring into the reporting the elements of drama and controversy so sought after by the news media around the world. However, we argue that besides the usual media tendency towards covering dramatic events and conflict both present in Turkey's bid to integrate with the EU, the attuned interest of Australia and NZ towards Turkey as a possible member of the EU is also pragmatic, despite the fact that the current coverage is not heavily 'domesticated'. If Turkey succeeds in its quest to enter the EU, will it provide a friendly harmony to the Pacific voice at the table of the world's largest consumer bloc?

Endnotes

¹ 2.3 million Australians were born in Europe and a further 2.6 had one or both parents born there. See Paul Keating, 'A Prospect of Europe', Sydney 9 April 1997, <http://arts.unsw.edu.au/cec/Europe.html>; accessed 12 November 2004. Although the percentage of the Australian population born in Europe (including the USSR) has declined steadily over the past decade, European-born Australians make up over 50% of the population born overseas. Calculated from the national summary table produced by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. See, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Australian Social Trends: Population, <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/94713ad445ff1425ca25682000192af2/27c5532c626ff114ca256ea20015c008!OpenDocument>; accessed 16 January 2005. (Assume this includes UK and Ireland even though they are given a separate listing.) The 2001 Census (Statistics New Zealand 2005 (<http://www.stats.govt.nz/products-and-services/Articles/census-snpst-cult-diversity-Mar02.htm>)) indicated that NZers of European ethnicity accounted for 80 percent of the total population. The largest European ethnic groups in NZ were English (34,074 people), Dutch (27,396), Scottish (12,792), Irish (11,199), and German (8,700); and the main country of overseas birthplace was the UK.

² The Australian Government's reluctance to view the EU as a powerful unitary actor is manifest even in official rhetoric. For example, the 1997 White Paper insisted that "Australia's interests in Europe are best served when our bilateral relations with its major countries - especially the UK, France, Germany, Italy and Russia - are sound and comprehensive." These sentiments were reiterated in the 2003 White Paper, which, despite acknowledging deepening integration, still focused heavily on bilateral links: "Our strong bilateral links with EU member states, particularly the United Kingdom, complement our direct dealings with the institutions of the European Union." See, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'Chapter 4 – Bilateral Relationships: The Basic Building Block', *In the National Interest*, <http://www.dfat.gov.au/ini/ch4.html>,

accessed 11 April 2005; Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'Overview', *Advancing the National Interest: Australia's Foreign and Trade Policy White Paper*, February 2003. <http://www.dfat.gov.au/ani/overview.html>, accessed 11 April 2005.

³ Coalition included British, Australian, NZ, French, and Indian forces.

⁴ For an assessment of the AP media' framing of the 2004 enlargement see Paveena Sutthisripok, Jessica Bain, Natalia Chaban, Martin Holland, and Katrina Stats, 'Framing EU Enlargement in Asia-Pacific Media'. Paper presented at *Language and Communication and Culture: Dialogues and Contexts in Focus*, The School of Language and Communication at the National Institute of Development Administration (NIDA), Bangkok, Thailand, 19 - 21 October, 2005 and Katrina Stats, Jessica Bain, Natalia Chaban, Martin Holland and Paveena Sutthisripok, 'Watching Europe Grow: EU Enlargement from an Asia Pacific Perspective', paper presented at *The European Union: Past and Future Enlargements*, 35th Annual University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES) Conference and 10th Research Conference, University of Zagreb, Croatia, 5-7 September 2005. Both papers are available on the APPP website: www.europe.canterbury.ac.nz/appp

⁵ Australian data was retrieved from the following search engines: Lexis Nexis, Factiva, Fairfax electronic archives (limited access), Media Monitors transcripts of TV news items. NZ data was retrieved from Newstext and Factiva databases, the *Otago Daily Times* search engine, and Newztel, as well as from recorded and manually transcribed TV news.

Table 1. Distribution of the articles referencing Turkey and the EU in Australian and NZ newspapers in 2004			
NZ newspapers	Number of articles	Australian newspapers	Number of articles
<i>New Zealand Herald</i>	13	<i>The Australian</i>	105
<i>Otago Daily Times</i>	11	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	26
<i>The Waikato Times</i>	1	<i>The Australian Financial Review</i>	25
<i>The Dominion Post</i>	0	<i>The Canberra Times</i>	21
<i>The Press</i>	0	<i>The Herald Sun</i>	10
Total	25		187

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