

The European Union's Framing of the European Refugee Crisis

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Abstract

During the past decade, Turkey has been negotiating for European Union membership—a request met with concerns over the country's human rights record and economic status. Yet Turkey, due to its location, has been at the front lines of the European Refugee Crisis, with millions of refugees fleeing their home countries because of ISIS and the Syrian civil war. This study explores how the EU is communicating about the refugee crisis and if the crisis is affecting Turkey's membership negotiations. The qualitative study, which uses framing theory, analyzed the emerging themes in 22 press releases from the EU website.

I. Introduction

In 2015, millions of refugees fled their home countries of Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Kosovo, along with others, to find safety and opportunity in Europe. Since the start of 2016, approximately 135,711 people have traveled to Europe by water (BBC, 2016). This mass migration has put a lot of stress on not only European countries, but also countries impacted by the threat of ISIS and the Syrian civil war.

The European Union (EU), an international organization consisting of 28 countries, has been unable to reach a unified solution or policy to the European Refugee Crisis. However, the EU has identified the importance of Turkey's cooperation and communication with Europe at this time because of Turkey's strategic location. According to Al Jazeera, Turkey has taken in 2.5 million refugees and spent about \$8.5 billion for resources to support them (Bora, 2016). Since Turkey borders Syria to the south, and EU members, Greece and Bulgaria to the other side, the country has been used as a path into the EU.

Communication between the EU and Turkey has increased significantly over the past few months to try and negotiate an agreement and solution. However, for the past 10 years, Turkey has been in the process of negotiating for EU membership. The EU has continued to express concerns over the years, and the institution has identified certain areas, such as human rights and the economy, that need to be addressed by Turkey before membership is granted.

Until now, the EU held all the power regarding Turkey's membership status; Turkey was inclined to reform and progress in areas of concern because it could lead to advancements in EU negotiations. Today, the EU is dependent on Turkey to create and uphold a plan that will keep more refugees within the country and limit the total number of people that enter Europe. According to *The Telegraph* (October 16, 2015),

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Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan will accept nothing less than full EU membership in exchange for working on the refugee problem with the EU (Holehouse, 2015).

The purpose of this study is to identify and analyze the frames from official EU press releases and statements regarding the European Refugee Crisis and the organization's relationship and negotiations with Turkey. The study explains how the European Refugee Crisis has affected EU official messages regarding Turkey and its possible EU membership. By using a qualitative content analysis, the study focuses on how the EU is framing and communicating with external audiences. The study will first examine literature about the framing theory and then extend into crisis management, European communication policy, and public diplomacy. As a guide for this study, the author made the following thesis statement: The EU is using frames that focus mostly on problems with Turkey's actions during the European Refugee Crisis, thus reducing the delay in Turkey's progress in negotiations for EU membership.

II. Literature Review

While this is an event that is ongoing and constantly changing, significant research has been conducted regarding public diplomacy, EU-Turkish relations, and framing. This research provides background information, but and noted a gap in the literature that could be further researched.

For the past 10 years, Turkey has been trying to portray a certain image of itself to the EU and to other external international audiences, specifically to proceed with EU membership negotiations. This is an example of nation branding. According to Fan (2010), the purpose of nation branding is to "align the nation's image to the reality" (p. 6). The issue with analyzing Turkey's nation branding today is that Turkey's political and social climate is constantly changing due to the European Refugee Crisis. While many countries frequently face shifts in their internal community within their borders, due to its location, Turkey has also been affected by external factors, such as the intensifying Syrian war and an increase in migration flows.

However, Turkey's brand is not the only one that has been affected. The EU, an established and respected European institution, has increasingly been in the public eye during this refugee crisis. The international community is analyzing the EU's actions in response to the refugee crisis through the media. Since Turkey is considered to be the gateway into Europe, the EU must address the situation carefully. The messages disseminated by the EU during this crisis could affect its relationship with Turkey, thus influence Turkey's role in the refugee crisis, and change the negotiations for membership. Turkey's government through the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister for European Union Affairs is also disseminating messages using press releases and announcements about these current issues, which could be argued to also be impacting EU relations, but the Turkish messages are not the focus of this study.

While the EU may have created a stable identity over the past 20 years, this crisis may drastically change its public reputation, image, and communication strategies. According to Gilpin (2010), when an organization is constructing its image, it "adapts and responds to feedback or changes in the stakeholder environment" (p. 267). These press releases and statements found on the EU website could be used, if desired, by the EU to respond to Turkey's current obstacles. However, there is still a gap in the literature about how these EU communication strategies, specifically about Turkey, can affect the country's negotiations for membership.

Public Diplomacy

The EU was first created to promote a "supranational cooperation" after World War II, and has developed into a multi-faceted and structured institution that promotes human rights, freedom, and security (Valentini, 2008, p.104). This shift in focus adjusted the organization's public diplomacy; the EU recognized numerous internal publics it had to address through its communication strategies. Valentini (2008) explains that the definition of public diplomacy can be expanded to mean that a nation is "communicating and cultivating a desired image among foreign publics" (p.105). These foreign publics are often the citizens of its member nations. Wang (2006) describes this process as using "soft power" to promote the success and position of a nation or global institution in the international community. He states that the messages are meant to enhance the external view of the nation or institution.

Valentini also discusses how the EU has reached the European citizens and EU members; however, she does not deeply address the extent to which the EU communicates with foreign publics and non-EU members. While the votes of the European citizens are most influential to the structure of the EU, the EU is facing a larger international issue that includes several non-European countries. These countries, such as Turkey and Jordan, have been enduring a steep increase in migrants who have fled the war in Syria or are seeking to escape the threat of ISIS. While many are staying in these neighboring countries, there are a large number of migrants who are trying to obtain safety in European countries. While some are legally gaining asylum in Europe, some migrants are using Turkey to enter the EU. This is an international issue regarding migration and asylum policies. For Turkey specifically, this could be a negotiating tactic during the EU accession process.

Olsson (2013) studied the effects on public diplomacy when a crisis occurs. She borrowed the definition from Boin and Hart, who described a crisis as the time “when a community of people—an organization, a town, or a nation—perceives an urgent threat to core values which must be dealt with under conditions of uncertainty” (p. 220). When the threat of ISIS increased and civilians started fleeing their homes for safety in Europe, European countries were overwhelmed with the influx of migrants and people seeking asylum. The countries were, and still are for the most part, unsure of how to help and handle the large number of refugees entering their country looking for shelter and food. According to Olsson, to establish an effective public diplomacy plan, the EU must first make sense of the situation by identifying the affected stakeholders within and outside of the EU, then connect with the appropriate actors—government or non-government entities—and lastly, the EU must communicate their key messages to these stakeholders (2013, p. 221).

This last step is the most important part for the EU as it spreads messages that could affect its relationship with Turkey, which longed to obtain membership and has been unwillingly involved and caught in the middle of the European Refugee Crisis due to its location. While Turkey has cared more about this relationship than the EU in the past, there has been a noticeable increase in interest from the EU because of its desire to cooperate and collaborate on an approach to the refugee crisis. Therefore, it can be argued that the EU communication strategies, such as the press releases and statements available on its website, could be used to improve bilateral relations with Turkey.

European Union-Turkish Relations

Turkey has been considered an entrance into Europe for migrants since the end of the Cold War. During the late 1990s, Turkey became defined as a transit country where migrants only had to first declare asylum before relocating to the West (Içduygu & Keyman, 2000, p. 386). However, Turkey did not establish a method of officially documenting these asylum seekers, which now negatively affects their EU negotiations.

Turkey's involvement in illegal migration to Europe has continued and increased since the European Refugee Crisis and threat of ISIS. Kirişçi (2003) states that the EU wants Turkey to abide by their migration standards and processes. Since Turkey is a candidate country, it is still expected to follow through on the EU Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) document that addresses migration and cooperation (p. 80). This forces Turkey to follow the values and laws of an institution it has not been accepted into. In fact, Kirişçi (2003) states, “Turkish officials fear a situation where cooperation with the EU will not be accompanied by membership, leaving Turkey exposed and forced to deal alone with difficult problems associated with asylum and irregular migration” (p. 81). At the same time, the EU is aware of how crucial Turkey's cooperation is today. The EU does not hold as much power over Turkey with its membership negotiations anymore because without Turkey's assistance, Europe will be overwhelmed with the huge number of refugees entering the West.

Framing

As the European refugee crisis is arising, the EU institution, along with the media, is sharing messages through certain frames. According to Kim (2016), “crisis managers choose appropriate response strategies to not only frame the crisis type but also change publics' perception of the organization in crisis” (p.36). Therefore, the press releases and statements on the situations that are posted on the EU website, are expected to be written in a way that favors EU values, perspectives, and responsibilities. When the international audience wants to hear official messages from large global organizations and the EU, they would be able to frame their actions and responses. Entman (1993) stated that the repetition of frames, or the frames most “salient” within the media cause the audience to perceive those themes and topics as the most important aspects about the information presented. A lack of a certain frame or topics help the audience to

determine that frame or topic is not that important.

This concept of framing was further developed by de Vreese (2005). A code sheet was created to identify the generic and issue-specific frames in the information subsidies. These press releases and announcements were referred to as information subsidies because sources provide newsworthy information for the media. De Vreese used this coding process in order to study how the frames are affecting readers' perspective of the issue. The generic frames are composed of conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, morality, and economic consequence (de Vreese, 2005, p. 56). The coding sheet developed for this study used de Vreese's generic frames.

Using framing theory, this study analyzes the communication strategies of the EU during the time of the refugee crisis. It aims to determine the main frames most prevalent in the EU messages targeting EU-member and non-member countries. The messages include press releases and official statements. Following from the literature review, the following questions are proposed:

RQ1: Is there one voice or consistent message disseminated by the European Union in regards to the refugee crisis?

RQ2: How is the EU framing the crisis on its official website?

RQ3: How is the EU framing Turkey's response to the crisis?

RQ4: Is the refugee crisis affecting Turkey's EU membership status? If so, how?

III. Methods

This study analyzes the way in which the EU is communicating to external publics in regards to the European refugee crisis and its relations with Turkey. The EU consists of several different institutions and bodies. Among many activities that these organizations can do, this study focused on the press releases and statements published by the EU.

On the EU's official website, there is a newsroom page that publishes the press releases and statements from 12 different sources and European bodies, including but not limited to the European Parliament, the European Council, the European Commission, the Court of Justice of the EU, and the European Central Bank. After a thorough analysis of the role and responsibilities of each of these institutions, as explained on the EU's official website, the communications of the European Council were considered to be the most appropriate and relevant to the purpose of this study.

The European Council consists of the heads of state or government of EU countries, EU Commission President, and the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (European Union, 2016). Since the Council officially became a part of the EU in 2009, it has consistently been responsible for bringing EU leaders together "to set the EU political agenda" as well as to set "the EU's common foreign & security policy, taking into account EU strategic interests and defence implications" (European Union, 2016). Since the purpose of this study is to answer questions about EU official communications and frames regarding the refugee crisis, a large international security concern, the European Council was most appropriate. While the EU Council does not create any laws, it is representative of all the EU member countries and also applies EU values and principles when determining the EU's "overall direction and political priorities" (European Union, 2016). The frames identified in these press releases and statements will address whether or not strong relations with Turkey is a "political priority" for the EU.

This study analyzed a total of 22 press releases, statements and speeches, which are also known as information subsidies, posted in the European Council newsroom for the period between February 1, 2016, and March 31, 2016 (two full months). This timeframe was selected because during these two months Turkey and the EU met, negotiated an agreement, and planned action for the migration crisis. The official messages and frames disseminated by the European Council would indicate the EU's "political priorities," what the European Council and EU consider most important, at this crucial time.

This qualitative content analysis was conducted to identify the main themes that were used to explain, to the international community, the events and actions taken by the European community in response to the

refugee crisis. This study also aims to explore if the European Council is clearly communicating its intentions and if the actions that the organization has taken are appropriate and significant in times of such crisis. Lastly, the study addresses how the European Council communicates not only its own actions, but also the actions and responses from Turkey, a country that is directly involved in the migration crisis and seeking EU membership. This timeframe was chosen specifically to portray the EU's perception of Turkey during negotiations and international meetings.

The qualitative approach was based on de Vreese's research previously mentioned in the literature review. A code sheet, as shown in the Appendix, was created to find the generic frames listed in the literature as well as main topics (the refugee crisis, EU relations with a member country, or EU-Turkish relations). This method helped the author discover themes and trending topics from the 22 information subsidies and patterns in which the EU was framing them.

IV. Findings

This section describes the relevant information found from 22 press releases and announcements. Of the 22 coded for this study, 11 were about the overall topic of the European Refugee Crisis; 7 were about EU relations with Turkey; and 4 focused on relations between the institution of the EU and any of its member countries. The main topic of the European Refugee Crisis covers messages that described its actions and communications with countries outside of the EU, such as Syria. For example, the information subsidy, which was titled "EU pledges more than 3 billion Euros for Syrians in 2016 at the London conference," focused on the overall EU approach and response to the refugee crisis. In this press release, facts about the Syrian war were stated under the titles of the "hospitality and generosity of Syria's neighbors" and the EU's interest and responsibility, along with the rest of the global community "to save Syria" (European Council, 2016c). Other information subsidies about this main topic described "Council conclusions on migrant smuggling" or financial support for the crisis.

The information subsidies that focused on relations between the institution of the EU and any of its member countries were mostly either about the United Kingdom or Greece. During this time period, the UK had expressed concerns about the EU, and talks about a referendum were discussed. However, the President of the European Council addressed Prime Minister David Cameron and emphasized the European Council's desire for compromise and a unified organization, especially at this time of international crisis. In terms of the EU's relationship with Greece during February and March, the messages state that the European Council is in solidarity with Greece while the country experiences difficulties resulting from the migration crisis. These information subsidies about Greece usually referred back to the Schengen Evaluation Report, which concerns European border control. This report was submitted to the European Council by the European Commission, the body of the EU that creates policy proposals and implements Council of the EU decisions (European Union, 2015a).

The third main topic in the 22 information subsidies covers relations between the EU and Turkey. Most of these press releases and statements refer to the agreement by EU member states to send €3 billion to support Turkey. For example, in the information subsidy of "Refugee facility for Turkey: Member states agree on details of financing," the European Council not only describes the agreement but also includes information regarding the institution's approach to coordinating and working with Turkey during the refugee crisis. For instance, according to the Prime Minister of the Netherlands and the rotating President of the Council of the EU, "Europe is following up on its decision to make 3 billion euro available for the Turkey Refugee Facility and we will continue to work hard with our Turkish partners to turn this into concrete results" (European Council, 2016b). Another information subsidy discussed how "the European Union appreciates our good and growing cooperation with Turkey to prevent irregular migration" and that there has been an increase in "general momentum" in EU-Turkey relations lately (European Council, 2016r).

These information subsidies were also coded for tone, generic frames, and issue-specific frames. The majority of these information subsidies had a positive tone, meaning that the EU was discussing positive progress and a unified approach to handling the refugee crisis. None of the information subsidies were coded with a negative tone and only eight had a neutral tone. A neutral tone was assigned to language that simply stated facts about the situation and crisis rather than any progress or international agreement.

Overall, the attribution of responsibility was the generic frame that was identified the most in the press releases and statements from the European Council. This frame labels a group or individual responsible for either solving or causing the problem described by the source. For these 22 information subsidies, the European Council and EU were consistently accepting responsibility for helping the international community and were also explaining that the individual members of the EU were also responsible, not just the institution. For example, in the information subsidy of “Council conclusions on migrant smuggling,” the Council not only lists all of the actions and duties of the European Council moving forward when addressing the migration crisis, but also the Council directly invites member states to a long list of suggested actions, such as to “accelerate the process of a systematic registration,” or “cooperate with the Commission,” “enhance effective and sustainable return of migrants who are not entitled to international protection,” and also “significantly increase multidisciplinary cooperation within Member states, cross-border cooperation between Member States and EU agencies and cooperation with third party countries” (European Council, 2016h). These would all be considered solutions or attempts to solve/improve the European Refugee Crisis.

The conflict frame was also salient within these information subsidies. This frame emphasized the issues resulting from the Syria War and the humanitarian concerns that exist within the international community. Only 4 out of the total 22 information subsidies framed morality as the most salient frame, meaning that while humanitarian aid concerns were prevalent, especially in terms of explaining why the EU was giving financial support, it wasn’t the main theme. It also wasn’t directly related to “moral prescriptions” as described in the literature review (de Vreese, 2005). In other words, the EU and the European Council would only briefly describe the European values and principles that guided the implemented policies. Generally, the messages would refer back to humanitarian assistance as an “urgent global responsibility” (European Council, 2016h).

V. Discussion

To understand how the EU is communicating about the European refugee crisis, Turkey’s actions and its connection to Turkey’s membership negotiations with the EU, this study presented four research questions.

Earlier in this study it was discussed that the EU is composed of several institutions and bodies. On the EU official website, there was a newsroom that listed publications of all these segments of the EU for months and a link to their archives. Regarding RQ 1, “Is there one voice or consistent message disseminated by the EU in regards to the refugee crisis?” this format and structure of the EU and its newsrooms initially suggested that there might be numerous voices for the EU. Overall, these institutions all abide by the established European values, principles, and policies; however, there are branches that focus on only one topic and may not address as many concepts as the European Council’s press releases. For example, the European Investment Bank could communicate about the European Refugee Crisis and Turkey’s involvement differently because this part of the EU is focused on “boosting Europe’s potential in terms of jobs and growth, supporting action to mitigate climate change, and promote EU policies outside the EU” (European Union, 2015b). This differs from the European Council’s responsibilities; therefore, the frames within the official communications of these EU institutions may be different. For instance, in an information subsidy presented by the European Council, a financial deal that includes the European Investment Bank (EIB) is described and ends with the statement, “President Hoyer from EIB will present the details later today” (European Council, 2016d). The details were not presented on the website of the European Council.

While the initial findings and data collection process suggested numerous voices and messages coming from the EU, the European Council’s communications consistently mentioned “we” and a collective decision and approach to the migration issues. This “we” refers to all of the EU Member states. The European Council communications are from the collective EU institution.

It became clear in the analysis of these 22 information subsidies that the European Council acted as a unified body of EU Member states and all decisions were by consensus. For example, the president of the European Council stated, “This discussion has only reinforced our commitment to building a European consensus on migration. To do that, we must first avoid a battle among plans A, B and C. It makes no sense at all, as it creates divisions within the EU. Instead, we must look for a synthesis of different approaches” (European Council, 2016g). The president directly says, “There is no good alternative to a comprehensive European plan.” This quote indicates that the EU is striving to achieve a unified, clear approach rather than allowing individual member states to create their own solution to the migration crisis. This concept of a unified

approach and voice in international affairs is reflected in other information subsidies. For instance, in "European Council Conclusions on migration" in February, it was stated, "the comprehensive strategy agreed in December will only bring results if all its elements are pursued jointly and if the institutions and Member states act together." While these information subsidies might suggest there has been an attempt by member states to form individual strategies and policies (plans A, B and C), the EU does not value or support that position. Numerous voices or policies are not acknowledged by the EU or even described to the international community in official EU communications. President Donald Tusk repeatedly mentions that "Europe will be there to assist" those in need; this is a collective voice with a common plan and interest.

Regarding RQ 2, the salient frames in the European Council messages were analyzed. As mentioned in the Findings section of this study, the generic frame of attribution of responsibility was identified the most. According to framing theory, a frame suggests what is most important within the information subsidy. Therefore, this study argues that the European Council is using these official communications to strategically explain its involvement and dedication to solving or improving the refugee crisis in Europe. The European Council consistently described conclusions from meetings with member states and surrounding countries that were affected by the crisis and the "next steps" which were the upcoming actions that would be completed by the institution after the meeting. The institution is trying to demonstrate or communicate with international communities that the problem is not being ignored and the conflict, while extensive, is a considerable part of present and future EU policies, communications, and decisions.

For example, after the agreement to send €3 billion to the EU refugee facility for Turkey was established, the information subsidy stated what would happen next as a result: "The agreement allows the Commission to adapt its decision establishing the Refugee Facility for Turkey and to prepare concrete measures for providing assistance to refugees in Turkey from early 2016" (European Council, 2016b). This is significant because it makes definitive and measurable progress; since the Council agreed, the Commission can make it an official policy.

The European Council is strategic in its messages, so the audience of these messages will be able to understand the EU's position on the crisis. The EU not only voiced concern about the crisis, but the institution also considers the crisis to be the responsibility of the EU to actively aid and fix in anyway possible. The EU does not place blame on any other institution through the attribution of responsibility frame. Rather, it just discusses how the refugee crisis is a result of the Syrian war. The information subsidy specifically mentioned, "EU pledges more than €3 billion for Syrians in 2016 at the London Conference," so "we (the EU) share with the entire international community the responsibility to save Syria, for the sake of its citizens and the whole region" (2016). While Syria is not even a member of the EU, the organization is actively responding to and assisting the people from that country.

While the European Council places significant emphasis on aiding citizens around the world, it sometimes tends to focus on European policies, law, and people. For example, many times the concept of protecting the borders and reducing illegal migration into Europe is mentioned within information subsidies that discuss the effects of the refugee crisis. These are considered issue-specific frames, according to De Vreese (2005). Issue-specific frames deal with issues that are extremely relevant and related to the main topic of the information subsidy (the European refugee crisis) and also reoccur within the information subsidies. The repetition of issue-specific frames signify that the particular issue is important and a factor that could affect EU's approach to the refugee crisis.

Regarding RQ3, "How is the EU framing Turkey's response to the crisis?" this study found that the European Council's official press releases describe Turkey as being an extremely helpful and important part of the European strategy. The information subsidies that addressed Turkey's involvement in the refugee crisis did not use the generic frame of conflict in which Turkey might have been blamed for causing problems. As stated in the literature review, the absence of a generic frame is almost as important to the reader as the presence of a frame. In this case of Turkey, the lack of the frame indicates that there is a lack of conflict between the EU and Turkey at this moment. The Turkish government was consistently commended for its "dedication and engagement" in this issue and appreciated for its "good and growing cooperation" to prevent irregular migration (European Council, 2016l). The president of the European Council refers to specific actions taken by Turkey during the crisis, such as "Turkey's recent decision to open its labour market for refugees." It also comments, "We (the EU) welcome stepped up efforts of the Turkish coastguard, intensified police controls to combat human trafficking and the tightening of visa requirements" (2016l). The EU is collectively thankful for the actions of the Turkish community and government.

Communications between the EU institution and Turkey were almost always framed positively. The issue-specific frames were consistently referring to cooperation between the two with significant agreement. The lack of the conflict frame in regard to Turkey's responses, as discussed in framing theory, indicates that this is not an important concept. The reader of these messages would understand that the cooperation and strengthening of Turkey/EU relations was more dominant in EU communication strategies and policies. This cooperation even extended beyond migration negotiations and onto other areas of Turkish concern. The EU spoke of standing in solidarity with Turkey against terrorism, and how "events like these (the attack in Ankara) also remind us that our cooperation goes way beyond migration. It is about working together on our common challenges" (European Council, 2016l).

Regarding RQ 4, "Is the refugee crisis affecting Turkey's EU membership status? And if so, how?" this paper argues that Turkey's EU membership status is being positively impacted by the refugee crisis, even though this is an on-going event and negotiations are long and complicated. This means that the increase in discussions between the EU and Turkey, and large common interest and goal seem to be beneficial to Turkey in negotiations. For example, after the EU began sending €3 billion to the refugee facility, "work has advanced on visa liberalization and in the accession talks, including the opening of Chapter 17 last December" (European Council, 2016u). This information subsidy explained every point of the EU-Turkey refugee agreement, known as a "one-for-one" deal. According to CNN, this deal would send one Syrian refugee that had illegally entered Greece back to Turkey. In return, one approved Syrian refugee would enter Europe, legally, through Turkey (Ap, Tuysuz, McLaughlin, & Hume, 2016). The information subsidy explicitly describes how Turkey is assisting the EU and relieving some illegal migration challenges that the EU was facing and how in turn, the commitment of the EU was "re-energised". Several other chapters of EU negotiations, which are long descriptions of the areas of concern that need to be addressed and discussed amongst the EU and Turkey, will be opened and negotiated again. While it is possible that the situation in Turkey could change quickly, as crises unfolded, there was significant progress in negotiations during the timeframe of this study. Before Turkey and the EU agreed upon the one-for-one deal, there were still about 30 chapters that had to be negotiated.

VI. Conclusion

The findings of this study did not support the thesis statement. The expectation was to find that Turkey was not cooperating with the EU, and the EU was framing Turkey and its actions in a negative way. As a result, it was predicted that this would negatively affect Turkey's relationship with the EU and decrease membership negotiations. Instead, this study found that the EU was appreciative of Turkey and its cooperation and applauding its actions regarding the European refugee crisis. This in turn, had a positive effect in its EU membership negotiations.

For the most part, the European Council was strategically using these messages to communicate the effort and commitment of the institution to international publics. This is important because when a reader interprets these messages, especially a reader who would like Turkey to be a part of the EU, it is possible that a positive brand is formed about the organization of the EU, even in a time of crises. As discussed in the literature review, an organization's ability to address the needs of its stakeholders (EU member states and citizens) even in a difficult situation could affect the formation of a nation's or organization's brand. In the case of the EU, the organization was able to effectively communicate with its publics, uphold the interests, and shared values of its audiences through its public diplomacy. This study supports the idea that the EU successfully uses the soft power of public diplomacy to communicate its position on particular issues (Wang 2006) and to maintain a strong image among its publics.

Since the events in the European community are unstable, the official communications of the institution could change. However, this study argues that the EU is actively trying to help all those affected by the Syrian War and ISIS by establishing strong relationships, partnerships, and policies, and then informing the international public of its progress through solid, honest, and official communications. The EU recognizes the public interest in this matter and the important role and duties that the institution must uphold to satisfy and aid public needs.

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Appendix: Code-sheet

Variable Name	Variable Label	Variable Label
CODER NAME	Name of person coding	1=Tara 2= Other
NUMBER	Number of subsidy being coded	0-22
DATE	Date information was published	Mm/dd/yy
SOURCE	Story location (Which website was this article found on?)	1=European Council
STORY	Story type	1=Press release 2=Speech 3=Statement 4=Other
LENGTH	Length (word count)	0000-9998
HFOCUS	Headline Focus	1= European Refugee Crisis (General topic) 2= The institution of the EU relations with EU member states 3=EU/Turkey Relations: The EU's relationship and foreign policy with Turkey, rather than member countries, regarding the refugee crisis 4=Other
LTONE	Lead Tone (Lead is the first paragraph of the story. Tone refers, in particular, to whether the language reflects an effort or intention by EU to establish better relationships)	1=Negative 2=Positive 3=Neutral

MAIN TOPIC	Body focus (What exactly the article is discussing or announcing)	1=European Refugee Crisis 2=EU relations with EU member states 3=EU/Turkey Relations 4=EU policies/values 5=Other
Generic Frame Present	The generic frame(s) that is/are present or salient, separating each with a comma. Ex. 1, 3, 5.	1=Conflict Frame indicates a conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries. 2=Human Interest There is an emphasis on an individual, his/her story and emotions while describing an event, issue or problem. 3=Responsibility There is an individual or group that is clearly responsible for causing or solving the problem described. 4=Morality An event is described and interpreted by religious principles or “moral prescriptions” 5=Economic Consequence This frame presents the issue, event or problem in terms of how the people, region, country, or institution will be affected economically. De Vreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. <i>Information design journal+ document design</i> , 13(1), 51-62.
OTHER (non-common) frames or issues	Any other frame that seems apparent in the information subsidy and is important to note	
ISSUE-SPECIFIC Frames	A reoccurring issue in the information	1=Cooperation 2=Illegal migration 3=Concern about conflictive relationship with other country specified or partnership/cooperation with specific country of the EU in relation to the refugee crisis 5=Other (Describe)
Important Quotes	A quote that explains a specific issue or supports a theme/frame and is relevant to explaining the research.	Include quote and source.