

REPRESENTATION OF TURKEY IN THE ITALIAN MEDIA:  
BETWEEN ISLAM AND EUROPE

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **REPRESENTATION OF TURKEY IN THE ITALIAN MEDIA: BETWEEN ISLAM AND EUROPE**

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This thesis aims to examine the representation of Turkey by the Italian newspapers in order to determine: a) if it is a stereotyped and ill-informed representation of Turkey, in parallel to the low level knowledge of the Italian public on Turkey; b) if there is a convergence among political agenda on Turkey and the media on Turkey; c) whether Islam is being inserted to the construction of Turkish perception by the Italian media. According to the Transatlantic Trends Surveys of the past years, it appears that the Italians have a confused image and limited knowledge of Turkey and its membership to the EU. On the political level, the government official position is supportive of Turkish membership into the EU. At the political party level, the opinions on this matter are diverse, principally depending on the political positions of the parties. This thesis argues that Turkey being Muslim-majority country, the perception of Islam plays an important role in shaping Turkish image in the Italians' minds. Thus, to elaborate better on the reasons of this situation, the Italian mass media is analysed as the principal resource of information. Several studies about the effects of mass media on public opinion contain the unspoken assumption that a linear relationship exists between the quantity of media reports and the opinions of the population. Thus, it is argued that the Italian public opinion on Turkey is highly related on the media coverage and, most important, on how it is addressed. Plus, it is also argued that the media agenda has major similarities with the political agenda, certain media outlets reflecting and repeating the positions of related political parties. This study, with its analysis of Italian newspapers, concludes that the representation of Turkey in the newspapers is limited in its informative content; dominantly includes Islam as a major component in its representation of Turkey and finally, when covering news on Turkey and analysing Turkish EU relations, newspapers with links to politics tend to repeat and reflect the positions of related political parties on Turkey.

Keywords: Turkey, Islam, Italian media, public opinion, European Union.

## ÖZ

### ITALYAN MEDYASINDA TÜRKİYE’NİN SUNUMU: İSLAM VE AVRUPA ARASINDA

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Bu tez, İtalyan gazetelerinde Türkiye’nin simgesini araştırmayı hedeflemektedir. a) İtalyan halkının Türkiye hakkındaki düşük bilgi seviyesine paralel olarak klişe ve yanlış bilgilendirme içerip içermediğini; b) politik gündem ve medyanın arasında bir yakınsama olup olmadığını; c) Türkiye algısı yaratılmasında İslam’ın kullanılıp kullanılmadığını.

Son yıllardaki Transatlantic Trends Anketlerine göre, İtalyanların Türkiye ve Avrupa Birliği üyeliği hakkında karışık ve sınırlı bilgi sahibi oldukları görülebilir.

Politik düzeyde hükümet Türkiye’nin AB üyeliğini desteklemektedir. Siyasi partiler düzeyinde ise bu konudaki görüşler partilerin siyasi konumlarına göre farklılaşmaktadır. Bu tez, çoğunluğu Müslüman olan Türkiye’nin İtalyanların akıllarında yarattığı imajda İslam algısının oynadığı önemli rolü tartışmaktadır. Bu konudaki sebepleri daha iyi araştırabilmek için İtalyan kitlesel medyası birincil kaynak olarak analiz edilmiştir. Kitlesel medyanın halk üzerindeki etkisini araştıran birçok araştırma; medyada yer alan haber sayısı ve halkın görüşleri arasında doğrusal bir iletişim olduğunu kapsamaktadır. İtalyan halkının Türkiye hakkındaki görüşlerinin medyada yer alan haberler ve daha da önemlisi bu haberlerin nasıl olduğu ile olan alakası incelenmektedir. Buna ek olarak medya gündemi ve siyasal gündem arasındaki benzerlikler ve bazı medya ajanslarının bazı politik partilerin görüşlerini yansıtması tartışılmaktadır. Bu tez, Türkiye imajının İtalyan gazetelerindeki yetersiz bilgilerle sınırlı olduğu sonucunu ortaya çıkarmış ve Türkiye’nin AB üyeliği, politik partilerin görüşleri ve medyadaki yansımaları konularında İslam’ın Türkiye’nin imajı için önemli bir etken olduğunu incelemektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Türkiye, İslam, İtalyan medyası, kamuoyu.

To My Parents

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Margherita Marcellini



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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

“*Cose turche!*”(Turkish things!), is an old Italian saying and it is used to underline the weirdness of some actions or events. This is not the only proverb about the Turks that exists in Italy, there is also, for example, “*parlare turco*” (speaking Turkish) that means to speak in an incomprehensible way. It is interesting to notice how in these sayings the “Turks” have always a negative connotation. Some of them are full of peculiar references to the Ottoman Turk and to religious conflicts among Christianity and Islam, assuming an emblematic value in relation to episodes of religious carelessness and blasphemous outrage (Devoto-Oli, 2010) as “*Bestemmiare come un turco*” (To blaspheme as a Turk) or “*mamma li Turchi!*”(Oh mommy the Turks!). In fact, in the Italian history the Turks are referred for their cruelty and barbarity in battle, “*Turchi e tartari, flagello dei popoli*” (Turks and Tartars scourge of the people), as it was for the Turkish invasion of the city of Otranto, in the South of Italy, at that time (year 1480), under the Kingdom of Napoli:

The city was sacked. The older inhabitants were killed, the younger reduced to slavery; Stefano Pendinelli, the aged archbishop of Otranto, was slain with all his priests. The churches were destroyed or converted into stables and quarters for troops. The nearby monastery of S. Nicola di Casole suffered severely. Sacred relics were thrown to the dogs as so many bones. Virgins were raped on the altars. No cruelty was forgotten, no impiety overlooked; every noble had his head cut off and stuck upon a lance. Jacopo da Volterra, who gives this graphic account, feared that the Turkish conflagration might well consume all Italy and the rest of Europe. The “eight hundred martyrs” of Otranto became a legend

which is still cherished in their city, (Setton, 1978: 345).

From the description of the events, is not so hard to understand why the Turks were looked at as negatively as it appears from the above mentioned proverbs that interestingly still used today too<sup>1</sup>. But, if in one hand the Turks were the enemies of Italians and more important of the Christians, on the other hand they were also important economic partners. In fact, there were prosperous commercial exchanges among the Republic of Venice, Genoa, and the Ottoman Empire, (Mantran, 2004).

With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the modern Republic of Turkey was born together with its European aims, linked with Turkey's full membership of the European Union. A lot is changed in the centuries, but the "love-hate" dichotomy in the Italy-Turkey relationship is still present also today. Economically speaking, the relations among these two countries still prosperous, in fact Italy is Turkey's third economic partner. Furthermore, the official position of the Italian government towards Turkey's bidding of EU membership is a supportive one<sup>2</sup>. But the "threat" of the Turks is still perceived in some extremist areas as by the *Lega Nord* (Northern League) Party, which strongly opposes Turkey, especially in religious and cultural grounds, because *"it would to make join the European Union a country that has about 70 million inhabitants who are Muslim and this would inevitably have a major impact on our cultural and religious identity. Between the other, the lack of reference in the Treaty on European Union to the Christian roots (only as a vague reference in the Preamble) should force us to be vigilant, in order to avoid the risk of the*

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<sup>1</sup>For further information about the image of the Turks in Europe in general and in Italy in particular during history see: Mustafa Soykut, "A Practical Application of "Otherness" in Political History: The Italian Case and The Ottoman Empire(15th-18th Centuries. "Representations of the "Other/s" in the Mediterranean World and Their Impact on the Regi", (2005), p.56-100, and Mustafa Soykut, *Papalık ve Venedik Belgelerinde Avrupa'nın Birliği ve Osmanlı Devleti.*"İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları", (2007), s.210.

<sup>2</sup> See: Alessandri, Emiliano with Sali, Sebastiano, *Turkey Watch EU Member States' Perceptions on Turkey's Accession to the EU: Italian Perceptions*, ed. by Sait Akşit, Özgehan Şenyuva, Çigdem Üstün.

*Islamization of Europe*”, (Lega Nord, 2008).

For Italians, Turkey is a big question mark. In Italy there is the general belief that because Turkey is a country with a Muslim majority, therefore the official language is Arabic and, in the same way, all women have their head covered. Thus, in Italians’ minds there is probably a Turkey representative of the old Italian proverbs about the Turks.

Due to this situation, there are three important hypotheses that come up to mind:

- I. Zaller argues that individuals, due to the exposure to multiple and often conflicting messages, are less likely to accept messages coming from the media that are inconsistent with their prior beliefs, (Zaller. 1992). Thus, due to the stereotypes about Turkey that still in the Italians’ minds, it is possible to argue that Italian media give a stereotyped and ill-informed image of the above mentioned country.
- II. Zaller says that mass opinion is largely shaped by the exposure (via media) to elite discourse on issues, (Zaller, 1992). Thus, it can be argued that the vision of the Italian political elite on Turkey and on its membership of the European Union converges with the representation that the Italian media give of this country.
- III. Due to the fact that in the “negativity” of the dichotomy in Italy-Turkey relations religion plays a role, it can be argued that in Islam influences the perception of Turkey that Italians have and also the image of Turkey portrayed by the media.

Thus, in order to define if these hypothesis are truthful or not two important questions become relevant: how do Italians see Turkey’s bidding for EU membership? And, which is the image of this country that they receive, especially



from the media?

These are the question marks at the base of this research thesis on the *“Representation of Turkey in the Italian media: between Islam and Europe”*.

In the first chapter of this thesis I am going to present the perceptions the Italian elite (for Italian elite, Italian ruling and opposition parties' members are concerned, thus political elite) and public have on Turkey and on its membership of the European Union. First I will cover the reasons of the Italian political and economic elite support to Turkey's membership and also the reasons of those who are in opposition to it. Second I will analyse the Italian public opinion on Turkey's membership to the EU, in order to determine the thoughts of the Italians about Turkey itself and its membership to the Union.

In the second chapter, after having shortly presented the understanding of journalism and news-making as well as the situation of the media in general and the press in particular in Italy, I will focus on the ownership issue and Freedom of press situation.

In the last part of the chapter I will show the representation of Islam in the Italian media, as the majority of Turkish population is Muslim and religion is one of the most discussed issue about Turkey's membership to the Union religion is also an important issue in Italians' perceptions on Turkey.

In the third chapter, I will first present the methodology used to analyse newspapers articles, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), then the research framework and the research time table, and in the end I will proceed with a “First reading analysis”, in order to point out the words and the subjects from which I will pursue a “Second reading analysis” that will be presented in the fourth and last chapter of my thesis, finally followed by the general conclusions.

## CHAPTER 2

### ITALY'S POSITION TOWARDS TURKEY'S INTEGRATION INTO THE EUROPEAN UNION

#### 2.1 Turkey's membership of the European Union and Italy

Italy's and Turkey's paths have already crossed centuries before the official birth of these two nations. During the Ottoman Empire, through trade with the Republic of Venice, the economic relations between what would become united Italy and Turkey were already very prosperous and so continue to be today. In fact, Italy is the third largest trading partner of Turkey, after Germany and Russia, (Alessandri, Canan, 2008). At diplomatic level these two countries have a friendly and stable relation. During his official visit in Turkey in November 2009 Italian President, Giorgio Napolitano, remarked his favourable position towards Turkey joining the European Union and the importance and richness that this accession would represent for EU. He stated that "*The negotiations for membership should continue without obstruction nor thoughts*" because "*Turkey is an added value for Europe*" (Corriere della Sera, 17 November 2009).

However, the place that Turkey holds in Italy's mind is all but homogeneous. On one hand there is the Italian "elite" position (as already stated, for Italian elite, Italian ruling and opposition parties' members are concerned, thus political elite), which is officially in favour and supportive of Turkey joining the EU (Alessandri,

Sali 2009). Though this situation seems not changing in the foreseeable future, it is also not agreed at 100% both inside the ruling parties and in the ones at the opposition. On the other hand there is the Italian public opinion that, even if it is not totally negative towards Turkey and its membership of the EU, is less positive than the elite is. Moreover, the support and positive attitudes towards Turkish membership and Turkey itself are decreasing both at elite and public opinion levels.

### **2.1.1 Italian Elite and Turkey**

The Italian government has been among the earliest and strongest supporters of Turkey's EU membership. Governments of both the centre left and the centre right have consistently advocated EU enlargement to Turkey on the grounds that it makes sense commercially and would enhance Europe's standing in the world while making the EU a more diverse identity (Alessandri, Sali, 2009: 58).

Italian diplomats openly make the argument that enlargement towards Turkey would balance the 2004-2007 enlargement to Central and East Europe, by helping to shift the axis of the European Union towards the south (Alessandri, 2010: 5). The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the centre-left Prodi's Government, Massimo D'Alema, in an article written for the Italian newspaper *Il Sole 24 Ore* in June 2007, while he was in an official visit in Ankara, stated that common Mediterranean identity of Turkey and Southern European countries is a critical factor in explaining a sense of solidarity that is also based on the affinity of culture and traditions. D'Alema believes that the accession of a country which is committed to reconcile Islam and secularism, development and stability, modernity and tradition, is both an encouragement to the forces of reform in other countries of the area and the evidence that Europe is not

closing in on itself (D'Alema, 2007).

The argument about Turkey as a 'bridge' between civilizations and cultures of the West and the East enjoys broad support in Italy, but Italian elites have presented Turkey's bridging role as equally important from an economic and strategic point of view. Italian governments of different political orientations have all emphasized the role Turkey can play as an 'energy hub' connecting mainland Europe to much needed sources in Central Asia and Caspian basin (Alessandri, 2010: 9). But the centre-right parties, especially those that are now in power, emphasize economic and strategic factors: they see Turkey's membership as a guarantee of Europe's continued strategic partnership with the US and NATO, and Turkey itself as an attractive market for trade and investment and a key economic partner for Italy (Alessandri, Sali, 2009: 61).

Italian political elite is not alone in his support, Italian economic stakeholders also largely support Turkey's EU accession process. In 2008, Italy was the third largest trade partner of Turkey (Alessandri, Canan, 2008), and also before Turkey's bidding for EU integration the country represented an important market for Italy. Italy's most powerful business families and groups have exerted pressure on Italian government for greater openness towards Turkish economy since at least the 1960s, being among the first to ask the European Communities to sign a customs union agreement with Turkey (Alessandri, Sali, 2009: 66).

Almost eight hundred Italian companies invest or directly operate in Turkish economy, including Italy's automobile colossus FIAT, (Alessandri, 2010). Italy's leading energy firm, ENI, has worked closely with both Moscow and Ankara on opening new routes for Russian gas exports to Europe, (Alessandri, 2010). The banking sector is also among Italy's main stakeholders in Turkey. Banking companies

are among the strongest advocates of Turkey's full integration into the EU, supporting the upgrading of the current Customs Union agreement, which entered into force in 1995, to a full economic union (Alessandri, 2010: 5-6).

Italy has also been more emphatic than almost any other European country about Turkey's critical addition to Europe's strategic assets to the South and East as the European Union aims to increase its influence in neighbouring regions (Alessandri, 2010: 9).

Although initially all seems fine, one has to keep in mind an old Italian saying, “*Non son sempre rose e fiori*” (*it is not always roses and flowers*). Both at the political and economic level of the Italian State there are those who are sceptical or directly against Turkey joining the EU. Despite the fact that the Italian governments have always supported full membership on strategic and economic grounds, the Italian right has usually been against full membership in the EU, mainly on religious and historical grounds (Guida, 2004: 22).

In the right side of the Italian politics, following parties are extremely resolute against Turkish membership: the *Lega Nord* (Northern League) and *La Destra* (The Right). Both oppose Turkey's EU membership mainly on considerations of religion, identity, and 'culture' (Alessandri, Sali, 2009: 63). *Lega Nord* is a regionalist and xenophobic party that has strongly opposed Turkey as a member of the European Union and is campaigning against Muslim immigration: “*L'Europa sia Cristiana. Il vero pericolo è la Turchia, vero cavallo di troia dell'Islam*” (*Europe must be Christian. The real danger is Turkey, the real Trojan horse of Islam*) (La Padania, 31 August 2010). The motivation of its negative stands towards Turkey is clearly and self-admittedly a question of religion and identity: Turkey cannot be part of Europe

because its state and society, however “secular on paper”, are deeply imbued with Islamic culture, while Europe is “Christian” (Alessandri, Canan, 2008: 17). Listening to the party slogans, this becomes immediately clear: “*Padania: Mitteleuropa con Germania, Austria e Sud Tirolo. Italia magrebina con Egitto e Turchia*” (*Padania: Mitteleuropa together with Austria, Germany and South Tyrol. Maghrebini Italy with Egypt and Turkey*) (quoted in Ilaria Favaretto, 2005: 92).

Not only in the right wing of the Italian politics there are sceptical visions about Turkey's integration, but also in the centre and in the left wings. In the centre the motivations are more or less the same of the right wing stakeholders, but with a softer tone. The Christian Democratic Party, *Unione dei democratici di Centro* (UDC), has asked for a serious debate on Turkish full membership: in addition to the worries of cultural differences and Muslims trying to Islamize Europe, the UDC adds the possible costs that Turkey would bring for EU citizens and the damages to Italian agriculture, as well as the risks for Europe in extending its borders to troubled regions: Caucasus, Iraq and Iran (Guida, 2004: 24).

On the Italian left, Italy's Communist parties underline the difficult situation of Turkey's ethnic minorities and the poor record in the field of human rights. But there is an important difference from the above mentioned right and centre parties: while critical, these left parties are ready to admit that, if accession negotiations were accompanied by serious political reforms, they would consider changing their positions, for now they seem to support the notion of a “privileged partnership” as an alternative to full membership (Alessandri, Sali, 2009: 61-62).

Also among the economic stakeholders there are some Turkey-sceptics. This is particularly true for some firms in the agricultural sector, given some similarities between the Italian and the Turkish agricultural markets. There is some fear on the

Italian side that Turkey's EU membership would negatively affect Italy's competitiveness (Alessandri, Sali 2009: 67-68).

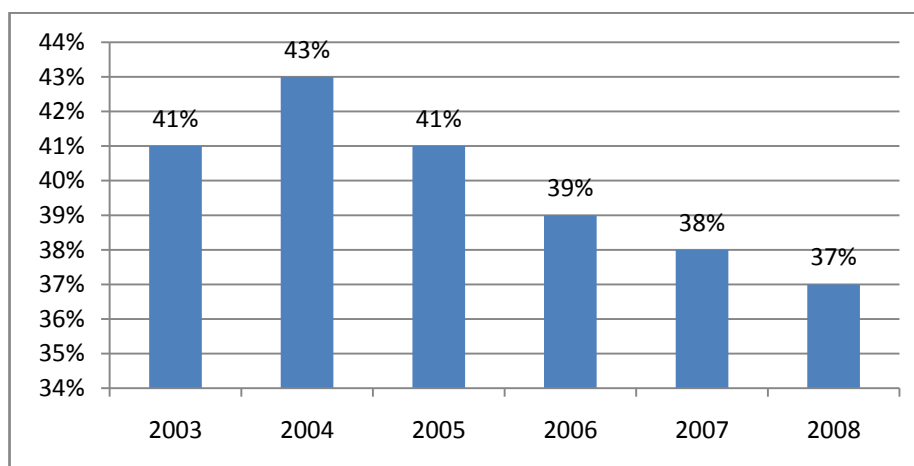
Although the official position of the Italian government is pro-Turkish membership, the Italian political and economic elites do not always agree with the official government standing, but are often sceptical about Turkey in the European Union. In fact, inside the Italian Elite Opinion there is an erosion of warm feelings towards Turkey (16 pts. loss from 2004 to 2006) (TTS 2004, 2006, IES 2004, EES 2006, quoted in Canan, 2008: 9). Furthermore, while Italian MPs were strongly positive (74%) on Turkish membership in 2004, Italian MEPs approached the issue less optimistically (58%) in recent years (2006-2007) (TTS 2004, 2006, 2007, IES 2004, EES 2006, 2007, quoted in Alessandri, Canan, 2008: 30). Nevertheless, regarding the motivation for which Turkey's membership would be a good thing, the Italian elite considered that Turkish accession to the EU had a good prospect for "*strengthening moderate Islam as a model in the Muslim world*" (49 %) (TTS 2004, IES 2004, quoted in Canan, 2008: 11).

There is an important fact that should be underlined here: not only there is a decrease of positivity towards Turkish membership to the EU inside the Italian elite opinion, but there is also a decrease in the warmth feelings towards Turkey itself, (Canan 2008 and Alessandri, Canan 2008).

### **2.1.2 Italian Public Opinion and Turkey**

The decrease in warmth feelings towards Turkey in last years has not been felt only among the Italian elite. Italian Public also displayed a decrease in positive attitudes towards Turkey. This is clearly visible from the data collected by the Transatlantic Trends Surveys (TTS) from 2003 to 2008. In this period the positive

feelings towards Turkey among the Italian public reduced from 43% in 2004 to 37% in 2008, (Figure 1.). Furthermore, “not so cold” category is also decreasing.



**Figure 1. Italy’s warmth feeling toward Turkey**

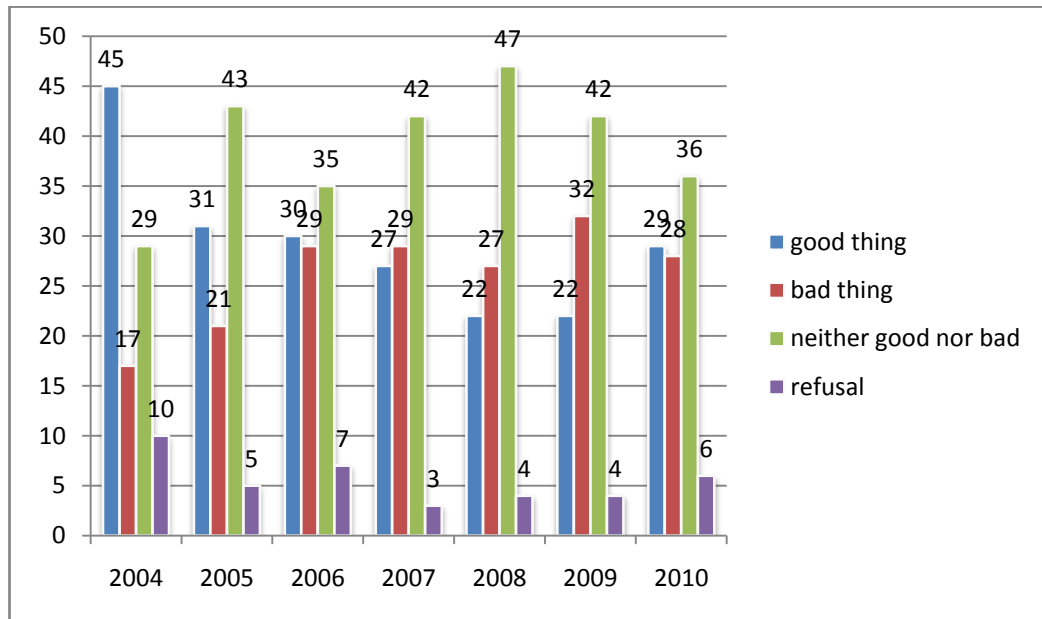
Sources: TTS 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008.

Question wording: Next I’d like you to rate your feelings toward some countries, institutions and people, with 100 meaning a very warm, favourable feeling, 0 meaning a very cold, unfavourable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from 0 to 100. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that country or institution, please say so.

TTS also asks the respondents whether Turkey’s EU accession would be “*good thing*”, or a “*bad thing*” or “*neither/nor a good/bad thing*”. Italian public mostly displayed no a real opinion on this matter, as it is visible on Figure 2. The highest category is “*neither/nor a good/bad thing*” almost every year, except for 2004 (29% in 2004, 43% in 2005, 35% in 2006, 42% in 2007, 47% in 2008, 42% in 2009, 36% in 2010). In the same figure we can observe that there is a steady decrease in the “*good thing*” category starting from 2005 (45% in 2004, 31% in 2005, 30% in 2006, 27% in 2007, 22% in 2008, 22% in 2009) while there is an increase in the “*bad thing*” category starting from the same year (17% in 2004, 21% in 2005, 29% in 2006, 29% in 2007, 27% in 2008, 32% in 2009). This situation goes more or less unvaried until 2010 when the first category increased a little bit (29%) and the



second one decreased in the same way (28%).

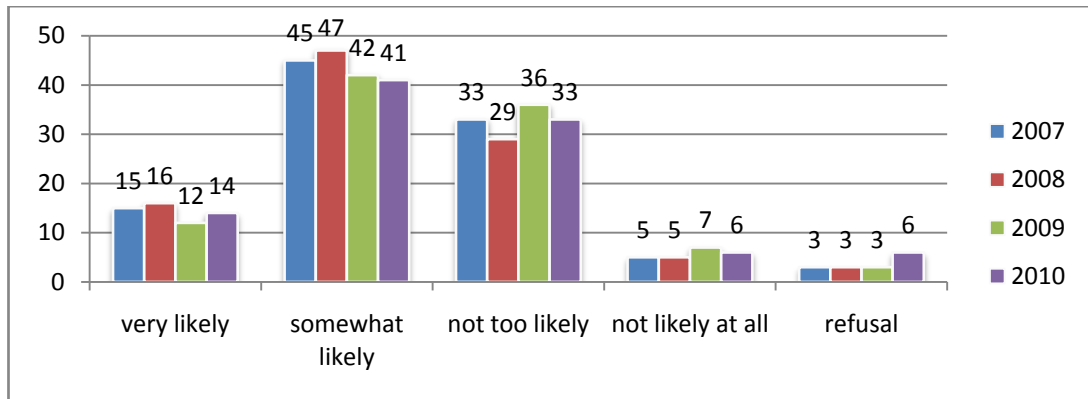


**Figure 2. Turkey’s membership perceived as...%**

Sources: TTS 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010.

Question wording: Generally speaking, do you think that Turkey’s membership of the European Union would be a “good thing”, a “bad thing” or “neither/nor a good/bad thing”...%?

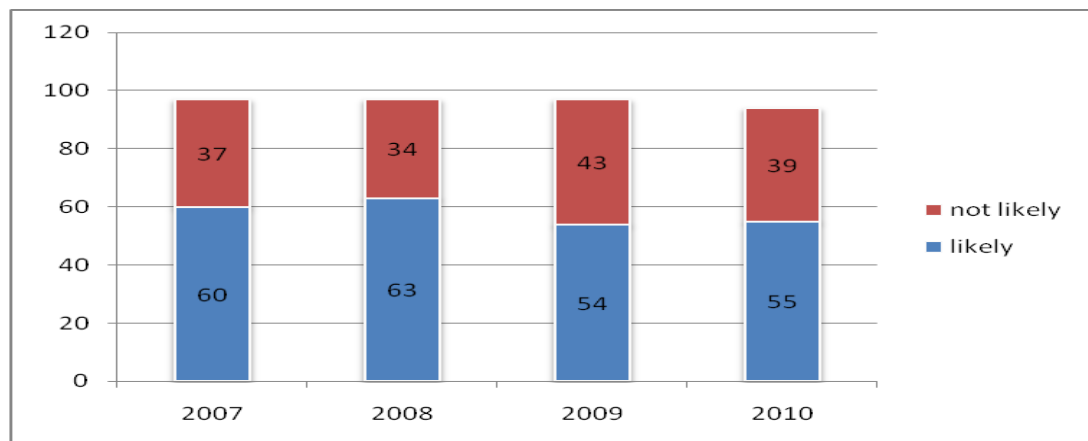
The same lack of opinion and uncertainty of the Italian public is visible also in the answers to the question “*How likely or not do you think it is that Turkey will join the European Union?*”, in which the most chosen answers were “*somewhat likely*” (45% in 2007, 47% in 2008, 42% in 2009, 41% in 2010) and “*not too likely*” (33% in 2007, 29% in 2008, 36% in 2009, 33% in 2010), (Figure 3.). However, the Italian respondents chose more the “*likely*” category (60% in 2007, 63% in 2008, 54% in 2009, 55% in 2010), over the “*not likely*” one (37% in 2007, 34% in 2008, 43% in 2009, 39% in 2010), in each year of investigation, though the first one decrease in the last two years, as showed in Figure 4.



**Figure 3. Turkey is going to join EU... (%)**

Sources: TTS 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010.

Question wording: How likely or not do you think it is that Turkey will join the European Union?



**Figure 4. Turkey is going to join EU... (%)**

Sources: TTS 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010.

Question wording: How likely or not do you think it is that Turkey will join the European Union?

The respondents were also asked to provide the reasons for their answers: “*What is the main reason why you think Turkey’s membership of the EU would be a (a) good thing? (b) bad thing?*”.

The major reason for which Italian public opinion was in favour of Turkish membership was that “*it would help the EU promote peace and stability in the Middle East*” (38 %), (Figure 5.).

	<i>Mass</i>
It would help the EU promote peace and stability in the Middle East	38
It would have a positive effect on Muslim communities in other European Countries	25
Turkey's membership would be good in economic terms for the EU	11
Turkey's membership would strengthen moderate Islam as a model in the Muslim world	26
Total	100

**Figure 5. Turkish membership is a “good thing” because... (%)**

*Source:* TTS 2004.

More interesting is the situation that emerged from the negative answers of the respondents. In fact, it is remarkable to notice that the two principal reasons indicated by the Italian public, correspond with a more general European sceptic pattern towards Turkey of the last years. Those are *“Turkey’s democracy is still problematic”* with 34 % of responses, and *“As a predominantly Muslim country, Turkey does not belong in the EU”* with 32 % of response, (Figure 6.).

	<i>Mass</i>
As a predominantly Muslim country, Turkey does not belong in the EU	32
It would drag the EU in the Middle East conflict	16
Turkey is [to poor or too populous] to be digested in a growing EU	5
It would make the running of the European Institutions more complicated	13
Turkey's democracy is still problematic	34
Total	100

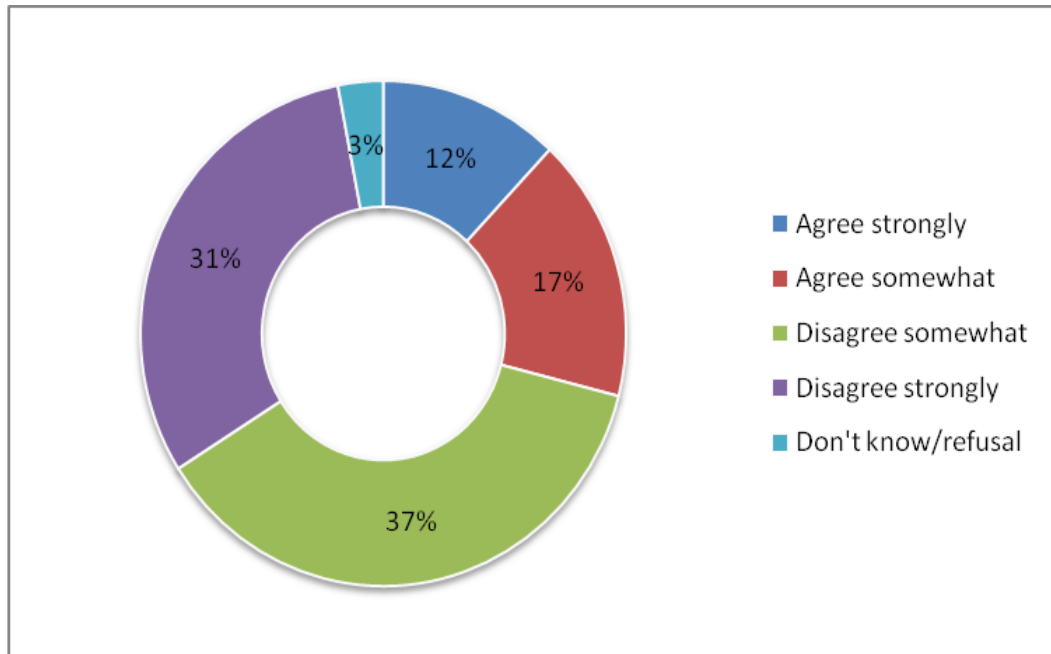
**Figure 6. Turkish membership is a “bad thing” because... (%)**

*Source:* TTS 2004.

The year after, in 2005, the TTS asked its respondents *“And, on the issue of Turkey’s membership to the European Union, do you agree or disagree with the following...:”* proposing some of the previous year’s answers to the questions: *“Turkish membership is a “good thing” because...”* and *“Turkish membership is a “bad*

*thing” because...”.*

One of the options in particular took my attention: *“As a predominantly Muslim country, Turkey does not belong in the EU”.*

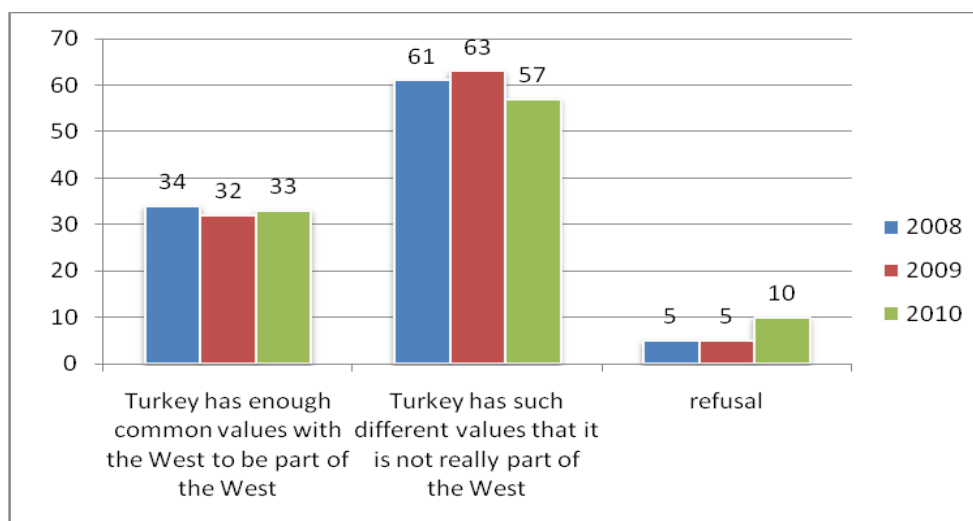


**Figure 7. As a predominantly Muslim country, Turkey does not belong in the EU... (%)**

*Source:* TTS 2005.

As seen in Figure 7, majority of Italian respondents (68%) disagree with the statement that as a predominantly Muslim country, Turkey does not belong to the EU. This is interesting as it contrasts with the previous year’s findings where Turkey’s membership was considered a *“bad thing”* because of it being a Muslim country. In another question asked by TTS since 2008, the respondents were asked: *“Some people say that Turkey has enough common values with the West to be part of the West. Other people say that Turkey has such different values that it is not really part of the West. Which view is closer to your own?”*. The majority of Italians respondents answered: *“Turkey has such different values that it is not really part of*

the West”, (61 % in 2008, 63 % in 2009, 57 % in 2010).



**Figure 8. Is Turkey part of the West or not...(%)?**

Sources: TTS 2008, 2009, 2010.

Question wording: Some people say that Turkey has enough common values with the west to be part of the West. Other people say that Turkey has such different values that it is not really part of the West. Which view is closer to your own?

Opponents to Turkey’s EU membership have often tended to phrase their arguments against Turkey’s accession in terms of cultural identity. Christianity, for many, appears to be still an important component of “European identity”, and so it follows that Islam continues to be seen as an important “Other”. Turkey appears to be widely constructed at popular and media levels as Europe’s “Other” regarding the older “Christendom” aspect of European identity and, by extension, to the “Enlightenment” values underlining the EU integration project, which are frequently seen as exclusive to “Christian civilization” (Macmillan, 2010: 456-458). So, with the contradiction between Figure 7 and Figure 8, the confusion and the lack of knowledge that Italians have about the Turkish issue and also about the ongoing discussions at EU level appear again.

When the Standard Eurobarometer 71 is concerned, it can be seen that when

European identity is discussed, 40% of the Italian respondents chose “*Democratic Values*” as its most important element, followed by 28 % of “*Common culture*”, while only 10 % said “*common religious heritage*” (Eurobarometer 71, 2009, p. 40). So, while at a European level it is argued that Turkey has not enough common values with the West to be part of it principally because of it being a Muslim majority country while Christianity is considered an important cultural marker of Europe, in Italy Turkey is still perceived as not having enough common shared values with the West, but common religious heritage (in this case Christianity) is not considered an important marker of European identity.

As we saw for the Italian Elite, also the Italian public presents an erosion of warm feelings towards Turkey itself and a decrease in its support to membership, however it welcomed the Turkish annexation at a lesser level than the elite did. But regarding this last matter is important to notice the large lack of acknowledgement about Turkey and its membership that comes out from the surveys and how religion and its understanding, precisely Islam and Christianity, determines Turkey’s perception.

## **2.2 Religion: a determinant in Italians’ attitudes towards Turkey**

There are several factors that might have caused the decrease of positivity and support towards Turkey and its entering into the European Union: Italians’ understanding of their European belonging; the religious heritage; Italy being a country with entrenched Christian traditions; the general European climate towards Turkey; and the political changes in the Italian government between 2003 and 2010. It is important to briefly examine these factors.

To comprehend the feelings of Italians towards their European belonging would be

helpful to understand on which degree they are opened towards European enlargement. Eurobarometer 2001 showed that 64 % of Italians consider European membership a good thing. Italians seem to view the EU as an entity that could help solve the inefficiencies of the Italian State under a wider, multi-ethnic point of view. But, only 21 % of the respondents were favourable towards integration of groups of people coming from different European cultures. Importantly, the survey made by A. Pitasi, M. Marchionni, M.F. Massoni reveals that Italians could feel threatened by what they see as people who have strong, differently oriented cultural identity, in opposition to the traditional, more familiar Italian one (A. Pitasi, M. Marchionni, M.F. Massoni, 2005:145). Italians tend to consider their homeland a safe shelter that they are not glad to share with people of different cultures. Thus with the mass immigration of Muslims to the country, especially in the 1990s, many Italians began to fear for their traditions, culture and identity stability (A. Pitasi, M. Marchionni, M.F. Massoni, 2005). As McLaren argues, such fears cause opposition to enlargement and to EU, (McLaren, 2002). In the results of this survey appears that a sizable number of Italians are rather optimistic and proud of their new European identity, even if they are uncertain what that identity entails precisely (A. Pitasi, M. Marchionni, M.F. Massoni, 2005:152).

Uncertainty on what its European identity is, could be also influenced by the more general ongoing discussions about the definition of this identity that spread in Europe in the last years, and if it has to be considered or not at the base of the EU. Europe and Europeans were constantly “modified” by the interaction of individuals and populations across borders and civilizations, therefore Europe does not exist without non-Europe and can only be realized ‘in the mirror of others’. The enlargement of the EU, accompanied by the practical need to reform its institutions and functioning

mechanisms, has accentuated the need to clarify the EU's objectives and identity. Increasing immigration into the EU and the consequent expansion of Islam in the region, especially in the course of the 1990s, have intensified this need. This urgency to demarcate the EU's cultural identity along with its borders became even more manifest after the starting of accession negotiation with Turkey in 2005 (Silvestri, 2007: 15-17).

Recent scholarship suggests that a new form of religion-based cleavage has emerged in Europe in the post 9/11 era in the form of tensions between Christian majorities and Muslim minorities (Canan, 2008: 3). Thus, "common Christian roots" is one of the most discussed topic about the definition of a European cultural identity and one of the question mark pending on Turkey's EU accession, being the candidate a secular Republic with a majority of Muslim population.

Within the context of European integration, the Roman Catholic Church deserves particular attention not merely in terms of its role in the construction of European unity, but also because of its influential, although not always publicly agreeable or accepted positions on Europe's spiritual heritage (Silvestri, 2007: 1).

Italy's historical contacts with the Catholic Church and the presence of the Vatican on its soil have definitely marked the way in which Italian society relates to religious communities and has led to particular privileges for the Catholic Church. So, looking at the Italian situation, it is interesting to notice how, during public debates on European Identity in the course of 2004, even atheist intellectuals joined in with Cardinal Ratzinger (now Pope Benedict XVI) in the claim that Europe should reassert its „Christian roots' (Silvestri, 2007: 15). In fact, Christian public opinion is fairly strong in Italy and, however has not spawned in any case a large-scale "no Turkey in the EU movement" so far, it includes intellectual and political leaders who



subscribe to a Christian interpretation of Europe's political future, asserting that EU's borders should not extend to encompass Muslim Turkey (Alessandri, Canan, 2008: 27). For instance, Pope Benedict argued that "Christians and Muslims could be privileged partners", indicating that the Catholic Church would find it difficult to accept that Turkey could be a full member of the EU. Christianity is viewed not as a belief but as a cultural marker. Thus, for these actors, the accession to the EU of a country like Turkey with a majority of Muslim population is seen as highly problematic (Macmillan, 2010: 454).

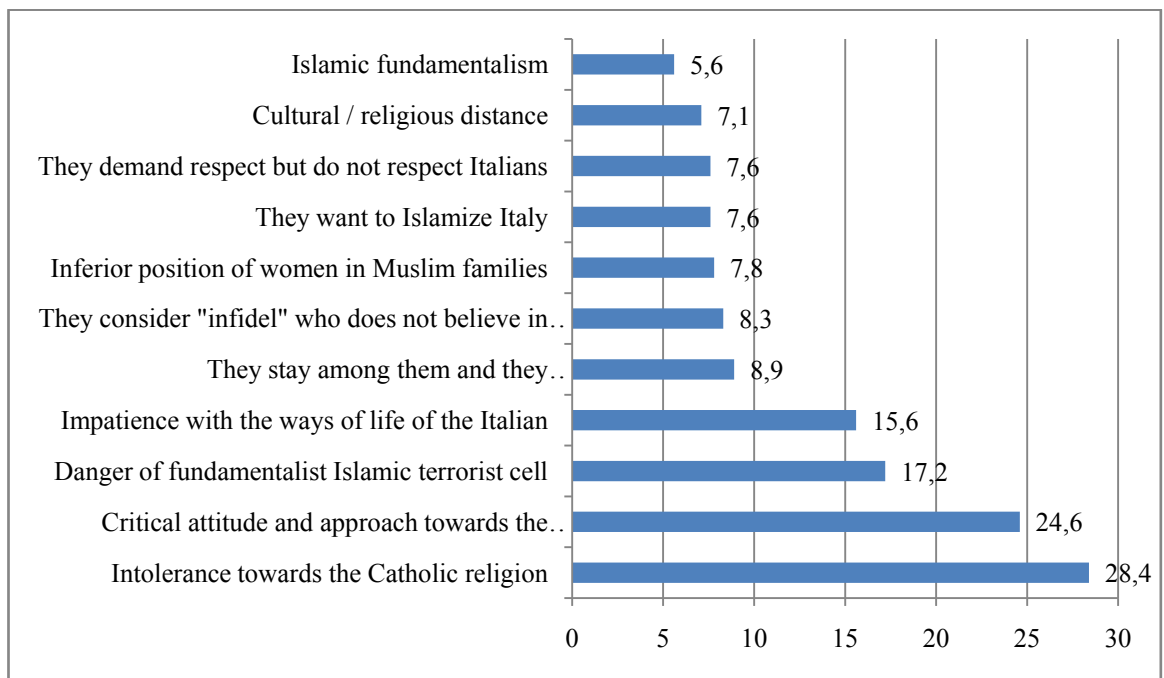
A last important factor that can help us to understand the decrease of positivity towards Turkey in the period subject of investigation is the influence of the government of those years over its population. From 2001 to 2006 and from 2008 until today, Italy is governed by a centre-right coalition, led by Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi. It must be noticed here the presence of even more radical right parties in this coalition, as *Alleanza Nazionale* (National Alliance) and the above mentioned *Lega Nord*, whose more radical visions towards Islam and immigration (that in Italy are strictly correlated, a big part of the immigrants coming from the North Africa, according to Istat data, 2009) could influence the public opinion. It is important the new Law n° 189 approved in 2002 by the parliament. This law is commonly known in Italy as the "Bossi-Fini" Law, from the surnames of its first two signatories, Gianfranco Fini (National Alliance) and Umberto Bossi (Northern League), at time respectively the vice-president of the Council of Ministries and the Minister of Institutional Reforms and Devolution. This law foresees that the expulsion, issued administratively by the Prefect of the Province where the irregular foreigner is tracked down, is immediately performed with the accompaniment to the frontier from the public police. The irregular immigrants, without valid documents of

identity, are brought in centres of temporary permanence (CPT), with the purpose of being identified independently to understand whether they represent or not a social danger (quoted in Gramaglia, 2008).

The law was criticized for being restrictive in terms of human rights especially of those of asylum seekers (Amnesty International, Annual Report 2006), and also because since then a sort of covered “fear strategy” against the immigrants coming from outside Europe, started to be perceived.

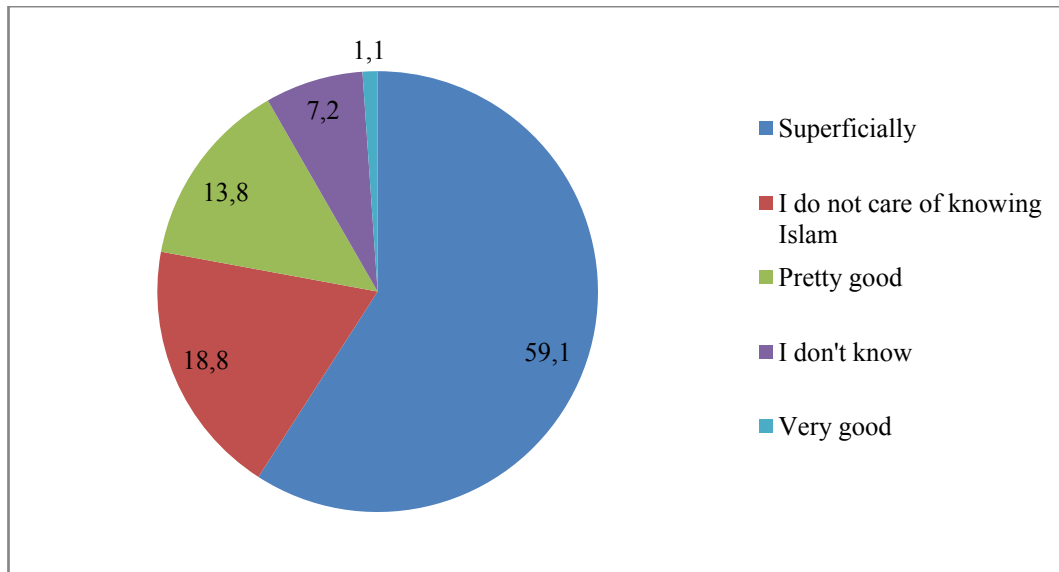
If we look at the above-mentioned factors characterizing Italy all together, we can draw a more or less truthful picture of the reasons influencing the Italians’ attitudes towards Turkey. Italy is governed by a centre-right coalition and the ideological cleavages factor influences both public and elite respondents: the more the public is leftist, the better the Turkish membership of the EU, and in the same way the more the elite is leftist, the better the Turkish membership of the EU (Canan, 2008: 13-14). Furthermore, the presence of more radical-right parties in the coalition has strengthened the misperception of Turkey, with their more radical politics towards immigration. The last one is perceived by the Italian public as a threat to their “survival” in a certain sense, especially regarding their jobs. These more restrictive policies towards immigrants are explained by politicians and reported by media in matters of security of Italian citizens insinuating sometimes the fear of the immigrant. A big part of the migrant populations to Italy are coming from North African countries and the major part of them are of Islamic religion, therefore Islam and immigration are strictly linked in the Italian minds and both of them are looked suspiciously, especially after 9/11. Furthermore, research of the social Observatory on immigration realised by the Makno & Consulting (Ministero degli Interni, 2008) shows some interesting results:

- The majority of Italians consider “Muslim immigration” as posing greater risk to Italy than immigration of other groups, in fact at the top of the thought specific problems that the Muslim immigration poses to Italians there are: “intolerance towards the Catholic religion” (28,4%), “critical attitude towards Italian culture and Italian people” (24,6%) and “danger of terrorist attacks from fundamentalist Islamic cells” (17,2%), (Figure 9.) (Ministero degli Interni, 2008).
- The majority of Italians (59,1%) sustain to barely know Islamism, (Figure 10) (Ministero degli Interni, 2008).



**Figure 9. Special problems that puts the immigration from Islamic countries (%)**  
(Base: 55.3% of the sample)

Source: reproduced from Ministero dell'Interno, Osservatorio Sociale sull'Immigrazione 2008.



**Figure 10. Degree of knowledge of Islam (%)**

*Source: reproduced from Ministero dell'Interno, Osservatorio Sociale sull'Immigrazione 2008.*

Besides, according to the survey, one Italian out of three opposes the construction of mosques in Italy not just because of the perceived link between sites of worship and terrorist activities, but simply as a matter of Catholic religion and culture (quoted in Alessandri, Canan, 2008: 27). It is here that Christian public opinion plays its role, maybe further influenced by the debates over Turkish accession and the question of its cultural and religious belonging to Europe, that are taking place throughout Europe in these years, especially after the starting of Accession Negotiations in 2005. Moreover, we can also argue that the situation above mentioned strengthen the spread of *Islamofobia*, which subsists in the severe form of “Islamist fundamentalist threat” in the minds of “ordinary Italians” who link the political issue of Turkey’s membership to a cultural religious dynamic.

It appears that religion is a common denominator of all the factors influencing the decrease of Italians’ positivity towards Turkey. Therefore, it can be assumed that it plays an important role shaping Turkey’s perceptions in the Italians’ minds. Not only Christianity, focusing on its cultural importance in the roots of Italy and Europe, but

also and especially Islam and the lack of knowledge and information that the Italian public has about it.

So, Italians present a lack of knowledge and information not only regarding Turkey, but also in regard of Islam. And it is exactly this deficiency of awareness and information about Turkey in Italy that will be analysed in the next chapters, especially the image that the Italian newspapers give of Turkey. In order to do this analysis in a more complete and comprehensive way, the Italian daily press itself and the representation of Islam in Italian media will be examined.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THE ITALIAN PRESS AND THE REPRESENTATION OF ISLAM IN THE ITALIAN MEDIA**

Emiliano Alessadri (Alessandri, 2009) criticizes the information about Turkey coming from the media as being scarce and ill-informed, full of simplifications, deformations and manipulations - it is influenced by the power coalition views of Turkey, which is principally referred to as a Muslim country. So, if Turkey has been given a distorted image from the media it can be assumed that in some way the lack of knowledge of the Italians about this topic depends on that. Most studies about the effects of mass media on public opinion contain the unspoken assumption that a linear relationship exists between the quantity of media reports and the opinions of the population (Kepplinger, 2008: 195). Thus, probably the opinion of the public on Turkey depends on how much this topic is covered by the media and, most important, how it is addressed. It is to be noticed here that in the reports of Freedom House (since 2004, except for 2007 and 2008 when Berlusconi was not the Prime Minister), a no profit and independent organization founded in 1941 by Eleanor Roosevelt, Italy is referred to as a country with partial freedom of press, (Freedom House, 2007). The reason was the “concentration of media power in the hands of Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, who controlled 90 per cent of the country's broadcast media through his private media holdings and political power over the state television networks” (Freedom House, 2007). As it will be presented later in this chapter, the aforementioned concentration principally regards television.

For this reason I have chosen to analyse newspapers - although they are not completely free from domination, I believe they are more “independent” from this monopoly than other media in Italy.

### **3.1 The press, the journalist and the “news making”**

Information received through the media is a resource to address the complexity of reality and manage the chaos that leads to such complexity. It has the ability to access a vast world of information and space-time relations, which are both local and global. If, in one hand, this is likely to overwhelm, on the other expands the ability of the individual action and reassurance, because it marks the daily rhythms (Sorrentino, 2005: VIII).

The newspaper represents the filter from which we receive the news from the world. So, the journalist’s “news making” process is a selective one because he has to be able to understand which events can meet better the interests of the readers. This therefore requires a capacity of interpretation of reality, of the social climate (Sorrentino, 2007: 77). Thus, in writing a piece of news, the journalist must follow two important criteria - relevance and sharing. *“The former means keeping in mind the receiver of the paper, the communication context and the characteristics of the issuers. The latter is the obvious characteristic of the press to potentially provide all individuals of a particular social context with the same information that will make them able to recognize themselves as a community with similar needs and interests and will give these communities a share of information to spend in their relationships”*, (Sorrentino, 2007: 27-29). Therefore, in a certain way the newspapers are the glasses through which we look at the world, and thus a vehicle helping us in

making an opinion about the events happening around us, a process, this, that contributes in the formation of our identity.

The expression “cut to give news” means the point of view that a newspaper decides to take to deal with an event (Sorrentino, 2007: 101), and a point of view is that point from which we observe an object, but it is also the particular way to understand and evaluate the reality.

Journalists are the professional map-makers of our society. They are charged with trying to make their maps as accurate and as close to the territory as possible. But we simply cannot reflect all of reality. We inevitably abstract and create a map of the territory (Hoffman, 1989: 324). Hence, journalism does not reflect reality, but it selects and reformulates it according to its own *reconstruction modalities* (Sorrentino, 2005).

The newspapers enrich the symbolic legacy of the community by giving multiple perspectives to the readers, helping to undermine the information monopoly. In so doing they accelerate the capacity for imagination in the social body, which contributes to the construction of collective representations and the increasing number of cultural perspectives (Sorrentino, 2005: VIII). This, in a sense, means giving the individual the opportunity to reflect on a given topic and then form an opinion on that fact, that is to give an interpretation or express a judgment based on a subjective and personal criteria. When this task is undertaken by an entire community, to which the newspaper is addressed, then we could talk about public opinion, that is, the collective attitude, with respect to a given fact or event, of the majority of citizens, being they participants of common requirements and beliefs (Devoto-Oli, 2010). On these beliefs, as Zaller argues, depends the acceptance or not of the messages coming from the media of the public, because individuals are less



likely to accept messages that are inconsistent with their prior beliefs, (Zaller, 1992). Zaller also states that mass opinion is largely shaped by the exposure (via the media) to elite discourse on issues, (Zaller, 1992). In fact, referring to a statement of Walter Lippman presented in his book *Public Opinion* (1922), “*Citizens in large societies are dependent on unseen and usually unknown others for most of their information about the larger world in which they live*”, John R. Zaller affirms that “*The others on whom we depend, directly or indirectly, for information about the world are, for the most part, persons who devote themselves full time to some aspect of politics or public affairs: political elites*” (Zaller, 1992: 6). The journalist is somehow an opinion maker, who essentially is that character of culture, journalism, politics or show, who directly or indirectly leads the judgments and the choices of the public opinion (Devoto-Oli, 2010). And a journalist of the influential media, as defined by Lichter and Rothman, is not always a neutral transmitter, but often describes the events from the point of view of the middle class (quoted in Kepplinger, 2008). This is a good point we should reflect about. During our life, despite how much we travel and see the world around us, we cannot explore it entirely and, of course, we cannot experience every event happening on earth in first person. So in a certain sense we delegate newspapers, television, books, magazines, internet, in one word the communication media that collect the information about the world around us and report it to us as news. They are, as already said, the glasses through which we watch the realities around us. But, as we mentioned strictly before, the news are never “pure” representations on the facts. Together with that, the reader is subjected to the “agenda-setting”, “*which is the role of the media to influence the salience of topics of the public agenda by the selection and display, day-by-day, of the news in order to focus our attention and affect our perceptions of what the most important issues of*

*the day are*” (Mccombs, 2004). Furthermore, it is remarkable to note another approach aimed at expanding the cognitive perspective of the agenda-setting, the “*media priming*” that is the process in which news media call attention to some issues while ignoring others and thereby influence the standard by which the public judges political figures and issues (Roessler, 2008: 212). Thus, the information that reaches the public is never a full record of important events and developments in the world. It is, rather, a highly selective and stereotyped view of what has taken place (Zaller, 1992: 7). Moreover, “*the prerequisites for the theory of representative democracy are that the majority of citizens by nature do not have a great interest in politics, that they do not possess sufficient knowledge, and that their opinions depend on moods and are easily manipulated*” (quoted in Kepplinger, 2008). In fact, Zaller says that less aware individuals receive fewer messages, but are more likely to receive them, even if conflicting, (Zaller, 1992). Thus, we can conclude that, of course not entirely, but in a certain percentage, political elites influence and drive media that in their turn affect the judgments of the public opinion about the world. As we have seen before, in this sense Italy is considered only “partly free”, especially in regard to television ownership; therefore I would like to analyse the Italian daily press in relation to the public opinion perceptions of Turkey, in order to see if there is a convergence with the political agenda, or if it shows a more independent and “pure” stand on the topic.

### **3.1.2 The Italian daily press**

In Italy, as also in the majority of the countries, the large diffusion of daily newspapers started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At that time the spread of the press in the country was limited by the extensive illiteracy. The total “printing” of daily

newspapers did not exceed the 500 thousand copies, (Gandalf website, 2004).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when the repressions of 1898<sup>3</sup> were followed by a period of greater political freedom and the industrial development in the urban concentrations had increased, there was an increase in the number of newspapers and a significant increase in the distribution. But the fact is that the spread of the press in Italy had a stunted growth.

After the First World War in the rest of Europe opened a new phase of development, but in Italy the situation was blocked by the advent of fascism, which not only imposed censorship, but also limited the number of newspapers.

Before the Second World War there were 66 daily newspapers in Italy, with a total "printing" of 4,600,000 copies. *Il Corriere della Sera* (one of the Italian oldest daily newspapers), which in 1920 had reached 750,000 copies, in the '40s printed 500,000 (still in first place among the newspapers in Italy, with a printing of nearly 900,000 copies and a circulation of over 700,000), (Gandalf website, 2004). After the war the number of publications grew rapidly, up to 136, and then dropped to 111 in 1952, to 96 in 1961 and 75 in 1975. So, the circulation of newspapers increased slightly - or even decreased. The total "printing" in 1975 was 6,251,000 compared with 6,341,000 copies in 1965. At the same time spread (copies sold) fell from 4,765,000 to 4,415,000. The number of newspapers has increased again (there are about 180 - but many which were independent today are part of large publishing groups), (Gandalf website, 2004). The spread in the late 80's was over six million copies, but since 1994 it has remained lower. In relation to the population it is below pre-war levels,

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<sup>3</sup>The Bava Beccaris massacre, named after the Italian General Fiorenzo Bava Beccaris, refers to the repression of widespread riots in Milan in May 1898, when workers organized a strike to demonstrate against the government of Antonio Starrabba di Rudinì, holding it responsible for the general increase of prices and for the famine that was affecting the country (Duggan, 2009).

(Gandalf website, 2004)<sup>4</sup>. Since then the situation has not changed much. <http://web.mclink.it/MC8216/storia/storia04.htm>).

At the beginning of the twenty-first century the media in developed countries have been enriched by the extraordinary novelty of the digital and satellite communication. The Italian case is characterized by contrasting situations, successes and crises, and the slowness with which news are taking hold (Castronovo, Tranfaglia, 2008: 60).

Italy was and is among the most backward countries in Europe for distribution and reading of the daily press. At the origin of the suffering of the press, in the Italian case, there is a cultural landmark, a defect in the formation of citizenship. In Italy people read little. It strikes the drop in sales of 9.8 per cent in 2009, which comes after a decline of 2 per cent in 2008 (Aresta, 2010: 8). The most worrying aspect for the daily press is the detachment of young people, which manifests itself in all developed countries with greater or lesser extent. A survey of 1999 shows that in Italy only 19% of young people aged between 16 and 24 read a newspaper and that lasts a maximum of ten minutes (Castronovo, Tranfaglia, 2008: 61). In fact, young people watch TV and many work or play with the computer and surf the Internet.

But when we start talking about TV and its influence on journalism, we have to open a separate paragraph because of the particularity of the Italian case.

### **3.1.3 Italian press, politics and television**

To understand the contemporary Italian daily press, it is fundamental to analyse the links with two factors that most have influence on it: politics and

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<sup>4</sup>For more information and discussion on this subject see: <http://web.mclink.it/MC8216/storia> and <http://web.mclink.it/MC8216/storia/storia04.htm>

television.

Italian journalism is strongly linked to politics. This is dangerous because it diminishes the possibility for the Italian journalism to be neutral in information. However, the reasons of the close interdependence between journalism and politics date back to the prolonged and widespread illiteracy that characterized Italy in the past, (Sorrentino, 2007). In fact, just a limited number of citizens belonging to the wealthier class of the country used to read the paper, furthermore, the delay in the establishing of a solid economic and industrial system *has limited advertising investments*, (Sorrentino, 2007). So, Italian press has missed for a long time two customers: the reader and the advertising investors. This lack of economic independence could only lead to political dependence (Sorrentino, 2007: 30).

Thus, journalism and politics have been always correlated in Italy. Carlo Sorrentino, in his book *Tutto fa Notizia: Leggere il giornale, capire il giornalismo*, goes forward giving us a good classification in three phases of the dependence of journalism from politics:

1. During the period of the unification of Italy notables founded newspapers, almost always taking the direction, driven by a political ideal (in this case, the ideals of the *Risorgimento*). Many of the most popular newspapers currently on sale have arisen in that period. (...) The newspapers were gradually taken over by main industrial groups, the only interested in purchasing the goodwill of the political system in the performance of their most important business activities in textiles , steel, mechanical ,etc..

2. The second phase occurs with the Fascist period, in which the aggravation of the political dimension has seen its peak. Political control of the press gradually forced the major media groups to yield totally to the will of the regime.
3. After World War II, despite a growing literacy and strengthen the industrial sector, there remains a central political role. The political system is to maintain a strong hegemony on information flowing through the consolidation of relationships with major industrial groups in the publishing industry, with the addition of a monopoly on public radio and television, namely the direct and legitimate dependence of RAI (Italian Radio and TV) from the government. (Sorrentino, 2007: 31-32).

The daily newspapers have themselves turn into key political players because they become the channels through which the various political actors send messages and because they accompany the process of the formation of individual identity in which the political affiliation is crucial. In fact, the political and cultural position has traditionally been the main position of the Italian media.

As already said above, the newspapers are scarcely read in Italy. The section of society that in other countries is the backbone of a public opinion responsive to the abuse of power, is very narrow (Prospero, 2010: 6). The journalistic system gets used to conceive the public discourse and practices that inform it as an exclusive

competence of the elite. The television is effectively the first means of mass communication. In Italy we saw a reverse process compared to the first European countries where industrialization had taken place, in which they experienced mass education before and this has encouraged the spread of printing and the birth of modern journalism and information, and then the advent of electronic media. In Italy, however, the television spread before of higher levels of schooling. So the TV experience is particularly significant here, not only because it allows a country still divided linguistically and culturally to gain a more precise identity, but also as the vehicle for the dissemination of knowledge (Sorrentino, 2001: 35-36). With the decline of parties and with the triumph of virtual reality narrated by the TV, the lower classes have lost all political representation and have started taking more and more the enchantment of the imagination. For the peripheral working classes, television has become the primary vehicle of meaning and the preferred channel of political communication. Not by chance, among voters, Berlusconi records the lowest proportion of graduates (2.8 per cent) and highest for illiterate or persons with only primary school (47.6 per cent), who turn to TV as the exclusive source of knowledge (Prospero, 2010: 6).

In the map of the press there are fertile and arid areas, however, the domain of TV, which later will be added competition from Internet, wins over all.

The images created by the media have acquired the power to mobilize the masses emotionally and psychologically, power that had belonged to religion first, then to the great ideologies. With audio and video contact, we implement a continuous "domestication" of news: all is present and deceptively close, everything is known. There are multiple perspectives, the critical distance is cancelled. But just because everything is present, everything is far away. The "domestication" marks the end of

expertise: the ignorant TV presenter prevails over the scientist, the skit on the reasoning, the summary trial on the demonstration (Dardano, 2008: 272).

Yesterday the information was critical, today it is an affirmation: it is not investigation, looking for hidden patterns, but the repertoire, the overabundance of content, like Wikipedia. On television, the information is replaced by gossip, infotainment has supplanted the investigation. Today it does not mean to make more informed about the audience, but entertain, amuse it (Freccero, 2010: 22). True and false as categories are ineffective. They are replaced by criteria of surprise, wonder. The sources do not count, are not to be looked for or mentioned. The verification of what is communicated - its consistency or inconsistency with what has been said - does not interest and does not count. A series of events all Italians (from low index reading newspapers to the hegemony of the television duopoly and the political interference in television) make the press, beginning with the major newspapers, very weak and easily colonized by means of expression and culture of television (Colombo, 2008: 553-554).

A new brand has started, trying to create a press competitive with the TV. Journalism has become more neurotic and the struggle between the centre-right Berlusconi and centre-left increases and exacerbates the distorted politicization (Castronovo, Tranfaglia, 2008: 57). With images and icons of various kinds the newspapers have begun to mimic the "visibility" and talked-talked of television. The spectacular, the immediacy, the "visibility" are made (especially in titles) with a varied instrumentation: expressive vocabulary choices, plenty of space granted to the direct speech, increase in the nominal style and dislocations, (Dardano, 2008: 250).

Because of the lack of readers and the advent of new technologies, that caused a decrease in the advertising investment in newspapers, the press a sector on crisis.



In 2009 all the major newspapers have cut staff. *La Repubblica* has slain off 84 editors within 12 months; *Il Corriere della Sera* has 47 editors at the door; not better the daily of *Confindustria (Il Sole 24 Ore)* with 25 outputs “forced to” 12 “volunteers”, and *L’Unità* has lost 17 people (Piccioni, 2010). Regarding the causes of the employment crisis, the diagnosis is accurate: “*For years companies have been uninterested in the level of sales and product quality, thinking they could ensure profits with advertising. When the crisis erupted, the investment in advertising has been one of the first to be reduced, and now they think only in terms of cuts, waiting for the night to pass*”(Piccioni, 2010: 4).

**Table 1. Variation % of the users of television, newspapers and internet in 2007-2009**

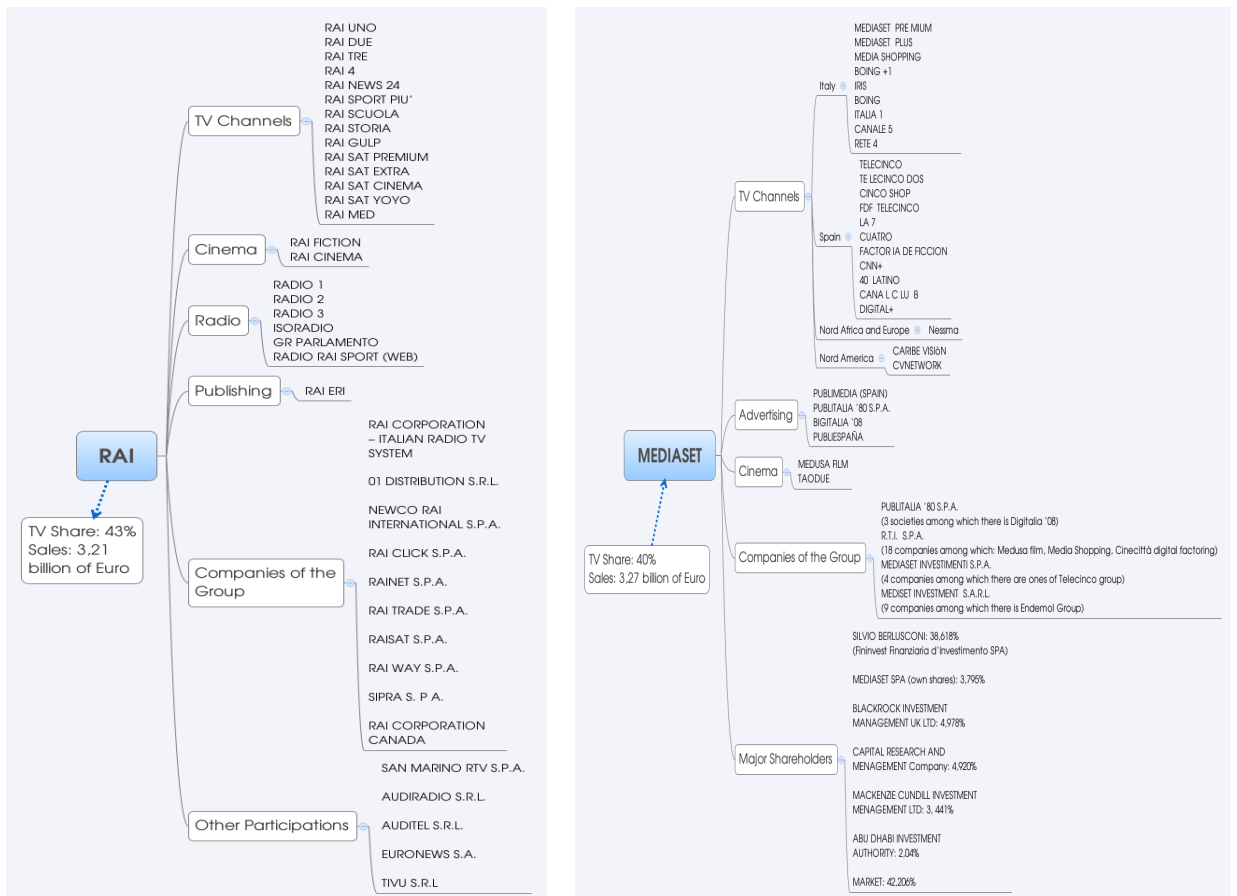
Television	+ 1,4
Newspapers	- 14,9
Internet	+ 1,7

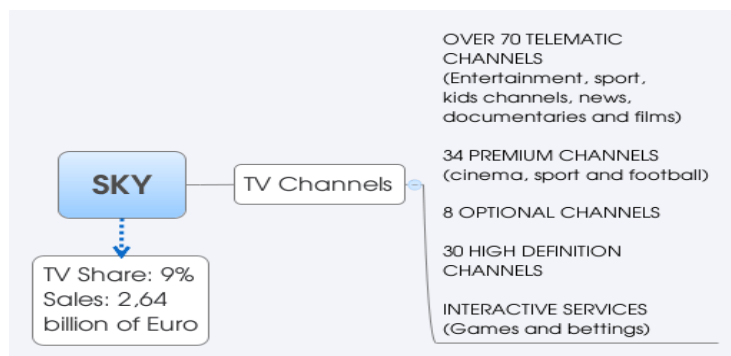
*Source: Censis Investigation, 2009, taken from Ultim’ora, supplement of the newspaper Il Manifesto of April 28, 2010.*

In Italy, as mentioned before, politics had always have a strong influence over the media in general and the press in particular, and now we are in the third phase described by Sorrentino, “*The political system is to maintain a strong hegemony on information flowing through the consolidation of relationships with major industrial groups in the publishing industry, with the addition of a monopoly on public radio and television*”. The weight of ownership is felt more and more and apart from some cases that go in a different direction, the Italian press has become the crossroads of power struggle. The ownership structure of newspapers in Italy is not in itself comforting. If one simply takes a look at the large and small newspapers, one can understand the web of interests regarding the direction of the press. A network that is unmatched in any country in Europe (Perini, 2010: 17). However, the situation is

worst regarding television, because it is a real monopoly where Silvio Berlusconi controls the 83% of the TV share by its private media company (Mediaset) and the government control of the State TV (RAI). In fact, during his governments two very discussed laws on broadcasting and antitrust have been approved facilitating his position both as Prime Minister and Italian major owner of private Tv channels: the Gasparri Law, that relaxed media ownership rules, and the Frattini Law, that sets out rules relating to conflict of interest in public life declaring incompatibility only between the management of a company and public office, and not between ownership and public office (Gasparri Law and Frattini Law, quoted in Hibberd, 2007).

**Table 2. Concentration of television in Italy: the 3 major groups which detains the 92% of the market sales**

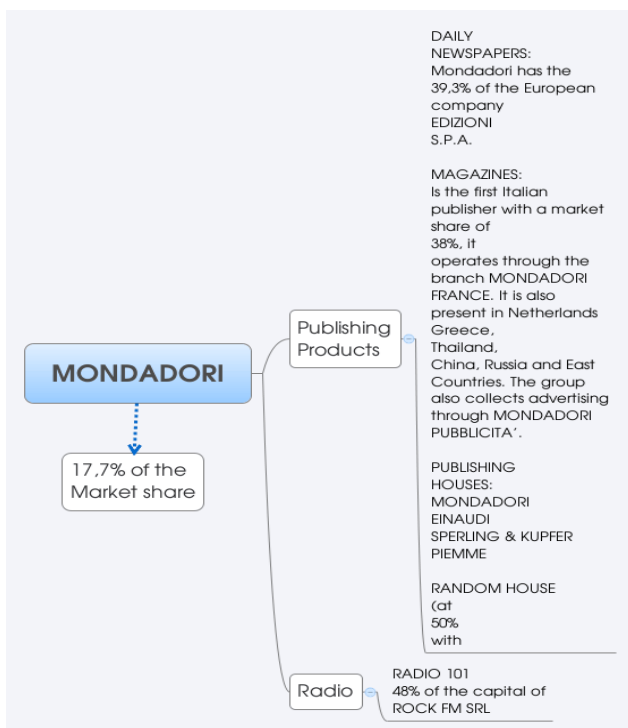




Source: Auditel Data from “Ultim’ora”, supplement of “Il Manifesto” of April 28, 2010.

The press, on the other side, is in the hand of different economic and political group in Italy, but at least it is not controlled only by one and so it can count on more different and plural points of view. Among the controlling group includes Berlusconi with him owning the Mondadori Group and his daughter, Marina Berlusconi, being a shareholder of the RCS Group together with Banca Mediolanum in which one of the two founder partners is Fininvest itself.

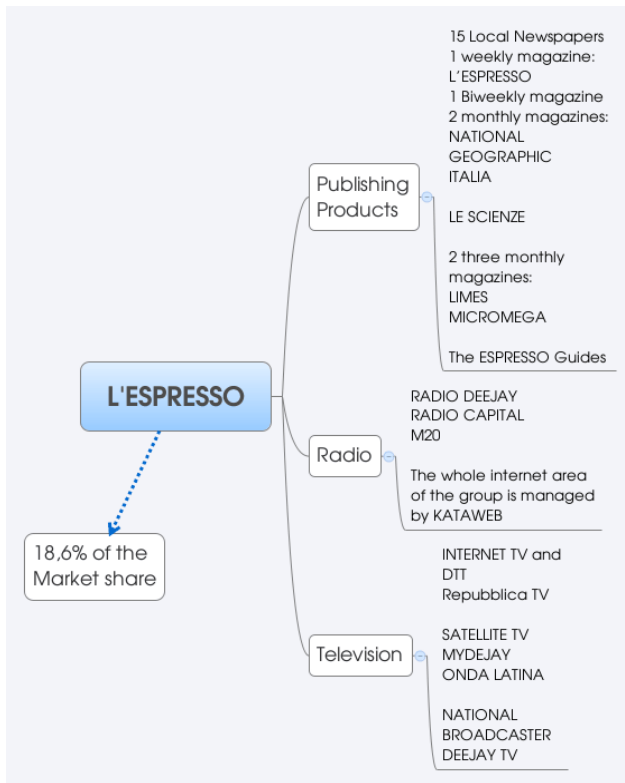
**Table 3. Concentration of the press in Italy: the 5 major groups which detains the 73% of the market share.**



50.1% of Mondadori is owned by Fininvest, of Silvio Berlusconi - who controls the group through Fininvest and other channels, with 57.6% of the capital.

**Others:**

- Silchester International Investors LTD. (British-born) 10%.
- Tweedy Brown Company LLC (USA-born) 5%.
- The rest is divided among thousands of other shareholders.



Control of the L'Espresso Group belongs to the De Benedetti family through various fund:

-CIR and CIR SPA. De Benedetti 54% of the group.

-Caracciolo family 11%.

-Assicurazioni Generali Spa. 3%.

-Crespi family 2%.

-Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio Trieste 2%.

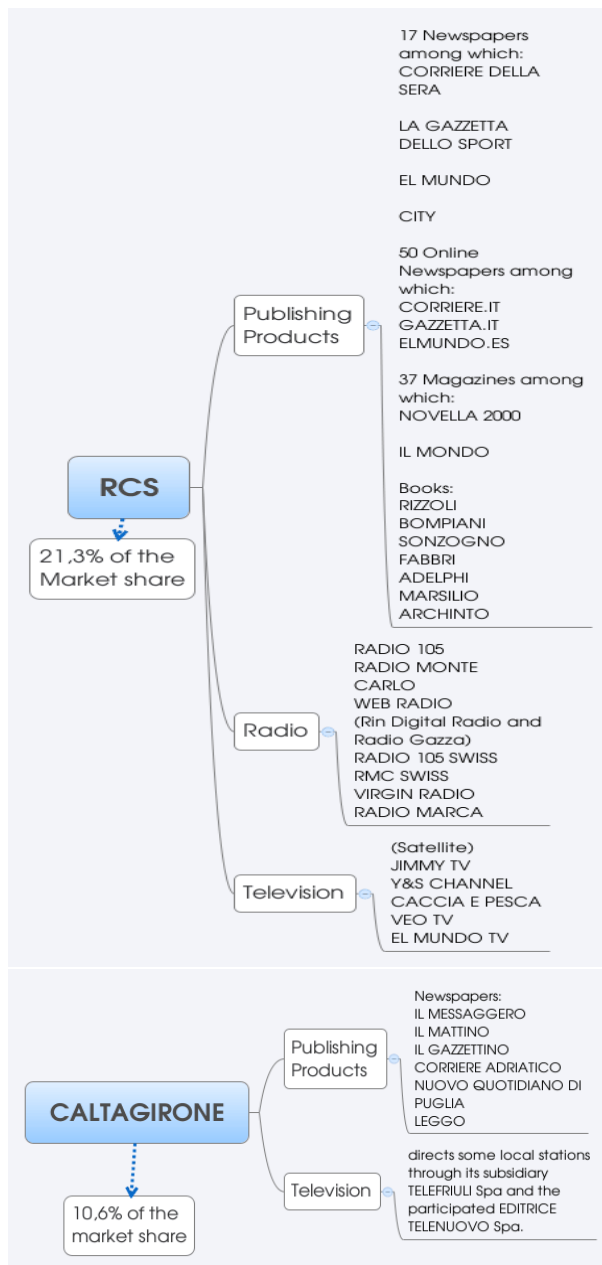
-The rest is in the hands of thousands of shareholders.



Il Sole 24 Ore is 67.5% of Confindustria, the Italian industrialists' association, which controls it through a corporation headed by Giancarlo Cerutti.

-The market has 28% of the shares.

-The remaining 3.7% is the company's Il Sole 24 Ore SpA



Mediobanca 14%.

**Inside Mediobanca:**

Unicredit, Carlo Tassara Spa, Intesa SanPaolo, Marina Berlusconi, Mediolanum, Fabrizio Palenzona of Rome Airports.

**Lower shares:**

Fiat, Generali, Intesa SanPaolo, EFIPARIND BV, Premafin Finanziaria, Della Valle (TODS), Tronchetti Provera, Passera, Lucchini, Benetton, Rotelli.

Caltagirone Editore Spa is controlled by Francesco Gaetano Caltagirone for 65,6 % (directly owned or by some funds), for the 2,4% by Gaetano Caltagirone (cousin), and for 2,2% by Holding Spa (that belongs to the company Edizione, a fund of the Benetton family). The rest is divided among thousands of shareholders.

Source: 2008 AgCom Data from "Ultim'ora", supplement of "Il Manifesto" of April 28, 2010.

Unfortunately, the situation of information in Italy is not among the more brilliant as Curzio Maltese, a journalist of *La Repubblica*, a writer and a great observer of the Italian society observes:

Today the *Berlusconismo* has reduced a good part of journalism at the court. So the complexity is gone, replaced by the conspiracy theory. (...) The precariousness of the

work of journalists, the general retreat of the country have meant that over the last 10-15 years there was also a clear choice of people to start the job. It is preferred that there is no talent: those who have no talent are also more controllable. (...) In our country there is not a threat to freedom of information, but to democracy. Italy has never come to terms with fascism and it is a country that does not tolerate so well freedom of the press. (...) Among the bad things of Italian journalism there is the fact that journalism has become advertising, it sells products, political or otherwise, but it sells. (Lania, 2010: 3)

Unfortunately, the situation of the press in Italy is not among the more brilliant, but is better than the TV's one, further however the publishing sector crisis, more or less half of the adult Italian population still read the papers. In fact, on a population of 52.422.000, in an average day 24.072.000, of which 14.348.000 men and 9.725.000 women, read newspapers (Audipress Data, 2010/III).

### **3.2 Representation of Islam in Italian media**

As argued earlier, in Italy a spread of *Islamofobia* is present, which subsists in the severe form of "Islamist fundamentalist threat" in the minds of "ordinary Italians" who link the political issue of Turkey's membership in the EU to a cultural religious dynamic. Thus, it would be important both to see how Islam is treated in the Italian media and how it is linked to Turkey in the public opinion's mind.

There is a general consensus that the image of Islam in the media is conditioned by criticism, distortions, and in some cases of genuine misinformation - the effects of a superficial approach usually against a cultural system whose main characteristic is complexity. In Italy this matter is not so much discussed, but Marco Bruno made a

good analysis about the representation of Islam in the Italian media and collected it in his book *L'Islam immaginato: Rappresentazioni e stereotipi nei media italiani* (Imagined Islam: representations and stereotypes in the Italian media), (Bruno, 2008).

First of all, the author presents the three main types of distortion which Islam is the subject of in the public opinion:

1. Monolithic: failure to recognize the diversity of cultural, historical, political, social, but also religious experiences, within that complex system of people belonging to cultural traditions which can be defined as "Islam".
2. The "Very special nature" of Islam, seen as "a-historical", unchanging and unchangeable.
3. Muslim - understood here as an individual – is defined solely from his religious affiliation, a sort of "*homo islamicus*" which has no other identity than that of "a follower of the religion, " without consideration of the multiplicity of memberships, the weight of social, class, political, national variables, or of the gradual approach to religion, to its dictates and its interpretations in everyday life (Bruno, 2008: 17).

This representation is then polarized in the media around two more dimensions:

- a. Islam seen as an object of conflict and "anxiety" that threatens, the equality *Islam = fundamentalism* is built, and fanaticism is a term often seen as a typical Muslims mental category.
- b. The permeating of an Orientalist look on the Islamic world (Bruno, 2008).

In addition, there is an extreme selectivity of topics and examples. The selection made by the media and experts on the events or phenomena in the Muslim world, is always about the negative aspects: through the “worst example logic”, facts or issues that affect only part of it are translated to the entire Muslim world (Bruno, 2008: 55). After 9/11, Islam has acquired a new centrality as a key player not only in terms of international relations, but also in communication. In Italy it comes to Islam only in relation to events that put it at the center of international crises, while the thematic areas on Islam itself, as a culture, religion and society are largely absent from the Italian television system, which is mainly concerned with issues of war and fundamentalism (Bruno, 2008: 131), this because Islam strongly entered in the media’s agenda only because related to the big international crisis and to the international terrorism acts.

Furthermore, in media it is always referred to as the “moderate Muslims” as if they were the exception as opposed to the majority, while the “fundamentalists” are seen as the normal and natural expression of Islam. In this sense the iconography about Islam in the media is extremely stereotyped: the majority, referring to the non-violent and moderated Muslims, is represented by singular individuals, maybe isolated, while the "extremist minority" is staged by images of crowds (Bruno, 2008: 171).

As also mentioned before, the mass media, like other social organizations, are engaged in manufacturing, construction and in the dissemination of ideologies. They form a sort of "social lens" that sets the agenda through the framing operation of certain aspects of reality, making the salient elements and concealing others, then it is implied that the image of Islam in the media has given some effects on public (Bruno, 2008: 47).

Looking at what has been said before about the particular importance that television



has in the spreading of knowledge among people in Italy and the particular risk that in the mind of the majority of Italians the “Muslim immigration” is posing to them, then we can assume that this could possibly be true.

In the conclusion of his research, Marco Bruno makes two important assumptions. The first is that Italian media has an active role in the social construction of a stereotypical representation of Islam, that tends to be superficial and alarmist; the second affirms that the role of media is intertwined with representations instrumentally superficial present in the public debate, coming, in particular, from areas of Italian politics more inclined to hold with the analysis of the “diversity” an attitude of “political entrepreneurs of fear”, (Bruno, 2008: 191-192).

### **3.2.1 Islam and Turkey’s EU accession in Italian public and elite opinions**

The image of Islam given by the media has some effects on the public, and, as already argued, Turkey in the Italian media is referred to as a “Muslim country”. Therefore, the perception of the Italian public and elite opinion on Turkey’s EU accession in relation with Islam, fundamentalism and democracy, must be examined in order to have a more complete picture before analysing the image of Turkey that Italian newspapers give.

Regarding Islamic fundamentalism and Turkish membership to the EU, according to the TTS data of 2004, Islamic fundamentalism for Italian elite represented the third most important threat towards Europe (46%), while the Italian public perceived it as a bigger threat (54%), (Canan, 2008: 12). In 2004 a vast majority of Italian MPs who perceived Islamic fundamentalism as an “extremely important threat” favoured Turkey’s membership even more strongly (86%), (Alessandri, Canan, 2008). By

contrast, between 2004 and 2006 the Italian public became more agnostic towards Turkey’s membership as much as they perceived Islamic fundamentalism as an important threat (Alessandri, Canan, 2008: 32). The general patterns still unchanged, ordinary Italians are more sceptic towards Turkey than the elite as they feel more threatened by Islamic fundamentalism. As they link Turkey’s membership to Islam, they are more negative towards this process.

**Table 4. Cross-tabulation of “Turkish membership” by “Islamic fundamentalism a threat” (%)**

		<i>“Islamic fundamentalism a threat”</i>			
		<i>Mass</i>		<i>Elite</i>	
		<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Extremely important</i>	<i>Important</i>
<b>2004</b>	<b><i>Turkish membership is...</i></b>				
	<i>A good thing</i>	74	74	86	95
	<i>A bad thing</i>	26	26	14	5
<b>2006</b>	<b><i>Turkish membership is...</i></b>				
	<i>A good thing</i>	49	78	72	50
	<i>A bad thing</i>	51	22	28	50
<b>2007</b>	<b><i>Turkish membership is...</i></b>				
	<i>A good thing</i>	42	63	58	73
	<i>A bad thing</i>	58	37	42	27

Source: reproduced from Emiliano Alessandri and Ebru Canan, *“Mamma li Turchi!”: Just an Old Italian Saying*, p. 33.

As of Islam-democracy compatibility in relation with Turkish membership in the EU, in TTS and EES 2006, responses to the question ‘Do you feel that the values of Islam are compatible with the values of [country]’s democracy?’ revealed an interesting

gap between elite and public beliefs. Italian elites believed twice more strongly than the public that Islamic values and democracy are compatible (68% and 32%, respectively).

Those who saw these two values as incompatible blamed „Islam in general’ (51% of the public versus 33 % of elites). By contrast, Italian elites were more concerned about the problem of specific Islamist groups (67% versus 49% of the public) that created an incompatibility between Islam and democracy. The question of Islam-democracy compatibility was correlated with an assessment of Turkey’s membership of the EU. Most Italians – elites and public – support the idea that Turkey’s membership is “a good thing” in so far as they believe that Islam is compatible with democracy. Yet the Italian elite (82%) was much more in favour of this view (quoted in Alessandri, Canan. 2008: 34).

**Table 5. Cross-tabulation of “Turkish membership” by “Islam-democracy compatibility” (%)**

		<i>“Islam compatible with democracy”</i>			
		<i>Mass</i>		<i>Elite</i>	
<i>Turkish</i>	<i>membership</i>	Yes	No	Yes	No
	<i>is...</i>				
	A good thing	71	40	82	38
	A bad thing	29	60	18	63

*Source: reproduced from Alessandri, Canan “Mamma li Turchi!”: Just an Old Italian Saying, p.34.*

The more public opinion is threatened by Islamic fundamentalism, the less it supports Turkish membership, and, in the same way, the less it thinks that Islam is compatible with democracy, the less it supports Turkey in its way to the European Union. I believe that this is due to the misinterpretation of Islam received by the media. But, the elite seems to be more supportive, and more aware of Turkey and its identity, in fact, the more it considers Islamic fundamentalism as a big threat, the

more it supports Turkey's membership. I retain this an interesting hypothesis that could be an indicator in the following analysis, as the elite is a major consumer of newspapers.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **METHODOLOGY AND FIRST ANALYSIS**

#### **4.1 Methodological framework**

It has been showed that in Italy the opinion on Turkey and its joining to the EU is various and not homogeneous. At the elite level both the ruling parties, which officially stand for Turkish membership, and the ones of opposition do not constitute a ground swell of support, but there is also some resistance to Turkey. Furthermore, the reasons of support or opposition are different depending on the political affiliation of the parties: right wing parties normally base their antagonism mainly on religious, cultural and historical grounds, while they support Turkey on strategic and economic fields; on the other side, left wing parties do not make issues of different and incompatible cultures and religions but principally underline the difficult situation of Turkey's ethnic minorities and the poor records in the field of human rights. The population also seems to be confused about the membership and about Turkey's nature itself, more precisely it shows to have a big lack of knowledge about the country, its bid for full membership into the European Union and so on. Some authors affirm that one cause of this lack of awareness is the role of the Italian media that give information about Turkey that is scarce and ill-informed, full of simplifications, deformations and manipulations, it is influenced by the power coalition views of Turkey, which is principally referred to as a Muslim country,

(Alessandri, 2009). Furthermore, the image of Islam given by the media is not so comforting too. As Bruno argues, media play an active role in the social construction of a stereotypical representation of Islam that is superficial and alarmist, misleading what the majority is with the strict minority and helping in creating the threat of “Muslim immigration”. The last issue is perceived by Italians as posing a great risk to Italy, because they consider “Muslim immigrants” as intolerant towards the Catholic religion, critical towards Italian culture and Italian people and dangerous because of possible terrorist attacks from fundamentalist Islamic cells. Summing this perception of Islam and Muslims to the spread of *Islamofobia*, that links the political issue of Turkey’s membership to EU to a cultural religious dynamic, of the last years, it seems that Turkey is not in such a good light in the minds of the Italians. As I have also underlined, McCombs assumes that there exists a relationship between the quantity of media reports and the opinion of the population. Thus I hypothesize that probably the opinion of the Italians on Turkey depends on the quantity and especially on form of how this topic is addressed by the media. As presented in the previous chapter, in Italy there are strong connections between media and politics in general, journalism and politics in particular, and as Zaller argued, mass opinion is largely shaped by the exposure (via the media) to elite discourse on issues. In Italy the television broadcasting is for the 83% in the hands of only one person, the Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi. Thus, I based my analysis on newspapers that, although not completely free from control, at least are not in the hands of one person only. In this way, I could analyse also if there are some similarities or differences among different political views on Turkey and its representation on newspapers, and thus a convergence between the political agenda and the “agenda-setting”. So, to understand the image of Turkey given by the media the presence, interconnection and

influence of all the above mentioned elements will be analysed within the newspapers' articles. In so doing, I would like to address three principal matters: the scarce information that newspapers give about Turkey, the convergence of political agenda and "agenda-setting", and the role of Islam in the representation of Turkey.

#### **4.1.1 A Critical Discourse Analysis approach**

As argued, journalism does not reflect reality, but it selects and reformulates it according to its own reconstruction modalities. Therefore what we must analyse at first are the language, the words and the use that journalists make of it. In order to comprehend the level of objectivity (which is important to understand in order to be able to observe if the political agenda converge with the newspapers' representation of Turkey as argued)we must understand the reason why in a specific situation journalists choose a word instead of another. Thus, to depict a more or less truthful picture of the image of Turkey given by the Italian newspapers it is important to focus on three principal issues:

- a. **Quantity:** how many subjects, how many news and of which subject category, how many words of this or that kind, etc.;
- b. **Quality:** which subjects and which words;
- c. **Politics:** ideological relations between power elites and newspapers that are reflected in the articles.

Therefore, for this thesis work I have chosen to base my methodological framework on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), of which a central assumption is that

speakers make choices regarding vocabulary and grammar, and these choices are consciously or unconsciously principled and systematic, that these choices are ideologically biased (Sheyholislami, 2001). Starting from Critical Linguistics (CL), which practitioners aimed to show *“how ideology and ideological processes are manifested as systems of linguistic characteristics and processes”* (quoted in Sheyholislami, 2001), CDA is “a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (Dijk, 1998). It builds from three broad theoretical orientations:

First, it draws from post-structuralism the view that discourse operates laterally across local institutional sites, and that texts have a constructive function in forming up and shaping human identities and actions. Second, it draws from Bourdieu's sociology the assumption that actual textual practices and interactions with texts become "embodied" forms of "cultural capital" with exchange value in particular social fields. Third, it draws from neo-Marxist cultural theory the assumption that these discourses are produced and used within political economies, and that they thus produce and articulate broader ideological interests, social formations and movements within those fields (Luke, 1997).

These theoretical bases of CDA show an important assumption of this methodology that is central to this thesis too: texts, as newspapers' articles, while influencing the capacity for imagination in the social body, contribute to the construction of human identities and to the creation of collective representations. Furthermore, trying to present how social power influence, dominance and abuse are reproduced by text, CDA can help us in understanding how political elites are related and influence the information on which the public depends to understand the larger world in which we



lives.

CDA is used to analyse media, news reports, political discourses, books, school textbooks etc. Thus, the fulcrum of this analysis is the text: texts are taken to be social actions, meaningful and coherent instances of spoken and written language use. Text is the principal unit of analysis, but it is not a one-dimensional entity composed only by words and sentences. Scholars of CDA show various elements and level of analysis at which one must carefully look; however their approaches are more or less similar to each other, everyone focuses more on different aspects. What I am going to do is presenting CDA as a unitary process, showing the authors' principal focuses on the analysis steps, in order to have an image of this approach as complete as possible.

The text in CDA is not only analysed on the grammatical, morphological and semantic level, even if this still occupies an important role, but also on higher level assets in order to postulate an investigation of structures at various stages of description. In this way, van Dijk defines two principal levels of analysis that are helpful in addressing the above mentioned issues: the micro-level, that is the one of language use, verbal interaction and communication (quantity and quality issues), and the macro-level (politics issue), that is the one of power, dominance and inequality between social groups (van Dijk, 1998). The scholar also states that one also needs a form to organize the overall meaning or macrostructure of a text as a whole. Thus, a new schema can be identified. According to van Dijk the beginning of the text always contains the most important information, the most important part of the news is the *Summary*, constituted by headlines and leads, because it is the one that more gets impressed, that takes the attention and that the readers can memorize better; then there is the *Story*, the presentation of the situation by episodes and

backgrounds, and the *Consequences*, the conclusions and final comments (van Dijk, 1988). Particularly interesting for this thesis work is the accent posed by van Dijk on the mental representation of Us and Them, mainly because of the dichotomy between Italians and “Muslim immigrants” which are seen as a negative presence on the Italian soil, principally because of their religion, Islam, which is linked to Turkey too. In fact, according to the scholar, remanding to the centuries-old dominant images of the Other given by European travellers, explorers, merchants, soldiers etc., in which the Other at the same time had both an exotic difference valence and was intellectually, morally and biologically considered inferior, this kind of pictures has influenced public opinion and directed to largely shared social representations that is still alive today and through which speakers of a group will usually tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative ones (van Dijk, 1998). Hence, we need to see at what level Turkey or Turks are seen as Muslims and when they are so in contrast with Italy and Italians. In order to make visible this dichotomy in discourse we need to:

- a. Examine the context of the discourse: historical, political or social background of a conflict and its main participants.
- b. Analyse groups, power relations and conflicts involved.
- c. Identify positive and negative opinions about Us versus Them.
- d. Make explicit the presupposed and the implied.
- e. Examine all formal structure: lexical choice and syntactic structure, in a way that helps to (de)emphasize polarized group opinions. (Quoted in Sheyholislami, 2001: 4-5).

Furthermore, underlying the importance of the context of discourse, especially the historical one, Ruth Wodak affirms that “*critical analysis also relates the analysed text to other, connected discourses (intertextuality) and to historical and synchronic*

*contexts*” (Wodak, 1995: 204). According to the author, other than power and ideology, also another concept figure is indispensable in CDA, which is *History*. A discourse is historically (situated in time and space) produced and interpreted (Wodak, 1995), which means that “*discourse is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events which are happening at the same time or which have happened before*” and “*readers and listeners, depending also on their background knowledge and information, may interpret the communicative text in different ways*” (quoted in Sheyholislami, 2001). Thus, the living context and the history that has shaped it in that way are fundamental to understand the ideologies and power relations present in the analysed texts. In this case, one can assume that the on-going debate on Turkey’s membership in Europe, about cultural and religious barriers bringing some states, as France and Germany, to push for a privileged partnership other than full membership can affect the way in which Turkey is addressed in newspapers and interpreted by the audience. Also in regard to Islam, there are some facts of the near history that have brought Italians to be fearful and suspicious towards Muslims, as 9/11 attacks, or Afghan and Iraqi wars and other terrorist attacks of the last years (Madrid and London for example); but also events that involved Italians in first person, as the Nasiriyya attack, in Iraq, 12 November 2003 were 19 Italian soldiers lost their lives and which had a big emotional impact on Italian population. Context is also important for the time table choice of the analysis, and for this reason I have chosen the periods in which I am going to collect and analyse newspapers’ articles on the base of the events happened and the context they might have create for Turkey’s representation. As last, in order to defy the mediating link between text and context I would like to introduce the third scholar on whom I have based my research for the methodological framework of this thesis,

Norman Fairclough and his *intertextual analysis*. Fairclough states that intertextual analysis is the mediating link between text and context that draws attention on how texts are produced and interpreted, and therefore how genres and discourses are drawn upon and combined, something which depends upon the nature of the social context (Fairclough, 1992: 213). Thus, socio-cultural practice owns an important position in Fairclough's analysis, because it encloses economic, political and cultural dimensions of the media. In this view there are some additional aspects that according to Fairclough should be taken into consideration while analysing media, which are: access to media (because both text production and consumption are important), economy of media (having media a product to sell, they are opened to the effects of commercial pressure and in the case of press this can determine what is selected as news) and politics of media (quoted in Sheyholislami, 2001). This, especially "economy of media", is particularly relevant for my work because, as stated above, news are never "pure" representations of reality, in fact the journalist makes a precise choice on what to write about, basing it on two - criteria relevance and sharing, which means that he selects the facts and events which can keep major attention from the audience and so sell more. This mechanism has also a political and ideological aspect because it defines the "agenda setting" of newspapers that is, as previously showed, the role of the media to influence the salience of topics of the public agenda by the selection and display of the news in order to focus our attention and effect our perceptions of what are the more important issue of a given day.

The major problem in CDA pointed out by critics of this approach is represented by the reception of texts by receivers because, like opponents state, "different audiences may interpret texts differently". But CDA scholars have two reasons to think otherwise: "first, readers usually are not trained to be critical readers of texts" and

second (here an emotive factor is introduced) “audiences interpret texts against their background knowledge and the information they already have about the subject in question” (Sheyholislami, 2001), that is to say, even if one is informed about a topic, in a situation in which one reads, listens or watches a news involving that topic and dragging him/her emotionally, this latter aspect will prevail on the first one.

In conclusion, Critical Discourse Analysis employs interdisciplinary techniques of text analysis to look at how texts construct representations of the world, social identities, and social relationships (Luke, 1997). Combining quantitative with qualitative analysis it permits a more interpretative freedom of the practitioner without losing the stable base of data given by the words, and this is, in my opinion, the best choice for the analysis I intend to pursue in my thesis, in which I will try to determine the scarce and stereotyped information about Turkey given by the newspapers, the influence that elite power has on it and the impact it has on audiences.

Therefore, I have already addressed the Italian political context and the press situation in the first part of this thesis. Now I am going to present the chosen newspapers and the time table of the analysis. Following on, I will present a first reading analysis with some tentative first conclusions, in which I will address: the *quantity issue*, counting how many articles there are on Turkey in the chosen periods of time, *how many subjects* regarding Turkey have been written about and *how many Islamic religion-related words* are present in the articles, and in part the *quality issue*, showing not only how many subjects and words but also which are they. In the last chapter I will enter deeper into the contents of the articles, analysing it subject by subject in order to determine the level of the information quality and addressing the politics issue, trying to determine, if present as I suppose, the influence of the

political elites on the mentioned information.

#### 4.1.2 Research framework

For my thesis research first of all I have chosen the two newspapers that Audipress<sup>5</sup> data shows as the most read newspapers in Italy: *La Repubblica* (with 3.250.000 readers, Audipress 2011/I) and *Il Corriere della Sera* (with 3.056.000 readers, Audipress 2011/I). Secondly, as showed in the first chapter, political affiliation is still important in Italy because: a) the more the public is leftist, the better the Turkish membership of the EU is seen, and in the same way the more the elite is leftist, the better the Turkish membership of the EU is seen; b) at the elite level has been showed that the reasons of support or opposition to Turkey's membership are different, depending on the political position. So, I have chosen one leftist newspaper, *L'Unità*, and one rightist one, *Libero*. Lastly, due to the importance of economic relations between Italy and Turkey, as Italy is the third economic partner, after Russia and Germany, of Turkey, I have chosen the main Italian economic newspaper: *Il Sole 24 Ore*.

Furthermore, I have chosen to base my research on the on-line websites of the above mentioned newspapers because the transition from print to bits had important consequences on the way to make information. The new medium has special features that have transformed the work of journalists and also the product of their work. In fact, beyond the innovations introduced in the style of writing, from a more "structural" point of view, there are elements that have had major effects on journalism, among which the one that have relevance in this work is *Interactivity*,

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<sup>5</sup>Audipress Srl is a company that has as its aim the objective and impartial creation of collective quantitative and qualitative investigations about the characteristics of reading and readers of newspapers and magazines, (<http://www.audipress.it>).

because it allows us to see the audience feedbacks to the text (thus the impact that the text has on audience), when it is present, for example with the readers' comments related to the articles to be found in the website pages. Plus, stated also the importance of the "economy of the media", that in the press can influence the selection of the news, the Italian newspapers, landing on the Internet, have had to adapt quickly in a competition across the territorial borders, while traditionally they were used to compete in a relatively small market (as on a national scale, if not only to regional or provincial level). In fact, the offer of online news is very wide and the group of competitors is infinitely greater and extended across the globe (Bettini, 2009: 249).

#### **4.1.3 Time table**

As time span I have chosen two periods of six months: from 1<sup>st</sup> July to 31<sup>st</sup> December 2005 and from 1<sup>st</sup> July to 31<sup>st</sup> December 2009. To understand the reason of this choice, I must make a short introduction on Turkey-EU relations and their changing in those years.

Turkey began "westernising" its economic, political and social structures in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Following the First World War and the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, Turkey chose Western Europe as the model for its new secular structure. Turkey chose to begin close cooperation with the new born European Economic Community (EEC) in 1959 applying for associate membership and in 1963 the country signed the "Agreement Creating An Association Between The Republic of Turkey and the European Economic Community", also known as the Ankara Agreement. Turkey made submitted its application for formal membership to the

European Community in 1987, but it was not accepted as a “candidate state” until 1999 (10-11 December) when the European Council in Helsinki officially stated the acceptance of Turkey as a “candidate State destined to join the Union on the basis of the same criteria as applied for the other candidate States” (Erdemli, 2003: 6). Between 1999 and 2004, Turkey tried to adopt various democratization packages in order to meet the political aspects of the Copenhagen criteria, based on the hope that the EU would open accession negotiations. An important element in this process of political Europeanization was the pressure coming from various civil society groups in Turkey and the prospect of membership increased the visibility of pro-democracy and pro-European groups in the country (Muftuler Bac, 2005). From a study conducted between May and June 2002, resulted that the big majority of Turkish citizens supported EU membership, and also in all major parties a clear majority supported Turkey joining the EU (Carkoglu, 2003: 186). Without entering into details of the reform packages of those years, we must say that Turkey made huge steps towards democratisation, the most important of which may be been in the total abolition of death penalty in 2004. The 17<sup>th</sup> December 2004 the European Commission decided that the 3<sup>rd</sup> of October 2005 the accession negotiations would have started. The importance of this date is fundamental in Turkey-EU relations, so I decided to analyse Italian newspapers of the second semester of 2005, in order to see which were the feelings towards Turkey, strictly before and after accession negotiations started.

But then the negotiations got stuck. Something changed, especially in the EU that was clearly suffering from enlargement tiredness, having absorbed ten new members in 2004 and two additional members in 2007. This, plus the crisis over the Constitutional Treaty, and widespread fears of expanding towards the turbulent



„East’, have all raised the need to squeeze accession conditions towards candidate Turkey amongst EU elites and publics (Tocci, 2007). National debates and interests of EU countries changed, French and German “no-Turkey in the EU” and pro-privileged partnership programs increased, Turkey itself lost the original enthusiasm towards membership. In Italy, in particular, as already showed earlier, warmth feelings towards Turkey decreased, both at an elite and public level. Thus, I decided to analyse newspapers’ articles of the second semester of 2009, also because in that period of time some important events regarding Turkey-EU relations have happened: the Turkey-Armenia Protocols of October (being the Armenian issue one of the obstacle-problems for membership), and concerning Turkey-Italy relations, like the Italian President official visit to Turkey and the signature of economic accords for gas pipelines between Italy, Turkey and Russia.

## **4.2 First reading analysis**

In this section I attempt a first reading analysis in order to address the quantitative issue and part of the qualitative one. First of all I have used the “search function” of the newspapers’ websites with the word “*Turkey*” and I have found all the articles containing that word for the periods of time of my interest; then I have separated the “*articles directly related to Turkey*” (A), from the “*articles in which the word ‘Turkey’ just appears*” (B), and later I have classified them according to the month and newspaper’s section in which they were published. In this way I was able to see how many articles have been written about Turkey, in which period, and in which section of the newspapers. In the considered periods of time there are totally 276 articles properly on Turkey (A).

Later on, I have classified the articles according to their subjects, which I had determined from their headlines, and I have counted the presence of Islamic religion-related words in order to define both on which fields more about Turkey has been written, and how much that was linked to Islam. I have made the choice of the list of subjects and words according to the contents of the articles, in order to be able to categorize them.

Subjects	Religion-related words
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Bombs and attacks</i></li> <li>- <i>Turkey-EU</i></li> <li>- <i>Avian Influenza</i></li> <li>- <i>H1N1 Influenza</i></li> <li>- <i>Turkish Foreign Relations</i></li> <li>- <i>Society</i> (in which I grouped all the articles that in somehow show various aspects of Turkish society).</li> <li>- <i>Violence/Human Rights</i> (in which I grouped all the articles related to violent acts or to matters that in Turkey immediately involve violence or human rights, as for example Kurdish question or Orhan Pamuk court case).</li> <li>- <i>Turkey's economy</i></li> <li>- <i>Gas pipeline</i></li> <li>- <i>Others</i> (in which I grouped all the articles which subjects were not relevant for my research, such as movies, books, art, etc.).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Islam</i></li> <li>- <i>Islamic</i></li> <li>- <i>Muslim</i></li> <li>- <i>Fundamentalist</i></li> <li>- <i>Terrorist</i></li> <li>- <i>Kamikaze</i></li> <li>- <i>Al-Qaeda</i></li> <li>- <i>Jihad*</i></li> <li>- <i>Jihadist*</i></li> <li>- <i>Fatwa*</i></li> </ul>

\* Religion-related words that are only present in two newspapers (*L'Unità* and *Liberò*).

#### 4.2.1 La Repubblica

*La Repubblica* was founded on 14<sup>th</sup> of January 1976 by Eugenio Scalfari. It is the most read newspaper in Italy with 3.250.000 readers and “it is – as written in its

presentation – an information newspaper composed by men who belong to the vast arc of the Italian left” (Grandinetti, 2008). Actually it is owned by the Editorial Group *L’Espresso*.

In 2005, searching the word “*Turkey*” I found a total of 135 articles, of which 30 were about Turkey, while in the other 105 “*Turkey*” just appeared as a word. Among the articles about Turkey, the majority were published in October (12), that is followed by August (8), July (6), September and November (2), and December (0). The newspaper’s section that contains more news on Turkey is “*Foreign Affairs*” (13), followed by “*News item*” (7), “*Culture*” (6), “*Sport*” (3), “*Others*” (1), “*Politics*”, “*Economics*” and “*Opinion*” (0).

**Table 6. Articles in *La Repubblica* (2005)**

		Politics		Foreign Affairs		News item		Culture		Economics		Sport		Opinion		Others	
		A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B		
	July	-	3	5	4	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
	August	-	1	1	1	-	3	6	7	-	-	1	7	-	-	-	1
	September	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	4	-	5	5	-	-	-	2
	October	-	1	4	4	6	7	-	-	-	1	10	12	-	-	1	4
	November	-	6	1	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	12	-	-	-	-	2
	December	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
	TOTAL	-	11	13	16	7	14	6	8	6	3	35	-	-	1	15	

In 2009, the total of the articles was 237, of which 34 about Turkey and 203 in which “Turkey” just appeared as a word. Of the 34 articles on Turkey, 8 were written in September, 7 in October and December, 5 in November, 4 in August and 3 in July. Again, “Foreign Affairs” is the section with more articles about Turkey (10), followed by “Economics” (9), “Culture” (8), “News item” (5), “Others” (2), and “Politics”, “Sport” and “Opinion” with no articles on Turkey at all.

**Table 7. Articles *La Repubblica* (2009)**

	Politics		Foreign Affairs		News item		Culture		Economics		Sport		Opinion		Others	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
July	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	4	1	7	-	6	-	-	-	4
August	-	2	1	8	1	8	-	4	2	-	-	5	-	-	-	7
September	-	-	1	7	1	5	2	7	2	7	-	18	-	-	1	2
October	-	1	4	1	-	2	2	6	-	8	-	11	-	-	1	5
November	-	6	-	1	1	6	1	4	3	9	-	12	-	-	-	3
December	-	-	2	3	2	8	2	1	1	3	-	7	-	-	-	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>24</b>

Immediately we can observe that: first, both in 2005 and 2009, the period in which there are more articles about Turkey is the one in which they have been major internationally important events, as accession negotiations starting in October 2005

and Turkey-Armenia Protocols in October 2009; second, neither in 2005, nor in 2009 there are editorials on Turkey.

As articles' subjects and religion-related words are concerned, in 2005 it can be observed that the major number of articles are in the "Others" category (8) in which I grouped all the items about which there was just one article, following there are "Bombs and attacks" and "Society" (6), "Turkey-EU" and "Avian Influenza" (5). Regarding religion-related words, the majority have been found in the "Culture" section, and in decreasing order are: *Islam* (14), *Muslim* (12), *Islamic* (5), *Fundamentalist* and *Kamikaze* (4), *Al-Qaeda* (1).

**Table 8. Subjects and religion-related words in *La Repubblica* (2005)**

Newspaper's section	Subjects					Words					
	Avian Influenza	Bomb Attack	Turkey-EU	Other	Society*	Islam	Islamic	Muslim	Fundamentalist	Kamikaze	Al-Qaeda
News	5	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Foreign Affairs	-	6	5	2	-	-	2	-	3	4	1
Culture	-	-	-	-	6	14	3	12	1	-	-
Sport	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>

\*The articles on Turkey in the culture section are all about the "Lost Jerusalem", that is the chronicle of the journalist's trip to Jerusalem, passing also through Turkey, searching for the lost places of Christianity.

Also in 2009 the major number of articles are contained in the “*Others*” category (14), followed by “*Violence/Human rights*” (7), “*Gas pipeline*” and “*Turkey’s economy*” (4), “*Turkey’s foreign relations*” (3), “*Society*” (2). While there are only two religion-related words present: *Islamic* and *Muslim* that both appear 4 times.

**Table 9. Subjects and religion-related words in *La Repubblica* (2009)**

Newspaper's section	Subjects						Words	
	Society	Violence Human Rights	Turkey's foreign relations	Gas Pipeline	Turkey's economy	Others	Islamic	Muslim
News	.	4	.	.	.	1	.	2
Foreign Affairs	2	1	3	.	.	4	3	2
Culture	.	2	.	.	.	7	1	.
Economy	.	.	.	4	4	.	.	.
Other	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>

It can be noticed that there is an increase of the variety of subjects in 2009 respect to 2005, while there is a decrease in the number and presence of religion-related words in 2009 respect to 2005.

#### 4.2.2 Il Corriere della Sera

*Il Corriere della Sera* is the second most read Italian newspaper with 3.056.000 readers. It was established on 5<sup>th</sup> of March 1876 exactly one century before *La Repubblica*. Its property in 1974 was bought by the publisher Rizzoli that today is Rcs Editori Spa (Grandinetti, 2008).

In searching the word “*Turkey*” in the newspaper’s website, in 2005 there was a total of 105 articles, of which only 22 were properly about Turkey (and 83 not). Among the ones regarding Turkey, the major number of articles was posted in October (8), followed by July and September (5), August (2), November and December (1); while the section where Turkey is more present, as it has been for *La Repubblica* as well, is “*Foreign Affairs*” (15), to which follow “*News item*” (3), “*Others*” and “*Opinion*” (2), and then the other categories ( *Politics*, *Economics* and *Sport*) that do not have articles at all.

**Table 10. Articles in *Il Corriere della Sera*(2005)**

		Politics		Foreign Affairs		News item		Culture		Economics		Sport		Opinion		Others		
		A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	
	July	.	.	4	3	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	1	3	.	.	4	.
	August	.	2	2	1	.	6	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.
	September	.	.	3	2	.	1	.	.	.	.	3	.	2	1	.	3	.
	October	.	.	5	7	2	14	.	.	.	2	.	4	1	.	2	.	.
	November	.	3	1	2	.	3	.	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	.	.	.
	December	.	1	.	3	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2	.
	TOTAL	.	6	15	18	3	27	.	.	2	.	14	.	2	5	2	11	.

In 2009, in a total of 148 articles, 44 were about Turkey, 10 of which (the ones in the “Others” category) I did not consider in this stage of the analysis (for the counting of subjects and religion-related words) because they were the stories of trips to Turkey of readers of the newspaper and not of journalists, but it would be interesting to have a look at them later on to see an example of audience interpretation of Turkey. So, also here October has been the month with more articles (12), then there are August (10), July (9), September (7), November (4) and December (2). Regarding sections, the first is “News items” with 11 articles, and then “Others” (10), “Foreign Affairs” (9), “Economics” (5), “Politics” (4), “Culture” and “Sport” (2), and “Opinion” (1).

**Table 11. Articles *Il Corriere della Sera*(2009)**

	Politics	Foreign Affairs		News item		Culture		Economics		Sport		Opinion		Others	
		A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
July	-	1	4	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	2	3
August	2	2	2	1	1	-	-	2	2	1	-	1	-	1	1
September	-	1	1	4	6	-	-	1	-	1	6	-	-	-	3
October	-	3	6	-	1	1	1	1	4	-	16	-	-	7	5
November	1	2	2	-	9	-	-	1	-	-	6	-	1	-	3
December	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	2	-	2	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>15</b>



As it is also valid for *La Repubblica*, in *Il Corriere della Sera*, both in 2005 and in 2009, the major number of articles appears in the period in which they have been major internationally important events, that is the month of October.

In 2005, there were principally three subjects that have been addressed by *Il Corriere della sera* regarding Turkey, that are first, with 9 articles, “*Turkey-EU*”, second with 8 articles “*Bombs and attacks*” and third with 3 articles “*Avian Influenza*”. There are also religion-related words that for the most are in the “*Foreign Affairs*” section, together with the majority of “*Bombs and attacks*” and “*Turkey-EU*” articles.

**Table 12. Subjects and religion-related words in *Il Corriere della Sera*(2005)**

Newspaper's section	Subjects				Words						
	Bomb Attack	Avian Influenza	Turkey-EU	Others	Islam	Islamic	Muslim	Fundamentalist	Terrorist	Kamikaze	Al-Qaeda
News	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
Foreign Affairs	7	.	6	2	.	.	.	3	5	4	1
Opinion	.	.	2	.	3	2	.	1	.	.	.
Other	.	1	1	.	.	2	2	.	.	.	.

In 2009 the first category for number of articles is “Others” (10), followed by “Society” (7), “Violence/Human Rights” and “Turkey’s foreign relations” (5), “Gas pipeline”, “Influenza H1N1” (2) and “Turkey-EU” (1). Regarding religion-related words, the time that they are used most it is almost the same of 2005 (27 in 2005 and 23 in 2009), but there are minor variety.

**Table 13. Subjects and religion-related words *Il Corriere della Sera* in (2009)**

Newspaper's section	Subjects							Words		
	Society	Influenza H1N1	Violence/ Human Rights	Turkey -EU	Turkey Foreign Relations	Gas pipeline	Other	Islam	Islamic	Muslim
News	4	2	3	-	-	-	2	2	-	3
Foreign Affairs	1	-	-	1	4	-	2	-	2	1
Politics	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	1
Culture	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-
Economy	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	-
Sport	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4
Opinion	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	5	1
TOTAL	7	2	5	1	5	4	10	5	8	10

Also here it can be observed an increase of the variety of subjects in 2009 respect to 2005, and a decrease in the assortment of religion-related words in 2009 respect to 2005.

#### 4.2.3 Il Sole 24 Ore

*Il Sole 24 Ore* was established on 9<sup>th</sup> of November of 1965 from the union of two newspapers “*Sole*” and “*24 Ore*”. It is produced by the Publishing company “*Il Sole 24 Ore*” controlled by *Confindustria* (the Italian Employers’ Federation) and it is the major Italian economic newspaper (Grandinetti, 2008).

In 2005, on a total of only 36 articles, just 8 were about Turkey of which 5 were in the “*Foreign Affairs*” section and 3 in the “*Economics*” one.

**Table 14. Articles in *Il Sole 24 Ore* (2005)**

		Politics		Foreign Affairs		News item		Culture		Economics		Sport		Opinion		Others	
		A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B		
	July																
	August																
	September			1													
	October			2	6			1	1	1	5						
	November									2	6					1	
	December			2	3						4						
	TOTAL			5	10			2	2	3	15						1

In 2009 the number of articles on Turkey increased a little bit from 8 to 13 on a total of 37 articles found. The majority of texts are in the “*Foreign Affairs*” section (10) and surprisingly, there are no articles in the “*Economics*” category.

**Table 15. Articles in *Il Sole 24 Ore*(2009)**

	Politics		Foreign Affairs		News item		Culture		Economics		Sport		Opinion		Others	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
July	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
August	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
September	-	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
October	-	-	3	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	1
November	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
December	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>

The articles, in 2005, are equally distributed among all the subjects' categories that are: "Turkey-EU", "Turkey's economy", "Gas pipeline" and "Others". Also religion-related words are present with only two kinds (*Islamic* and *Muslim*) and in a small number (respectively 2 and 4).

**Table 16. Subjects and religion-related words in *Il Sole 24 Ore*(2005)**

Newspaper's section	Subjects				Words	
	Turkey-EU	Turkey's economy	Gas pipeline	Others	Islamic	Muslim
Foreign Affairs	2	2	-	1	2	4
Economy	-	-	2	1	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>

Also in 2009 the articles are almost equally distributed among the three categories of subjects: "Turkey's Foreign Relations" (4), "Gas pipeline" (4) and "Others" (5). The same religion-related words of 2005 are present: *Islamic* (1) and *Muslim* (2).

**Table 17. Subjects and religion-related words in *Il Sole 24 Ore*(2009)**

Newspaper's section	Subjects				Words	
	Turkey's Relations	Foreign	Gas pipeline	Others	Islamic	Muslim
Foreign Affairs	3		4	3	-	1
Politics	1		-	-	-	1
Opinion	-		-	2	1	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>

#### 4.2.4 L'Unità

*L'Unità* was founded on 12<sup>th</sup> of February of 1924 by Antonio Gramsci<sup>6</sup>. It was originally the press organ of the PCI (Italian Communist Party), then of PDS

<sup>6</sup>Antonio Gramsci was a founding member of the Italian Communist Party and also a major Italian writer, politician, political philosopher, and linguist. He was imprisoned by Benito Mussolini's Fascist regime and his major work is the Prison Notebooks. For further information on Antonio Gramsci, see: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/gramsci>

(Party of Leftist Democrats) and then of DS (Leftist Democrats). It is edited by L'Unità Publishing House, controlled by PCI before and PDS later (Grandinetti, 2008).

In 2005 there were 141 articles containing the word “*Turkey*”, 112 had other subjects, while 29 were properly on Turkey. The time categorization is as follows: October (11), July (7), September (5), November (3), December (2) and August (2). On the other side, the largest section, with a big difference from the others, is “*Foreign Affairs*” (17), while “*News item*” has no article and the other sections have from 1 to 3 articles (“*Culture*” and “*Opinion*” have 3; “*Politics*” and “*Sport*” have 2; “*Economics*” and “*Others*” have 1).

**Table 18. Articles in *L'Unità* (2005)**

		Politics		Foreign Affairs		News item		Culture		Economics		Sport		Opinion		Others	
		A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
	July	-	4	7	8	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	5
	August	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	12	-	-	-	2
	September	-	3	2	5	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	6	-	-	1	2
	October	-	8	8	4	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	2	3	1	-	3
	November	2	3	-	3	-	-	-	2	-	3	4	4	1	-	-	3
	December	-	2	-	2	-	2	1	1	-	-	2	2	-	4	-	1
	TOTAL	2	21	17	25	-	3	3	8	1	5	2	26	3	8	1	16

In 2009, on a total of 116, there were 30 articles properly about Turkey of which the majority are contained in the “*Foreign Affairs*” section with 11 articles (“*News item*” has 6, “*Culture*” and “*Economics*” have 4; “*Politics*” and “*Sport*” have 2; “*Others*” has 1 and “*Opinion*” no one). The more prolific month has been again October with 10 articles (8 in September, 6 in August, 3 in November, 2 in December and 1 in July).

**Table 19. Articles in *L’Unità* (2009)**

	Politics		Foreign Affairs		News item		Culture		Economics		Sport		Opinion		Others	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
July	-	1	-	4	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	2
August	1	3	-	3	-	4	-	-	4	1	-	-	2	-	-	2
September	-	2	1	5	3	2	2	2	-	-	2	9	-	-	-	2
October	-	1	8	2	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-
November	1	9	2	3	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-
December	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>

As it has also been seen before with other newspapers, the prolific period is the one, both for 2005 and 2009 that coincides with major internationally important events, with, at least in 2005, a “bigger” production (only 3) of editorials on Turkey.

“*Turkey-EU*” (9) is the subjects with more titles in 2005, immediately followed by “*Bombs and Attacks*” (7). The difference here is that the “*Violence/Human Rights*” (4) is present since 2005, while in the above analysed newspapers it appeared only in 2009. There is also a bigger presence of religion-related words (*Islam* 14, *Islamic* 22, *Muslim* 18, *Fundamentalist* 8, *Kamikaze* 11, *Terrorist* 2, *Al-Qaeda* 6), with also a “new entry”: *jihadist* (7).

**Table 20. Subjects and religion-related words in *L’Unità*(2005)**

Newspaper's section	Subjects						Words							
	Bomb Attacks	Avian Influenza	Turkey-EU	Violence/ Human Rights	Gas pipeline	Others	Islam	Islamic	Muslim	Fundamentalist	Kamikaze	Terrorist	Jihadist	Al-Qaeda
News item	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Foreign Affairs	6	2	7	1	-	-	7	8	14	4	11	5	7	6
Politics	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Culture	-	-	-	3	-	-	4	7	1	4	-	-	-	-
Economy	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Opinion	-	-	2	-	-	-	3	7	2	-	-	-	-	-
Sport	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>



In 2009, there are less religion-related words and in less number (*Islam* 2, *Muslim* 1, *Fatwa* 3). Also the subjects are in less number with “*Others*” category at the top with 11 articles, after there are “*Turkey’s Foreign Relations*” (8), “*Violence/Human Rights*” (5), “*Gas pipeline*” (4) and “*Society*” (2).

**Table 21. Subjects and religion-related words in *L’Unità* (2009)**

Newspaper's section	Subjects						Words		
	Society	Turkey- Foreign Relations	Violence/ Human Rights	Gas pipeline	Others	Islam	Muslim	Fatwa	
News item	1	.	.	.	4	1	1	.	
Foreign Affairs	1	6	3	.	2	1	.	.	
Politics	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	
Culture	.	.	2	.	2	.	.	3	
Economy	.	.	.	3	1	.	.	.	
Sport	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	
Other	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	

#### 4.2.5 Libero

*Libero* was founded on 18<sup>th</sup> of July of 2000, by Vittorio Feltri, former director of “*Il Giornale*”, a centre-right Italian newspaper, and politically put itself in the

liberal-democratic area; it is published by the Vittorio Feltri Editore & C. (Grandinetti, 2008). Unfortunately, it has not have been possible to analyse the second semester of 2005, because the newspaper' website's archive starts from 2008. On a total of 197 articles, 66 are properly about Turkey and 131 are not. October is the most prolific month, with 19 articles and in decreasing order there are: December (16), November (10), July and September (8) and in the end August (5). As regarding the newspaper's section at the first place there is "Foreign Affairs" (36) and decreasing: "Economics" (12), "Culture" (5), "Politics" and "News item" (4), "Others" (3), "Sport" (2) and "Opinion" with no articles at all.

**Table22.Articles in *Libero* (2009)**

	Politics		Foreign Affairs		News item		Culture		Economics		Sport		Opinion		Others	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
July	-	2	5	1	8	-	2	-	4	-	2	-	-	-	1	3
August	-	2	2	6	8	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	3
September	-	1	5	3	6	-	4	1	9	1	5	-	-	-	-	2
October	-	1	10	6	8	1	1	2	5	1	2	-	-	-	1	1
November	3	-	3	4	8	-	2	2	9	-	2	-	-	-	1	1
December	1	-	11	-	3	1	-	3	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>-</b>

In *Libero* in 2009 there is a big variety of subjects, however the majority of the articles are contained in the “*Others*” category (25), followed by “*Violence/Human Rights*” (12), “*Turkey’s Economy*” (7), “*Turkey-EU*” (6), “*Turkey’s Foreign Relations*” (5), “*Society*” (4), “*Bomb Attack*” and “*Gas pipeline*” (2). Also for religion-related words there is a bigger variety and number in respect to the ones of the other analysed newspapers for the year 2009.

**Table 23. Subjects and religion-related words in *Libero* (2009)**

Newspaper's section	Subjects							Words					
	Society	Violence/ Human Rights	Turkey-EU	Turkey's Foreign Relations	Bomb Attack	Gas pipeline	Turkey's Economy	Others	Islam	Islamic	Muslim	Jihad	Al-Qaeda
News item	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Foreign Affairs	2	10	4	3	2	-	-	14	3	2	9	2	4
Politics	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Culture	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
Economy	-	-	-	-	-	2	7	1	-	3	1	-	-
Sport	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>

### 4.3 Tentative conclusions after first reading analysis

Before starting a more “qualitative” analysis, that is going to be presented in the next chapter, I want just to point out some partial conclusions that can be observed from the above presented tables.

- In all newspapers the number of “*articles directly related to Turkey*” is always inferior to the one of the “*articles in which the word ‘Turkey’ just appears*”.
- Both in 2005 and 2009, in all newspapers the majority of the articles have been published in the months in which there have been internationally important events, as to say: EU accession negotiation starting (3 October 2005) and Turkey-Armenia Protocols signature (10 October 2009).
- In the majority of newspapers the fix subjects’ categories of 2005 are “*Bomb attack*”, “*Turkey-EU*” and “*Avian Influenza*”, while there is an increase in the variety in 2009, which is composed by the entry of other fix categories that are more or less the same in all newspapers, except for *L’Unità* that presents the “*Violence/Human Rights*” category also in 2005.
- The “*Turkey-EU*” subject is principally discussed in 2005, while in 2009 it has almost been “forgotten”, except for *Liberò*.
- In all newspapers, except for *Liberò*, the variety of religion-related words is more prolific in 2005, where also terrorism-related words are used; while in 2009 these last ones almost disappear, living the place generally only to *Islam, Islamic* and *Muslim* words.
- In all newspapers, except for very few examples, there is a lack of editorials or “opinion articles”. This can really influence the qualitative section of this

research, because there is not an “open” expression of the journalists’ thoughts and so it would be more difficult to understand and analyse them.

Summing up, after a first look at the articles we can extract some fix point from which start the second analysis in the next chapter. The subject categories are almost the same in all newspapers and underwent the same changes from 2005 to 2009 almost in all newspapers too. This situation is in the same way valid for religion- related words. Therefore what I am going to do now in the next chapter is to analyse how these subjects are addressed and how these words are used, analysing and confronting the articles of the different newspapers through a subject to subject strategy.

## CHAPTER 5

### ANALYSIS

The central assumption of this thesis and its methodology, Critical Discourse Analysis, is that texts, as newspapers' articles, influencing the capacity for imagination in the social body, contribute to the construction of human identities and to the creation of collective representations. CDA is used as it aims to present how social power influence, dominance and abuse are reproduced by text and so it can be helpful in understand how political elites are related to and influence the information on which the public depends on to understand the larger world in which we live. This thesis aims to define the image of Turkey that the selected Italian newspapers draw and to see if there are similarities among the given image and public opinion view on Turkey. In order to do that, I have defined three principal issues I had to focus on in order to draw a more or less truthful picture of the above mentioned image. These are "**Quantity**"(how many subjects, how many news and of which subject category, how many words of this or that kind, etc.), "**Quality**"(which subjects and which words) and "**Politics**"(ideological relations between power elites and newspapers that are reflected in the articles).

Some first tentative conclusions of the first reading analysis show that the articles that are "properly on Turkey" are in all newspapers less than the ones in which "Turkey" just appears as a word. The subject categories are almost the same in all

newspapers and had the same changes from 2005 to 2009 almost in all newspapers too. This situation is in the same way valid for religion- related words and further, there is a big lack in opinion articles in all the analysed newspapers.

In this last chapter, I am going to analyse deeper the texts of the articles in order to determine the level of the information quality and addressing the politics issue, trying to determine, if present as I suppose, the influence of the political elites on the mentioned information. I will analyse the articles subject by subject, comparing all the newspapers articles present in that category in order to see the differences or similarities in information. I will start with “*Bombs and attacks*” category, followed by “*Turkey-EU*”, “*Society*”, “*Violence/Human Rights*”, “*Turkey’s Foreign Affairs*” and “*Turkey’s Economy*”. I have decided to not address “*Avian Influenza*”, “*H1N1 Influenza*” and “*Other*” categories because, after a first reading, they resulted irrelevant for this analysis, while I decided to put “*Gas pipeline*” category together with “*Turkey’s Economy*” being them strictly related. Finally, I am going to report the original Italian version of the articles’ sentences I am going to use for this analysis in the same order in the Annex 2 to this work. Before analysing the articles, I am also going to use the “*Other*” category of *Il Corriere della Sera*, which contains ten articles of travelogues of trip to Turkey written by the readers of that newspaper, in the conclusions of this work, together with the comments to the articles, made by the readers on the web pages, in order to have a partial feedback from the audience about the image that the analysed newspapers give of Turkey.

## 5.1 Bombs and attacks

Articles on “*bombs and attacks*” are present only in three newspapers: *Il Corriere della Sera*, *La Repubblica* and *L’Unità*. *Libero* has no articles in this section because the “bomb attack” category is present only in 2005 in the other newspapers and *Libero* has not an online archive for that period of time, however it has one article on this category in 2009. *Il Sole 24 Ore* has not so many articles on Turkey at all, as presented in the previous chapter, but I assume that it has no articles in this category because it is not strictly related with economy. So, for this subject category, I am going to analyse the above mentioned three newspapers *Il Corriere della Sera*, *La Repubblica* and *L’Unità*.

The three newspapers seem to follow the same structure in presenting this kind of news: they present the event, then the hypothesis on the perpetrators, that are always among three categories of group (Islamic fundamentalist, Kurds and extreme left groups), and finally there are always remands to older bomb attacks (of course perpetrated by the above mentioned groups). Being this categorization of three groups of possible perpetrators common to all the newspapers, it can be assumed that maybe this classification has been not created by Italian newspapers, but given by Turkish sources itself. However the news scheme is similar to all newspapers, there are differences in addressing the content. This is to say that:

- a) *Il Corriere della Sera* is always the most superficial and less detailed, it does not try to investigate the reasons of the events; it simply gives the news as it receives it without further questioning or investigation.
- b) *La Repubblica* in this section is really similar to *Il Corriere della Sera*, however, in some occasions, it seems to be more careful to the details. Both



*La Repubblica* and *Il Corriere della Sera* seem to be more interested in how many foreign victims there are after the attacks.

c) *L'Unità* is the most accurate one, it always presents the facts underlying which are the hypothesis and sometimes analysing the possible reasons, it gives more details and seems to be more committed in explaining us the Turkish situation: it seems that the journalist wants us to understand.

d)

So, looking at these differences, it can be assumed that the more leftist newspapers tend to go into more details.

In all the newspapers, however in different ways and levels, an escalation of Islamic fundamentalism in Turkey is presented, and religion related words, as fundamentalist, kamikaze or even jihadist, are often used in the articles of this section. I would like to present two major news that have been addressed by the three newspapers as an example to show how the fundamentalist threat is reported and the different approaches the newspapers have to the same news.

### **Example 1.**

<b>Facts:</b>	On the 16 <sup>th</sup> of July 2005 a bomb exploded in a minibus in Kuşadası, on the Aegean Sea, causing 5 death and 13 injured. In a first time they thought it was due to a woman kamikaze, and then they proved it was not a kamikaze, but a remote controlled bomb, however the perpetrators have not been identified certainly.
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<i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>	It approached the news more superficially and, however the first suspect was the Kurdish separatist movement, it did not forget to remind us that: <i>“Turkey has also recently been targeted by groups linked to al-Qaeda international network: two truck-bomb attacks in Istanbul on 15 and 20 November 2003 resulted in 63 dead and 750 injured”</i> , (Il Corriere della Sera, 17 July 2005).
<i>La Repubblica</i>	In the same way of <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> , it approached the news more superficially and it used the same sentence of the other newspaper to remind us that, however the first suspect was the Kurdish separatist movement: <i>“Turkey has also recently been targeted by groups linked to al-Qaeda international network: two truck-bomb attacks in Istanbul on 15 and 20 November 2003 resulted in 63 dead and 750 injured</i> , (La Repubblica, 16 July 2005).
<i>L’Unità</i>	It is more accurate and detailed. Here the name of the journalist, Gabriel Bertinetto, who wrote the articles is present, while in the other two newspapers was not. Very interesting is the presence of an article, other than the ones giving the news, in which the journalist tries to explain what could be the reasons of the attack considering the group that would have perpetrated it: Islamic fundamentalist or Kurdish separatists:

*“The other is the jihadist (Turkish, Kurdish or foreigner). The latter is certainly interested (...) also in what, in his fanatical logic is implacable moral lesson, in use of the simple citizen like of the political smelling of apostasy: in this way perish those who accept the compromise with the infidels and deviates from the straight Islamic path. (...)If the array of carnage was Islamist, the threat to Ankara would probably be even more dangerous. While the instrumental use of the nationalist adhesive against the Kurdish threat could work again, as it worked in the past, would be more difficult to cement an anti-jihadist front, at a stage where the government is the moderate Islamic party of Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan. The principles that form the secular Republic founded by Kemal Ataturk, are shared wholeheartedly by the opposition and the armed forces. But in public today, thanks to the Erdogan government, they are daily confronted with the revival of traditional religious values. From this it can come out a fruitful synthesis. It can become a good example for other countries of Muslim culture. But a complex and delicate process as this one could also be diverted and overwhelmed if the fundamentalist challenge becomes powerful and widespread. Also because not always the majority and the executive in charge have shown to understand the measure of the threat. Only two weeks ago, the Parliament approved a law that punishes with a simple fine and no more with three years in prison the leaders of the clandestine Islamic schools”. (L’Unità. 17 July 2005).*

While the other newspapers are more superficial, but still propose the fundamentalist threat by referring to al-Qaeda, in *L’Unità* the threat is presented more detailed.

	<p>First it refers to the typical image of the Islamic fundamentalist terrorist “<i>who punishes people who compromise themselves with infidels and do not follow the right Islamic path</i>” and then says that the Islamist threat would be more dangerous for Turkey than the Kurdish one, because of the ruling party being “<i>moderate Islamic</i>”. But at the same time the Islamic identity of the ruling party could represent a good thing too. In synthesis, the journalist presents the idea that: Turkey could be a country of fusion between Islam and secularism and that it can be a good example for other Muslim countries, but there is a risk that if the government fails to handle certain issues well, there can be a fundamentalist escalation.</p>
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The different approaches to the same news of the three newspapers are clearly visible in the articles regarding the killing of a “kamikaze”, in July 2005, that has been filmed and broadcasted on TV all over the world. Starting from the headlines, that contain the most important information of the text, I have noticed that the more the newspaper is leftist, the more an accent on human rights is present.

**Example 2.**

<p><i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> (article of Il Corriere della Sera of 1<sup>st</sup> of July 2005)</p>	<p>In the half-title it is referenced as “<i>Reported by the Turkish CNN</i>”, exposing in this way the source of what we are going to read in the article, than follow</p>
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with the title: *“Turkey, kamikaze killed by police”*. There are no references to the fact that the killing was filmed and broadcasted, so if we read just the headline of this article we can think to a “heroic” act of the police that thwarts a possible massacre. Then, it follows with the suspense in the subheading that says: *“The man, laden with explosives, wanted to blow himself up near the office of Prime Minister Erdogan. The scene being shot from TV”*. It is clear here that the fact that TV shoot the killing represent just the possibility for us to watch the scene, nothing else (the newspaper gives us the possibility to do it immediately putting the link of the video inside the article), while the accent of the news is posed on the act of the man that wanted to blow himself-up.

*Il Corriere della Sera* goes on keeping the accent on the act of the bomber, and not on the fact of the TV shooting a killing and the police’s behaviour, underlying again that this is what is referred by the agency. It is not precise in details, in fact it does not refer that has been verified that the real name of the bomber was not Muhammed Akyurt, but Eyup Beyaz, it refers to the bomber as the terrorist, and there are no references to human rights. Plus, not only does not *Il Corriere della Sera* speak about human rights, but

	<p>underlines the fact that “terrorist kamikaze” acts are not rare in Turkey and are provoked by three precise category of people, Islamic terrorists, Kurds and leftist groups: “<i>In Turkey, suicide bombings attacks made by kamikaze terrorists are not rare. It has been carried out by Islamic extremists, by the Kurds and by left-wing groups. The most serious of these attacks took place in November 2003, when terrorists linked to al-Qaeda killed more than 60 people in Istanbul</i>”.</p>
<p><i>La Repubblica</i> (article of La Repubblica of 1<sup>st</sup> of July 2005)</p>	<p>It starts completely different from <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>, in the half-title it reports: “<i>The man stopped near the office of Prime Minister Erdogan. Shot in the legs and handcuffed and then shot in the head</i>”. The journalist presents to us the situation from a completely different point of view, putting the accent not on the “kamikaze” act, but on the way in which the man has been killed, underlying the fact that the man was first shot in his legs (so making impossible for him to run away) than handcuffed and in the end shot in its head to death. In the title, as in <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>, the journalist reports the fact that a kamikaze has been killed by the police, in a similar way to the previous article, even if more detailed because here is specified that the fact happened in Ankara, while in the</p>

	<p>other article was just said generically „Turkey’, but he reports also the fact that the run and shooting have been shot in Tv: <i>“Ankara, police kill kamikaze. Escape and shooting in live TV”</i>. Finally, in the subheading <i>La Repubblica</i> starts to give us more precise information about the affiliation of the bomber, as an extreme left activist.</p> <p>Further in the article, <i>La Repubblica</i> refers to the bomber as the <i>“suspected kamikaze”</i> and while telling the events of the story it puts the accent on the drama of the scene and the death of the guy, in fact: <i>“The episode might cause some embarrassment to the government in Ankara due to opening talks to join the European Union planned for October”</i> (La Repubblica, 1 July 2005).</p>
<p><i>L’Unità</i> (article of <i>L’Unità</i> of 2<sup>nd</sup> of July 2005)</p>	<p><i>“Ankara, airs the killing of a suicide bomber”</i>. It is directly clear from the title that the attention is immediately posed on the broadcasting of the death, and its tragedy is further underlined in the subheading where the event is defined as a <i>“tragic scene”</i>, only in the end is said that the bomber was going to the Ministry of Justice: <i>“The tragic scene in a video broadcasted by television worldwide. He headed for the Ministry of Justice”</i>.</p> <p>As <i>La Repubblica</i>, <i>L’Unità</i> too refers to the bomber always as the <i>“suspected kamikaze”</i> and while telling the events of the story they put the accent on the drama of the scene and the death of the guy. However, this trend is stronger in</p>

	<p><i>L'Unità</i> and it is visible from some expression as “<i>An end that looks like a summary execution</i>” presented on <i>L'Unità</i> and not on <i>La Repubblica</i>, and from the different way to express the same concept that is quite stronger and direct in <i>L'Unità</i>, where there is a direct reference to human rights “<i>These images broadcasted on the international media circuit make the Ankara government very concerned, because it knows that it has no hope of joining the European Union if it will not comply with the standards of human rights</i>”.</p>
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Also the presence of Islamic religion-related words is major in *Il Corriere della Sera* (kamikaze 2, terrorist 4, al-Qaeda 1 and fundamentalist 1) than *L'Unità* (kamikaze 3, terrorist 1) and *La Repubblica* (Kamikaze 2). Concluding, I must say that despite the differences, all the newspapers used the “kamikaze” word, that in our mind is directly related to Islam especially after 9/11 attacks even if it is not an Arabic word, instead of, for example, “suicide bomber” that would have been more neutral.

From these examples we see that the more leftist, the more the newspaper speaks about human rights. The news are also more detailed. In fact, on the same news, while *Il Corriere della Sera* is scarce in information, *L'Unità* is full of details. Especially from the second example, the different points of view from which the newspapers address the news became clear: *Il Corriere della Sera* focused on the terrorist act, *La Repubblica* focused more on the way in which the bomber was killed by the police and *L'Unità* started from the same point of view of *La Repubblica*, but gave more emphasis on the disrespect of human rights of the event. However, even if in different proportions, all the newspapers, especially in the first example, present



the threat of a possible Islamic fundamentalism rising in Turkey, due to the several bomb attacks that took place in that period. Concluding, I can assert that there is the presence of the elements I wanted to analyse in order to determine which kind of image the Italian newspapers give about Turkey, because the information contained in the analysed articles are scarce and ill-informed in one hand and often linked to Islam in the other.

## 5.2 Turkey-EU

As showed in the previous chapter, except for *Liberio*, the newspapers present all of the articles, or at least the big majority of them regarding this issue in 2005, while in 2009 this argument seems to have disappeared. All the newspapers address this subject just in the days strictly before and after the European Council of 3<sup>rd</sup> of October 2005, in which it has been decided the membership negotiation for Turkey to be started. Differently from the previous category, there are some opinion articles here, even if they are very few. The difference in “details percentage” that we observed in the previous subject category among *Il Corriere della Sera*, *La Repubblica* and *L’Unità* is repeated also here and I am going to give an example of it later, while now I am going to present how each newspaper addresses this matter.

- a) *Il Corriere della Sera* is the less detailed and scarcer in information, as news articles are concerned, and it refers principally to the problems of these decision days on negotiation-opening (Armenian question, Cyprus and “Austria’s opposition”), choosing titles that underline the uncertainty of negotiation: “*EU-Turkey, agreement is missing*” (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 29 September 2005) or “*Turkey and the EU: the beginning of negotiations is not sure*” (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 3 October 2005). Remarkable, at this point, is an article that presents the Turkish reactions to the Luxemburg agreement,

because, together with the official positive reaction of the Turkish Premier, it gives space also to the sceptic visions. For example, the one of the Bilkent University professor Hasan Unal “*nothing to celebrate: the document for Turkey implies an untenable negotiating process, fraught with danger that will bring one crisis after another*”, (Il Corriere della Sera, 5 October 2005). These mentioned aspects can in some way be interpreted as a general critical approach of the newspaper towards this matter. But I must say that the newspaper presents the support of the Italian government too, reporting the positive sentence that the Italian Prime Minister pronounced during the Italian-French summit in Paris on October the 5<sup>th</sup>: “*A wonderful opportunity to build a bridge between the EU and the Arab world*” (Il Corriere della Sera, 5 October 2005). The remarkable element is that there are some opinion articles on this issue in *Il Corriere della Sera* that are not present in other newspapers as *La Repubblica* and *Il Sole 24 Ore*, which I am going to analyse in details later in this chapter.

- b) *La Repubblica* seems more accurate in its articles than *Il Corriere della Sera*. The process leading to accession negotiations is explained in more details along with what are the key points in which EU pushes more: Cyprus, Armenian question, and also a bare mention to the Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk and human rights issue, that is not addressed by *Il Corriere della Sera*. Remarkable is the dossier on the access negotiation process that appeared on the newspaper on 4<sup>th</sup> October 2005, and in which the principal points of the agreement between EU and Turkey are briefly explained. It is important to notice that there are no references to Islam in this section, except

for the reports of Chirac's sentences in which he states that a negative answer to membership by the EU could bring also to an escalation of fundamentalism in the country, (La Repubblica, 4 October 2005).

- c) *L'Unità* too introduces the key points to be resolved in order for Turkey to join the EU: Cyprus, Armenian question, and, in comparison to the other newspapers, a bigger accent is given to the need of Turkey to strengthen respect for human rights: "*Turkey (...) will enter after a course full of obstacle, under strict criteria, the human rights over all*", (L'Unità, 4 October 2005). But, as it was also for the "*bombs and attacks*" subject, this newspaper is more detailed and gives us more information on the argument. For example, it reports a sentence of Jack Straw, English Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time, regarding Austrian opposition to Turkey's membership that is not reported by the other newspapers: "*We want Turkey to enter because it is a European country. We promised it five times in the last 10 years. A waste, now, could open a rift with the Muslim world*", (L'Unità, 3 October 2005). I think that the reporting of this sentence is important because it is the first time that it has been referred to Turkey as a "*European country*". There are other remarkable articles from which it becomes clear that this newspaper gives real importance to the Turkey-EU issue, trying to deeply analyse the matter from plural points of view. These articles are three and are presented in the following table.

### Example 3.

<p>1. <i>“La Nostra esclusione nuocerebbe alla Ue”</i>, L’Unità, 3<sup>rd</sup> of October 2005</p>	<p>It reports an interview with the CHP (People Republican Party) leader Deniz Baykal. It is notable because it shows the position of a part of Turkey, the one that it is at opposition in the government, on the negotiations for the entry and the problems associated with it. This article can be compared to the one of <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> of 5 October 2005 in which Turkish reactions were presented. In this article a more positive and hopeful vision towards Turkey and EU is offered. There is no place for scepticism as in the other one and while in <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> was reported the official reaction of the Turkish Premier, here space is given to the thoughts of the opposition, for which <i>L’Unità</i> may feel empathy being an opposition newspaper in those years.</p>
<p>2. <i>“Perché abbiamo bisogno dell’Europa”</i>, L’Unità, 4<sup>th</sup> of October 2005.</p>	<p>The showing of hopeful visions towards Turkey into the EU has been marked more by the publication of a letter of a Turkish woman living in Europe who says that a “no” from the EU would bring Turkey to withdraw into itself, would create a people hostile to Europe and would</p>

	<p>strengthen nationalist movements and radical Muslims, (L'Unità, 4 October 2005). But she also said that: <i>"The only thing that is emphasized by those who want Turkey is that 'Turkey is an Islamic country and can help us to dialogue with the Islamic world'. Every time I hear this I feel like screaming. 'Turkey is not an Islamic country. It is a SECULAR country '"</i>, (L'Unità, 4 October 2005). This is the second time that L'Unità associated to Turkey words as “European” and “Secular”.</p>
<p>3. <i>“Dopo il sì a Ankara la Ue non è più un fortino cristiano”</i>, L'Unità, 5th of October 2005.</p>	<p>The third article is an interview to Emma Bonino, Italian Euro-parliamentary in 2005, who is in favour to Turkey's membership. She refers to Turkey as a Muslim country but at the same time she praises its economic growth: <i>"If Turkey goes on like this and the economic growth proceeds at the same pace like the last five to six years, that is, with rates of 7-8% in a few time we will see Europeans who are moving to Ankara and not the contrary”</i>, (L'Unità, 5 October 2005). Religion-related words, as Muslim and Islam, are repeated several times in this article, but there is never a negative accent on them. In fact, the title of the article underlines the positivity towards Turkey's membership further because it's being a “Muslim country”: <i>“After the ‘yes’ to Ankara the EU is no</i></p>

	<p><i>longer a Christian fortress” and it follows in the subheading “Bonino: a signal also for 20 million Muslims living in Europe”. But I must notice something here. When the journalist asked Emma Bonino about the repercussion that the entering of Ankara would have had on the Europe-Islam relations, in his question he stated: “Turkey is a country not Arabic but Muslim”. I think that this sentence shows the above mentioned ill-informed knowledge that Italy has about Turkey and also Islam: first, not all Arabs are Muslims, second Turks are not Arabs. Transporting this sentence within a “European” context it would be something like “Italy is a country not French but Catholic”, so no-sense.</i></p>
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Finally, *L’Unità* is the other newspaper that, together with *Il Corriere della Sera* has opinion articles on this issue and I am going to analyse and confront them later, together with the ones of *Il Corriere della Sera*. But concluding I must underline the fact that, differently from the two newspapers already analysed, here it is openly referred to Turkey as a Muslim country, and religion-related words are used several times, but in the same way it is referred to Turkey also as a “European and secular country”, that the other newspapers do not.

- d) *Il Sole 24 Ore* has only two articles on this issue, so there is not much to say about it. It openly refers to Turkey as a Muslim country and its articles are

detailed in the same way of the ones of *La Repubblica*, in fact it presents the points adopted in the agreement of Luxemburg too. Finally, as we could expect from an economic newspaper, it presents the financial effects that the agreement had on the financial market: *"The agreement on negotiations for Turkey's entry into the EU is having a turbo-effect on local financial markets: the stock index is now in sharp rise of 2.3% at 35,088 points, after scoring in the opening of trading an increase of 2.9%. Lira and government bonds are also rising"*, (Il Sole 24 Ore, 4 October 2005).

- e) **Libero**, however not having an online archive for 2005, still presents several articles on Turkey-EU issue in 2009 that the other newspapers have not. The articles address the negotiation situation referring both to the unchanged Italian government support, and to the opposition of other European countries. The first case can be represented by the article in which the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Franco Frattini, expresses the government support, remarking the big advantage that having Turkey in the negotiation process represents for all European Union countries, in consideration of the relations that Turkey has with Arab and Muslim countries, (Libero, 5 September 2009). In the second case, an example of European country opposition can be represented by the article reporting the opposition to Turkey's membership of France and its President Sarkozy: *"Turkey: Sarkozy repeats to Gul his opposition to Ankara entering the EU"*, (Libero, 9 October 2009). The newspaper reports also the news of the opening of a new chapter of the membership negotiation but, however giving space to the complaints of this situation made by the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet

Davutoğlu, it focuses more on the negative aspects, Cyprus situation and human rights: *"The Turkish train limps hampered by various factors. First the slow pace of internal reforms, starting with those on freedom of expression and the protection of fundamental rights. (...) It is not enough, the Turkish persistent refusal to open its ports and airports to Cypriot-Greek republic, now a member of the EU and as such of the Customs Union between Brussels and Ankara, is a further obstacle "*, (Liberio, 21 December 2009). In general, the articles of *Liberio* are very short and less detailed; they seem more as news pieces of a news agency than the ones of a newspaper.

After having addressed the different approaches of every newspaper, now I am going to give a practical example of the difference in the “details percentage” showed by *Il Corriere della Sera*, *La Repubblica* and *L’Unità* in the previous category. These are the facts: the 28<sup>th</sup> of September 2005 the European Parliament approved the resolution for the start of the process of adhesion of Turkey to the European Union. The news that *Il Corriere della Sera*, *La Repubblica* and *L’Unità* wrote on that occasion reflect the different approach that the three newspapers showed towards Turkey in the above analysed “*bombs and attacks*” subject: the more is leftist, the more the newspaper goes into details.



#### Example 4.

<i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>	It gives news of just two paragraphs in which it addresses the principal requirements that Turkey has to answer in order to become a member: Armenian question and Cyprus recognition, ( <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> , 28 September 2005). Well, the other newspapers address the same arguments too, but in a more detailed way.
<i>La Repubblica</i>	It explains us briefly in what consists the Armenian question, the unsolved recognition of what Armenians define genocide of their population by the hands of the Ottomans and that the Turks do not accept to call it genocide because they tell the story in a different way, ( <i>La Repubblica</i> , 28 September 2005). Following in the same article <i>La Repubblica</i> introduces also another question that EU cares about, but that is not reported in <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> , that is human rights and the case of the Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk.
<i>L'Unità</i>	It goes further in details and plus to the arguments addressed by the above mentioned two newspapers, shows us also the cleavage that have taken place inside the Italian right parties, at government in that time, after the approval of the resolution: <i>Forza Italia</i> , Berlusconi's party, in favour, Northern League and UDC in contrary and National Alliance abstained, ( <i>L'Unità</i> , 29 September 2005).

Regarding opinion articles, they are present only in *Il Corriere della Sera* and *L'Unità*. They are remarkable because they show the different points on which the Italian right and left political wings focus more regarding Turkey's membership into the EU. They both underline that it will be a long process, but while *Il Corriere della Sera* focuses more on religion, *L'Unità* focuses more on minorities and human rights.

<p><i>Il Corriere della Sera</i></p>	<p>Before starting with the analysis, I must say that one article of this category is the comment on this matter of a reader, so, as it was said above, I am going to present it in the conclusions of this thesis.</p> <p>The opinion articles on <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>, even if focus more on the religion matter, remain supportive of Turkey in the EU because they show the official vision of the Italian government. In fact, one article is directly written by the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Gianfranco Fini, who affirms that it will be a long process, but Europe must see the advantages of Turkey entering the Union, because this country is the example of the compatibility between modernity and Islam. But if Turkey does not enter the EU there is the big risk of Islamic fundamentalism raising in the country:</p> <p><i>"The Italian government is engaging in this decisive meeting with the knowledge that Ankara has fully satisfied the conditions imposed by the European Council of last December. (...)Turkey's application is therefore an opportunity to re-launch for the whole European Project. (...)Instead, closing the doors of Europe to Turkey today could drive this country in the interested embrace of the fundamentalists and those who work in the direction of</i></p>
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	<p><i>the materialisation of the prophecy about the clash of civilizations. </i> ", (Il Corriere della Sera, 29 September 2005).</p> <p>In the other opinion article of <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>, written by Gianni Riotta the positive mood is less intense, the author speaks about since how long Turkey is knocking at the doors of the EU, of its long road to be a democratic and secular country and the need of this country to enter the EU. He also underlines the obstacles that are now between Turkey and EU (principally Cyprus and human rights) and that it will be a long process, "<i>It is right that October 3<sup>rd</sup> is just the beginning of the process and that not a single pole of the democratic slalom is saved to the Turks</i>", (Il Corriere della Sera, 27 September 2005). But when the matter is religion, he emphasizes a positive aspect, in a similar way to <i>L'Unità</i>: "<i>To those who fear a clash of civilizations, a Europe with a secularized Islamic component would suggest a possible and different model of coexistence, able to arouse admiration in the West and East</i>", (Il Corriere della Sera, 27 September 2005).</p>
<p><i>L'Unità</i></p>	<p><i>L'Unità</i>, in an opinion article of October 3<sup>rd</sup> 2005, written by Giovanna Melandri, openly says that we should not say no to Turkey, however it will be a long and not simple process, and that the obstacles to be overcome for membership regards principally human rights, minority rights and freedom of expression, while it is completely wrong and demagogic to say no on the ground of Islam:</p>

*“Among those who today quickly liquidate the question of Turkey's European Union membership with a resounding no, we can distinguish two different attitudes. Some people (European xenophobic right, the Northern League of us) do derive from a demagogic anti-Islamic prejudice that builds and feeds the fear of immigration and the spectrum of the clash of civilization. (...)Then there is a political "no" motivated by criticism of how Turkey is today. To this criticisms, which have a more solid and serious basis, it must be said that membership does not end at a time and its outcome is by no means obvious. (...) Although the path of economic reforms and social policies initiated in recent years, to prevent, even to stop us would be, among other things, the failure to fully recognize the rights of the Kurdish and Armenian minorities, too many shadows and too few lights in the field of human rights, recognition of freedom of expression, and the still unresolved question of Cyprus”, (L'Unità, 3 October 2005).*

Briefly summing up, the difference in “details percentage” among *Il Corriere della Sera*, *La Repubblica* and *L'Unità* persists also in this category of articles, with the first newspaper much less accurate than the last one. In the articles of this section it is presented in more or less all the newspapers the official vision of the Italian and also some European elites, by which Turkey's membership would be a good thing because it constitutes a bridge between Europe and the Muslim world. But at the same time the fear of fundamentalism rising that we saw in the previous section is still remains also here because the Italian elite shows the risk that if we do not take

Turkey into the EU, it would be the rising of fundamentalist movement in that country. *L'Unità* addresses this issue from a different point of view, the one of the Italian political left, according to which religious difference is not a problem, but in some way a value and, however it refers to Turkey as a Muslim country, it refers to it as a European and secular country too, because the real obstacle to membership is not religion, but full respect of human rights. Thus, however different the points of view are, Turkey is still referred to in the newspapers as a Muslim country and Islam still plays an important role in Turkey's EU membership process.

### **5.3 Society**

In this category I have grouped all the articles that in some extent show various aspects of Turkish society. First of all, no opinion articles are present in this category (except for the travelogue of a trip to Turkey of the correspondent of *La Repubblica* that can be considered an editorial). Furthermore, this subject is not addressed by all the newspapers with the same emphasis. In fact, in *Il Sole 24 Ore* there are no articles on this subject, and I suppose that it is for the same reason that it has no articles in the “*Bombs and attacks*” category too: it is not strictly related to economy. *L'Unità* has just two articles in this section, but they resulted irrelevant for the analysis because they are too short, more similar to a caption of a picture than an article and they just give simple information as “*Yesterday Ramadan started in Libya and Turkey*”, ( *L'Unità*, 22 August 2009), so I did not further analyse *L'Unità* too in this section. Thus, I am going to propose first a table with the results of the analysis of the remaining three newspapers, *Il Corriere della Sera*, *La Repubblica* and *Libero*, and then I am going to present an example from two articles on a common news of *Il*

*Corriere della Sera* and *La Repubblica* to show if the difference on “details percentage” of the two newspapers is present also here as it was in the above analysed categories.

<p><i>Il Corriere della Sera</i></p>	<p>There are not so many articles in this category (and they are all in 2009), and in some way, also if not strictly related to religion, they all have references to it. One regards a protest, started from Turkey and followed by the German Muslim community, to the football team Schalke, accused to insult Muhammad in its hymn, (<i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>, 4 August 2009). Another article refers to the Turkish censorship of a D&amp;G commercial, which The Turkish Radio and Television Superior Council censored because in its opinion it contains “<i>images that cross the limits of obscenity</i>”. While the journalist refers to these images as, of course, sensual, but then says “<i>Too much for Turkey</i>”, as to underline the exaggeration of the censorship and moral attitude, and this feeling is present in the title too that says: “ ‘<i>Obscene</i>’, <i>Turkey cut off the D&amp;G commercial</i>”,(<i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>, 16 September 2009).</p> <p>Really interesting becomes the choice of the news made by <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>, that sometimes is different from the one of the other newspapers, as in the case of the article titled “<i>The Turkish bizarre alternative sentences: the obligation to read or offer flowers</i>”, (<i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>, 27 July 2009). In a first place this title can attract the curiosity of the reader that can think “what a kind of absurd news is this?”, and later in the text, for the first time, <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> “really” addresses arguments as human rights</p>
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	<p>and violence against women: <i>"Despite the fact that Turkish judicial system continues to show serious limitations (there are many cases of intellectuals arrested for supposed crimes and violence against women often are not pursued), since some years longer softer sentences are imposed on perpetrators of less serious crimes "</i>. But it also underlines again a raising in the level of <i>"religiosity"</i> of the population in the last years: <i>"In Turkey the law prohibits polygamy, but over time many people, with the backing of the religious authorities', got symbolically married with younger girls even though they had already 'a wife'"</i>. A last article regards a new TV show on religious faith, but I am going to analyse it later in this chapter in order to compare it with the one of <i>La Repubblica</i> on the same matter.</p>
<p><i>La Repubblica</i></p>	<p>The majority of the articles that the newspaper has in this category are the ones of the 2005 period regarding the travelogue of the correspondent of <i>La Repubblica</i> Paul Rumiz, whose goal is "the lost Jerusalem". Passing through Turkey, the cradle of Christianity, he tells of the ancient Christian sites now reduced to ruins and populated by decimated Christian communities. He goes from Konya to Mar Gabriel and Antioch. In his articles he underlines a Turkey very nationalistic and militarized, which he compares to the Croatia of before the war of Yugoslavia (Paolo Rumiz, <i>La Repubblica</i>, 19 August 2005). In all the articles of this series (a total of six) we can catch a closely Orientalist and stereotyped vision of Turkey. In fact, Islamic words as Muslim, Islam and fundamentalist are repeated a lot of times and Islam in general has always a negative connotation. This</p>

is a sentiment that is breathed in all the articles as a whole, and I want to present a few sentences as an example.

*"Kemalism, is the most secular regime of the Islamic nebula. 'For the Turkish - they told me in Istanbul - go to the mosque is not only a statement of faith. It is the first statement of Turkishness. It means: I am not Greek, Armenian or otherwise. I am not an enemy within the country'. It's the mental block of a still young nation, which is frightened by its diversity", (La Repubblica, 15 August 2005). Then, in the same article, referring to Diyarbakir the journalist says: "Here begins the land of fear, inhabited by the Kurds and Islamic extremism. (...)The situation was improving, then came the Bush war in Iraq, and Kemalist conformism has run plus the disaster of the fundamentalist Islam. Result: If you are not Muslim cannot do it, you convert to survive ", (La Repubblica, 15 August 2005). The negative feelings towards Islam of the journalist are even clearer in the following articles as, for example, when he speaks about Midiyat: "Evening in Midiyat, tough Islam of province. Midiyat is a country of uprooted. All around was full of churches, and now you only see minarets. In the only tavern open after 20, there is the picture of a grim imam looking me intently into my plate. It is in places like this, the newspapers in Istanbul say, where grow the bombers that planted bombs in Istanbul in 2003", (La Repubblica, 18 August 2005). And the journalist becomes even more explicit in his negativity later in the same article when he says: "I understand that Turkey may be secular, but Islam is everywhere".*

There are only two other articles regarding "Society" in *La Repubblica*: one of just two lines regarding the new law prohibiting



	<p>smoke in public spaces, the other regarding the new TV show on religious faith addressed also by <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> and that I am going to analyse later in order to compare the two newspapers.</p>
<p><i>Libero</i></p>	<p>As it is in the other categories, the articles of <i>Libero</i> are very short and scarce in information, and this makes really difficult their analysis, because in a certain sense they do not contain enough elements to speak about it. I can just say that there are three articles a little more pertinent and interesting for this analysis. One regards the censored D&amp;G commercial, it is very essential in information and does not contain religion-related words. The only aspect that I could analyse is the title that has the same sarcasm as the one of <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>, however in a softer way: “<i>Turkey, too much sexy commercial</i>”, (Libero, 15 September 2009). Also the second article is very essential in information and does not contain religion-related words too, but the title can arouse surprise among readers as the one of <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> regarding the unusual Turkish courts sentences, and it is: “<i>Turkey: insult Atatürk, expelled British tourist</i>”, (Libero, 17 August 2009). The last article is directly related with religion, “<i>Islam: Swiss referendum on minarets, the promoter is Turkish</i>”, and it refers to the scoop, published on some Turkish newspapers, of the Turkish identity of one of the promoters of the referendum on minarets which Turkey condemned also asking, through the negotiator with the EU, Egemen Bağış, “<i>the boycotting of the Swiss banks by the Muslim all over the world</i>”, (Libero, 9 December 2009).</p>

The example that I am going to propose to compare *Il Corriere della Sera* and *La Repubblica*, in order to see the presence or not of the difference in “details percentage” observed also in the previous categories, regards a Turkish reality TV show on religious faith, named “*Tövbekarlar yarışıyor*” which means “The penitents defy each other”, of which both *Il Corriere della Sera* and *La Repubblica* spoke about. These are briefly the facts: there is a new TV reality show that is going to be broadcasted in the Turkish television, in which some religious men will try to convert to their religion the contestants, who convert will win a trip to the saint city of its religion.

#### Example 5.

<p><i>Il Corriere della Sera</i></p>	<p>It just refers the fact. There are not remarkable sentences to which we can refer to, except for the one in which a comment of the journalist becomes visible: “<i>The scope of the game is to promote the different religious faiths, but overall to get the Turkish population even more close to the Muslim faith</i>”, (<i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>, 3 July 2009).</p> <p>There is nothing else to refer to; except that the presence also of the Catholic faith is not reported in the article and that it is referred to the contestants as atheist.</p>
<p><i>La Repubblica</i></p>	<p>It just refers the facts too, as <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>, maybe just taking the show more as a joke: the journalist does not show the same thought that the other one as on the Turkish population and Muslim faith issue. It refers to the contestants</p>

	<p>as secular and not atheist and it reports the presence also of the Catholic faith that was missing in the other article. As last, it reports that there are some countries in list to buy this TV format, first among them is Italy. With this information seems to want to underline the fact that not only Muslims are focused on this kind of religious staff, but also us, (La Repubblica, 16 September 2009).</p>
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In this section I have observed that in the three newspapers in which articles on this subject were presented, almost without differences, were reported news about strange and hilarious aspects of Turkey: almost all the subjects can provoke a laugh in the readers. All the newspapers openly or not make references to religion: I can say that what I felt in them is somehow a soft and veiled critic to Muslim conservative religious moral. *La Repubblica* became more critical about Turkey when minority rights were on the stand. Finally, it is interesting to observe that in this category *La Repubblica* “style” in 2009 lost the “details percentage” difference from *Il Corriere della Sera*, because its articles are more or less written in the same way as the ones in *Il Corriere della Sera*.

#### **5.4 Violence / Human Rights**

I decided to put together violence and human rights in one category in order to see on which of these two important aspects of Turkey’s image the newspapers write more. First of all, again, there are no opinion articles in this category and *Il Sole 24 Ore* had not written anything about it. So, I am going to analyse *Il Corriere della Sera*, *La Repubblica*, *L’Unità* and *Libero*. Except for *L’Unità* that presents articles in this category in both the analysed periods, all the other newspapers wrote

of this subject just in 2009. Following, I am going to present their different approaches of the analysed newspapers.

<p><i>Il Corriere della Sera</i></p>	<p>It has five articles in this category, and each is on a different subject, but the majority (3) is on human rights. But only two of it are more concretely useful for this analysis. The first one regards Orhan Pamuk, and the possibility of a court case for “<i>moral damages</i>” who “<i>mud the name of Turkey</i>”,(Il Corriere della Sera, 8 October, 2009). In his article Dino Messina underlines the qualities, as a writer, of Orhan Pamuk and the “braveness” of his statements on the Armenian Genocide and the Kurdish question. The criticism towards the prosecutors and the Turkish justice is felt along the entire article, even more when he presents the situation of another Turkish writer, Nedim Gursel, who has been sued for “<i>not speaking in right terms about Islam</i>”, showing so a somehow religious fundamentalism in the Turkish system. Or when he cites the words of a writer, friend of Pamuk, Perihan Magden, who says that the real danger in Turkey “<i>does not come from Islamism, but from the nationalist and Kemalist extremism of the descendent of the elite who realized the secular revolution and that today rules the society in a very bureaucratic way</i>”, (Il Corriere della Sera, 8 October, 2009). Further, as conclusion to the article, Messina, even if praising Turkey as a big and beautiful country, openly says that this situation does not help the Turkish European dream: “<i>The judges in Turkey who blame the writers, certainly do not give a hand to the European aspirations of this great and beautiful country</i>”, (Il Corriere della Sera, 8 October, 2009).</p>
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	<p>The second article regards a Turkish hijacker, Hakan Ekinici, that in 2006 hijacked to Brindisi a plane directed to Istanbul because he wanted to meet the Pope. In 2009 he got off Italian prison and he tried to get the status of Political Refugee because he said that “<i>I converted to Christianity and I do not want to serve a Muslim army. I deserted and I run: if I go back to Turkey they would torture me, this has already happened</i>”, (Il Corriere della Sera, 15 September 2009). I found this article, more than other in this newspaper, extremely stereotyped and ill-informed. The journalist took for granted the words of this man, without searching for a confirmation and in this way he gave an image of Turkey as an Islamic fundamentalist country that is absolutely not objective. As to say, for example, in Turkey you go to prison for deserting compulsory military service, and not for converting to another religion.</p>
<p><i>La Repubblica</i></p>	<p><i>La Repubblica</i> too has just a few articles on this matter and all in 2009. They are all about either Orhan Pamuk or Kurdish question, principally focused on human rights and not on violence. This time, <i>La Repubblica</i> is not as exhaustive and detailed as before, there are just two articles of interest for this analysis that I would like to address.</p> <p>The first one is about the Turkish hijacker of which <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> spoke about too. It is not a detailed article, but I must refer that I observed a bigger objectivity if compared to the other one: there is not a big accent on religion, so Turkey is not shown as a fundamentalist country, and it is possible to feel a more critical point of view regarding Hakan Ekinici, defined “<i>scion of a rich and</i></p>

	<p><i>famous Turkish family</i>”, (La Repubblica, 22 September 2009).</p> <p>The second one is an article of 12<sup>th</sup> of December 2009 regarding the ban against the only Kurdish party at government, the Democratic Society Party (DTP). The journalist, Marco Ansaldo, focuses on the wrongness of this act: <i>“and while the first reforms of the Premier Erdogan finally entered into force (permit to speak the local language and free way to old names of streets and squares), from yesterday the Kurds returned to take refuge in the mountains”</i>, (La Repubblica, 12 December 2009). It seems like he wants to underline the several fallings committed by Turkey again and again on the matter of human rights and how this badly affect the process for full membership in the European Union: <i>“A ‘worrying’ sentence for the Swedish presidency of the Union” – “The Court’s ruling casts a shadow on the process of opening to the Kurds in which the moderate Islamist government of Recep Tayyip Erdogan had bet the European Union to ensure greater democracy. And the prohibition to the DTP to continue to engage in political activity came despite a few days ago the EU had said that the closure of the party would have been a violation of the rights of the Kurdish minority”</i>, (La Repubblica, 12 December 2009).</p>
<p><i>L’Unità</i></p>	<p>This newspaper has more articles on this subject than the others. As <i>La Repubblica</i>, it focuses only on Orhan Pamuk, who is clearly taken as a symbol of freedom of expression, and the Kurdish question, but it is more detailed and more passionate on the first matter. In fact, regarding Kurdish question there is only an article that is worth mention here: it is the one made of just few sentences</p>

	<p>informing us that a 10 year old girl has been investigated for teaching a group of coetaneous Kurdish language, and getting us indignant to the fact, (L'Unità, 1 September 2009). As it could have been imaginable, it focuses exclusively on human rights and not on violence.</p> <p>In 2005 all the articles of this category address the court case against Orhan Pamuk, issue that is taken as a symbol of human rights in general and freedom of expression in particular because it is talked about the Armenian genocide and the massacre of Kurds and the statement of these events the writer made in an interview for which he has been charged and put on trial for having <i>"deliberately insulted Turkish identity"</i>. With these articles, Turkey is not certainly put in a good light in the readers' eyes. This newspaper gives much importance to human rights and this situation makes it to be negative and aggressively critical towards Turkey and its membership in the EU, arriving to compare it to Nazi Germany, as showed by the following example: <i>"A penalty that is clearly disproportionate to the facts. As unusual was the reaction of the Official of Isparta - the same person who moved first to the charges against Pamuk - who ordered the destruction of all his novels in bookstores and libraries of the city. Medievalism worthy of the worst fundamentalist inspiration (the last book-burning in the streets ordered by an authority, in Europe, date from the period of Nazi Germany)"</i>, (L'Unità, 17 December 2005), and <i>"With the trial of Pamuk, Ankara brings into play a large part of its international credibility and, with it, its chances of joining the Union"</i>, (L'Unità, 30 December 2005). In conclusion, I must</p>
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	<p>underline that in 2009, when <i>L'Unità</i> wrote about the possibility of a court case against Pamuk, as already addressed by <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>, the journalist Maria Serena Palieri referred to the Court decision using the term ‚Fatwa’, that is a Islamic religious word indicating: a) worthy and binding dispensation of faith issued by a Shiite religious Authority; b) death sentence for blasphemy, (Devoto-Oli, 2010).</p>
<p><i>Libero</i></p>	<p>As it was for the other categories, the articles of <i>Libero</i> are very short and they lack in exhaustive information, as already said, they are more similar to a News Agency articles than to a newspaper, so it has not been possible for me to deeply analyse the articles texts. But, principally from the titles, the majority if not the totality of the articles regards violence and not human rights: “<i>Turkey, massacre of women</i>”, (Libero, 9 November 2009); “<i>Turkey, German tourist stabbed to death</i>”, (Libero, 20 July 2009); “<i>Turkey: three men opened fire against the crowd in the East, 6 deaths</i>”, (Libero, 21 July 2009); “<i>Turkey: attack in the East, 7 soldiers killed</i>”, (7 December 2009), and so on. There is also a piece of news that did not appear in the other newspapers, about the arrest of 50 members of Al-Qaeda in Turkey that wanted to attack NATO buildings. It describes the places where the arrests have taken place and refers that six of the people arrested are accused of the attack of November 2003 where 57 people lost their lives, (Libero, 15 October 2009). With this article the newspaper does not lose both the occasion to show the violence that takes place in Turkey, and to insinuate the big presence of Islamic fundamentalism in that</p>



	<p>country. As last, also <i>Liberò</i> in this category refers to the Kurdish question as the other newspapers, but not in terms of human rights. These articles are more related to violence because they refer principally to PKK and they inform us in two occasions that “<i>PKK is a terrorist organization that is in the black list of terrorism of United States and European Union</i>” (<i>Liberò</i>, 17 November 2009 and 27 August 2009).</p>
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In this category I have observed that, differently from the others, a negative perception of Turkey prevails. *Il Corriere della Sera*, *La Repubblica* and *L’Unità* focus principally on human rights, which are represented by the court case against the writer Orhan Pamuk, and so the lack of freedom of expression in Turkey, and the Kurdish question. The first newspaper is not so exhaustive and detailed and *La Repubblica* too, also in this category, is not so complete as before, but both see the insufficient fulfillment of the improvements in the situation of human rights in Turkey as an obstacle to EU membership. Instead, *L’Unità* is more passionate and exhaustive on this matter, especially in 2005. It completely focuses on human rights and not on violence, and, contrary to its previous positive approach towards Turkey that I have observed in the above analysed categories, it is negative and extremely critical towards this country because of its lack in the human rights situation. On the other hand, *Liberò* focuses principally on violence and refers also to high possible Islamic fundamentalism danger in Turkey. It refers to Kurdish question too, but on violence terms and not on human rights ones. So, the most read newspaper *La Repubblica*, even if focusing on human rights and being more in line with *L’Unità*, is less exhaustive and detailed than it was in the previous categories. The left-oriented newspaper *L’Unità* is critical towards Turkey because of its human rights situation,

while the right-oriented newspaper *Libero* is focused on the violent and “terroristic” aspects of the country.

## 5.5 Turkey’s Foreign Affairs

In this category I grouped all the articles regarding Turkey’s foreign affairs. There are no opinion articles here either and this category is not present in 2005 in any newspaper. Analyzing the articles I have observed that they were all on the same three subjects, two of which are also the main relevant international events that were mentioned in the presentation of the timetable of this research: Turkey-Armenia Protocols signature of 10 October 2009 and the official visit to Turkey in November 2009 of the President of the Italian Republic, Giorgio Napolitano. The third subject that I noticed is “Turkey-Israel relations”. Thus, for each newspaper I divided the articles on the mentioned three subjects and I analysed them subject-to-subject as presented in the following tables.

<b>Il Corriere della Sera</b>	
<i>Turkey-Armenia</i>	There are just two articles in this group, and just one of them is detailed and quite exhaustive. There are not particular sentences to refer to, but the general message that comes out from it is that this agreement waited for a very long time and that through it Turkey and Armenia will get some advantages. Turkey would obtain acceleration in the EU membership negotiation, and Armenia

	would get out from its commercial and economic isolation, (Il Corriere della Sera, 10 October 2009).
<i>Napolitano's official visit to Turkey</i>	<p>There is only one article on this news and just the first part of it properly regards Turkey, the second part is about Italian internal issues. It is not so detailed, usual for <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>, there are no references to Islam and it principally reports the words pronounced by the Italian Republic President during his visit, which are positive and supportive of Turkey's membership of the European Union: “<i>Turkey is an added value for Europe</i>’. <i>The accession negotiations, followed the President of the Republic, must go on ‘without obstructions’ or afterthoughts on the ‘mediated, not superficial and still valid choice of the European Council of 2004’</i>”, (Il Corriere della Sera, 17 November 2009).</p> <p>But the more important part of this article are the comments of the readers, in fact this is the first article I found twelve comments posted by the readers. I am going to address these comments in the conclusion, together with the already mentioned articles of this newspaper written by readers and telling their experiences in Turkey, in order to see if there is convergence with the image of this country given by the addressed newspapers.</p>
<i>Turkey-Israel relations</i>	There are two articles on this matter. One is about an air drill with NATO and Israel that had been postponed because of the veto of Turkey. The article is short, not so detailed, and the journalist took the information only from Israeli sources, which accuse Turkey, without questioning the Turkish counterpart, (Il Corriere della

	<p>Sera, 11 October 2009.</p> <p>The other one regards a Turkish TV series taking place in Palestine that created some tensions with Israel, because it shows Israeli soldiers killing innocent Palestinians among whom also children, (Il Corriere della Sera, 22 October 2009). This article is important just because it refers to Turkey as a Muslim country.</p>
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<b>La Repubblica</b>	
<i>Turkey-Armenia</i>	There are two articles in this sub-category, and just one of them is exhaustive and detailed, while the other is not like the above observed <i>La Repubblica</i> “style”.
<i>Napolitano’s official visit to Turkey</i>	There are two articles on this subject, but they do not speak about Turkey at all, so I did not include them.
<i>Turkey-Israel relations</i>	There is just one article here and, as also happened for the ones about Turkey-Armenia Protocols, it is not detailed and very scarce in information. It is just composed of few sentences and it refers that the Turkish Premier Erdogan accuses the Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs of planning to attack Gaza with the atomic bomb, (La Repubblica, 27 October 2009).

<b>L'Unità</b>	
<i>Turkey-Armenia</i>	Just one article is relevant here, but it is just a detailed description of the day of the signature of the Protocols, without important elements for this analysis.
<i>Napolitano's official visit to Turkey</i>	The articles are of course more detailed than <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> or <i>La Repubblica</i> , and are more complete in information. They refer the same sentence pronounced by the Italian President that was reported also in <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> , (L'Unità, 15 November 2009). But it reports also another statement of Napolitano, probably more important for this work because it is an answer to the Italian party Northern League that is hostile towards Turkey's EU membership: " <i>I believe that these are induced fears. Remember when in France raised the specter of the Polish plumber who would take the job over to the French? Now they do not talk about it anymore. It's easy to raise a cloud of dust. It's happening with Turkey too, describing it, just to get some followers, as if it were centuries back, returning images that are a legacy of the past, more or less terrifying depictions of the Turks, old phobias. What interests me is the commitment of forces that can address the public opinion goodly</i> ", (L'Unità, 20 November 2009).
<i>Turkey-Israel relations</i>	There is just one article on this argument, and it is interesting just because, in opposition to the one of <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> on the same matter (postponed air drill with NATO and Israel); it reports

	Turkish sources that affirm a different reality from the Israeli one that has not political reasons, (L'Unità, 13 October 2009).
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<b>Libero</b>	
<i>Turkey-Armenia</i>	As usual for this newspaper, the articles are very short and inconsistent, without any detailed information. The only one longer than five lines, regards the “ <i>breezing of enthusiasm</i> ” made by Erdogan who said that “ <i>Armenia has to withdraw its troupes from the Nagorno-Karabakh, contested region of Azerbaijan, if it wants the Turkish Parliament to be more inclined to ratify the Protocols</i> ”, (Libero, 12 October 2009).

<b>Il Sole 24 Ore</b>	
<i>Turkey-Armenia</i>	Three articles reporting the event, of which one of them, written by Vittorio Da Rold, explains the major reasons behind the Protocols, Armenian genocide and Nagorno-Karabakh question, in a more detailed way than the other newspapers, (Il Sole 24 Ore, 10 October 2009).
<i>Napolitano's official visit to Turkey</i>	There is just one article that reports, as <i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> did, the support for Turkish membership of the Italian government and the importance and the added value that Turkey will give Europe. It is referred to Turkey as a Muslim country again.

However all the newspapers have articles on this subject, it does not contribute in a meaningful way to this work, because it is somehow “sterile” from the point of view of the information. In fact, all the newspapers write almost the same things on the articles on the same “sub-category” and they are not so involving and detailed. Moreover *Liberio* and *Il Sole 24 Ore* do not present all the three categories defined in the introduction of this chapter and *La Repubblica* presents the same lack of quality that it had in the previous category for the year 2009.

## 5.6 Turkey’s Economy

In this category, as already explained in the introduction to this chapter, I grouped both the “*Turkey’s economy*” articles and the ones about “*Gas pipeline*”, because even if numerous, this last category is not useful for this analysis in terms of contents. Also in this group of news there are no opinion articles and, except for *Il Sole 24 Ore*, all the newspapers present it only in 2009.

In regards to the “*Gas pipeline*” group of articles, I am not going to present any table because I observed that in a total of 20 articles, the contents are strictly related to the importance of the project and the benefits that is going to bring to Italy and Europe. Turkey is just mentioned as one of the subscribers, together with Russia, of the project of which the Italian ENI is the co-constructor at 50% together with Gazprom. The only exception of this category is represented by an article of *Il Sole 24 Ore*, the economic newspaper, of December 2005, which describes the passage of Turkey from competition with Russia after the break-up of USSR to the co-operation with this country in energy terms, and it’s becoming a “*hub for the export of Russian hydrocarbons. More in general, a key country for the launch in the international markets of the hydrocarbons of the post-Soviet area*”, (*Il Sole 24 Ore*, 12 December

2005).

Regarding articles on “Turkey’s economy”, they are not present in all newspapers. In fact *L’Unità* is not presented here and *Il Corriere della Sera* too is barely present.

The analysis of these articles is showed in the following table.

<i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>	<p>It has no articles in this category, but I decided to mention it because of the presence of one article that is not properly about Turkish economy, but it is relevant for this work. The article reports the “alarm” launched by the wine producers of the region of Puglia, in the South of Italy, who asked the “stop” to the “savages importations from Egypt and Turkey” because “the crash of the price of the grapes puts the sector on crisis”, (<i>Il Corriere della Sera</i>, 8 September 2009). I found interesting to cite this article because it represents the fears, already showed in the first chapter of this thesis, that the Italian agriculture sector feels towards Turkey, of which a possible membership to the EU would affect negatively Italy’s competitiveness.</p>
<i>La Repubblica</i>	<p>There are four articles in this category, two of which just give simple information: the opening of a new store of Benetton in Istanbul, (<i>La Repubblica</i>, 30 November 2009), and the trip of some Italian designers from Piemonte to Turkey, (<i>La Repubblica</i>, 30 November 2009).</p> <p>The other two are more interesting, because they show a very positive trend towards Turkey’s market. The first one reports the praises of the Italian bigger fashion names (Cavalli,</p>



	<p>Ferragamo, Ferrè and so on) about Turkey, Istanbul in particular, that represents a good and fertile ground for this sector, (La Repubblica, 23 November 2009).</p> <p>The other article, reports a detailed description of the Turkish financial market, which is <i>“going on with a positive trend started few months earlier”</i>, (La Repubblica, 14 December 2009).</p>
<p><i>Libero</i></p>	<p>The articles are short and not exhaustive as it was in the other categories. Principally they regard Italian enterprises in Turkey, which represent a positive, flourishing and fertile market with a great opportunity of sale. In particular I want to cite two articles. The first one is interesting because it reminds us the “Islamic” identity of Turkey: <i>“Indonesia, Turkey and Saudi Arabia created the 'Islamist axis 'in the G20, with the aim not only to stimulate economic growth, but also to sustain a just society based on Islamic values”</i>, (Libero, 5 October 2009).</p> <p>The second article is interesting just for a sentence reported in it. This article is about a new agreement among Turkey and an Italian company that produces pens, Aurora, for the distribution of their products in that country. The interesting sentence is pronounced by the managing director of Aurora, who, speaking about the requests of the new market says: <i>“The aesthetic tastes of Turkish customers do not differ much from Central Europe and then the product will not suffer any restyling, though it was necessary to make some changes to the nib, in order to ensure the quality of the stroke with a Semitic writing and rounded</i></p>

	<p><i>traits as Arabic</i>”, (Liberio, 29 December 2009). This sentence clearly shows us again the stereotyped and ill-informed information that the Italians have about Turkey: the Turkish alphabet uses Latin characters and not Semitic ones, plus the language is Turkish and not Arabic.</p>
<p><i>Il Sole 24 Ore</i></p>	<p>The big majority of the articles in this category are in the already addressed “<i>Gas pipeline</i>” section, here there is just one article relevant for this analysis. It explains the reasons of the “Turkish miracle” giving, from an economic point of view, a really positive image of this country, that has realized four important goals after the last financial and banking crisis of 2001: “<i>Turkey has reduced the debt by a quarter, to begin. It revived the great investment with an exceptional increase in productivity. The currency has strengthened. It brought down inflation. It stays, and this is the weak side, yet highly exposed on the external debt, which is the engine of the boom</i>” but “<i>Ankara has been leveraged to build and grow, not to survive with the illusion of being richer than it is</i>”, (Il Sole 24 Ore, 12 December 2005).</p>

As “*Gas pipeline*” subject is concerned, it is viewed as a positive project for Italy, however Turkey is not so considered in these articles, if not just as one of the subscriber of the agreement, except for *Il Sole 24 Ore* that dedicated an entire article on the role of Turkey as the new hydrocarbons hub from Russia to the international market. On the other side, as “*Turkey’s economy*” is concerned, all the newspapers, in the few and short articles they wrote on this matter, present a positive trend towards Turkish market, that is considered a fertile and flourishing ground for

Italian enterprises. Just *Libero* referred to Turkey as an Islamic country in this category, the other newspapers did not. Summing up, I observed that in this category there is a generalized positive trend towards Turkey, especially due to the opportunities that its positive market gives to Italian enterprises.

## **5.7 Conclusion after the Second reading analysis**

In this section I would like to point out some conclusions I drew from the second reading analysis. So, after this second analysis I observed that:

- *Il Sole 24 Ore* did not satisfy the needs of this research because of the big lack of articles about Turkey.
- **The newspapers with leftist ideologies tend to report more detailed:** *Libero*, that is the right-oriented newspaper, showed very short and scarce information in its articles. *Il Corriere della Sera*, most read newspaper without specific political affiliation resulted, however in a less percentage with respect to *Libero*, scarce in details and exhaustive information. *La Repubblica*, most read newspaper politically left-oriented, showed a more detailed and exhaustive approach of addressing the various categories than the other two newspapers, at least for the period of 2005. In 2009 its “style” changed and became more superficial and less detailed. *L’Unità*, a politically left-oriented newspaper, is the most detailed and exhaustive in information, especially for the “Turkey-EU” category.

- In the same way of the previous point, **leftist newspapers place more emphasis on the human rights issue**, with *Liberò* focusing only on violence and *L'Unità* only on human rights.
- When human rights are concerned, all the newspapers present a negative image of Turkey, giving more or less the same message: the scarce improvement on this issue represents an obstacle to Turkey's membership to the EU.
- The human rights issue is presented in all newspapers especially on freedom of expression (represented by the court case against the writer Orhan Pamuk) and minority issue, especially by the Kurdish question, but also Armenian genocide and, in *La Repubblica*, the Christian minority.
- The articles under the “*Turkey-EU*” category in more or less all the newspapers represent the official vision of the Italian and also some European elite, by which Turkey's membership would be a good thing because it constitutes a bridge between Europe and the Muslim world.
- Openly or not, in all newspapers Turkey is referred to as a Muslim country and Islam plays an important role in the Turkey's EU membership process. In the “*Bomb attack*” and “*Turkey-EU*” categories, however for different reasons, more or less in all newspapers the risk and fear of rising of Islamic fundamentalism in Turkey is dreaded.

- The opposite position of the left-oriented *L'Unità* and the right-oriented *Libero* on Islam is noteworthy. *Libero*, in general refers to Islam with a suspicious point of view, linking it several times to fundamentalism. *L'Unità*, especially in the “*Turkey-EU*” category, addresses this issue from a different point of view, of the Italian political left, by which religious difference is not a problem, but in some way a value. However it refers to Turkey as a Muslim country, it refers to it as a European and secular country too, because the real obstacle to membership is not religion, but full respect of human rights. In short, *L'Unità* does not see Islam and EU membership as mutually exclusive.
- In “*Turkey's economy*” category there is a generalized positive trend towards Turkey, especially due to the opportunities that its positive market gives to Italian enterprises.
- All the newspapers are more exhaustive and interested in Turkey in 2005 than 2009.
- At least one time per newspaper, I noticed the presence of a stereotyped vision of Turkey, even though in different contexts.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSIONS

There were three principal issues I wanted to address with this analysis, a) the lack of information that newspapers give about Turkey, b) the image of Turkey portrayed, c) the weight of Islam in this portrayed image.

Starting with the first point, I argue that Italian newspapers principally give scarce and sometimes ill-informed and stereotyped information about Turkey. In fact, in all newspapers the number of “*articles directly related to Turkey*” is always inferior to the one of the “*articles in which the word ‘Turkey’ just appears*”, plus, both in 2005 and 2009, the majority of the articles have been published in the months in which there have been internationally important events, as to say EU accession negotiation starting, Turkey-Armenia Protocols signature or South Stream gas pipeline, while in the remaining months the articles are more diluted in time, that means Turkey is under the floodlights only when there is something internationally more important on the table. As a counterproof, we just need to notice that the “*Turkey-EU*” issue is discussed only in 2005, in relation to the EU accession negotiation starting, while in 2009 this issue has been totally “forgotten”. Plus, there are almost no opinion articles on Turkey, but just news that are often presented very shortly, scarce of information and details in almost all newspapers, except for *L’Unità* that seems more dedicated to Turkey’s issue and *La Repubblica*, but just the articles of 2005, because in 2009 it became more similar to the other newspapers “quick” style. Further, as showed in the examples of the previous chapter, there is a presence of stereotyped information on

Turkey in all the newspapers. I argue that there is a convergence of the political agenda and media. On several occasions, the image of Turkey in the articles reflects the vision and position of different political groups. At an elite level Italy officially support Turkey's membership of the EU, arguing that:

- ✓ It would strengthen moderate Islam as a model in the Muslim World.
- ✓ It would increase EU influence in the neighbouring regions.
- ✓ It would be a bridge among cultures and civilizations, also on economic and strategic grounds.
- ✓ It would be a new energy hub for Europe (gas pipeline).

Further, the reasons of support or opposition are different depending on the political affiliation of the parties: right wing parties normally base their antagonism mainly on religious, cultural and historical grounds, while support Turkey on strategic and economic fields. On the other hand, left wing parties do not make an issue of different and incompatible cultures and religions but principally underline the difficult situation of Turkey's ethnic minorities and the poor records in the field of human rights. From the conclusions I have got from the previous chapter, we get the precise picture above described. In fact, we see leftist newspapers tend to report more detailed and place more emphasis on human rights issue, with *Libero* focusing only on violence and *L'Unità* only on human rights, giving a negative vision of Turkey because of its poor record on human rights that represents an obstacle to Turkey's membership to the EU. It is referred to Turkey as a Muslim country, openly or not, in all newspapers and Islam plays an important role in the Turkey's EU membership process. In fact, in connection with the starting of negotiation process, more than one

newspaper reported the “fear” of part of the political elite, by which a refusal to Turkey’s membership would expose this country to a possible rising of Islamic fundamentalism. Additionally, I find the opposite positions of the left-oriented *L’Unità* and the right-oriented *Liberò* on Islam quite interesting. *Liberò*, referred to Islam principally suspiciously, linking it several times to fundamentalism. While *L’Unità*, especially in the “*Turkey-EU*” category, sees Islam in some way as a value and, however it refers to Turkey as a Muslim country, it refers to it as a European and secular country too. Finally, the positivity on economic and strategic grounds of the elite towards Turkey is represented in newspapers too, in fact in my analysis I observed a generalized positive trend towards Turkey, especially due to the opportunities that its positive market gives to Italian enterprises.

Regarding the impact of newspapers on readers, is difficult to determine, as there are few readers’ comments on the various articles, except for *Il Corriere della Sera*, that presented some articles properly written by readers telling their trips to Turkey, and some comments to an article of 17<sup>th</sup> of November 2009, regarding the official visit to Turkey of the Italian President Giorgio Napolitano. But as far as these few feedbacks are concerned, I can say that Islam played a big role in the perception of Turkey. In fact, in the travelogues articles, that principally regards Istanbul, Ephesus and Cappadocia, but also one on East Turkey, there is a mystic perception of Turkey oscillating among West and East. It becomes clear from these texts that the travelers remained fascinated by this country, in which they found the atmosphere of the Orient and “The thousand and one nights”, (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 22 August 2009). In fact, almost in all these articles the typical elements distinguishing “Us from Them”, mosques and muezzins’ call for prayer, are described.



The link between Islam and Turkey in view of *Islamofobia* in the Italians' minds becomes clear in the comments to the article of 17<sup>th</sup> of November 2009, reporting the statement of the Italian President by which "*Turkey is and added value for Europe*". In fact, on a total of twelve comments, ten are very negative and against Turkey in the European Union, basically because of religion. Further, they are really stereotyped and ill-informed referring to Turkey as a country in which *covered women are killed like flies because they are inferior*, with *theocratic aspirations of some parties* and in which the *death penalty still present* (although it was abolished in 2004). The remaining two comments, although they are not completely pro-Turkey, show a more concrete knowledge of the country, trying to correct the erroneous information given in the negative comments that draw a Turkey that is far away from the reality. Unfortunately, the negativity towards Turkey and its membership in the EU is present also in the last "readers' feedback" I found in *Il Corriere della Sera*, where the reader wrote a comment on this issue in the *Italians* section of the newspaper, saying that Turkey cannot be a part of the European Union because of its Muslim identity, because Muslims had not the Renaissance, and they do not recognize themselves in the Greek-Roman democracy that is at the base of Europe, (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 29 October 2005).

The results of this research are even more precious if we consider that in Italy the newspapers constitute the higher quality source of information. This means that the Italian population who rely on the television for information is doomed to be influenced by prejudices, given also the fact that from the last report of Freedom House Italy is considered partly free.

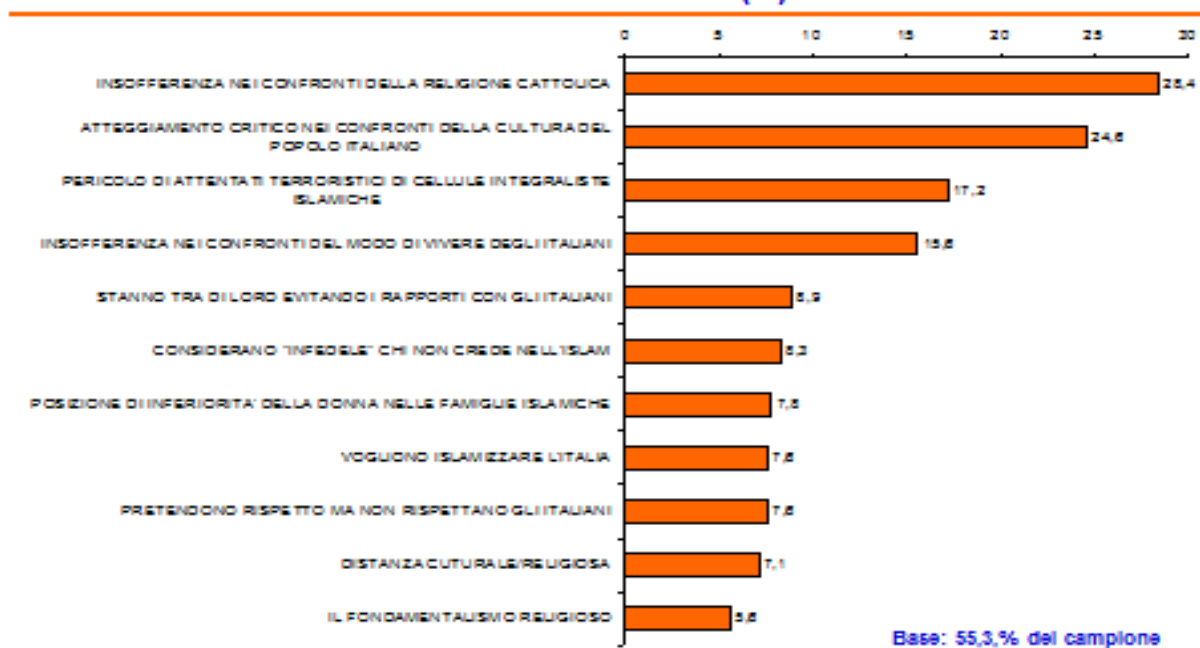
In conclusion, it may be argued that initial expectations were met. The analysed newspapers give a stereotyped, scarce and ill-informed vision of Turkey, and moreover they present the opinion about Turkey shared by the different Italian political elites. As a consequence, the public is influenced by these factors and, together with the erroneous information about Islam given by the media, it is easier to understand the increase of *Islamofobia* that created a negative perception not just about Turkey itself, but also about its membership in the EU among the Italian public.

## Annex 1

Tables from

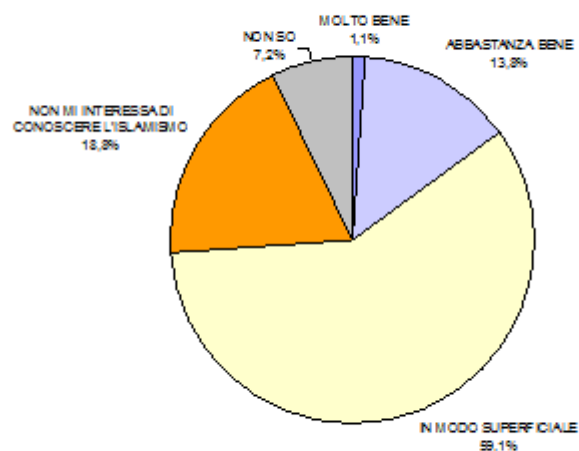
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### PROBLEMI SPECIFICI CHE PONE LA IMMIGRAZIONE DA PAESI ISLAMICI (%)



20

### GRADO DI CONOSCENZA DELL'ISLAMISMO (%)



22

## Annex 2

### “Bombs and Attacks” category

1. *“La Turchia è stata recentemente anche nel mirino di gruppi legati alla rete internazionale al-Qaeda: due attentati con camion-bomba a Istanbul il 15 e 20 novembre 2003 hanno provocato 63 morti e circa 750 feriti” (La Repubblica, 16 July 2005 and Il Corriere della Sera, 17 July 2005).*
2. *“L’altro è il jihadista (turco, curdo o di provenienza estera). Quest’ultimo è certamente interessato (...) a quella che, nella sua logica fanatica, è un’implacabile lezione morale, ad uso del semplice cittadino come del politico in odore di apostasia: così perisce chi accetta il comprometersi con gli infedeli e devia dal retto cammino islamico. (...) Se la matrice della carneficina fosse islamista, l’insidia per Ankara sarebbe forse ancora più pericolosa. Mentre il ricorso strumentale al collante nazionalista contro la minaccia curda potrebbe nuovamente funzionare, come già funzionò in passato, meno agevole sarebbe cementare un fronte anti-jihadista, in una fase in cui al governo è il partito islamico moderato del premier Tayyip Erdogan. I principi laico-secolaristi che formano la Repubblica fondata da Kemal Ataturk, sono condivisi senza riserve dall’opposizione e dalle forze armate. Ma nell’amministrazione pubblica oggi, grazie al governo Erdogan, essi si confrontano quotidianamente con la riproposizione dei valori religiosi tradizionali. Può uscirne una sintesi feconda. Può scaturirne un positivo esempio per altri paesi di cultura musulmana. Ma un processo così complesso e delicato potrebbe anche essere deviato e travolto se la sfida integralista diventasse potente e diffusa. Anche perché non sempre la maggioranza e l’esecutivo in carica hanno dato prova di comprenderne la portata. Solo quindici giorni fa il Parlamento ha approvato una legge che punisce con una semplice multa e non più con tre anni di carcere i dirigenti delle scuole coraniche clandestine” (L’Unità. 17 July 2005).*
3. **Title:** *“Lo riferisce la Cnn turca. Turchia, kamikaze ucciso dalla polizia. L’uomo, carico di esplosivo, voleva farsi esplodere vicino all’ufficio del primo ministro Ergogan. La scena ripresa dalla tv”.* **Text:** *“In Turchia non sono rari gli attentati kamikaze. Ne sono stati provocati sia da estremisti islamici, sia da curdi, sia da gruppi di sinistra. Il più grave di questi attentati ebbe luogo nel novembre w003, quando terroristi legati a al Qaida uccisero più di 60 persone” (Il Corriere della Sera, 1 July 2005).*

4. **Title:** *“L’uomo fermato vicino all’ufficio del premier Erdogan. Colpito alle gambe e ammanettato, poi centrato alla testa. Ankara, polizia uccide kamikaze. Fuga e sparatoria in diretta tv. L’attentatore appartiene a un’organizzazione di estrema sinistra.* **Text:** *“L’episodio potrebbe creare qualche imbarazzo al governo di Ankara in vista dell’avvio dei colloqui per l’ingresso dell’Unione europea, previsto ad ottobre” (La Repubblica, 1 July 2005).*
  
5. **Title:** *“Ankara, va in onda l’uccisione di un kamikaze. La tragica scena in un video ripreso dalle tv di tutto il mondo. “Si dirigeva verso il ministero della Giustizia””.* **Text:** *“Una fine che assomiglia ad una esecuzione sommaria” – “Queste immagini irradiate sul circuito mediatico internazionale preoccupano e molto il governo di Ankara che sa di non avere alcuna speranza di aderire all’Unione Europea se non si adeguerà agli standard di tutela dei diritti umani” (L’Unità, 2 July 2005).*

#### **“Turkey-EU” category**

1. *“Ue-Turchia, manca l’accordo” (Il Corriere della Sera, 29 September 2005).*
  
2. *“Turchia-Ue: non è certo l’avvio dei negoziati” (Il Corriere della Sera, 3 October 2005).*
  
3. *“Nulla da festeggiare: il documento comporta per la Turchia un insostenibile processo negoziale, pieno di pericoli che porteranno ad una crisi dopo l’altra” (Il Corriere della Sera, 5 October 2005).*
  
4. *“Un’occasione imperdibile per costruire un ponte tra l’Ue e il mondo arabo” (Il Corriere della Sera, 5 October 2005).*
  
5. *“La Turchia (...) Che entrerà, dopo un percorso ad ostacoli, rispettando rigidi criteri, i diritti umani tra tutti” (L’Unità, 4 October 2005).*
  
6. *“Vogliamo che la Turchia entri perchè è un Paese europeo. Glielo abbiamo promesso per 5 volte negli ultimi 10 anni. Un rifiuto, ora, rischia di aprire una frattura con il mondo musulmano” (L’Unità, 3 October 2005).*
  
7. *“L’unica cosa che si enfatizza da parte di chi vuole la Turchia è che ‘la Turchia è un paese islamico, e ci può aiutare a dialogare con il mondo islamico’. Ogni volta che sento questo mi viene da urlare. ‘La Turchia non è un paese islamico. È un paese LAICO’” (L’Unità, 4 October 2005).*

8. *“Se la Turchia va avanti così e la crescita economica procede allo stesso ritmo degli ultimi cinque-sei anni, cioè con percentuali del 7-8%, tra qualche tempo vedremo europei che traslocano ad Ankara e non il contrario” (L’Unità, 5 October 2005).*
9. **Title:** *“Dopo il sì a Ankara la Ue non è più un fortino cristiano”* **Subheading:** *“Bonino: un segnale anche per 20 milioni di musulmani che vivono in Europa” (l’Unità, 5 October 2005).*
10. *“La Turchia è un paese non arabo, ma musulmano” (l’Unità, 5 October 2005).*
11. *“L’accordo sui negoziati per l’ingresso della Turchia nella Ue, raggiunto all’ultima ora di ieri notte, sta avendo un effetto-turbo sui mercati finanziari locali: l’indice azionario è in questo momento in forte rialzo del 2,3% q 35.088 punti, dopo aver segnato in apertura di contrattazioni un rialzo del 2,9%. Salgono anche la lira e i bond governativi” (Il Sole 24 Ore, 4 October 2005).*
12. *“Turchia: Sarkozy ribadisce a Gul il suo no a ingresso Ankara nella Ue” (Libero, 9 October 2009).*
13. *“Il treno turco arranca ostacolato da vari fattori. Anzitutto dalla lentezza delle riforme interne, a cominciare da quelle sulla libertà di espressione e la tutela dei diritti fondamentali. (...) Non basta, il persistente rifiuto turco di aprire i suoi porti e aeroporto alla repubblica greco-cipriote, oggi membro della Ue e come tale dell’Unione doganale tra Bruxell e Ankara, costituisce un ulteriore ostacolo” (Libero, 21 December 2009).*
14. *“Il governo italiano si accosta a questa decisiva riunione nella consapevolezza che Ankara ha pienamente soddisfatto le condizioni poste dal Consiglio Europeo dello scorso dicembre. (...) La candidatura della Turchia costituisce quindi un’opportunità di forte rilancio per l’intero progetto europeo. (...) Al contrario, chiudere oggi alla Turchia le porte dell’Europa rischierebbe di spingere questo Paese nell’abbraccio interessato dei fondamentalisti e di quanti operano in direzione dell’avveramento della profezia sullo scontro di civiltà” (Il Corriere della Sera, 29 September 2005).*
15. *“è giusto che il 3 ottobre sia appena l’inizio del processo e che non un solo paletto dello slalom democratico venga risparmiato ai Turchi” (Corriere, 27 September 2005).*

16. *“A chi teme lo scontro delle civiltà, un'Europa con una componente islamica laicizzata proporrebbe un possibile, e diverso, modello di convivenza, capace di destare ammirazione a Occidente e a Oriente” (Corriere, 27 September 2005).*
  
17. *“Tra chi oggi liquida in fretta la questione dell'adesione turca all'Unione Europea con un secco no, si possono distinguere due atteggiamenti diversi. C'è chi (la destra xenofoba europea, la Lega da noi) lo fa discendere da un demagogico pregiudizio anti-islamico che fa leva ed alimenta la paura dell'immigrazione e lo spettro dello scontro di civiltà. (...) C'è poi un «no» politico motivato da critiche nei confronti di come la Turchia è oggi. A queste critiche che hanno basi più solide e sono più serie, va risposto che l'adesione non si esaurisce in un momento ed il suo esito non è affatto scontato. (...) Malgrado il cammino di riforme economiche, politiche e sociali avviato negli ultimi anni, infatti, ad impedirglielo, anzi ad impedircelo sarebbero, tra le altre cose, il mancato pieno riconoscimento dei diritti delle minoranze curda ed armena, le troppe ombre e le ancora troppo poche luci in materia di rispetto dei diritti umani e di riconoscimento della libertà di espressione, la ancora irrisolta questione cipriota” (Unità, 3 October 2005).*

#### **“Society” category**

1. *“Ieri è cominciato il Ramadan in Libia e Turchia” (L'Unità, 22 August 2009).*
  
2. *“Immagini che oltrepassano i limiti dell'oscenità” – “Troppo per la Turchia” – **Title:** “ ‘Osceno’, la Turchia blocca lo spot D&G” (Il Corriere della Sera, 16 September 2009).*
  
3. **Title:** *“Le bizzarre perne alternative turche: obbligo di lettura o di offrire fiori”* **Text:** *“Nonostante il sistema giudiziario turco continui a mostrare gravi limiti (non sono pochi i casi di intellettuali arrestati per reati d'opinione e spesso le violenze sulle donne non sono perseguite), da qualche anno pene più morbide e originali sono inflitte a chi si macchia di reati considerati meno gravi.” – “In Turchia la legge proibisce la poligamia, ma negli ultimi tempi numerose persone con l'avvallo delle autorità religiose si sono sposate simbolicamente con ragazze più giovani nonostante avessero già moglie” (Il Corriere della Sera, 27 July 2009).*
  
4. *“Kemalismo, il regime più laico della nebulosa mondiale. ‘Per il turco – mi avevano detto a Istanbul – andare in moschea non è solo un'attestazione di fede. È prima un'affermazione di turchitudine. Significa: non sono greco, armeno o altro. Non sono un nemico interno del Paese”. È il blocco mentale*

*di una nazione ancora giovane, che è impaurita dalle sue diversità". (La Repubblica, 15 August 2005).*

5. *"Qui cominciano le terre della paura, abitato dai curdi ed estremismo islamico". (La Repubblica, 15 August 2005).*
6. *"La situazione stava migliorando, poi è arrivata la guerra di Bush in Iraq, e al conformismo kemalista s'è sommata la sciagura dell'Islam integralista. Risultato: se non sei musulmano non ce la fai, ti converti per sopravvivere". (La Repubblica, 15 August 2005).*
7. *"L'andatura militaresco del turco anatolico finisce. Anche i minareti sono diversi, privi del loro allarmante profilo missilistico". (La Repubblica, 19 August 2005).*
8. *"Sera a Midiyat, l'Islam duro di provincia. Midiyat è un paese di sradicati. Intorno era pieno di chiese, e ora vedi solo minareti. Nell'unica locanda aperta dopo le 20, la foto di un torvo imam mi guarda intensamente nel piatto. È in posti così, scrivono i giornali di Istanbul, che crescono gli attentatori che nel 2003 hanno messo le bombe a Istanbul". (La Repubblica, 18 August 2005).*
9. *"Capisco che la Turchia sarà anche laica ma l'Islam è ovunque" (La Repubblica, 18 August 2005).*
10. *"Turchia, spot troppo sexy" (Liberio, 15 September 2009).*
11. *"Turchia: Insulta Atatürk, espulso turista britannico" (Liberio, 17 August 2009).*
12. **Title:** *"Islam: referendum svizzero sui minareti è turco il promotore" **Text:** "il boicottaggio delle banche svizzere da parte dei musulmani di tutto il mondo" (Liberio, 9 December 2009).*
13. *"Lo scopo del gioco è promuovere i diversi credi religiosi ma soprattutto avvicinare ancor di più la popolazione turca alla fede musulmana" (Il Corriere della Sera, 3 July 2009).*

#### **"Violence/Human Rights" category**

1. *"Non viene dall'islamismo ma dall'estremismo nazionalista e kemalista" - "I giudici che in Turchia mettono sotto accusa gli scrittori non danno certamente una mano alle aspirazioni europee di questo grande e splendido paese" (Il Corriere della Sera, 8 October 2009).*



2. *“Mi sono convertito al cristianesimo e non voglio servire un esercito musulmano. Ho disertato e sono fuggito: se tornassi in Turchia mi torturerebbero, come è già accaduto” (Il Corriere della Sera, 15 September 2009).*
3. *“e mentre le prime riforme del premier Erdogan entrano finalmente in vigore (permesso di parlare la lingua locale, via libera ai nomi antichi di strade e piazze), da ieri i curdi sono tornati a rifugiarsi sulle montagne” – “La sentenza della Corte getta infatti un’ombra sul processo di apertura ai curdi su cui il governo islamico moderato di Recep Tayyip Erdogan aveva scommesso per assicurare all’Unione Europea più democrazia. E la proibizione al Dtp di continuare a svolgere attività politica è arrivata nonostante i giorni scorsi la Ue avesse detto che la chiusura del partito sarebbe stata una violazione dei diritti della minoranza curda” (La Repubblica, 12 December 2009).*
4. *“Come oggettivamente inusitata è stata anche la reazione del sottoprefetto di Isparta – la stessa persona che mosse per primo le accuse contro Pamuk – che ha ordinato la distruzione di tutti i suoi romanzi nelle librerie e nelle biblioteche della città. Medievalismi degni delle peggiori ispirazioni integraliste (gliultimi roghi di libri in piazza ordinati da autorità, in Europa, risalgono al periodo della Germania nazista)” (L’Unità, 17 December 2005).*
5. *“con il processo a Pamuk Ankara mette in gioco buona parte della sua credibilità internazionale e, con essa, delle sue chances di aderire all’Unione” (L’Unità, 30 December 2005).*
6. *“Turchia, strage di donne” (Libero, 9 November 2009).*
7. *“Turchia: accoltellato a morte turista tedesco a Istanbul” (Libero, 20 July 2009).*
8. *“Turchia: tre uomini aprono fuoco contro la folla nell’est, 6 morti” (Libero, 21 July 2009).*
9. *“Turchia: attentato a Tokat, uccisi 7 soldati” (Libero, 7 December 2009).*
10. *“Il Pkk è un’organizzazione terroristica nelle liste nere del terrorismo di Unione Europea e Stati Uniti” (Libero, 17 November 2009 and 27 August 2009).*

### **“Turkey’s Foreign Affairs” category**

1. *“La Turchia rappresenta un valore aggiunto per l’Europa”. Occorre proseguire, ha aggiunto il Presidente della Repubblica, il negoziato per l’adesione “senza ostruzionismi” né ripensamenti rispetto alla scelta “mediata, non superficiale e ancora valida del Consiglio Europeo del 2004” (Il Corriere della Sera, 17 November 2009).*
2. *“Credo che si tratti di paure indotte. Ricordate in Francia quando fu agitato lo spauracchio dell’idraulico polacco che avrebbe tolto il lavoro ai francesi? Ora non se ne parla più. È facile sollevare polveroni. Sta accadendo con la Turchia descrivendola, per ottenere qualche seguito, come se fosse secoli indietro, riproponendo immagini che sono un’eredità del passato, raffigurazioni più o meno terrificanti dei turchi, antiche fobie. A me interessa l’impegno delle forze che possono indirizzare bene l’opinione pubblica”. (L’Unità, 20 November 2009).*
3. *“L’Armenia deve ritirare le proprie truppe dal Nagorno Karabakh, regione contesa dell’Azerbaijan, se vuole che il parlamento di Ankara sia più propenso a ratificare i protocolli” (Libero, 12 October 2009).*

### **“Turkey’s economy” category**

1. *“un hub per l’export degli idrocarburi russi. Più in generale, un Paese chiave per avviare ai mercati internazionali gli idrocarburi dell’area post-sovietica” (Il Sole 24 Ore, 12 December 2005).*
2. *“I viticoltori pugliesi: basta con le importazioni selvagge da Egitto e Turchia. (...) Il crollo dei prezzi mette in crisi il comparto” (Il Corriere della Sera, 8 September 2009).*
3. *“Il mercato azionario turco sta proseguendo il trend positivo iniziato già da diversi mesi” (La Repubblica, 14 December 2009).*
4. *“Indonesia, Turchia e Arabia Saudita creano l’asse islamico’ all’interno del G20, con l’obiettivo non solo di stimolare la crescita economica, ma anche di sostenere una società giusta sulla base dei valori islamici” (Libero, 5 October 2009).*
5. *“I gusti estetici della clientela turca non differiscono molto da quelli centroeuropei e quindi il prodotto non subirà alcun restyling, anche se è stato necessario apportare alcune modifiche al pennino, al fine di garantire la*

*qualità del tratto con una scrittura semitica dai tratti arrotondanti come è l'arabo” (Libero, 29 December 2009).*

6. *“La Turchia ha ridotto di un quarto il debito pubblico, per incominciare. Ha rilanciato alla grande gli investimenti con un eccezionale recupero di produttività. Ha consolidato la moneta. Ha fatto crollare l'inflazione. Resta, e questo è il lato debole, ancora fortemente esposta sul debito estero, che è il motore del boom. (...) Ankara si è indebitata per costruire e crescere, non per sopravvivere illudendosi di essere più ricca di quello che è” (Il Sole 24 Ore, 12 December 2005).*

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