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I.P. PROJECT

“Spanish newspapers and the accession of the Turkish Republic to the UE: encoded messages in headlines and images”

1. Introduction

The main purpose of my paper is to explore the medial discourse in Spanish newspapers concerning the future admission of the Turkish Republic to the EU.

To begin with, I will briefly explain the methodology I have followed. I have chosen to focus my analysis only on four national daily papers with different political/ideological backgrounds and a circulation of more than 200.000 copies: *El País*, *El Mundo*, *El ABC* and *La Razón*. The lapse of time I took into consideration goes from Sunday 2nd of October 2005 (the day before the admission procedure got started) to Tuesday 4th of October 2005. I included headlines and images (including photographs, illustrations, etc.) of articles written in that period of time and inherent the “Turkish case”: editorials, front page and news items, opinion columns.

It is likely that people who buy newspapers seldom have enough time to read the articles they are interested in. It could be argued that probably they do not even start reading the ones they barely care of, ending up with a quick glance to headlines and images. That is why I decided to focus on the encoded messages contained in those elements of the article, instead of giving space to an analysis of the medial discourse. Headlines are often written with the purpose of attracting the readers’ interest, more than with the aim of shortly describing the article’s content. Images are not meant to present reality, but to re-present it depending on the vision of both their author and the productive process. They are a powerful information and opinion channel.

2. A quick overview of the newspapers chosen for the analyses

- *El País*¹ is the most widely read Spanish newspaper with more than 2,000,000 readers. It first appeared on 4 May 1976, when Spain was still in its transition towards democracy. Its ideology has usually been aligned with the Socialist Party. Different editions are printed in other Autonomous Communities as Andalusia, Valencia, the Basque Country etc..
- *El Mundo*² is a newspaper with a circulation of almost 351,000 copies (2003). It first appeared on October 23, 1989, and it is considered the major opponent of *El País*. It has its headquarters in Madrid, but different editions are printed in national territories, such as Andalusia, Valencia, Castile, León, Balearic Islands, Basque Country.
- *El ABC* was founded in Madrid on January 1, 1903. It started as a weekly newspaper until it turned daily in June 1905. ABC is known for defending the Spanish monarchy, and was seized in 1936 by Frente Popular (Popular Front) when the Spanish Civil War started. Today it is the third largest newspaper in Spain, and the oldest newspaper in Madrid
- *La Razón*³ is the most recent Spanish national newspaper and was founded by part of the *ABC* redaction. It is been considered a monarchic and right-wing newspaper, but lately it is been defined more as a liberal newspaper.

3. Description and analyses of headlines and images

Even though the laps of time took in consideration for this analysis is pretty short, it is important to specify that, at the beginning of October, Spanish newspapers were monopolized both by the burning question of the catalan *Estatut* and by the massive immigration's phenomenon concerning the border areas of Ceuta and Melilla. The debate on those issues has basically leaded the mass-media to attach more importance to domestic policy. Anyway, the coverage given to the admission of Turkey to the negotiations for the European membership depended also on the ideological background of the single newspaper.

¹ "The Country".

² "The World".

³ "The Reason".

3.1 Sunday the 2nd of October 2005

The day before the meeting took place in London, only *El País* dedicated some space on its front-page to the Turkish “case”. A ban in colour, positioned above the masthead, attracts attention on the Sunday supplement *ES (El País Semanal)* with a reduced picture of its cover. The number including a *special* has this cover-headline “Turquía se examina. Todas la caras de un país que mira a la Unión Europea⁴”, which defines also the meaning of the accompanying image: two Turkish women, maybe friends, smile at the photographer in the middle of a crowded market; one of them has long died-blond hair and wears a tank-top, the other one has her hair covered with a coloured scarf and is dressed in a long-leaves shirt, in respect of the *teşettür*⁵; both have makeup on.

Page 3 is almost completely dedicated to an article titled “El parón político de la Unión Europea se agrava con la polémica sobre Turquía. Londres intenta superar hoy la crisis con una reunión urgente de los ministros de Exteriores⁶”. Even though this headline shows some concern about the *empasse* the UE is experimenting, the image chosen to accompany the article looks to be meant to dissipate the clouds: Prime Ministers and Presidents of EU members, apparently posing for a picture during the UE summit of May 2004, smile and look at Chirac and Schröder hugging each other. Finally, on page 12 a pretty large opinion column impressively titled “Cabeza de turco⁷”, prepares the reader to a content critical toward the EU’s doubtful conduct of the Turkish case.

El Mundo dedicates to this subject a medium-sized article (4 columns) —with a accompanying photograph— on page 43, in the section *mundo*⁸. The headline and subheadline announce “La UE buscará hoy “in extremis” una salida airosa ante Turquía. El bloqueo de Austria al inicio de las negociaciones de adhesión con Ankara, previstas por mañana, amenaza con desatar una crisis en Bruselas⁹”. The position of the news paper with regard to the subject gets clearer when it comes to the Reuters’ image chosen to accompany the article: in the foreground there is a dummy dressed in

⁴ “Turkey takes examination. All faces/sides of a country looking/which looks at the European Union”

⁵ Islamic dress code.

⁶ “The political dead stop of the EU worsens with the polemic about Turkey. London tries to overcome the crisis today with an urgent reunion of the ministers of Exterior”.

⁷ The expression “Cabeza de turco”, literally translated as “Head of a Turk”, means scapegoat.

⁸ “world”.

⁹ “The EU is going to look for a neat solution today *in extremis* faced to Turkey. The Austrian blockade to the planned for tomorrow beginning of the adhesion negotiations with Ankara, threatens to give rise to a crisis in Brussels”

a short summer dress; in the background a couple with a buggy/pram passes by, looking askance at the dummy; the woman wears a long, slightly oversized coat and a headscarf, the man is dressed in dark colours and wears a thick moustache. The photo caption explains “Un matrimonio turco caminando esta semana por el centro de Estambul¹⁰”, almost wanting to convince readers that this is nowadays the “typical” Turkish couple, even in the cosmopolitan Istanbul.

El ABC in a brief news item on page 45, also devoted to articles dealing with China and Iran, resolves the issue with an “Ankara exige a la UE que cumpla sus compromisos¹¹”. Although it is hard to know when the selection of the make up and pages’ layout has an underhandedness, it should be added that the next page (p.46) is dominated by an article titled: “Morir bajo el velo: piedra, soga, espada. Despues de China, la aplicación de la pena capital destaca en el mundo musulmán. El ahorcamiento y la decapitación en el Islam van a crear más de un quebradero de cabeza a la Alianza de Civilizaciones impulsada por Rodriguez Zapatero¹²”. The generalized accusation to an homogeneous entity, the “muslim world”, leads the reader to see as dangerous the acceptance of countries where Islam is the majority religion.

La Razón on page 25, in the section *Internacional* reserves a column on the right for the tense opening of the negotiations with Turkey. The headline announces “Turquía urge a Bruselas a que acabe el “no” de Austria a su ingreso en la UE¹³”. The “aspiring to the membership” country becomes the prepotent, already trying to make decisions and exercise pressure in the EU.

3.2 Monday the 3rd of october 2005

On the day the meeting would have leaded to a solution of the Turkish issue, newspapers offered a larger coverage to the news inherent the opening of the negotiations.

In the front-page, *El País* offers to the issue a lateral column on the right in the upper section, whose headline reports “La UE sigue dividida ante la negociación para

¹⁰ “A Turkish couple walking in the center this week in Istanbul”

¹¹ “Ankara demands to the UE the execution of its compromises”

¹² “Dying under the headscarf: rock, rope, sword. After China, the application of the death-penalty makes the muslim world stand out. Hanging, and decapitation in Islam are going to create more than one headache to the Civilizations Alliance promoted by Rodriguez Zapatero”.

¹³ “Turkey presses Brussels to end up with the Austrian «no» to its admission to the UE”

el ingreso de Turquía¹⁴”. The article follows on page 2 –which is all devoted to the issue–, and its accompanied by other two items and an image. The central headline says “Londres aumenta la presión sobre Viena para abrir la negociación con Turquía. Austria llega a la reunión de Luxemburgo con la voluntad de evitar un veto a Ankara¹⁵”. A Reuter’s photograph placed above the article shows a crowd of people demonstrating; it is retouched so that the focus goes on a guy, who sits on someone shoulders and looks at the camera throwing his arms in the sky. The caption clarifies “Nacionalistas turcos de extrema derecha, durante la manifestación de ayer en Ankara contra las negociaciones entre la Unión Europea y Turquía¹⁶” and has to be referred to a short article on its right. A lateral column in fact titles “Nacionalistas y comunistas marchan contra la UE¹⁷”. In the bottom of the page, a pretty long editorial talks about “Otra Turquía en otra Europa¹⁸”. Such a headline calls to the need of changes in both Turkey and the EU, reminding to the reader that if the former needs to improve much further, the latter has to face the internal crisis and overcome it.

El Mundo on page 32 in the section “mundo” dedicates to the opening of the negotiations the upper half page: “Straw advierte de que la UE fracasará si hoy no abre las negociaciones con Turquía. Erdogan exige a Bruselas que elija convertirse en un «club cristiano» o en un «actor global» mientras los ministros de Exteriores intentaban anoche romper el bloqueo de Austria¹⁹”. An image by Reuters placed in the centre of the article shows a mass of people waving Turkish flags; women wearing headscarves stand in the front and one of them carries on her shoulders a child, who smiles to the camera and waves a Turkish flag; in the background man with serious faces stand in a group that apparently does not mingle with women. The legend explains “Manifestación celebrada ayer en Ankara contra las negociaciones de adhesión²⁰”.

On pages 6 and 7, *El ABC* publishes a large piece by José M. de Areilza Carvajal, Professor at the Institute of Management, whose headline says “El caso

¹⁴ The EU is still divided with regard to the negotiations for the Turkish accession”.

¹⁵ “London rises the pressure on Vienna for the opening of the negotiation with Turkey. Austria arrives at the reunion of Luxembourg willing to avoid a veto to Ankara.

¹⁶ “Extreme right’s Turkish nationalists during the yesterday demonstration in Ankara against the negotiations between the European Union and Turkey”.

¹⁷ “Nationalists and communists march against the UE”

¹⁸ “A different Turkey in a different Europe”.

¹⁹ “Straw warns that the UE will fail if it will not open negotiations with Turkey. Erdoğan demands from Brussels the decision between becoming a « cristian club » or a « global actor », while last night Ministers of Foreign Affairs were trying to brake the Austrian blockade”.

²⁰ “Demonstration celebrated yesterday in Ankara against the admission negotiations”.

turco²¹”. An illustration by Carlos Killian shows the Turkish flag and the European flag, the one close to the other; an arrow links them and seams to drag the moon and the star of the first into the centre of the European circle of stars. The image can be interpreted in different ways, but considering the content of articles in the *ABC*, it calls back on a Turkey willing to reach the heart of Europe. Page 36, in the section *Internacional*, is also devoted to the Turkish case. The main article takes up almost the whole page and titles “Viena mantiene hasta el final el suspense y provoca una crisis en la Unión y en Turquía²²”. Two briefer items, one in the upper section – accompanied by an image–, the other in the lower section, announce respectively “Los nacionalistas turcos dicen «no» a la UE²³” and “Grecia espera con prudencia y optimismo las negociaciones²⁴”. The image is a close up of a child during a demonstration against the negotiations; she’s wearing a scarf of the Turkish Nationalist Movement and pulls a face while gestures with one hand the symbol of the Party.

La Razón hits hard with a pretty polemic opinion column by Gabriel Albiac, on page 6. The headline “Turquía contra Europa²⁵” is in fact followed by the sub-headline “Lo que hoy decide Europa es su suicidio. Si es que algo queda vivo en la narcotizada Europa²⁶”. Page 20, in the section *Internacional*, is completely dedicated to the Turkish issue: the three fourth of the page are covered with an article titled “Miles de nacionalistas turcos claman contra Europa²⁷” and a grotesque head-and-shoulders image: a middle-aged man stands in front of an enormous Turkish flag; he has his mouth wide open in the act of screaming and is throwing his arms in the air, while gesturing with one hand the symbol of the Nationalist Movement. The caption says “Uno de los manifestantes que tiñeron de rojo ayer las calles de Ankara grita contra la posible adhesión de Turquía a la EU²⁸” and with the parallelism between the colour of Turkish flags and of blood, depicts Turkish demonstrators as sanguinary.

²¹ “The Turkish Case”.

²² “Viena keeps up the suspense until the end and rouses a crisis in the Union and in Turkey”.

²³ “Turkish nationalists say «no» to the UE”

²⁴ “Greece waits with prudence and optimism for the negotiations”

²⁵ “Turkey vs. Europe”.

²⁶ “What Europe will decide today about, is its suicide. Supposing that there is something alive in the narcotized Europe”.

²⁷ “Thousands of Turkish nationalists clamours against Europe”.

²⁸ “One of the demonstrators who stained red the streets of Ankara yesterday, screams against the possible adhesion of Turkey to the European Union”

In the lower section of the page a three columns article announces “Moratinos deja solo al «aliado» turco²⁹”, a headline meant to criticize the PSOE for its “alliance” with the Turkish case. To finish off its crusade, *La Razón* publishes a bizarre article on page 21 considering the issue of the Armenian genocide. Right above the headline “¿Genocidio? Queremos euros – Los supervivientes de la matanza turca en 1915 piden ayudas de la UE³⁰”, an old image of corps in line on a street gets this caption “Millión y medio de armenios perecieron a manos de los turcos durante el genocidio de 1915”. But, as the headline announces, the article is meant to underline that Armenians who survived in the east of Turkey are more interested in European subventions than in the Turkish Government’s recognition of the genocide.

3.3 Tuesday the 4th of October 2005

On the day after the meeting and the successful admission of Turkey to the negotiations, the coverage offered to this news has obviously been really large.

El País announces all related articles on its front page, where a bottom “foretaste” announces “La UE inicia con Turquía la primera negociación con un país musulmán³¹” and directs to pages 2, 3, 4 and to an editorial on page 14. The issue is covered in the first two pages of the section *Internacional* with four articles. The item occupying the 2/3 of page 2 opens with a large headline: “La UE y Turquía negocian la adhesión³²”, followed by the sub-headline “Los Veinticinco acuerdan las condiciones para la futura incorporación del país musulmán³³”. An image from the Reuters agency accompanies this article, placed in the centre of the page: an interested Javier Solana listens to Jack Straw before the reunion of Ministers of Foreign Affairs starts. Right under this news item there is a shorter article titled “Austria y el ‘miedo al turco’³⁴”, which sounds like making subtly fun of the Austrian attitude. The next page is fully covered with a report whose headline announces “Ankara afronta años de cambios para convertirse en un miembro de pleno derecho”. The sub-headline adds “«Mi país tiene una gran importancia estratégica», señala Abdulà Gül, ministro de

²⁹ “Moratinos leaves alone the Turkish “ally”. Moratinos is the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, but did not attend the meeting and got substituted by Alberto Navarro, Minister of European Affairs.

³⁰ “Genocide? We want euros – The survivors of the Turkish slaughter of 1915 ask the EU for aid”.

³¹ “The EU starts with Turkey the first negotiations with a Muslim country”

³² “The UE and Turkey negotiate the adhesion”.

³³ “The Twenty five agree upon the conditions for the future incorporation of the Muslim country”.

³⁴ “Austria and the ‘being afraid of the Turk’”

Exteriores³⁵”. In the centre of the page the reader can find: a map of Turkey; a table with some data about the country; and a chart inherent the percentage of favourable population to the Turkish adhesion in the European countries. On the left a column titles “Washington colaborò en la negociaciòn con Erdogan³⁶”. Finally, a lateral opinion column by Hermann Tertsch on page 4 titled “Las esencias³⁷” refers to the debate about the essence of the EU and it is accompanied by a small Reuters’ photograph: some demonstrators carry placards saying “NO, nicht diese aktuelle Turkei in Europa³⁸”. The caption explains “Marcha contra la adhesiòn de Turquía a la UE en Luxemburgo”. There is also an editorial, on page 14, dedicated to the Turkish case and whose headline is “Destino Turco³⁹”.

El Mundo dedicates to the issue an editorial on page 3 and the entire page 36. The headline of the editorial claims “Turquía obtiene un sí a medias⁴⁰”, reminding to the reader that the admission of this new country is not unconditioned and there is no real agreement on it. Furthermore, on page 36, the crisis in which the EU finds itself leads the headline “Turquía inicia sus negociaciones de adhesion en pleno descrédito de a UE⁴¹”. The pre-headline explains “Erdogan pidió apoyo a Condoleezza Rice para superar el bloqueo de las conversaciones / Austria cedió a última hora y levantó su veto / El marco de la negociación será el más garantista de la historia comunitaria⁴²”. A Reuters’ photograph placed under the headline shows the arrival of Ursula Plassnik, Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the European Council. She looks serious and stands by herself in a room while other people in the background look at her. It is a clear try of visually representing the “Austrian defeat”, showing the Austrian representative as disappointed and left alone by the other European members. In the lower section of the page a graph and some pie-charts present the support of single European Countries to Turkey and the opinion of Europeans to questions like: the Turkish Adhesion could be a risk in favouring immigration?; Cultural differences

³⁵ “Ankara faces years of changes for the conversion in a full member. «My country has a big strategical importance», points out Abdullah Gül, Minister of Foreign Affairs”.

³⁶ “Washington collaborated in the negotiations with Ankara”.

³⁷ “Essences”.

³⁸ “No, not that actual Turkey in Europe”.

³⁹ “Turkish destiny”.

⁴⁰ “Turkey gets half a yes”.

⁴¹ “Turkey starts its negotiations for the adhesion in a completely discredited EU”

⁴² “Erdogan asked for Condoleezza Rice’s help in order to get over the blockade of the conversations / Austria gave up at the last minute and lifted its veto / Within the communitarian history, the negotiations framework is going to be the one that safeguards most the rights of a single country”.

between the EU and Turkey are too big?; the Turkish accession could benefit the security of the area?.

The *ABC* starts the chain of articles on the negotiations opening with an editorial published on page 4, in the section *opinión*. It is pretty short and positioned in the lower section of the page; its headline thunders “Europa contra sus ciudadanos⁴³”. In the section *Internacional*, two pages (p.32-33) report on the Luxembourg meeting and its results. “La UE se lanza con Turquía al mas difícil proceso de ampliación de su historia⁴⁴” is the headline which opens the feature article and whose meaning is clear at first sight: an enlargement process including Turkey is a risky and hard decision the UE made too rashly. However, the sub-headline looks like a reassurance “Bruselas se reserva la prerogativa de decidir si las negociaciones llevan o no a la adhesión⁴⁵”. The big picture in the upper section –in between the two pages– is the one chosen also by *El Mundo*, showing Ursula Plassnik at her arrival at the European Council. Apart from the observations already made about the probable encoded meaning of this picture, it is interesting to notice that the *El ABC*’s redaction “played” furthermore with that image. In fact, the Austrian Minister looks at something out of the framework, and –thanks to a smart layout– her look seems directed to the subject of a photograph published at the right on page 33: Javier Solana. In this head-and-shoulders image, Solana is smiling with a confused expression and brings one hand close to the ear, probably trying to listen to someone but being unable to do it because of the distance or the noise. This image is placed inside a large article titled “Ankara abre la puerta a otros socios⁴⁶”, as if, accepting Turkey, the EU put itself automatically in the condition to be “invaded”. A pre-headline in fact specifies “Apenas se empieza a despejar el camino para turcos y croatas, otros aspirantes preparan sus candidaturas de ingreso en la UE, la tabla de salvación para Albania, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Moldavia, y hasta Ukraina y tal vez Armenia⁴⁷”. In a word, an avalanche of countries in desperate

⁴³ “Europe against its citizens”

⁴⁴ “The EU rushes with Turkey into the most difficult enlargement process of its history”.

⁴⁵ “Brussels saves for itself the prerogative of deciding when the negotiations will to the admission or not”.

⁴⁶ “Ankara opens the door to other members”.

⁴⁷ “The path just started becoming straight and narrow for Turks and Croatians, other aspirants prepare their candidatures for the access to the EU, the life-preserver for Albania, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Moldavia, even Ukraine and maybe Armenia”.

conditions wait at a door opened by Croatia and Turkey, with the intention of “fleecing” the EU.

In the previews column of its front-page, *La Razón* titles “La UE acuerda negociar la adhesión turca tras superar el veto de Austria⁴⁸” and introduces the editorial and the article on page 23 dedicated to the Turkish admission. On page 4 the editorial in the lower section deals with “El desafío turco de la Unión Europea – Tras superar los escollos de Austria y Chipre, Ankara pone a prueba la solidez del club europeo⁴⁹”. On page 23, the upper section is completely covered with an image of a Kurdish demonstration that got place in Luxembourg against the negotiations for the Turkish adhesion. Many people of different ages demonstrate carrying big placards; one standing out claims “Non a cette Turquie en Europa⁵⁰”. Right under the image, the article headline says “Turquía y la UE llegan a un acuerdo para comenzar las negociaciones de adhesión⁵¹” and a sub-headline specifies “Austria cedió tras obtener la garantía de que la negociación se suspenderá si Ankara detiene sus reformas”

4. Conclusions

After this avalanche of information, it is worth trying to sum up what messages end up being transmitted to a reader of those newspapers about the negotiations for the Turkish adhesion.

El País is the newspaper that more coverage dedicates to the issue, with 12 articles in three days (but only 4 images), a space in the front-page always dedicated to the ongoing debate and a special feature in its weekly magazine. The headlines stress the political crisis ongoing in the UE as a problem previous to the opening of the enlargement negotiations. The Turkish case is depicted as a scapegoat, thanks to which the European members try to avoid facing a debate about profound and pre-existent problems inherent the internal cohesion of the Union. Nonetheless, apart from asking for a *nueva Europa*, *El País* calls also for a *nueva Turquía*, underlining the need for Turkey to keep on with the reform process in order to become a full member. Even though the images accompanying the articles are few, it must be underlined that

⁴⁸ “The EU comes to an agreement about negotiating the Turkish adhesion after getting over the Austrian veto”.

⁴⁹ “The Turkish challenge for the European Union – After getting over the Austrian and Cyprian humps, Ankara tests the strength of the European Club”

⁵⁰ “No to this Turkey in Europe”

⁵¹ “Turkey and the EU reach an agreement for the beginning of the adhesion negotiations – Austria gave up after obtaining the guarantee that the negotiation will be suspended if Ankara halts its reforms”

the ones whose protagonists are Turks drive stereotypes from one's mind. The *cliché* of the simpleton Turk with moustache gives way to young Turks perfectly undistinguishable from any other young person; the monolithic conception of Turkish women wearing headscarves and dressed as sacks of potatoes bow to blond girls with tank tops or "stylish" Muslims in their coloured *turban* and neatly made-up. In the middle of the debate about the "essences", *El País* tries to give to its readers an image of Turkey as a pretty complex reality, on its path towards further changes.

Between 2nd October and 4th October, *El Mundo* dedicates to the negotiations for the Turkish adhesion only four articles (3 news items and 1 editorial) correlated with three photographs and a chart. As in *El País*, there is a clear reference to the period of stalemate the EU is going through, aside from the negotiations with Turkey. As for the image of Turkey that emerges from headlines and images, there are some differences from *El País*. Two of the three images immortalize Turkish women: in the one chosen for showing the demonstrations, the decision of underlining women's presence could be a try to show they have certain freedom also in the more conservative areas of Turkish society. Nonetheless, *El Mundo* chooses to not offer a counterpart to the "traditional" *cliché* of Turkish woman and publishes a second photograph of a wife –strictly respecting the *teşettür*– and her husband. Furthermore, the caption drops hints that this couple was walking in Istanbul's centre of today.

In headlines a certain weight is lent also to the Turkish Prime Minister Erdoğan. He is depicted as a determined politician, ready to put pressure on the European Union and to address the United States in order to reach its objective. An instable EU seems to be faced to situations that it can not manage anymore and looks for a neat solution at the last minute.

The *El ABC* covers the news of the negotiations with seven articles (1 editorial, 1 opinion item and 5 news items) and four images. It is worthy to observe that on 2nd October, this newspaper chooses to organize its layout, so that the article about Turkey appears among items dedicated to Iran, China, and Islamic countries. Once the aspirant member obtains to start the negotiations, on 4th October an article aims to alarm the reader: although Brussels could stop the process of admission in the future, if Turkey at last enters the European Union, there will be no way to shut the door in front of many other countries. Indeed, those would look on the European Club as a life preserver.

The incautious decision of the EU has been made against the will of European citizens and the sub-headline of an opinion article warns not to make of Turkey a scapegoat, considering that the real problem is the EU's failure to reform itself.

Finally, it could be of interest also the image chosen for an article about Turkish demonstrators against the negotiations. The close up of a child, who pulls a face while gesturing with one hand the symbol of the Nationalist Party, can bring the reader to think that the opposition to the Turkish access to the EU is deeply rooted in Turkish society.

La Razón is the newspaper on which this analysis offers the best results, probably because it is the most biased on this matter. On 7 articles dedicated to the issue, five have headlines trying to attribute a certain kind of aggressiveness to Turkey. Not only the candidate presses the EU while thousands of its sanguinary nationalist clamours against Europe⁵², but also challenges the European Club, putting to the test its strength. Besides, an opinion article defines the EU as narcotized (by whom?) and suggests a parallelism between accepting Turkey into the negotiations process and getting closer to suicide. Not surprisingly, the two pictures directly inherent the new candidate, show a Turk screaming while "wielding" a Turkish flag and a line of corps of Armenian victims of the 1915's genocide. Nonetheless, the surviving Armenians on the Turkish eastern mountains are depicted as people who only care about the European money. The message of *La Razón* to its readers appears to be as follows: Turkey is a threat to Europe, not only because of its assassin past, but also because of its aggressive present attitude, which opts for the demolition of a European Union out of its mind.

⁵² Choosing to use the word "Europe" instead of "European Union", the author promotes the feeling of a more generalized hostility and maybe manages to relegate Turkey to the East and to Asia.

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