FINDING THE OTHERING IN THE REPRESENTATION OF SYRIAN REFUGEE WOMEN: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE TURKISH NEWSPAPERS CUMHURIYET, HURRIYET, SABAH, SOZCU AND YENI SAFAK

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BILKENT UNIVERSITY 2021

To My Mother Bahar Miettinen

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ABSTRACT

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After the outbreak of chaos in 2011 in Syria Arab Spring uprisings, Turkey implemented an open door policy for those who were subjected to forced migration. In this process, Syrians faced the consequences of being in a different country. Entering a social cohesion process with the society has brought along various policies. The representation of the media in this prescription acts as a bridge to break positive and negative prejudices between the host society and the Syrians. When Syrians are mentioned, the first men are coming to fore to mind and cause women to be forced into the background and make their lives invisible. This study focuses on how newspapers with different political views represent Syrian women in the Turkish print media. While making this analysis, critical discourse analysis was used. It is based on the fact that women are exposed to various other marginalization through the concept of dual otherness. Between 2015-2018, the news of Cumhuriyet, Sözcü, Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers about Syrian women were evaluated in the categories determined in the study. The news is categorized as death, victim,

offender, mother, hero-achievement, sexual object, dependent on the service provided by the country, and others.

Key words: Syrian Women, Othering, Representation, Immigration, Press

ÖZET

SURİYELİ MÜLTECİ KADINLARIN TEMSİLİNDE ÖTEKİLİĞİ BULMAK: TÜRK GAZETELERİ CUMHURİYET, HÜRRİYET, SABAH, SÖZCÜ VE YENİ ŞAFAK'IN ELEŞTİREL SÖYLEM ANALİZİ

Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü

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2011 Arap Baharı ayaklanmalarından sonra Suriye'de çıkan kaos sonrası Türkiye zorunlu göçe maruz kalanlar için açık kapı politikası uygulamıştır. Bu süreçte Suriyeliler farklı bir ülkede bulunmanın sonuçları ile karşılaşmışlardır. Toplum ile de bir sosyal uyum sürecine girilmesi çeşitli politikaları beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu reçte medyanın temsili ev sahibi toplum ve Suriyeliler arasında olumlu olumsuz önyargıların kırılmasında köprü konumundadır. Suriyeli denildiğinde akla ilk erkeklerin gelmesi kadınların arka plana atılmasına neden olmakta ve onların yaşamlarını görünmez kılmaktadır. Bu çalışma Türkiye yazılı basınında farklı siyasi görüşlere sahip olan gazetelerin Suriyeli kadınları nasıl temsil ettiğine odaklanmaktadır. Bu analizi yaparken kritik söylem analizine başvurulmuştur. Kadınların ikili ötelik kavramı üzerinden diğer çeşitli ötekileştirmeye maruz kalmasını temel almaktadır. 2015-2018 yılları arası Cumhuriyet, Sözcü,Hürriyet, Sabah ve Yeni Şafak gazetelerinin Suriyeli kadınlara yönelik haberleri çalışmada belirlenen kategorilerde

değerlendirilmiştir. Haberler ölüm, kurban, suçlu, anne, kahraman-başarı, cinsel nesne, ülke tarafından sağlanan hizmete bağımlı ve diğerleri olarak categorize edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Suriyeli Kadın, Ötekilik, Temsil, Göç, Yazılı Basın

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Finding the Othering in the Representation of Syrian Refugee Women: Critical Discourse Analysis of the Turkish Newspapers Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Sabah, Sözcü and Yeni Şafak

1. Chapter 1: Introduction

Media analysis comes first in representation research. Studies based on the analysis of written and visual media acts are essential for the person, group or event represented. Furthermore, the importance of media in terms of representation has also found a place in the academic literature. Language includes various terms to express what the individuals experience. These terms comprise many other expressions such as nouns, events, movements and are often used with two or more additional terms to create meaning. In other words, terms come together to create a semantic relationship, multiplying and diversifying what they express. It is not always easy to notice the semantic relationship in the text, and it should not be forgotten that the sentence is a unit rather than its superficial parts. To understand the meaning, it is necessary to observe the conditions and be informed about the situation. One of the studies in revealing semantic relationships belongs to Casagrande and Hale (1967). The most critical information they add to their work is that most people reach their knowledge by hearing words during a daily conversation. It will not be difficult for a person in constant interaction with a language to learn or adapt to any word, thus, it is not difficult to spread any ideology or idea within the society. Statements that are frequently heard by and exposed to the mass population begin to be adopted after a while. With today's technology and increasing attention on media, providing the impact of ideas on individuals through discourse has become easier just as learning a word. An easy and reciprocal interaction will be observed with the media's

affection for society and vice versa. Under these circumstances, language now enables the spread of ideas and opinions across borders and keeps communities together. Besides its positive effects, it is also observed that the differences become more pronounced, and discriminatory concepts are increasingly embedded in the daily language.

Therefore, it is located in the complexity and ambiguity of the representation itself (...) and thus becomes involved in the complexity of power and obedience within the representation (Hall 1997; 354-355). The power relationship in discriminatory discourses begins with one group's view of itself as superior to the other. Differences are expressed as disadvantages and lead to the use of marginalizing discourse by the dominant group. It is the primary way of determining which group is superior to whom. By forming discourse, the concept of "us and others" is established, and this makes it stereotypical in an endless cycle. Therefore, understanding the power relations in a discourse is crucial for revealing the fundamental meaning. According to Van Dijk, there are three questions for understanding the power relations in the text.

> *1. How do the powerful groups control the text and the context of the public discourse?*
>
> *2. How do such discourses of power control the minds and actions of less powerful groups? Moreover, what are the social consequences of such control, such as social inequality?*
>
> *3. What are the characteristics of the discourses of powerful groups, institutions, and organizations? And what are the features of the forms of abuse of power?" (Quoted from Karaduman about Dijk, 2015)*

Based on these three questions, it is argued that power relations to others are used as a control mechanism by the dominant group. This, which creates social inequality in the public sphere, can bring about various other problems such as hatred and accusations. It is therefore necessary to understand the power relations to know the meaning and the underlying truth. It is clearly understood that discrimination is among these issues mentioned, and that one group has authority over another. Expressing this situation in language will ensure the continuity of the information flow in society. The media's role in this relationship should be balanced, and it is expected not to show discrimination towards and between groups in regards to their language, religion, gender, race, or age. However, this predicted balancing factor cannot be provided by the media generally, which leads it to lose its neutrality and become politicized. In terms of media neutrality, it is necessary to mention the media's attitude towards migrants and asylum seekers who are considered as the ‘other’ in the host society. Individuals who leave their countries because of immigration are discriminated against through their "immigrant identity" based on the differences in language, religion, race, and culture. According to Fryberg (2012), the media should not allow views to make up judgment in society. Rather than having a biased or guiding attitude, it should direct the individuals to have their own opinions and lead society to think, question within a mutual understanding.

However, the media cannot maintain this necessary attitude towards refugees and marginalizing and discriminatory discourses are becoming even more common. Moreover, media discourse effectively forms public opinion and self-presentation (Wodak, 2015). Specifically in the social cohesion process, this negatively affects both the host society and the refugees. Society sometimes starts to react in a causal relationship that turns into a hate

relationship, which constantly blames the refugees for the crime rates, lost jobs, and many other problems (Efe, 2015; Golbasi, 2017).

Having observed the relationship between media and politics, it is evident that the media depends on political power through its news&material resources. The political power also needs the media to announce and publicize its activities and express itself to the public. When the dialectical relation between the two is moved to different dimensions, both institutions' primary missions and objectives are abandoned, and a relationship based on interest is returned. This depends on both sides and cannot be considered separately. Just as the legitimacy of politics, the same of the media emerges and continues with its recognition. In this process, the both needs each other to adopt and have their arguments accepted (Akdag, 2020).

Studies (Pandır,İbrahim and Paksoy,2015; Yaylacı and Karakuş, 2015) examining the representation of refugees in the print media have focused on the question of "how they are represented" rather than "what is the word choice for defining refugees" or "is there any discriminatory discourse within the text or the visual." Although numerical distinctions between categories are given, discourse analysis remains incomplete. Studies on the representation of women refugees, in particular, are not sufficient. Studies based on Turkey that review newspaper reports of Syrian refugees influencing their position in the country are very few. They are focusing on what is happening and generalizing who the refugees are. In research on women, the representation element has been handled within limited issues. Studies reveal that Syrian women are portrayed as second wives or family spouses, but this is not enough to explain the representation of the Syrian women who are double 'victims' of

war and migration. In the discussions on migration and gender, it is emphasized that women are not invisible individuals who follow men in the migration process. A woman is an active individual who improves both domestic,social and economic conditions (Biehl and Danış;2020). The discourse within the current global order characterizes certain groups such as women, people with disabilities and children as vulnerable. Those who left their country as a result of migration are also represented in this category as 'vulnerable refugees' or 'vulnerable refugee population'. Apart from the such vulnerability, which have visibility such as language, education, health opportunities, there are many invisibles refugee women lives. Lack of decision-making, self-determination, lack of access to information and inability to demonstrate their abilities placed women in minority status (Sözer,2019).

Vulnerability confronts Syrian women in many areas. Married Syrian women cannot leave the country without the consent of their husbands. They are reluctant to report when they have been subjected to physical or psychological violence. They fear that in any negative turn they will be returned to Syria. Women who do not live in Refugee camps are obliged to donate because they do not have any income. Women who encounter this harassment put them in situations that will negatively affect them, such as forced marriage (Freedman, Kıvılcım and Baklacıoğlu, 2017).

"(...) women and girls in particular are more at risk of facing different forms of violence including sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) due to the lack of social protection and lack of safe access to services. There is wide recognition of sexual violence as a weapon of war but other forms of violence against women during conflict also exist, including domestic violence, sexual exploitation and early marriage (Anani,2013;75)."

Women also experience vulnerability in education. According to a study conducted in 2013, the biggest problem faced by women in the field of education is language. This situation affects social cohesion along with education and causes Syrians to be unable to communicate with Turks. Another obstacle found is access to education. Although support is given to Syrian women's education in Turkey, it is quite challenging to provide transportation due to financial difficulties. In addition, it is getting harder and harder to get an education unless women have individual economic freedom. Another discrimination experienced only because of gender is 'not sending girls to school' (Ibesh, Ahmad, et al., 2021).

Another vulnerability in Jordan is that women and children cannot reach even basic needs without a man. Women and girls cannot leave their homes alone. However, early marriage is a massive issue for women and girls. According to the report from UN Women (2013) Jordan;

Rates of early marriage among surveyed Syrian refugees are high: 51.3% among female where and 13% among male responded to have been married before the age of 18, bringing the average of those who had ever been before 18 years old to 33.2% (UN Women,2013).

> *"While the recognition that many of the refugees arriving were women has helped to highlight some of the particular dangers they face (and, in particular, the risk of sexual and gender- based forms of violence faced by women on their journeys and on arrival in Europe), much of the reporting on this subject has not gone beyond this superficial recognition of the presence of women (Freedman,2017;125).*"

In accordance to the vulnerability of the refugee women the study conducten in Lebonon and Jordan claims that "Syrian refugee women were depicted as victims of sexual exploitations and violence in some of the host communities (Haider,Olimy and Al-Abbas,2021;17) ".

Akyüz and Tursun emphasizes that viewing Syrian women married to Turkish men from a victim perspective in the (Turkish) media is insufficient to see multidimensional dynamics (Akyüz and Tursun, 2019).

The representation of Refugee women as ‘vulnerabable’ or ‘victim’ in media studies destroys the multidimensional perspective. For this reason, the following pages include the findings of international and Turkey-oriented studies on representation.

To begin with, in the UN’s report (2017), among migrant-sending countries, the Philippines; among receiving countries, Italy and Canada; and among both sending and receiving countries. Mexico was selected, and the newspapers of these countries were examined. The newspapers were analyzed according to the most extensive distribution size and most comprehensive coverage between May 2013 and May 2015. Five hundred twenty-two unique depictions were obtained in the representation of women migrant workers. Representation as a victim includes abuse, labor exploitation, trafficking, domestic violence and countries of origin state policies. There are subcategories consisting of development agents, family members (mother, daughter, and sister), caregivers, primary and secondary income earners, and activists in the news of representation as heroes. In addition to this, they were also represented as negatively affecting public health, and their fertility was also perceived as a threat to the dominant race. News reports that do not fit into these three categories have been added to the research statistics with the subgroup, ‘other.’

In an article focusing on Israeli women immigrants' images in the former USSR, the qualitative content analysis method was used. Israel's popular newspapers, between 1994-1997, have formed the data of the research. According to the results, the image of women

immigrants in the Israeli media was framed negatively in two ways. Their images appeared as suppliers of sexual services and as the others , not one of us. The study has concluded that the representation of women's appearance in this manner will search for marginalization and alienation. It was also pointed out that by creating a discriminatory national discourse, women will have difficulty adapting to society and inclusion. It should not be forgotten that these methods of representation reflect political and epistemological realities (Salih, 2000; Lemish, 2000).

Lünenborg (2009) has highlighted the concepts of gender and ethnicity within the representation of refugee women in the German media. The media, which plays a dominant role in forming the otherness in modern societies, sets the inclusion criteria, which creates the group identity and exclusion. Both of these concepts are culturally and historically constructed within the central ideology and hegemonic power. The study's key point is how refugee women are represented in the media, on which images and stereotypes are brought to the forefront. Other questions are how and according to what refugee women contribute to producing content in the media and how refugee women deal with the media's images. Most German studies have revealed that refugee women are invisible in the news or represented in limited and stereotypical roles. For instance, in Der Spiegel's newspaper, immigrant women are often portrayed in sexualized roles or as veiled, religious Muslims.

In the study of Pandır, Efe, and Paksoy (2015), the news reports from obtained from five different national newspapers (*Hürriyet, Sabah, Posta, Sözcü, Zaman*) dated back to 2014 were analyzed using the keywords Syrian refugees. According to the data obtained, the Turkish press' point of view regarding refugees is generally positive or neutral. The research

was carried out with the text and visual content analysis method. The situation of Syrians primarily reflected in the news reports is about the difficulties they face in daily life. Refugee issues and issues related to aid are also the most frequently recurring topics in the newspapers. The negative news reports comprise the most common threat perceptions in the headlines, as the refugees were perceived as a national threat because of their possible adverse effects on the economy and the workforce.

Yaylacı and Karakus (2015) discuss the incident of Syrians coming to Turkey because of forced migration between 2011 and 2014. They explain that the media representation of Syrians, who had to leave their home country and were forced to live in another one, is an issue that needs to be examined in terms of the adverse effects on the host society. Turkey's open-door policy in 2011 is assessed according to two different points of view by the researchers. The first group on this topic is curious about meeting the basic needs of the Syrians and initiating for them a social cohesion process. The other group stands at the society's general point of view. According to the news reports in the local newspapers, Syrians are represented as victims, guests, burdens, and threats. This data is obtained by collecting the articles and news reports from *Cumhuriyet, Yeni Şafak,* and *Hürriyet* newspapers. According to the findings, news reports in *Cumhuriyet* are mostly related to Middle Eastern Politics. There is also criticism against the attitude of the Turkish state towards the Syrians and Syria. *Hürriyet* assumes a balanced role in terms of reflecting the government and the opposition parties. Like *Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Yeni Şafak* also mentions Middle Eastern politics. Unlike the other two, *Yeni Şafak* praises Turkey's helpfulness and kindness as a host country and directly criticizes the opposition parties. In general, Syrian

refugees are related to urban pollution, crime, illegal marriages, second spouses, and prostitution.

Based on representation of the women; Narli, Ozascilar, and Ipek (2020) stated that the representation of Syrian women has academic and humanitarian importance. They also mentioned that the media plays a decisive role in the analysis of the needs the Syrians have and the policies of social cohesion. The fundamental question in the study is how Syrian women are represented in the Turkish mainstream media. This issue involves which gender issues are not mentioned and how they are framed. News reports from local and national newspapers dated through January 2013 to December 2015 were reviewed.

Based on the general aspect of the refugee women representation in the newspapes there are two common issues. Refugees are represented as a security problem, which leads to framing as threat. Two concepts that stand out in the threat factor are social and economic concepts.The issue that comes after the threat factor is refugees' representation as people in need of protection. This context, which has one of the most remarkable places in the context of otherness, brings the language used in newspapers to the fore. Otherization as we and them becomes more evident. Various issues are highlighted by the host country in the form of those who are in constant expectation and should be educated to comply with the society (Doganay&Kenes, 2016).

In order to understand the concept of otherness based on immigration, the terminology in the field should also be known. In the context of otherness, there is another meaning integrity has for the representation of migrants. This reveals the necessity to understand who came as a result of immigration and how the definitions contain different understandings. Addressing

this subject briefly will also demonstrate the importance of meaning in words. Syrians in Turkey do not fit with the situation of refugees or asylum seekers. They are defined in a particular category as Syrians under "temporary protection." It is difficult to separate the meanings of the immigrant types. That's why it is crucial to identify the differences between each other. IOM has published a document named "Glossary on Migration (2019)[1]". Based on the Glossary, migrant means "*a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons (pp,130))".* Refugee means " *a person who owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality (...), and is unable to unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail her/himself of the protection of that country, (...), or who (...) is unwilling to return to it (pp,169)* ". The most significant difference between these two concepts is that the choices of migrants, such as returning or staying, depend on their will. However, for refugees, this is a necessity rather than a choice. Asylum seekers are defined as; "*an individual who is seeking international protection. In countries with individualized procedures, an asylum seeker is someone whose claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which he or she has submitted it (pp, 12)".* It is also important to note that every recognized refugee is considered anasylum seeker but not every asylum seeker is identified as a refugee. To understand the Turkish case, it is essential to define temporary protection. According to the glossary, temporary protection means;*" Arrangements developed by States to offer protection of a temporary nature, without prior individual status determination, conflict, generalized violence, disasters or other*

[1]Online Access: https://www.iom.int/glossary-migration-2019

humanitarian crises, including to persons who do not have access to protection under 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (p.209).”

While most of the studies focusing on Turkey concentrate on the general representation of the Syrians, those that emphasize women are very few. Existing studies provide us with available statistical information while researching the position of women. Analysis of images and language (the tone of media as accusatory, target indicative) is not detailed. Many of the studies have focused on explanations, focusing on the word-based representation of women. It was examined how often the words in the newspapers were used rather than the representation of women. The results showed the woman's definition on similar adjectives such as the second wives and criminals. Without focusing on coded meanings, it is written who they are and how this stands out in the print media.

No comparison was made between newspapers. In addition, in this study, a detailed analysis of the categories that are differentiated in the marginalization of refugee women was made. This research, which started with how they are represented in different newspapers, rather than who are the Syrian women, revealed other methods of representation of women in the print media. Additionally, it compares the newspapers which have different political stances. I have reached many findings from the rights-based approach, such as showing the woman as an object and only reflecting it through the concept of family. According to other research studies, my thesis is based on the representation-oriented identity of the refugee woman with critical discourse analysis.

Within the scope of this thesis, the representation of the Syrian women as murdered, victim, criminal, mother, hero, client, and objects of sexual objectification is examined. According to

the news headlines, visual media, and news content is taken from the newspapers' online sites with different backgrounds and views, an analysis is made.

In the next chapter, details about the situation of Syrian women in Turkey will be given. By making an explanation on “othering”, how this concept is imposed on Syrian women in newspapers will be examined in other chapters.

1.1 Background Information: Syrian Refugees in Turkey

Following the Arab Spring uprisings in 2011, Syria experienced a devastating crisis between the Assad Regime and the opposition groups (Cankurtaran & Albayrak, 2019). Most of the population was subject to forced migration. After this process, the increasingly complex living conditions in the country caused a mass migration movement. Many countries, such as Turkey, Jordan, and Lebanon, have experienced a refugee flow. According to the 2021 data, the number of Syrians who are in the temporary protected status in Turkey is over 3.6 million, and the number has increased steadily since 2011 (Icduygu, 2015; Icduygu Nations 2016). Turkey’s implementation of an open-door policy has played an active role in increasing the number of refugees.

Graph 1: Syrian Under Temporary Protection by Years

Data and Graphic are derived from https://en.goc.gov.tr/temporary-protection27

Turkey has been experiencing a significant migration flow throughout its history. With the beginning of the flow in 2011, policies were planned through the crisis and the emergency precautions. Syrians needed to reach safe and healthy conditions with access to shelter, food, medicine, education, and other urgent, vital needs. After the emergency precautions in 2013, policies and perspectives turned into the market for finding more permanent solutions instead of temporary ones. It was clear that Syrians were less likely to return to their countries, and they were going to have a permanent status in Turkey. Issuance of limited work permits for the integration policies and decisions taken for granting limited citizenship are examples of the junctures taken for integration (Erdogan, 2015; Icduygu&Ayaslı 2019). Subsequently, there have been some changes in the legal status of the displaced people, which had effects both on the national and international order. These regulations are the Temporary Protection Regulation enacted in 2014 to establish the Directorate General of Migration Management in

2013 and the entry into force of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection[2]. Temporary Protection Law was selected based on Article 91 of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, thereby granting Syrian refugees temporary protection (Erdogan, 2017; Bostan 2018). In the international spectrum, the Syrians are entitled as migrants.

In contrast, Turkey uses a unique framework of temporary protection. This regulation entails protection for "foreigners who have been forced to leave their country and who come to Turkish borders or crossed Turkish borders to seek emergency and temporary protection"[3] (Esen, 2016). Another critical issue is the fact that Turkey has signed the 1951 Convention and agreed to put time limits and geographical constraints. With the approval of the 1967 Protocol, the time limit was lifted. Refugee and asylum seeker status were limited in a geographical restriction only with "*persons who have become refugees due to events occurring in Europe"* (Ozden, 2013; 5). Those coming from outside of Europe would be decided about by the UNHCR and would be in temporary protection status within this period. Those who are considered immigrants would be placed in a third country with the support of the UNHCR.

According to Icduygu and Simsek (2016), it is possible to make a rare distinction in this migration process. The years between 2011 and 2013 are the first period that the Syrian refugees were required for emergency regulations and were identified as guests. The second is seen as a transition period between 2013 and 2016. This process allowed both to observe

[2]Online Access: http://www.goc.gov.tr/files/files/03052014_6883.pdf
[3]Online Access: http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2014/10/20141022-15.htm

refugees' permanent or temporary status and realize the international arena's approaches. The third stage is described as;

> *"The third period of Syrian migration to Turkey refers to a process in which policies and practices are moving in the direction of integration. For instance, the Turkish government started to issue work permits for Syrian refugees who have been in Turkey for more than six months in January 2016 (pp, 61)."*

In 2016, social cohesion-oriented approaches focused on integration into society and the process of achieving its place in the system. The main reason it has started after this mentioned year is that there was a debate on granting citizenship to Syrians. This primarily focuses on integrative solutions rather than emergency implications. Various authorities, such as the government, national and international non-governmental organizations, still provide for Syrians to achieve social and systemic social cohesion. It should be emphasized that discourses are as critical as the policies conducted during the social cohesion process. To understand the process, the discussion of identity and cultural harmony must be addressed. The concept of identity creates the perception of *us* and *others*, and with this perception, the differences become more apparent, and discrimination deepens with marginalization. Adoption of cultural cohesion by the refugee group helps to adapt prejudice against the host society. However, the host society should not forget that the refugee group has the integrity of its cultural codes of the past.

Social cohesion should not be confused with the concept of assimilation. In the process of assimilation, the refugee group embraces the cultural codes of the host society, leaving aside the cultural principles it has brought from its past to achieve a sense of belonging.

(Caglar&Onay, 2018, 42-48). With the start of the flow of immigration from Syria to Turkey, Syrians approached with positive rhetoric in which they have always been described as guests in Turkey. For instance, in 2013, Davutoğlu, the foreign minister of the period, identified Syrians as brothers and guests (Icduygu&Nimer 2019). The peak point in the displacement of Syrians was in the summer of 2015. This process, which created an intense impact worldwide, has also been frequently reflected in the agenda with the loss of lives (Sunata&Yildiz, 2018).

This year's another critical point was the announcement from authorities that the Syrians could no longer go back to Syria. Moreover, various regulations, such as issuing a limited number of work permits, have started to be addressed (Icduygu&Enes, 2019). They were named guests and were replaced by the integration process.

In a 2016 speech delivered by President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the path to citizenship was granted. Regarding the international refugee regime, there have been three options for the Syrians to return. They were listed as follows.

a) ensuring the integration and cohesion of the individuals arriving because of forced migration to the receiving country,

b) voluntarily returning to their country of origin, and

c) resettlement in a third country (Icduygu&Simsek, 2016, Icduygu &Ayaslı, 2019).

This has proved that Syrians were not returning in the short run; either they would be permanent or stay for an extended period (Baban, Ilcan, &Rygiel, 2017). Erdogan’s speech showed that a new era has begun for the Syrian refugees, which included implementations for social cohesion and integration.

1.2 Syrian Women in Turkey

Before the forced migration, it should be asked what the position of the Syrian women in their hometown is. The Syrian Government approved CEDAW in 2003; even though some changes were made in some of its articles, it ensured equality between men and women. Women had low participation in public and political life, which caused a lack of representation. The constitutional amendment accepted in 1973 aimed to encourage women in education and employment by calling for equality among citizens. In 2007, there was an increase in female literacy rates and labor force participation. Women began to participate in political spheres and law, which was an important step that helped women to move away from the traditional structure. Inheritance and family lawsuits are heard in religious courts in Syria. According to the law articles, while the marriage age for girls is 17 and 18 for boys, these courts can allow the marriage of a 13-year-old girl and a 15-year-old boy (Abdrabou,2012, Maktabi,2013). Polygamy is valid for men, and the only condition sought to be shown sufficiency of the man's financial situation (Maktabi, 2010). When the women applied to the courts for divorce, they lose their economic rights. Murders committed in the name of honor in the country are still seen as mitigating factors. It is known that women who experience social and family pressure give up their existing rights, and some of them are not aware of these rights. Under these circumstances, women are considered in a secondary position (Cankurtarak& Albayrak, 2019; FIDH, 2012).

While the struggle for women's rights continues in Syria, migration during the civil war brought women’s problems to another dimension. They started to have a new struggle for survival by the day they have left Syria and forced to migrate to other countries. The scenario

has been the same in most of the countries they have to move to. The language barrier prevented them from explaining their problems quickly, and the most basic living conditions such as health, education, and employment could not find any simple solutions. In Turkey, AFAD was the responsible department for Syrians that has taken emergency precautions to meet the needs of the Syrians. While the sociological stance shows that Syrians would not return to their countries (Erdoğan,2018), emergency policies and practices that will ensure social cohesion also have become necessary. To understand and regulate the living conditions of the Syrians, it is required to look at their situation in the country. The needs analysis should also be done to ensure social cohesion.

Syrians under temporary protection have settled in different cities of the country. Based on the data gathered from the Directorate General of Migration Management, the first three cities where Syrian refugees are settled are Istanbul (518,930), Gaziantep (450,016), and Hatay (433,972) . The number of Syrians staying in temporary accommodation centers has also decreased over time. Currently, 58,752 Syrians live in the camps, while the remaining 3,585,017 people live outside the cities' camps. Considering the current data, there are 1,965,256 Syrian men and 1,678,513 Syrian women living in Turkey. Corresponding to age distribution, the number of Syrian women between the ages of 19-24 ranks first in the adult category. This is followed by the age range of 25-29, and then the 30-34, respectively. Another unique situation is that the number of Syrian children aged 0-4 and 5-9 years (regardless of female/male differentiation) is the highest compared to the overall numbers[4]. This shows that Syrian children are born in the country, and the number is higher than the

[4]Online Access: https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638Accessed: 16.01.2021 (All the numerical data are gathered from Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management)

young or elderly population. “The age distribution of women in our country is similar to the age distribution of Syria's total population. The age distribution of the Syrian population also shows that the proportion of children and working-age population in the total is quite high, but the proportion of the elderly in the total is quite low (AFAD, 2014; 23)”.

Syrian women’s problems is Syria, such as sexual violence, forced and early marriage, lack of healthcare and unequal nationality rights (UPR,2016) for both women and their children had begun before they were forced to move from their country.

“The Syrian Arab Spring has borne witness to great atrocities against women. The growing number of victims who have suffered torture, rape, imprisonment and death continues. In addition, thousands of women and girls are at risk in vulnerable situations in overcrowded refugee camps in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey, where further gender based violence is occurring (Charles and Denman,2013;158)”.

This situation is carried with their displacement during migration and in the country they moved to. During the civil war in Syria, women faced severe difficulties such as gender-based violence, physical and economic difficulties, early marriage of young girls, pregnancy, and lack of education. The most important reason for them to leave their country was the security threat. Then came the political reasons, economic reasons, and health conditions, respectively. In addition to these problems, women also struggled with the pain of losing their family members (AFAD, 2014). Various studies have been carried out to ensure that severely affected women both physically and psychologically could integrate into social life.

According to a recent study (Acikalin, Ercetin, Potash, et al. 2020) conducted by Syrian refugees in the social cohesion process, it has been concluded that they were satisfied with the

living conditions in Turkey. It is supposed that integration studies for Syrian women are also fruitful. Among the issues discussed with the Syrian women, education is the most striking one in terms of social cohesion. So much so that most of the women surveyed could provide education in Turkey and stated that they were satisfied. However, according to this study's information, data shows that many women could not be reached in some studies. The economic situation comes after training during the adaptation process. Syrian women are given information on how to earn money, and training courses are provided to women to create employment. Despite this, the rate of Syrian women working is meager. Among the most critical deficiencies of women who cannot enter the working life, language, gender, and security issues come to the fore.

The exclusion of barriers will increase employment and work opportunities for female refugees in Turkey. That the Syrians in studies about legal aspects concerning the rights of women in security measures demonstrate they have enough confidence in Turkey are also among the data in the study (Acikalin, Ercetin, Potash, et al. 2020). Syrian women are based on mutual tolerance scheme in Turkey. It is also that Turkish society and Syrians respect each other's views. The similarity between the living conditions also supports the social adaptation process. Under these circumstances, Syrian women are not expected to return to their countries (IOM, 2012; UN Women, 2018; Cankurtaran& Albayrak, 2019).

1.3 The way for defining differences: “Othering.”

During the UN Decade for Women meetings that started in Mexico City in 1976, criticism began to appear in the media. It was argued that women did not take place in serious media, in the newspaper reports. Another issue was that the content regarding women was based on

stereotypes. Most of the women in the media were those who were famous or appeared behind successful men. In other words, the focal point in the matter was that there was no representation of the image of women (Byerly, 2012). Gender is an essential concept that creates social relationships based on perceived differences between sexes and the primary way to show power relations. While hierarchies in other areas of life are expressed in the context of gender, generally, masculine terms are used for dominant individuals or groups, and feminine words are used for individuals or groups subject to them (Wiesner-Hanks, 2001). Those explain that the behavioral patterns attributed to women in society are also seen as weakness among groups or individuals. Even discrimination is made according to women's characteristics, and that it starts with language putting extra responsibility on the media. "Media and communications are a central element of modern life, while gender and sexuality remain at the core of how we think about identities (Gaunlett, 2008; 6)". Frequent use of predetermined and stereotyped definitions creates a general judgement in male and female representations. Men are shown as more active, courageous, and determined, women as house workers. Although the migration movements have eliminated the strict rules that determine societies with the advancement of communication opportunities and the progress of the global order, and reduced divisions such as time and space, they also brought out a new marginalization. With the new racism concept emphasizing cultural differences, the perception that people from less developed countries cannot adapt to the host society has become widespread. The perception of harm in the dominant society has increased, causing newcomers to become a threat figure. An expression that supports the production of racism "outside of us" is used to define the concept of others.

Othering is also implemented based on gender. When this is combined with immigration, it creates the concept of dual othering. According to Nash, “dual otherness of gender and minority constitutes a decisive cultural mechanism that denies a role to women (2009; 58-59)”. The media, which does not reflect the reality behind women refugee’ lives in society, increases women's invisibility and causes women not to have any place in the public sphere. In general, the news presents women's lives as dependent on the family. It is portrayed as improbable for a woman to stand alone and have another chance rather than the traditional way of living. “Marking women as the carriers of essential timeless values means freezing them outside of the social dynamics with the demand for a permanence of behavior that denies their capacity for personal and collective development (59)”. The refugee status of women and the notion of otherness in the media are also associated with fertility.

The fertility of a refugee woman in the host society also causes a perception of a future threat rather than a demographic diversity (Çağatay, Keskin and Ergöçmen, 2020, Malkki,1996)). It is thought to disrupt the racial superiority created by the majority. There is also the fear that children who grow up in poor conditions may damage the host society in the future and form a gang. These two situations combine race and gender, increasing bilateral discrimination. From the perspective of refugee women, women are excluded from the social and economic sphere for these reasons. In their daily life, they may encounter various hate and accusatory speeches. At this point, power relations manifest themselves at three different levels, from gender and immigration status. First, refugees are more suited to gender-based jobs (housework or construction) at the macro level. It causes them to be represented by the concept called cheap workers. Refugee women come to mind primarily for cleaning, nursing,

and housework. Second, it concerns gender-based family order, middle income, family care, and access to food and health. The third area at the micro-level is the woman's maintaining order at home and refugees' identity and their position in the society. According to three sites, refugee women are expected to manage all family life situations and work. Refugee women are passive, people who follow their men and receive protection from them, and this perception preserves women's invisibility in the media (Lutz, 2010; Miles, 2000).

1.4 Discussing the Method: Critical Discourse Analysis for the Thesis

In critical discourse analysis, many topics such as the place of words, the structure and usage of sentences, the meaning and harmony in the chosen word, and socio-cultural structure can affect the meaning.

> *Discourse, and hence news reports, do not consist of isolated sentences, however. Beyond traditional sentence grammars and linguistics, other important discourse structures have been postulated. A first and obvious step in such an analysis is to study the systems of sequences of sentences. This means, among other things, that the syntax or semantics of a sentence in discourse is described in terms of the sentential structures and interpretations of surrounding, usually preceding, sentences in the exact text. The order and functions of words, or their underlying semantic roles, may depend on such a discourse environment (Givón, 1979 qt from Dijk,1988;12).*

As stated in the excerpt above, the sentence structure and the examination of the chosen words are fundamental. Because the displacement of words in the sentence or any punctuation mark can completely change the meaning, grammar should be examined in detail.

> *Critical Discourse Analysis analyses texts and interactions, but it does not start from texts and interactions. It starts instead from social issues and problems, problems which face people in their social lives, matters which are taken up within sociology, political science, and/or cultural studies (Fairclough, 2001;26).*

According to this method, the ordering of words and phrases, that is, technical grammar information, cannot be enough. Knowing the meaning of the words, the dictionary meaning is not helpful in obtaining a complete result in this analysis. One of the critical factors here is to master the meanings within societal and/or cultural context. Having information is the most vital point. There is also a need for knowledge of the world and of "*social analysis of what people in a given culture know, and how they use such knowledge in the interpretation of discourse in general and the establishment of coherence in particular"(Dijk 1988; 12).* For this reason, the analysis involves the observational reports of sociological, political, cultural, or international interactive situations rather than the meaning integrity of the words in the text.

For these reasons, the analysis of newspaper news is vital to provide both language function and social research. It has particular importance on the representation of Syrian citizens living outside their own countries in the Turkish media since 2011. The news reflected that society during the social cohesion process should be balanced so as not to create extreme reactions. This method is used during this research to look for sentence structure, selected and prioritized words. It is focused on how the chosen words differ between newspapers, how the meaning is shaped, and how this is carried into the print media discourse. The news are also evaluated according to their visuals in the newspapers, what kind and how many photos of

women are included. It is focused on how women are represented in photographs and the missing parts in this representation, what features are emphasized while representing women, and the meaning hidden in the pictures.

According to the concept of dual otherness, the representation of Syrian refugee women in the media is evaluated under seven headings, and discourse analysis of different newspapers is conducted. The news reports which are not appropriate to the designed categories is named "other," and it will not be included in the assessment. The reason for taking part in this study is that headlines of those are suitable for the researched keywords. However, they are not proper for listing in under any category.

1.5 Background information about the newspapers; Hürriyet, Sözcü, Sabah, and Yeni Şafak

The list of most visited websites in Turkey has been reached, and one of the reasons the newspapers in this research have been selected from this list is that it shows the rankings. Accordingly, hurriyet.com.tr ranks first while sozcu.com.tr ranks second, haberturk.com.tr ranks sixth, and yenisafak.com.tr ranks seventh[5]. The fact that these newspapers were selected for research did not only depend on the websites' frequency. Having different views and political backgrounds is also crucial in the selection process.

Hürriyet was established in 1938. In 1973, it achieved a significant advantage with the use of color photo printing. In 1994, 70% ofHürriyet was acquired by Doğan Holding, and in 2018, it was purchased by Demirören Holding. The official address of the newspaper's website,

[5] The information of the website rankings are gathered from: https://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries/TR Last Access: 10.03.2020

which is established in 1997, is www.hurriyet.com.tr[6]. According to the latest data reached, it ranks third in the circulation rank among 30 newspapers[7]. Sabah began its life to be published in 1985 in Turkey. It has been accessible online since 1997. Its official website is www.sabah.com.tr[8]. The newspaper was sold to Çelik Holding in 2008 and is part of the Turkuaz Media Group. It is in second place in the last circulation ranking.Sözcüwas established in 2007. It is published by EstetikYayın A.Ş. The website of the newspaper, which has a nationalist and secular opinion, is www.sozcu.com.tr[9]. It ranks first in the circulation list. YeniŞafak was established in 1994. It has a socially conservative and Islamist structure. The newspaper, which belongs to Albayrak Group, is in eighth place in the circulation list. www.yenisafak.com.tr[10] is the website for online access to the newspaper. Cumhuriyet has been published as a daily newspaper in Turkey since 1924 and belongs to CumhuriyetVakfı. Its center-left, social democratic, and secular structure continue its broadcasting life with its website address:www.cumhuriyet.com.tr.The archive of which can also be accessed at https://egazete.cumhuriyet.com.tr/.

Therefore, these newspapers are chosen based on their different backgrounds. Opposition newspapers Cumhuriyet and Sözcü, pro-government Sabah, Islamist Yeni Şafak, and maintream Hürriyet (Yaylacı, Karakuş, 2015) were selected in accordanece to their different attitude of language. In categorical decomposition, the attitudes of each newspaper were compared.

[6]Online Access:https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/
[7]The information of the ciurculation rankings are gathered from; https://www.medyaradar.com/tirajlar
[8]Online Access: https://www.sabah.com.tr/
[9]Online Access: https://www.sozcu.com.tr/
[10]Online Access: https://www.yenisafak.com/

1.6 Thesis Plan

This thesis aimed at how the Syrian refugee women are represented according to the categories determined in newspapers with different views. It aimed to investigate how otherness manifested itself in the determined types and how the political attitude of the print media affected the representation of Syrian women. Moreover, it focused on how otherness is reflected through the different political backgrounds of the newspapers and how it shows itself within the lexical and syntactic choice. It focused on the meaning behind the words. While doing this, it focused on how Syrian women were named and what characteristics were attributed to them. It also examined how syntax and lexical choice played a role in marginalization. The second part includes the theoretical framework and method of the study. The language used by the media in the phenomenon of immigration, which also affects the political order, has been analyzed. During this examination, critical discourse analysis was used. The third section includes analysis of news reportscollected from the newspapers. The language of the online newspapers was focused on incorporating the visuals. The conclusion part provides a final discussion.

2. Chapter 2: Theoretical background

2.1 What is Language and What Do We Know About It?

What helps people to start communication, and how is it possible to express feelings and thoughts? These and some other questions are leading to the system of language. It is the core element for people to interact with each other and create and hold society together. There are differences in the definition of language both among social scientists and linguists. However, the standard view is that language brings people together by communicating.

Aristotle emphasizes that "*language is the combination of sounds called letters produced in voice by pharynx, lips, teeth, and tongue*" (Larkin,2013; 18). What differs this from animals is that some can articulate sound and indicate pain and pleasure. However, language is the power of conversation, and it is the value for people to express the meaning in words. It is somehow the representation of the mind's ideas and thoughts.

Antonio Gramsci supports the materialist understanding of the language as "*an autonomous means of meaningfully organizing experience*" (Boylan,2002;2). In other words, he argues that languages are shaped by the socio-economic reality of societies and help shape the economic, political, and cultural forms that makeup society. A perspective that supports this is Johann Gottlieb Harder's theory, which claims that a nation's language is the fundamental element of a culture. "*Human identity exists only in a framework of interpretation. The basic framework is provided by the language and cultural symbols in terms of which we become aware of ourselves and others"* (Poole, 2003;271).

Language connects individualswithina society. The existence of different languages means the integrity of other groups within themselves. A definition implying that language reveals differences is interpreted by Martinet (1979). A language is a communication tool that allows the human experience to be differentiated into groups that vary from one community to the other, semantic expressions with semantic content, and a silent narrative. The sound is scientifically articulated in this silent narrative, the distinctive and consecutive units that change their mutual relations with a certain number of linguistic features from one language to the next [Martinet, 1979, 1988. Qtd from Kokturk&Eyri (2013)].

Saussure defines language as a string that does not recognize any order other than its own. This aspect of language shows that it is a system (langue) in itself "which is independent of preexisting, individual users" (Chandler, 2002; 8). There is harmony and interaction between the elements that make up this system: sound, shape, meaning, and word series. Furthermore, it is both a social product of linguistic ability and a compulsory set adopted by society for this ability to be used by individuals. According to this definition, language, which is a communication tool, consists of linguistic codes and rules' integrity. Another part of the language is that speech and writing depend on the language system (parole). In other words, while langue is the system that forms a language, parole is the phrase in it (Onan, 2012; 234-235).

2.2 Semiology and the Relation Between Representation

An analysis from the semiotic point of view is necessary to realize the importance of meaning. Meaning is not something directly transferred from one mind to the other. It is a phenomenon produced with codes that one is not aware of. For this reason, semiology plays an explanatory role by exposing the meaning through codes and symbols, and as such, anticipating an egalitarian approach to the representation of reality becomes a difficult possibility with the introduction of ideological functions (Chandler, 2002, p.11). Ideology is the general determinative relationship between social and material conditions of existence and the abstract relations constructed in knowledge (Dant, 1991;2).

Furthermore, it is the representation of imaginary relationships between individuals within conditions that exist in real life (Heck, 1974). An ideological analysis should examine the messages at the structure level where the discourse is coded. As can be understood, ideology

is a coding system and manages to establish imaginary relationships from everyday situations. It carries various messages, and these messages come in a specific order with semantic rules.

Knowledge connects individuals and groups to a society and is also a fragmentation between groups. While it serves to bring the group together, it also creates a division by forming others who have opposite views with that information and reveals differences between groups. The different opinions and differences between the questions of whether there is only one truth that comes with knowledge and whether everyone believes it shows that everyone cannot accept a single fact as it is. These differences create an ideological threat perception towards those who do not believe in theknowledge. Our coexistence with what we have agreed to and forming the concept of "others" is accomplished through language. People represent their thoughts by talking, writing, communicating, drawing pictures, and taking photos. All these tools that are part of cultural communication make up the discourse. So much so that the meaning created by discourse is exchanged for people with these tools.

Two of the most important names of semiology are Saussure and Pierce. Pierce focuses on the relationship between sign and object, and according to him, there are three basic types of signs. The first is an index, a physical marker that has a direct relationship with the object. Second, the icon has a similarity with the object. Finally the third, which is the symbol, is a marker with no direct relation to the object (Aiello, 2006, p.90-93).

Saussure analyzes the symbols and signs of the society with a specific analysis system, which he has given its scientific name as semiology. Everything that makes sense to us is subject to semiotic analysis. It can be said that the place of the language is essential within the framework of it. Language creates a construction of reality; in other words, it verifies

aconnection with the perception of reality and leads it to meaning. Therefore, for Saussure, language is the most powerful sign. Within the signs, it means a mutually accepted meaning in joint cultural integrity. The tools for forming this partnership are alphabet and writing, which turns into a system. This system is derived from the language that enables people to communicate (Yakin, Sendera&Totu, 2014, p.6-7). Saussure's language theory relies on meaning and consciousness. He defines language as a social contract that is mutually adopted and recognized by the community. It does not come from a single individual and cannot even be changed by anyone (Weedon, Tolson, and Mort, 1980).

Semiotics attempts to explain the meaning produced or contained in codes. For many theoreticians and structuralists of semiotics interested in identifying codes, the most common code of a society is the dominant language used therein. Thus, for professionals, language analysis is considered a starting point. The language has subcategories, both written and oral, in which the codes in this distinction may differ through the perceptions of the theoreticians. However, according to Chandler (2002), the codes in studies on media, culture, and communication are divided into three. They are a) social codes (verbal language, behavioral codes, etc.), b) textual codes (scientific codes as mathematics, genre, mass media codes including photographic, radio, newspaper and magazine codes, etc.) and c) interpretive codes (perceptual codes and ideological codes). It is necessary to have social and textual information to understand codes in the written format. With these two pieces of information, the meaning can be reached by establishing the relationship between the codes (Chandler, 2002, p. 148-150). Saussure also keeps writing and language apart, and according to him, language and writing are two different signs. The reason writing exists is to show the

language. In this case, the text represents the symbol. Language is associated with the concept of sound (Onan, 2012).

> *"Language constantly evolves, whereas writing tends to remain as it is. As a result, the written form ceases to correspond to the sounds it has to show. A form of writing that is consistent in a certain period becomes inconsistent after a hundred years. For a while, the text indicator is changed so that it can keep up with the changes in the pronunciation; then, it is abandoned. Writing hides the language; it is not a garment but a cover. Even one of the voices that are said is not specified with a unique register. Thus, there is no trace of the real image of the language" (Saussure, 1985: 31, 33 qtd from Onan 2012; 236).*

Onan explains, based on Saussure's conceptualization, that writing is language-dependent. It is a living concept and may change over time, however, writing remains where it is and may lose its meaning over time.When the question of what language is coming to mind, Saussure says that language is a social construct. It does not survive only with speech, that is, with sound. It is a social agreement signed by every individual in that society (Dant, 1991). Furthermore, languages are generally recognized through writing. So much so that the language maintains its written existence in a more respectful way than its oral existence (Sausure, 1998).

2.3 Stuart Hall and the Representation Theory

Individuals find it difficult to give meaning to something they do not recognize. An image they have never seen before, a voice they have not heard, or a taste they have not received is unfamiliar. In order to express this unfamiliarity, predetermined or specific meanings are

needed. A language is an essential tool in terms of representation and meaning. With the use of language as a tool, various theoretical explanations emerge. Stuart Hall mentions reflective, intentional, and constructionist approaches to explain the relationship between representation and language (Hall, 1997).

The reflective approach acts as a mirror of language in the world: people, objects, ideas, and events are reflected as they are. This thought is also a mirror image of the actual existing meaning. In the second theory, the intentional model is emphasized that the person who writes the opposite of the first model imposes personal interpretation through language. The last theory, the constructionist approach, emphasizes the more social role of language and expresses it in how it is implemented in society. Based on this approach, it is noted that things have no meaning by themselves and people create a sense for them, that meaning is imposed on things and forms, and systems of representation. In this position, constructed meaning passes through the collective integrity of the conceptual structures found in cultural and linguistic systems. According to Hall, one example of understanding languages' function as a representation system is the traffic lights. The impact of the light in the material world on the human eye is subject to various classifications by cultural interaction. It separates the light cluster from the traffic light according to cultural color classification, red, yellow, and green. *"What is accomplished is the classification according to color concepts by representing or symbolizing different colors"*(Hall, 1997 p.27). The theoretical analysis of this study is based on the constructivist approach. That approach does not reject the reality in the world as the structuring of meaning in language. However, the representation in the material world is provided by codes that function through meaning and language. It will be clearer to continue

with the traffic lights example. "Red" and "green" colors do not express the meanings "stop" and "go" in nature. Those meanings imposed on these two colors becomes a code within the system. It emerges as a concept accepted by all human beings and, it creates the general understanding that language and meaning produce representations (Hall, 1997 p.24-28). Before explaining such concepts, it is necessary to clarify the definition of language in the social environment. According to Boylan (2002),

> *(...) we may define language as an overall modulation of social behavior created by repeated reactions to meaning-sharing events and by repeated attempts at (co)producing such events in response to a felt need to represent something (to oneself, to others), to do something (through representation), and in any case to be something (through representation) (3).*

It is noticeable that the relationship between language and representation is revealed in the sharing of meaning within social behavior integrity. Sharing the importance of the constructive system reminds Saussure's signifier and signified integrity. According to Saussure, the relation of material order, conceptual and semantic integrity exists with culture and linguistic codes. Expression forms used by the language (written, verbal, drawing, and others) are named signifiers. The concepts that we associate with this expression of integrity and formed in our minds are the signified ones. The connection between these two is also provided utilizing codes. Signs that emerged in this order created the meanings by creating languages. With the generated meaning, people, objects, and events in the world could be explained in the journey towards representation theory. It is not possible to speak of a genuine

relationship between the world and language representation (Hall, 2017, p, 48-49, Hall, S., Hobson, D., Lowe, A., & Willis, P. (Eds.).2003, p.169).

2.4 The way of defining; Stereotype and Representation

According to Hall's representation theory, there is no truly correct example of representation. It consists of the reflection of people, places, and events in texts. In written language, representation is influenced and shaped in the desired direction according to the individual or institutional views. One of the issues that need to be explained in representation theory is stereotyping. However, it should not be confused with typing.

According to Dyer (1999), we divide individuals, objects, and/or events into a general classification in our minds through our culture. In typing, we begin by understanding the roles a person takes to get an idea of it or define him/her. We assign different group identities to that person according to values such as gender, age group, race, language, and religion. We set him/her to predetermined groups according to his/her personality traits and type, where a few types of characteristics are prominent. They are easily remembered, lively, and comprehended qualities where change or development is not possible. Stereotyping brings together many simple, vibrant, easily recognized, and comprehended features about a group of people and reduces everything about a person to these features. It also exaggerates and fixes these properties, thus creating an eternal definition. It applies a separation strategy by essentializing and naturalizing differences. So much so that this naturalization creates a division into what is expected and acceptable and what is abnormal and unacceptable. In other words, those who do not fit in with what is expected in culture are excluded and stereotyped. The people who are eligible for exclusion are also marked with the concept of typing that

ensures the loyalty of the majority group in society. In a way, a symbolic order is established, like determining the rules in a game. By stereotyping, a firm wall is built between the concepts of us and the others. While the normal makes it easier to connect society with the perception of us, others are excluded. Stereotyping occurs where there are significant inequalities of power which, when applied, is directed to the group defined as the others. Rather than creating a peaceful living environment, a violent hierarchy is established to form binary oppositions like them and us. The ruling party shapes the whole society in its view. Since there is superiority, identifying people with class divisions is the most expected result of this process (Hall, 1997).

Women's representation is also shaped by stereotypes (Power, Murphy, &Coover, 1996). It includes various other differences in the definition of gender as another concept. Being a woman is shaped through the media, like other concepts that are open to marginalization, such as language, religion, race, and color. Simone de Beauvoir defines femininity not as an attribute from birth but as a project. It is possible to summarize her thought by saying that one cannot be born as a woman. For the concept to be defined, the self needs to express itself. The features outside of this definition are attributed to the other. In the case of gender, the woman is shown in “the others,” and as a weakling, while men stand out with their positive features, women are described with negative and limited features. The only way to change this representation gap emerges if the group called the others does not accept it. In other words, a woman's identity should not be determined by the man, and such practices should not be done to her during her life. Otherwise, it means accepting the superiority of the definition and the definition maker (McNay 1992; Beauvoir, 1949).

2.5 Language to Discourse: Foucault Language, Power, and Subject

The studies on meaning and representation continue to progress in society, culture, human beings, and subjects; it has become a difficult concept to explain with a positivist approach. In this process, meaning and representation remain dependent on interpretation based on cultural context and as a part of the culture. The culture-bound interpretation showed that it cannot form an absolute truth in the following process and will stay in an infinite cycle. Semiology linked the representation process to the language function and discerned it as a static system. The meaning and representation are explained by concentrating on the role of the words in the language. Then, a perspective based on social and power relations was developed in representation studies in the development process. Besides these concepts, representational research brought more clarity than the semiotic approach (Hall, 1997; 42). Examining the lexical structure and syntactic rules in the language have changed in the process. "Semiology no longer deals with systems of signs; it deals with the formation of the subject in language" (Ellis, 2003; 186).

Foucault turned the representation studies from language to discourse. He explains language as the archeology of knowledge. "*He gives the name archeology to the method that aims to tell the history of a texture made up of sentences that have a certain expression and to determine what is expressed by sentences in the structure of this texture (Celebi, 2016; 995)".* According to Foucault, discourse is an organism that shapes the entire world and people and is everywhere. It has a power relationship, and even those who produce the discourse cannot be left out of it. The symbols and meanings that support the discourse are shaped accordingly and become permanent in people's minds. It is impossible to fight against the dominant

discourse, and those who attempt to fight are excluded from society. Those people are omitted by using words such as crazy, guilty, immoral, and sick. One of the biggest reasons discourse cannot be resisted is that even what to say against it is determined accordingly, and it incorporates opposing views and thus continues to exist. The fact that the dominant discourse is still mentioned in every anti-thought produced against it and turns into an endless cycle. Discourse becomes a living concept (Foucault, 1972&1980). There are definitions prepared to understand social reality. Discourse provides methods and concepts so that these definitions can be understood. According to Foucault's description, the discourse has a preexisting structure and dates to individuals' birth. Discourse is empowered, produced, and formed by institutions, renews itself with the thesis and anti-thesis discussions, and never disappears.

How it is produced has an important place in the definition of discourse; it understands what it is. The first thing to mention is prohibition or limitation. It is also imperative which words we use when describing an object rather than which words we do not. Its meaning is formed by the concepts that we have or have not included in the object's definition. The reality of being a woman is not an inherent condition of women. Womanhood is a situation taught with do’s and do not’s. Meaning is created, and nothing contains meaning in the self. Limiting also includes the right to speak. Using positive power, how and about what to talk about is also shaped. Another case Foucault mentions in the formation of discourse is division and rejection. It is normal to speak of a hierarchical order at every point of difference. Accordingly, situations emerge such as a binary opposition, namely female-male, patient-doctor, or state-citizen relationship. This leads to the formation of hierarchy, that is, authority in discourse. A self-supporting process begins, and discourse does not disappear. Finally, he

mentions that discourse creates a true and false opposition. It is necessary to make it look natural in order to mark that a thing is wrong. This happens in three ways. By writing, that is, through language and symbols, by speech, and by reading. In the first two, discourse production is clear, but it should not be forgotten that, while reading, individuals produce ideas. Discourse is the creator of many, even everything. It is made in subjects that are subjugated into the system. What should not be forgotten here is how the production of meaning is affected by the power relations. “We/Us” and “The others” concepts are formed in systems of inclusion and exclusion. The primary purpose of the meaning created is for naturalization (Foucault, 1972; Foucault, 1980).

The production of meaning and not, in essence, brings together Butler and Foucault. For them, looking for the meaning of something is insufficient to look at its essence. There are meanings produced by language and discourse. According to Foucault, concepts are made in a biased and hierarchical manner. Knowledge of nothing is neutral, and there is always a power relation behind it. This ensures the continuity of meaning. Discourse formation and regularity depend on external (institution) and internal (discursive practices) factors. These dynamics also affect the construction of knowledge (Dant, 1991). From a biological point of view, the concepts of men and women exist in nature, but their definitions are formed by discourse. There is a discourse that defines the subject’s position as biological. In other words, the human being is born into an established system and placed in a predetermined position within it. Thus, the subject would not exist if there was no discourse. Moreover, "the production of knowledge is always bound up with historically specific regimes of power and, therefore, every society produces its truths which have a normalizing and regulatory function” (McNay,

1992;25). Butler adds to Foucault's thinking by saying if awareness is gained within this discourse scheme, one can experience what is outside the treasure. The things produced by the discourse are embraced, and this brings people into awareness. (Butler,1997; Macherey& Bundy, 2012; Mills, 2003)

The relationship between gender and power cannot be apparent without understanding masculine power or the structure. To change this, it is necessary to reshape women's position with the power relations within the society. Nancy Hartsock (1990) explained the theory of women based on Foucault's power relationships. Power relations have become associated with male and masculinity. She says that theories focused on women are counted among others' theories. The concept of "*otherness*," which is critically mentioned in studies on women, is exemplified by Albert Memni's theory of the colonizer and the colonized. According to Memni, those who are subdivided as the others have an image according to the colonizer's definition. The colonized has all features that do not belong to the colonizer and the society; their characteristics appear insufficient and are always viewed negatively. The others seem to be incapable of thinking, and this reveals that in feminist thought, the woman is faced with the problem of whether she can think reasonably. "Others are not seen as fellow individual members of the human community, but rather as part of a disorganized chaotic and anonymous collectivity (Hartsock, 1990; 1601-161).

Discourse supremacy is established and/or supported by regularity, and this situation refers to the statements that coexist under determinate conditions. As per the Foucauldian understanding, the most crucial factor in discourse analysis is the ability to discriminate. It is

necessary to distinguish between those who are silenced and those who are shown capable of speaking (Weedon, Tolson, and Mort, 1980).

2.6 The matter of difference and othering

Information sharing is under continuous development for everyone to share their own beliefs and thoughts. It is much easier to reach information through digital platforms, where people can actively participate and share those of theirs. There are no longer barriers for us to get news about what has been happening in the world. New media, which assists the producer's and the audience's mutual interaction, leads to unique civil society formations (Axford, 2017). Even though these are positive reflections, it is noteworthy to remember that the system is not enough to check the hate speeches or fence against the spread of (negative) discourse. This massive knowledge network creates a perfect atmosphere for spreading differences among groups as negatives, which leads to the legitimization of "othering."In order to understand how the concept of othering through differences raises importance on the media, it has to be mentioned that journalism has gained a different dimension. Mutual interaction of digital platforms has changed traditional journalism and perception of media. It is easier and quicker to reach out to the ideas about differences based on gender, class, race, religion, language, etc. These are the subcategories of general issues such as immigration. The new formation of the media has a significant effect on the immigrant status within the society in the countries which experienced human mobility (Ata and Tamer, 2018). The balance expected to be seen in the media started to be replaced by discriminatory discourse along with the advancing developments. The discourse of personal thought and the media's ideological attitude

increased and the media, whose leading role was to provide the balance element in the society, became radicalized (Fryberg, Covarrubias, Rebecca, et al., 2012). The reason for this development is the use of the media language, and with the critical discourse analysis method that reveals the representation in media language, ideological concepts are shown. Discourse in the media is based on various power relations, and a group's attitude holding power over the other group depends on stereotypes. Having been used for a while, value judgment made through discourse turns into behavior patterns in society. As it can be understood, discourse plays a role that determines and shapes behaviors in the community. Thus, the concepts of “us and the others” become more evident with the previously created codes (Karaduman, 2017; Dijk, 2015).

In order to understand who “the others” are, it is necessary to make a definition that is achieved within a group through shared common values. Various theories and explanations have been formed based on differences of “the others.” These differences form the general concept that includes race, ethnicity, gender, religion, and many other features that every human being accommodates. The main argument in the psychoanalytic interpretation of the theories is that "the other is fundamental to the constitution of the self, to us as subjects and to sexual identity" (Hall, 1997; 236). This argument is about the self and the sexual identity, which is positively related to the relationship of parents-children. The second explanation is an anthropological approach that attaches meaning to everything by culture. This understanding contains a class structure that categorizes things. For instance, Levi Strauss says that seeing many food items together does not represent that they belong to one category. There are various ways to separate them as; eaten raw or cooked and/or fruit and vegetables.

The difference is fundamental to the cultural meaning. However, the critical side of this theory begins with the question of whether things do fit into any category or if they turn up under the wrong one. The third argument comes from the theories of language, which says that "difference is something that we need to construct meaning through a dialogue with the other" (236). Meaning comes with a dialogue. Communication with another person changes all we try to say and mean. Therefore, meaning arises through the differences of the participants. The other is the main argument for meaning. This theory also has some negative aspects and is criticized as none of the meanings are stabilized. It is not enough to get information or talk to only one group to make a claim. Hall (1994) reveals that it is impossible to decide the meaning without knowing what the opposite side thinks about it.

2.7 Critical Discourse Analysis

Media language and discourse analysis studies have an important place in linguistics and the socio-political sphere (Karaduman,2017). Before defining the critical discourse analysis (CDA) methodology, it is necessary to explain what discourse means. Discourse is a research tool used by social theorists, analysts, and linguists, which primarily is the written or oral use of a language. In addition to these, visual media, such as photography and non-verbal communication, are accepted as discourse (Fairclough, 1993). Discourse is not limited to verbal action, and it carries an understanding, meaning, and interpretation within itself. In other words, while the social structure produces discourse, the latter itself is also the producer of these structures. Therefore, it should not be seen as a micro-level textual unity but analyzed as a social and political practice (Dijk, 1997; Fairclough, 2003; Vaara, 2010). Thus, critical discourse analysis is a method that can be used in the research of topics that are problem or

issue-oriented and that involve inequality, such as concepts of racism and sexism. As it is a multidisciplinary model, CDA works in the relationship between discourse and society, and it also includes politics and culture and also has a broad spectrum of critical research in the fields of communication studies, sociology, social sciences, law, and political science Dijk,1995&Fairclough,2001).

(According to Dijk's (1997) definition, critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary method that examines texts and speeches from a critical perspective. This critical view takes place in linguistics, semiotics, and socio-political consciousness. The characteristic features should be mentioned in detail to understand the analysis method used in this study. CDA focuses on a problem or an issue and can be studied in situations where social inequality among people is seen. It focuses on the relationship between society and discourse and approaches text or speech in a critical position. It focuses on all micro-level discourse and carefully researches grammatical and semantic rules such as style, rhetoric, and organization. Many other CDA studies also focus on different non-verbal semiotic dynamics such as sound, visuals, and gestures (Fairclough, 1993). Apart from these technical features, CDA tries to reveal the social phenomenon not seen in discourse. This whole phrase that does not emerge because of a natural process contains a particular ideology behind it (Vaara, 2010). Fairclough (1989) emphasized that ideology is best revealed through language and is a subject that modern social sciences should examine.

Critical discourse analysis explores the relationship of causality and reveals social and cultural phenomena within discourse-based practices, events, and texts. The connection between text and social practice also shapes the discourse. How these practices emerged and

took shape ideologically reveals a power relationship. There is a struggle between discourse and power based on hegemony. Hegemonic thinking might have probable effects on discourse. If there is a stable hegemony, creativity will also be limited. CDA is initiated by asking how social power and power abuse affect a speech or text within this power relationship. It reveals how powerful speakers do mind control and how there are textual differences for the sake of interest (Dijk 1993,1997; Fairclough, 1993,1997, 2003). Dijk (1997) explains this with an example. Migration can be expressed as a problem or a threat rather than an economic and cultural contribution. Explaining the expressions “our good properties” and “their bad ones” reveals the inequality and discrimination discourse in the text. In other words, CDA makes an efficient contribution to the change in the reproduction of dominance and inequality.

In short, critical discourse analysis examines the dialectical relationship between language and social practices, and “its particular concern is with the radical changes that are taking place in contemporary social life, with how semiosis figures within processes of change and with shifts in the relationship between semiosis and other social elements within networks or practices” (Fairclough, 2001;123). Critical discourse analysis also emphasizes concepts such as ethnicity, class, gender, and nationality by introducing the understanding of representation through language within inequality. It is an effective method of representing inequality in the media language and understanding social phenomena within. It is possible to examine the text in a functional analysis, which is about rules such as form and grammar, and there is also a meaning analysis. According to Fairclough, the meaning of integrity accepted in any text is considered intellectual, interpersonal, and textual. Analysis of intertwined understandings in

the texts, features such as text formats, the general structure of the narration, grammar, and vocabulary in the sentence are also critical. These positions emerge as a naming representation of their structure and the previously mentioned text's mixed structure. In the interpretation here, the text gains a functional dimension in creating an identity, personal and social identities (Fairclough, 1993). Critical discourse analysis should be practical in addition to theorizing inequality in a text or speech. To be a successful study, the analysis must have a conclusion section in which suggestions and interventions should be expressed (Dijk, 1995). Critical discourse analysis also reveals power relations among discursive practices, texts, and events, social and cultural structures. It aims to show how transparency between society and discourse works, depending on power and hegemony, by examining how the different discourses came about.

2.8 The analysis of news as discourse by Teun van Dijk

> *"(...) if immigrants, refugees and (other) minorities suffer from prejudice, discrimination, and racism, and if women continue to be subjected to male dominance, violence or sexual harassment, it will be essential to examine and evaluate such events and their consequences essentially from their point of view. (Dijk,1993;253)"*

Aiming to change by revealing social power and dominance, CDA focuses on the power one group exerts over another. The group with power can dominate the other group and interfere with their freedom. Though more importantly, it can influence people's thinking. The use of force has changed and become more effective in modern times. This is to control the minds of

others according to one's interests. What is meant is not how much power is used in groups. The power of modern times is the accessibility to the discourse, which creates control over the text and can influence people's thinking more. As can be understood from the above-mentioned quote, inequality involves both positive and negative representation groups, along with the humane, compassionate, tolerant understanding of "us," "others" which have negative social or cultural differences and take on a threat role, are predicted (Dijk, 1993).

One of the areas where mind control can be implemented through discourse is the media. The dissemination of the discourses conveyed in written or oral form can be provided quickly by media tools. In the data analysis part of this study, text elements are used. Therefore, discourse analysis will be examined through written texts, and specifically, newspapers will be discussed.

The essential feature to be known about the reports in newspapers is that they are not only straight-up facts put into words but are shaped by professionals within a particular structure. As shown in Figure 1, a released news report is prepared by not only a single person. The news text passes through a control phase between various actors as chief reporter, journalist, sub-editor, and editor. This order may differ among institutions. However, by forming a general table, Bell created a table summarizing the process of the event's textual flow (Bell,1991). The most important source for explaining the critical discourse analysis of the news is to refer to Teun A. van Dijk's "*News Analysis*" (1988).

Figure (1): The Production of News Language

(Gathered from Bell,1991)

2.9 Structural Analysis

News reports contain a specific discourse, whether they are in written or oral media platforms such as television. Media rhetoric should be analyzed at various structural levels. This analysis is not considered sufficient when only done on word structure, sentence formation, and grammatical order. The relation between sentences, titles, schemes, style, and rhetorical dimensions is at least as important as the technical grammatical knowledge. Discourse does not have a simple structure. It includes a particular communication, social context, participants, production, and reception process in complex integrity. In a written and printed discourse, writer, reader, and text do not exist and appear together simultaneously or in the

same place. For example, discourse meaning contains an abstracted definition of the text up to a certain point. However, it would be correct to talk about the meaning of the author.

Furthermore, the meaning attributed to the text by the reader is another point that needs to be taken into consideration. The meaning of the words in the text, what precisely the author is saying, and what the reader understands should be included in the analysis. Such shared meanings, knowledge of the language, social value, choice, and usage of words have an important place in such structural analysis. The role of the authors in this issue needs to be considered from another perspective. Authors produce meanings that are supposed to be fully understood by readers or that are explicitly addressed to them and that will appeal to them. This allocates the writer and reader to meet the socio-cultural denominator in written communication.

At the beginning of the structural analysis, grammar analysis has to be taken as the most sensitive part. More attention should be paid to grammar rules, sentence structure, and word choice in formal situations or written discourse. These technical grammar rules are expected to be carefully applied in news reports with long and complex sentence structures. However, there is a point that should not be forgotten. Meaning production, in other words, word preference, can reflect the journalist's or newspaper's perspective. The syntax in a sentence can express the participants' semantic roles in an event according to the word order and relational functions.

> *"A headline like 'Pollee kills demonstrator' puts police in first, subject position and expresses that the police has agent role. In the passive sentence 'Demonstrator killed by police,' the police is also an agent. Still, in this case, the phrase referring*

to the demonstrator is in first, subject position, which means that police is assigned a less prominent role. Finally, the headline 'Demonstrator killed' may make the role of the police implicit. At the same time, the headline becomes syntactically ambiguous: It could also be read as a description of an event in which the demonstrator was the killer or more generally associate demonstrators with killing (Dijk, 1988;11)."

From the quotation of Dijk, changing the subject's place in the sentence or removing it causes a shift in the meaning. The participants' roles in the news may differ through the choice of grammatical structure, changing the point to be emphasized.

The other important point is the *coherent sequence of sentences.* There are rules and strategies to ensure compliance in the news report. It is necessary to find out whether there is a deviation in these rules. The order and harmony of every word in the text will affect the consistency of the discourse. For this reason, it is necessary to provide the flow of events between sentences. To achieve semantic integrity, the *role of knowledge in interpretation* should be considered. When analyzing a text, it is necessary to have knowledge of the language of that text. It is required to know the meaning of a word or phrase and its cultural value within context. To have a clear understanding of the discourse's interpretation, social analysis and awareness research of that region should be done. In addition, one should be aware of the information on the agenda and the related historical process of that news.

The parts that make up the news report should also be examined within themselves. These parts can go through various arrangements to attract the reader's attention and increase

memorability. *Semantic macrostructure* explains what a text is about. It is defined as an essential aspect to be described in the discourse. However,

"We should not simply say that a text has a macrostructure, but that such a structure is assigned to the text by a writer or reader. In this sense, then, like meanings in general, themes or topics are cognitive units. They represented how the text is understood, what is found important, and how relevancies are stored in memory. This means that knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies may operate in macrostructures' cognitive construction and representation. (Dijk,1985; 76)"

The basis of the macrostructure in news reports tends to be stated first. So, the headline with the highest macro position comes first, followed by the lead, followed by the lower macro class. Content and schematic categories with fewer components are added to the end. In a more comprehensive way, the beginning of the text refers to macrostructure, which is the most memorable part for the reader. The general principle in news reports is that essential information should be expressed first. *Relevance structuring* helps maintain the integrity of the text.

The *rhetorical dimension* can affect the entire structure of the text. Semantic operations such as rhyme can be used to make the text more persuasive. Similarly, excessive or unwarranted expressions enable the reader to memorize, which can increase the ability to persuade.

2.10 Social and Communicative Aspects of News as Discourse

Analysis of news reports should not be based solely on the structure of the text. Other factors need to be analyzed in the flow of events resulting from people's social interaction.

The communication of newspapers occurs between journalists and the media users, and readers are the closest *social actors* to the news. While one part produces, the other part assumes the role of the interpreter. In the participation of social actors, the cultural and economic connections of the participants do not matter. It is strategically more correct for the news discourse to go through a top-down macro analysis (Berelson, 1952 and Dijk, 1993). For this reason, the link between the news text and the context is defined at the *social cognition* level. We need to treat journalists and media users as social actors, not unique individuals, and focus on social cognition. Social cognition deals with how people understand and interpret processes about other people and events.

Furthermore, it emphasizes that the effect of this situation on behavior should be taken into consideration. In the cognitive analysis of news texts, how representation is shown and how this situation is placed in memory is essential. While the news can transform the concrete case settled and stereotyped in the text into a more significant abstract event, the thought in the mind can also become concrete. The information that remains in our memory can be represented in various *scenarios*. What is told in the news is in organized clusters, but it may change by reaching different scenarios in social life. These scenarios can be diversified in human interaction. Therefore, it is expected to use classical terms that are socially acquired and shared in the news. We can embody the events and discourses that we observe and read in our social, semantic memory with our personal experiences. With this mental activity, we can reconstruct behavioral attitudes with our general social beliefs and knowledge. What is done in the text is to reveal this stereotyped information in mind and to create a *model* for the reader. If we have a history of that text in our memory, it will be more comfortable and

permanent to understand and make the *script*. By remembering the macro structures of discourse, we cannot include all other details in our memory. We fill the macrostructure in our minds with the information we have previously created in our minds. Knowledge, beliefs, grammar, and other shared knowledge are acquired and exchanged in a social context (Richardson, 2006).

The interaction of social actors with each other also supports this change. More specifically, social members share their social interactions and comments, and these posts can be organized according to dimensions such as age, gender, origin, profession. If the schemas created are based on disparaging and insufficient information, it causes a negative bias. The formation of the inner group, that is, the perception of us, localizes the concept of otherness to the group where prejudice is created. The cognitive schemata of ingroups give rise to a dominant and power-based perspective towards the outgroup. Social memory is a factor that affects the social position in society. News production also significantly affects these social representations. Journalists take part in processes related to newsgathering, news production, writing, language use, and the definition of individuals and groups. There are socially and ideologically controlled strategies in these processes. Therefore, CDA aims to *"offer interpretations of the meanings of texts rather than just quantifying textual features and deriving meaning from this; situate what is written or said in the context in which it occurs, rather than just summarizing patterns or regularities in texts; and argue that textual meaning is constructed through an interaction between producer, text, and consumer (Richardson, 2006;15)."*

In the light of these, discussing the representation through discourse analysis; that is, the choice of words, the expression, the place and indication of the words, the sentence structure and the tone dominated by the language are important. The media is expected to be more impartial when it comes to women subjected to forced migration. Women need to be represented without encountering the previously mentioned concepts such as dual otherness. For this reason, the analysis of critical discourses tries to reveal the difference and inequality by addressing the crucial points in representation.

3. Chapter 3: Critical Discourse Analysis by Turkish Newspapers

This part of the study includes five newspapers with different ideological structures in the Turkish print media. First, the five newspapers will be generalized, and then each category will be separately looked at based on the critical discourse analysis.

3.1 Analysis of Cumhuriyet, Sözcü, Hürriyet, Yeni Şafak, and Sabah Newspapers

The data for the study is gathered from the online websites of the newspapers. The headline search has been done through the keywords; *Syrian woman, Syrian sister, Syrian mothe*r, *Syrian refugee woman, Syrian refugee sister, and Syrian refugee mother*. News reports between 2015 and 2018 have been searched for, which is the transition period to the social cohesion process. News reports are categorically separated as death, victim, guilty, mother, hero - success, sexual object, client, and others. The total number of reports between 2015 and 2018 is 301. 92 are gathered from Hürriyet, 67 from Sabah, 66 from Sözcü, 41 from Cumhuriyet, and 35 articles from Yeni Şafak.

Graph (2): Representation rates of the Newspapers by Categories

The categories are allocated based on the topics, the frequent ones of which are about the death, suicide, and murder of Syrian women, and they are all grouped under the title 'Death.' The other ones, which is related to the victimization of Syrian women includes the news about the problems before and after the war (unfortunately, there are no reports about this issue), sexual abuse, violence, difficulties experienced during and after the migration process, other injustices they live in Turkey, theft, false accusations, topics such as hunger and other challenges.

Crime news is covered under the criminal heading. It includes news reports about situations that threaten public and private security and the identities of murderers, fraudsters, and thieves.

Representing Syrian women as mothers includes the news with the children. This section consists of sacrifices made under the identity of a mother. It also contains mothers' problems, struggles for survival, and reuniting with their children and their family.

The hero-success category characterizes Syrian women with sensitivity to help Turkish people or other nationalities, animals, and the environment. Besides, it has news about women who work, produce, participate in arts and social activities.

The sexual object category includes news about women forced into prostitution or to promote prostitution.

The client category focuses on aid and opportunities provided by the state and civil society. Although the service category does not represent an identity, it examines how women can improve themselves, learn a profession, rebuild their lives with others' help, women's individual development, and their way of integration. Since a second player intervenes, it should be evaluated separately from the hero-success category.

The table below has the number of news gathered under the eight (8) categories.

Table (1): Categorical Distinction of the News

Categories	Hürriyet	Sabah	Sözcü	Cumhuriyet	Yeni Şafak	Total
Death	25	24	27	17	10	103
Victim	15	7	8	7	4	41
Guilty	11	9	11	3	1	35
Mother	11	3	5	3	2	24
Hero – Success	5	6	1	6	4	22
Sexual Objectification	5	5	4	4	0	18
Client	10	3	3	0	6	22
Other	10	10	7	1	8	36
Total	92	67	66	41	35	301

According to the data seen in table 1, the highest number of news reports about Syrian refugee women belongs to Hürriyet, and the lowest of those is to Yeni Şafak. The victim and maternal identities are featured more in the former of the two newspapers than the other three newspapers.

Sabah is the second newspaper that focuses on Syrian women between these years. It has more news reports in the hero and success category than the others.

Sözcü comes in third place with one published article that fits the hero success category. Besides, it has generated death news more than the others. Many reports come up with the criminal identity of women.

In Cumhuriyet, as in the other newspapers, women's representation of death is also heavily featured. While there are no news reports in the client, the number of news reports in the victim section is higher.

Yeni Şafak is the newspaper that reports least about Syrian women. It published less news in each category than any other newspaper and did not share women as sexual objects.

Selected newspapers published numerous news reports about the deaths of Syrian women. Femicide is the most common incident in the news headlines. In this category, Sözcü has the highest number of news, while Yeni Şafak has the lowest. Hürriyet publishes the highest news reports under the victim, which is followed by Sözcü. One of the most striking points in this study is the bad news reports about Syrian mothers. The representation rate according to the mother's identity and hero-success is meager, as seen from table 1. While Yeni Şafak does not publish any news with sexual content, Hürriyet and Sabah share five news reports. Hürriyet and Yeni Şafak have more news about women represented by the state or non-governmental service.

3.2 Findings: Comparison of the newspapers based on the categories

This section introduces the categorical differentiation of the newspapers based on the groupings: Death, victim, guilty, mother, hero – success, sexual objectification, and client.

3.3 Representing Syrian Woman as a ‘Dead One’

Syrian women are at the top of the agenda with news of death and murder in all five newspapers. This category differs from being represented by victim identity because victimization includes material and moral issues in the meaning. Otherwise, the murdered woman is also a victim based on the word.

Hürriyet describes the incident rather than the death of the Syrian woman. While describing women, it uses the mother's identity. Generally, headlines include expressions such as Syrian mother or Syrian woman and child. Although the incident is expressed in plain language, there are also expressions showing the cruelty of the woman's situation.

Online Access:

https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/mersinde-suriyeli-anne-ile-2-yasindaki-kizi-olduruldu-40135173

"The two suspects were caught after the brutal murder and were arrested by the court from which they were taken. Sorrow of event drowns the whole of Turkey, thousands of citizens joined the Syrian mother's funeral. (Hürriyet, 11.07.2017)"[11]

The newspaper rarely mentions the brutality of the murder and women's complaints. The incident is depicted in the news reports using a neutral tone and portrayed as a chronic, ordinary situation. While the language supports this situation, the discourse tries to show its total perspiration. Saying that thousands of people attended the funeral ceremony becomes an ordinary situation because of the lack of word choice.

Yeni Şafak referred to the difficulties faced by women. While writing about the identities of Syrian women, expressions giving information such as their previous illnesses or phrases like 'vulnerable refugees' are included. Another component not covered in other newspapers is the punishment of the murderers in the headlines.

Sabah has a more suicidal identity for Syrian women. However, there is a lack of information about why the woman is in a suicidal attitude. The newspaper only refers to the Syrian identity of the murdered women. The perpetrator of the murder is shown as a Syrian brother, other family relatives, or husband.

It was detected that Intizar, who was killed by a single bullet fired on her head by his brother Umar Mustafa, who was taken into custody, was later thrown into the irrigation canal by her uncles Abdulselam Mustafa and her uncle Amad Mustafa. (Sabah, 21.01.2017)[12]

[11]Online Access: *https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/suriyeli-anneyi-olume-boyle-goturmusler-40516692*
[12]Online Access: *https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2017/01/21/cesedi-bulunan-suriyeli-kadin-tore-cinayetine-kurban-gitmis*

In Sözcü, photos of women, which Saussure (Yakin, Sendera, and Totu, 2014). reminds as they are the signifier of the signified, are rarely included in the news reports. It primarily shares the crime scene or the photos of the murderers. The sense of language does not have an incriminating or targeting tone and describes the tragedy in detail. In the news report, women's lives are mentioned a little, but not much detail is given.

Cumhuriyet frequently includes expressions such as brutality, horror, and blood-curdling events in its reports of murder news. A rights-based approach deals with the violated rights, order, and various vital risks of the marginalized, and it presents a holistic perspective.

"The issue is not hostility towards Syria: Unstoppable femicide[13](Cumhuriyet, 07.09.2017)."

Rather than referring to the refugee's identity, it approaches death based on women's rights and freedom and the issue of women, regardless of religion, language, or race. The detail of the news report emphasizes that it is wrong to combine hostility towards refugees with murders. It is said that it is necessary to prevent violence against women in Turkey. This brings Syrian and Turkish women together and emphasizes that there will be no discrimination against violence.

This approach is practiced not only regarding women but also regarding transgender individuals. Trans refugee women treated as if they do not exist in other newspapers are featured in this newspaper.

[13]Online Access: https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/mesele-suriyeli-dusmanligi-degil-durdurulamayan-kadin-cinayetleri-777394

"Hate murder: Syrian trans woman killed at home (Cumhuriyet, 12.20.2016).[14] "

There are many details in the news, such as the fact that the woman who was introduced as a "sex worker" has lost her family during the war and was exposed to police and community violence in the country she took refuge in. The language used aims to protect women without highlighting discrimination.

According to Foucault, the subject that is tried to be built on the body contains the power relationship (Cahill, 2000). Although the representation of the woman as a dead body literally represents the murder, the code underneath reveals the woman's absence. Syrian women, who are shown as dead bodies, do not cause any harm to society and unfortunately support the press, which is fed by their absence. The struggle for life of the dead body and many meanings are lost in a single title. The fact that there are so many death reports removes the existence of Syrian women from society. This contributes to the power relationship of the dominant discourse and makes the Syrian women forget their existence.

3.4 Representing women as the 'victim'

Hürriyet gives priority to news reports about women who are victims of sexual abuse and those who have trouble meeting their basic needs. The language adopted by the newspaper makes the meaning an ordinary one. As seen in the previous section, the words used by the newspaper in its reports about Syrian women are insufficient and pale to form meaning. The identity of the perpetrator is hidden, and only the victimization of the woman is mentioned.

[14]Online Access: https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/nefret-cinayeti-suriyeli-trans-kadin-evinde-olduruldu-648381

This normalizes the experiences of a woman who was sexually abused or lost life or property because of the violence she has faced. Moreover, she is coded within a broad spectrum as a Syrian woman without having any prefix.

"*5 years were asked for the disgusting message about the Syrian mother (Hürriyet,12.02.2017).*"[15]

The title includes the harassment of a Syrian mother. However, it is not enough to explain the violence against the mother. The woman is represented as a mother and a victim, but there is no information given about the perpetrator.

"Due to his comment on social media about the murder of a 9-month-pregnant Syrian Emani al-Rahmun with her 11-month-old baby after being raped in Sakarya, a prison sentence of up to 5 years was requested for Berat Y. A."

In the continuation of the article, the name, pregnancy status, and other details are given about the Syrian women, but the rapist is hidden between two coded letters. This is supported by the images that show women's sufferings but without any picture of the criminal or the crime scene.

Although Yeni Şafak contains the least amount of news, it reveals more about the victimization of women. Headings are written in long and detailed terms, not as short sentences

[15]Online Access: https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/suriyeli-anne-ile-ilgili-igrenc-mesaja-5-yil-istendi-40665180

"*Syrian orphans and widowed women fight for survival in the tent city* (Yeni Şafak, 07.06.2017)."[16]

In the image on the left, the headline presents a content arrangement that addresses the problems Syrian women experience and their concerns in the area where they live. Language learning, one of the biggest problems of women, is mentioned. It has been added that the language problem causes to occurs during the cohesion process. Women are represented only as refugees, not as victims. In the sentence structure used in the news report, attention is drawn to the problems faced by the women rather than who they are and the shortcomings in social cohesion.

In Sabah, as in the other newspapers, the criminal profile is not mentioned, but their blurred images are given. There is a plot not about what the woman has experienced but about the perpetrator's arrest and the punishment. Briefly, it is mentioned about the victimization committed against women.

[16]Online Access: https://www.yenisafak.com/dunya/suriyeli-yetimler-ve-dul-kadinlarin-cadir-kentte-yasam-savasi-2750708

Sözcü covers abuse of women, problems they experience as mothers with their children, theft, and disappearance, just as the Yeni Şafak touches on the language problem and the issue of war victimization, the latter of which is not mentioned in other newspapers.

"The war in Syria caused the mother, daughter, and bride to become widows (Sözcü, 11.27.2016)."[17]

Although there is news about the impact of the war, there is no information regarding women's direct victimization. It is stated that they are widows whose husbands died rather than who the women were and what they did to survive.

The victimization of women is reflected in all its reality in Cumhuriyet and is supported by the visual. It emphasizes that the woman is under challenging conditions, but even so, she stands by her children, which also reflects the mother's identity. Moreover, the newspaper reminds us that they are the victims of the civil war.

"Someone is an overlocker; someone is selling water, someone is collecting paper, someone is begging. A separate war awaits the Syrian women who saved their lives in Turkey: Exploitation and sexual harassment[18]*. (Cumhuriyet, 03.09.2016)"*

The news report reflects the perception that the victimization of women is a separate war in Turkey and that they continue to fight here as well. Details of the conversation with the Syrian woman are given with the profile of whose dreams have been destroyed and who is

[17]Online Access: https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/son-dakika-haberi/suriyedeki-savas-anne-kizi-ve-gelinini-dul-birakti-1532453/
[18]Online Access: https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/olaylar-ve-gorusler/suriyeli-kadinlarin-cilesi-494528

now living only for survival. The heading covers the word ‘ordeal’ of Syrian women, which also refers to this challenging process.

Hürriyet represents women in a weak position by carrying the victimization of women in physical and material damages. The fact that the social problems experienced by women are not mentioned reveals the meaning that the victimization is shared only on two primary grounds. With its use of language, it is deprived of systematic and evidence-based knowledge production. Yeni Şafak is a little ahead in this area. It offers a different perspective on the coded representation of women in social life. The victimization of women is physical, and the basic conditions they need to survive are among the leading problems of Syrian women. Sabah has an attitude similar to that of Hürriyet. The female-oriented representation shows the theme of physical violence. The crime committed was highlighted on the basis of the newspaper rather than who the victim woman was. Rather than the news about Syrian women, the woman takes her place there as an ordinary entity. The definitions in Sözcü and Cumhuriyet open a deep perspective by showing that women fled from the war and experienced victimization in Turkey.

3.5 Representing women as ‘guilty’

The guilty characteristics differ throughout the newspapers. In Hürriyet, Syrian women attend to the headlines with their terrorist identities, as the dangerous people in society regarding loss of life and property.

"*Syrian woman wearing chador caused 'suicidal panic'* (Hürriyet, 08.08.2015)."[19]

The images support the headline of the news report by stating that the woman wearing the chador caused a live bomb panic. In the details of the report, it is understood that the woman does not speak Turkish and therefore had hesitant behavior. Writing the suicide bomb in quotation marks will create the perception that the Syrian women wearing chador might be a threat to the host society. The fact that the news content and the expressions in the headline are opposite to each other affects representation negatively.

There is one news report in Yeni Şafak of a woman reflected as a Syrian bride who is accused of dishonesty. Providing it with both the bride's identity and the fraudster's identity supports the possibility that the woman could deceive the men of the local population.

Sabah repeatedly reported the harm Syrian women inflicted on women of other nationalities, which is not included in the other newspapers.

"Three Syrian women in Taksim stole a gold bracelet from the bags of 6 Palestinian women who came out of the subway by pick-pocketing. One of the suspects was caught after the incident. (Sabah, 10.29.2018)"[20]

In the detailed narrative of the news report, the theft executed by Syrian women against Palestinian women comes to the fore. While no criminals are identified against Syrians, details are given about the Syrian female criminals, and headlines focus more on their punishment.

[19]Online Access: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/suriyeli-carsafli-kadin-canli-bomba-panigi-yasatti-29685367
[20]Online Access: https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2018/10/29/taksimde-filistinli-kadinin-bilezigini-calan-suriyeli-yakalandi

Sözcü focuses on the news reports that women are more fraudulent. It covers the news of both theft and deceit of Turkish men with the promise of marriage. Women are analyzed in the written part by referring to their various identities, such as mothers or wives.

"*Syrian pregnant woman beat her religiously married husband and ex-wife's sister and extorted their gold* (Sözcü, 02.02.2016)"[21].

The 2016 headline says that a Syrian woman committed a crime, and her definition is given with multiple identities. The phrase "A pregnant woman" implies that she can steal by using physical violence, even when she is more sensitive. There is a difference between using a phrase such as the Syrian woman stealing her husband's gold in the title and using the above statement that gives detailed information.

In the criminal profile, the woman is considered as the murderer in the report in Cumhuriyet. Instead of being a thief or a swindler, it seems that the woman committed love or domestic murder. The images of the guilty woman and the murdered person are given side by side, and the names of both parties are not hidden. At the beginning of the news report, the information that they were forced to leave their country and migrate is also included in this section. However, the news report does not use an accusatory tone about the woman, and she is not targeted.

Every detail about the woman in the criminal profile is given meticulously in the newspapers. While Hürriyet reported that the chador-dressed Syrian woman was thought to be a terrorist, Yeni Şafak described the bride as a dishonesty feature. Sabah describes her as a thief and

[21]Online Access: https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/suriyeli-hamile-kadin-dini-nikahli-esi-ile-eski-esinin-ablasini-dovup-altinlarini-gasp-etti-1072240/

Sözcü as destroying the home of married Turkish men. On the other hand, Cumhuriyet portrays the woman as the murderer, and none of them could move away from the targeting language. As Boylan (2002) mentions, language reflects the influence of social behavior in repeated situations, which is reflected in representation. The perception that the criminal identity of the woman who is the dangerous other is placed in the meaning with the bias of the dominant discourse.

3.6 Representing women as 'mothers'

It can be expected that the representation of women with maternal identity will come to the fore with their sacrifices for their children, their roles in the family, or the troubles they experience in their working lives. It has been observed that the concept of dual otherness has increased to three in this category of representation. When mother, woman, and refugee identities come together, the woman is expected to be more sensitive, and the traditional understanding of motherhood is imposed on her.

Hürriyet reflects this situation with the image of a mother who left or forgot her child.

"*Syrian mother forgot her baby in the hospital* (Hürriyet, 09.27.2016)."[22]

"*Syrian woman buried her miscarried baby under a tree* (Hürriyet, 08.03.2018).[23]"

In the first headline, there is no emphasis on mother identity. Details of the news report explain that the woman, shown as an irresponsible person, had psychological problems after

[22] Online Access: https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/suriyeli-anne-bebegini-hastanede-unuttu-40233226

[23] Online Access: https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/suriyeli-kadin-dusuk-yaptigi-bebegini-agac-alt-40917641

the war and had difficulties. The woman's name and age, where and how the incident took place, are written in detail. However, showing her as a one who leaves her baby using the phrase "Syrian mother" attaches a negative meaning to motherhood.

In the second heading, there is a perception that the Syrian woman has committed a crime. There is no detail about the woman or the incident in the news content. It has been left in a short text without any visuals.

Yeni Şafak refers to a mother's identity in two articles, but it uses a different point of view. It tells about how mothers were embraced by society rather than they were excluded or victimized.

'Little hearts' celebrated Syrian women's Mother's Day

Kindergarten students in Elazig visited Syrian women who lost their children in the war in Syria on Mother's Day. (Yeni Şafak, 04.08.2016)[24]

According to the information given in the headlines and news details, a different reflection of the mother's identity was encountered in the content. The host country's children visited Syrian women, who lost their children during the war, on Mother's Day. Apart from the news

[24]Online Access: https://www.yenisafak.com/gundem/minik-yurekler-suriyeli-kadinlarin-anneler-gununu-kutladi-2463312

expected in other newspapers, Yeni Şafak approached the mother identity as both a victim of war and a welcomed person by the region's people.

Anneler Günü'nü kutladı

Elazığ'da anaokulu öğrencileri, Anneler Günü dolayısıyla Suriye'deki savaşta Suriyeli kadınları ziyaret etti.

Haber Merkezi · 08 Mayıs 2016, 17:28 · Son Güncelleme: 08 Mayıs 2016, 21:50 · AA

This image emphasizes a different reality in society. Even though the woman is portrayed as a mother in other news reports, she is associated with violent images, whereas the image and news content of Yeni Şafak emphasizes motherhood with love and the pain of losing their children in war. A humanistic perspective can be understood from the sentence structure of the news.

Representation by maternal identity is deficient compared to other news in YeniŞafak. The Syrian mother pattern is included in the headlines. The fact that the mother's identity directly refers to the children in the continuation of the sentence reveals the priority of representing women and their children, as seen in other news reports. In the visual, it is clearly shown that Turkish children met with Syrian mothers, celebrated their mothers' day, and thus this created an atmosphere of cohesion. In other news reports, Syrian mothers are introduced as self-sacrificing individuals with their struggle for life and their assistance to their children. The statements include "second life for their child" and "Syrian mothers are trying to hold on to life by cleaning the barn with their children." Priority is given to the news reports that mothers take on the role of heroes who save their children.

Sözcü reflects the representation of the mother through its effects on the host society through a social perspective.

"*The number of Syrian refugees in Turkey increased with each passing day, the birth rate among refugees does not decrease* (10/03/2016)[25]."

Although the headline of the news report is expected to include the expression mother, the title of a refugee is preferred. This perspective, which is not available in other newspapers, emphasizes the fertility of Syrian women and their population growth. While no charges are made explicit, the meaning is incriminating. The increase in the Syrian population day by day and the fact that the birth rate of women is not decreasing gives the meaning that Syrian mothers are the harmful ones for the host society. At the same time, it is emphasized that the number of Syrian individuals is increasing. The use of the word "does not slow down" also shows dissatisfaction with this situation.

The identity of the mother is rarely mentioned in Cumhuriyet. Different characteristics of a mother are seen in all three news stories. While the woman is grieving and missing her child in one report, she is described as the victim who was brutally murdered together with her baby in another news report. It is added to the news report that this situation has created great sadness in Turkey. In another news report, the profile of a mother who forgot her baby in the hospital appears. However, here, too, the focus is on the physical and psychological health of the woman by referring to the health problems of the mother rather than an accusatory tone.

[25]Online Access:https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/suriyelilerin-dogum-orani-turkleri-gecti-1508838/

Although the identity of the mother is shown in the newspapers as both victims and women embraced by society, the language performs failures on the parent-child relationship. There is no information on various values, such as the effect of the mother on her family and her approach to her children. Moreover, the Syrian woman is confronted with otherness even in her mother's identity.

3.7 Representing Syrian Women as 'Hero' or 'Successful'

There are more positive titles in this category describing the heroism or achievements of the Syrian women. Hürriyet highlights the Syrian woman's efforts to deliver the wallet she found on the way to its owner and her participation in arts and sports activities. In all of this news report, the phrase "Syrian woman" is at the top of the sentence. The event is depicted as it is without using an exalting or laudatory interpretation. Details such as the name and age of the persons are also included in the news.

Yeni Şafak refers to the participation of women in artworks with Turkish artists.

"*Cukurova Award is given to Turkish sculptor and Syrian female author (YeniŞafak, 02.04.2016)".*[26]

The participation of artists on the same platform from both sides spreads the idea of equality and sisterhood. However, the most significant deficiency in the newspaper was made through the visual discourse. While there are no images of the Syrian woman, her work depicted

[26]Online Access: https://www.yenisafak.com/hayat/cukurova-odulu-turk-heykeltras-ile-suriyeli-kadin-yazara-2404538

includes the Turkish artist's image. While the woman is glorified with verbal expressions, her presence in visual discourse is removed. This undermines the credibility of the newspaper.

"Syrian women who live in the temporary accommodation center at Harran, district of Sanliurfa, learn carpentry in Turkey. They are making wooden toys for the little ones who will start kindergarten this year. Fatma Henan, one of the women who produce wooden toys for 625 kindergartens, said, "We believe that the toys we make will establish an emotional bond with Turkish children" (YeniŞafak, 09.18.2018). [27]

In this article, statements supporting coexistence are included. It is an example of social cohesion that Syrian women, who are toymakers, express that these toys they will give to Turkish children will establish a bond between them. Women are glorified with the words chosen, and a 'softer' expression is used (for example, using the phrase "too little children").

There is no unique glorification of women in the news reports where heroic news comes to the fore. However, compared to the other newspapers, there are essential differences in the discourse about women as images. Visuals of them, while they are helping others, are included, which creates a positive meaning.

Sözcü covers a small number of news reports in this category. Here, Syrian women's love for animals (referring to their maternal identity) is mentioned. Although there is no extra positive discourse in the language for the women who saved them by looking after the animals injured during the war, visuals are supported. Another point that draws attention to the visual is that

[27]Online Access: https://www.yenisafak.com/hayat/suriyeli-marangoz-kadinlardan-miniklere-oyuncak-3396334

the woman has an entirely different image. Contrary to the profile of a woman with a headscarf and baggy trousers, a modern woman wearing jeans and a t-shirt is represented.

With a completely different attitude from the other newspapers in this category, Cumhuriyet provides a meaning order that glorifies women and focuses only on them. It speaks of the unique talents of the Syrian women, which they achieved on their own rather than their aid. The words used describe the women as free individuals. The use of the artist identity rather than the Syrian identity of the woman in the following news is an example that supports this situation

"Musician Syrian women in Istanbul: We thought Turkey was freer[28] *(Cumhuriyet, 11.08.2017)."*

Onlar Suriyeli, göçmen ve müzisyen üç kadın... Sadim, annesi Haifaa ve en

When evaluated from a feminist perspective, the perception that women are 'individuals,' not the others, and the perception of refugees and women who are not from us are also eliminated by the visuals.

[28]Online Access: https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/istanbuldaki-muzisyen-suriyeli-kadinlar-turkiyeyi-daha-ozgur-saniyorduk-861808

Another element in the image is that the woman is not shown as the others. The usual image of Syrian women, neglected, middle-aged, and in miserable appearance, is eliminated here. Women are shown as part of unity rather than figures of social segregation. Although they continue to be seen as a group rather than being evaluated with an individual attitude with the emergence of common problems, a perception of inner unity is created to share the challenges.

The news reports on Syrian women's success and heroic moments are essential in the formation of positive representation. It is imperative for social cohesion to define women through their achievements without exaggeration. However, the misleading point here is whether women are represented on equal terms in a language based on male dominance. It seems that no matter how much language equality is tried to be achieved, it cannot be achieved with the use of visuals, as in the example seen in Yeni Şafak. According to Foucault, visual (picture) consists of what we can see as well as what we cannot see (Hall, 1997). That is why talking about a success story without seeing the image of the woman in the visual is based on the fact that the woman is forgotten similarly as in the representation of the dead body. Cumhuriyet has prepared a more successful environment in this regard compared to the other newspapers, reflecting the success of women in terms of language and visuals. Unfortunately, the image of the successful Syrian woman in the other newspapers is coded; that is, the woman who hides behind the words and becomes stereotyped (Power, Murphy, &Coover, 1996) cannot be escaped.

3.8 Representing Syrian Women as 'Sexual Objects'

The news in which Syrian women are represented as sexual objects can also reflect the meaning of a threat to social morality. They are cited as the cause of the deterioration of family unity and corruption in social morality. However, most of the news deals with issues related to those who are trapped and forced into prostitution.

Hürriyet addresses the threat of Syrian women to each other and represents women in different titles. Primarily, a Syrian woman is shown as an individual who leads people into prostitution, deceives people, and is unreliable. Secondly, the victim identity of the woman who was deceived by her kin is mentioned. Another issue that draws attention is that every detail about the Syrian victim is included in the news, and the criminal identity is concealed.

Yeni Şafak has no news reports on this category.

Sabah carries the grievance of women to the headlines. Prostitution and sexual assault against Syrian women are used in conjunction with the word "trap" or "forced manipulation." In the news details, information is given about the person or groups that abused women, but personal information such as the name remains confidential as in the other newspapers. There are images of the perpetrator (usually male), but women are omitted.

Sözcü expresses the brutality of the incident using the word "terrible" in the news report about prostitution in relation to women. While three related reports describe the infidelity and abuse of Syrian women, one talks about the imam's sexual intimacy with Syrian women. The fact

that the scene is a religious area, that is, it occurred in a mosque, causes the Syrian woman to be in a position that threatens society. There is no information about the woman, but the place and what happened between them is given in detail.

Contrary to the general attitude of the newspaper, another one is the newspaper's interview with a Syrian woman forced into prostitution. During the migration to Turkey, their survival in the camp and their pre-war experiences are reflected in the details. With this news report, the existence of the woman is recognized.[29]

In this category, Cumhuriyet states that Syrian women are not sufficiently protected in the country and are forced into prostitution. Women are not described as immoral and disrupting the social order but as individuals deprived of the protection of the political system.

"Two refugees in charge of the Karkamıs tent camp in Gaziantep say: "There are people who want to take a Syrian woman from the camp. You get the woman for 5 thousand TL. It's even lower. Bargaining is done. It is easy to leave the woman since a civil marriage is not necessary. There are bad guys, of course. There are also nightly affairs." Here is Necma, one of those who fell into the hands of those 'malicious ones'...[30] (Cumhuriyet, 01.17.2015)."

The news report draws attention to the fact that women are marketed as items for sale in the refugee camps. The incident, which is told from the first mouth, takes place in the newspaper, where they lived by giving the woman's name. The problem of the woman being dragged into prostitution from an area under state protection and the lack of action is highlighted. The

[29]Online Access: https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2015/gunun-icinden/suriyeli-kadinlara-korkunc-fuhus-tuzagi-714104/
[30]Online Access: https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/kamplardaki-kadin-ticareti-188373

inclusion of the phrase "meat market built on victims" in detail shows the woman's position in the camp.

In this category, the writing language could not save itself from the problem of gender inequality and seeing women as a commodity. Unfortunately, the brutality of showing women as objects to be bought and sold with the passing of words such as being marketed could not be broken. Although what is meant in the phrases is the prostitution trap or sexual violence experienced by women, the language continues to humiliate women. The meaning behind the narrative supports that the woman is seen as an item open to marketing. The language that members of a culture used to produce meaning (Hall, 1997;81) criticizes and devalues women in this regard.

3.9 Representing Syrian Women as 'Client'

Hürriyet uses similar expressions such as "Injured Syrian Woman," "Incurable Syrian Woman," "Syrian Woman Burned in the Explosion" describing the Syrian women. The rest of the news report includes healthcare assistance that Syrian women received from the authorized institution. This creates an understating that they need only health services but nothing else.

Yeni Şafak does not have any pre-adjective in representing women who receive aid; in other words, phrases such as 'injured women are in need' or further information is not included in the headlines. The newspaper contains details about women's skills in job opportunities, why and how assistance is provided. For instance:

"*Handicraft products of two Syrian sisters with hearing impairments, who AFAD trained in the Temporary Accommodation Center in Elbeyli, Kilis, are exported to China and Japan. (YeniŞafak, 03.01.2017)"*[31]

Like Yeni Şafak, Sabah prioritizes news reports about investments in the education and employment of Syrian women. However, no admiration is provided in describing the success of women. While the headlines contain what women have learned, the details focus on the people's success or institutions that give them this opportunity.

Mayor Mahmut Çelikcan, who tasted the dishes prepared by Syrian women with culinary education, found the prepared meals delicious and successful. Wishing success to the trainees, President Çelikcan said, "We aim for our siblings who took refuge in our country to learn the profession, to make their lives easier, and to learn to stand on their own feet" (Sabah, 01.13.2017).[32]

The article emphasizes that the education provided to Syrian women enables them to stand on their own feet, and this service encourages them to work. It refers to the success of the service rather than the praise of women's achievements.

In Sözcü, women appear as victims in the field of health. "Syrian women broke her foot and helped by AFAD officials," and "Syrian women burnt in the explosion are treated in Turkey " are some examples of the headlines. As in Hürriyet, women appear in the news reports by the services provided for health problems, forgetting all the other needs they have.

[31]Online Access: https://www.yenisafak.com/gundem/suriyeli-kadinlarin-hayatlarina-dokunuluyor-2621296

[32]Online Access: https://www.sabah.com.tr/guney/2017/01/13/suriyeli-kadinlar-meslek-ogreniyor

Cumhuriyet has no news in this category.

4. Chapter 4: Discussion of the findings

Based on the overall analysis, Syrian women's representation changes through the newspaper's political view. There are differences in meaning, word choice, and sentence structure among more radical newspapers and middle trends. Yeni Şafak, which is close to the government, highlights the advantages of the political order rather than the representation of women. On the other hand, Cumhuriyet takes a stance on how Syrian women perish in the political order and writes how women survive in this field. Newspapers with a middle position also differ in their attitudes. Those closer to the government are more likely to use a 'softer' language with protectionist words. The definition is based on who the women are as a group rather than their individual lives. Anti-government newspapers are more likely to represent them as guilty ones who are disrupting society. They are focusing on mother identity but not representing the mothers' lives or difficult situations.

One of the essential findings of the study is the representation of Syrian women as dead bodies, with .34% of the total coverage consists of the death news about Syrian women. According to birth and death rates, the frequent content of refugees in the media is called clinical humanism by Malkki (1996). The representation of the masses exposed to forced migration with numerical data means de-identification, in other words, depersonalization. Giving statistical rates and constantly talking about death and birth means that refugee communities are in artificial unity. They are seen as an experimental group that needs to be (massively) researched and reported on. This ignores the fact that they are separate individuals with different personalities, lifestyles and have dissimilar backgrounds.

The following category with the 14% ratio is the victimization of women. However, it is not representing all the realities. Victimization of women, who they are, or under what conditions they struggle for survival are forgotten. They are written as victims of rape, murder, physical and psychological violence. The criminal's identity is hidden both by censoring the photographs and by shortening the names with initials. The same is not accomplished for delinquent women.

Moreover, the host society sees refugees in masses as those who disrupt the order and cause unemployment, theft, sexual abuse, and other problems. This is supported by the accusatory tone of the print media and the image of the women, who is brought into a position that is uncivilized and harmful.

There is 8% representation in the newspapers by mother identity. It is seen that how the proximity of newspapers to the government affects representative differences. Syrian mothers struggling for their children are given in Sabah, and those with Turkish children are given in Yeni Şafak. Sözcü draws the image of a mother who inflicts violence on her children, makes them beg, and forgets them in the hospital. Hürriyet mentions more about the situation with women and how the environment is affected.

The client section has7% of the news reports. Even though those are mainly represented as humanitarian aid, women's stories about what happened during the war are lacking. In the newspapers, Sözcü and Hürriyet, women appear as injured and sick in need of health services. Yeni Şafak and Sabah express the success of women in education and employment. While Yeni Şafak defines the development of women with the help provided, Sabah articulates the success of the institutions. The contrast in the attitudes of pro-government and anti-

government newspapers in this area also reflects the discriminatory thought of the public in social cohesion. The only thing they have in common is the impotence of the women. Even though they all represent the ways of helping women, the understanding of our kindness to the other' is always kept at the fore. A perception that women require help in a dependent relationship is created. The question of what an uncivilized woman does in a different country comes to mind. As in all other categories, women are stereotyped.

In the hero-success category (7%), topics such as women's help to others, preventing danger from happening, and supporting their own families in the field of health are included. Also, Syrian women are not featured in the news reports about their achievements. The role of second persons, side actors, or institutions in the success of women has been made more critical with the order of the words. Although there is no explicit mention of neediness in this category, the women are pushed to the second plan by the lexical structure and the absence of visuals. In the part where otherness is expected to diminish, Syrian women appear only to succeed when they are receiving help.

In the reports found under the sexual objectification category, women are mainly represented as those who threaten society and destroy morality. They become the center of anxiety and fears for the host society. Sözcü gave the news report, supporting the fear that triggered the community. According to others, the general result is the practice of violence against women by the local people. The victim faces an even greater degree of victimization in the society in which she takes refuge.

This is the overall analysis for the representation; however, there are some differences in each newspaper. Starting with Yeni Şafak, the analysis of Sabah, Hürriyet and Sözcü have been all

made separately. This ranking was made according to the closeness of the newspapers to the government and their critical attitude.

Yeni Şafak is a pro-government newspaper that supports the policy towards the Syrian refugees. Its language is supportive and avoids abusive words. Sentences are long and descriptive. In the news reports about the death of women, the women are portrayed as "vulnerable" people, and the difficulties they face in life are included. The mother's identity, women as victims of war, victimization, and sufferings they experienced in Turkey have been mentioned. In addition to the use of positive language, the Syrian women's representation with the identity of a permanent victim creates a position of helplessness. The newspaper's prioritizing the victim identity besides this supportive attitude may lead to the perception of women as needy people.

Furthermore, the reflection of the public's support for Syrian women in the news is a stabilizing factor. It reflects the unity of the Turkish people with the Syrian women and shows mutual interaction and support during the social cohesion process. The report reflecting the achievements of women contains the works they have done, mostly in art. The coexistence of the members of the two communities is also in the foreground in this news. However, it is striking that women are not included in the visuals. In particular, the fact that a Syrian woman is featured in the same news story as the Turkish artist, but the image of the woman is not presented, is an example of the newspaper's choice to reflect its masculine power. At the same time, it reveals the superiority of the man who is one of us by excluding the other woman. Visuals should support the written language for having a positive and supportive tone. It is noteworthy that there is no news about sexual objectification in the newspaper. While others

cover the sexual objectification to the headline, such an absence in Yeni Şafak hides many issues, such as the crimes against women.

The client category does not have the phrases like sick or incapable Syrian women, and there are more positive expressions that glorify Syrian women. The support of the component authority enables them to be successful in employment. This understanding of representation has used a ‘softer’ language since it has a supportive background in terms of political power. Although political issues are not included in women's representation, the absence of negative news reports supports the newspaper's attitude. The positive reflection of women and their association with the public in the social cohesion process shows mutual respect and siblinghood.

In Sabah, the ‘Syrian women’ pattern is used rather than the expression of ‘Syrian refugee women.’ It also touches on a topic not presented in the other newspapers. Syrian women's violence and harm are inflicted on other women of different nationalities. While no detailed information is given about the victim Syrian woman, the woman who committed a crime is disclosed. Information such as her name and age are included in the news.

The general language shows that the woman is in the position of a suffering victim. As a mother, the woman reflected in the news with her children is the person who struggles for them. The representation of the women's success mentions the assistance provided by others and is supported by the language and the visuals. Women are shown in these images while sitting on the ground, crying, holding on to their children, and standing sad. In the sexual objectification part, the victimization of women is brought to the fore again. It is mentioned that they are in a difficult situation, such as being trapped. Client news includes the aids by

the institutions in education and employment. The victim status of the woman leaves its place to the praise of the institution.

Hürriyet adopts an event-oriented attitude rather than focusing on who are the Syrian women. The woman is not the prominent person in the plot and, representation focuses on the criminal profile of the woman. In the mother identity representation, the violence inflicted on her children by the woman is mainly written. Apart from the fact that the woman is guilty, details such as the conditions she is in and the environment she lives in are not mentioned. The woman is represented as a perpetrator of direct violence, and the language is neither discriminatory nor socially inclusive. The news report is presented in its regular flow and written in an ordinary tone. The same attitude shows itself in the hero-success report. Praise words are not included, and even there is no expression showing the association with the host society. In the sexual objectification part, another negative representation is formed. Therefore, it transforms Syrian women into ones who encourage other women and lead them to prostitution. They turn into a group that threatens the host society as people who break the order, negatively affect others' lives, and encourage crime. In the client section, women are reflected as needing help and care, especially in the field of health. The newspaper represents women as criminals, threats to society and other nationals, and individuals who require health care. These negative aspects break all favorable judgments and ignore the fact that they are refugees. Generally, women are included in the written language as people who threaten the order.

Sözcü shows that Syrian women are harmful to the local community. While the identity of the victim woman was not disclosed in this news, the name of the guilty Syrian woman was given

in the long-form, and all other personal information is detailed. By representing from a more social perspective, it draws attention to its reflections on the host society. There is news about Syrian refugees and the increase in birth rates without using the word ‘Syrian mother.’It creates a perspective that will prevent women from adapting to society while at the same time humiliating women with their fertility. The woman, who is portrayed as a toxic producer, is mechanized and, over a hate speech, turned into a danger to society. Although this is not clear, referring to a woman's fertility rather than her motherhood destroys her identity (Çağatay, Keskin and Ergöçmen, 2020).

Syrians are associated with their heroism in representation as mothers. They are portrayed as Syrian mothers who saved animals affected by war. This creates a contradiction in the attitude of the newspaper. In this news, the woman who is praised as a mother is shown by others as individuals who harm society. Another difference is the external appearance of the woman reflected in the visual. The image of women used in all other news is destroyed here. The Syrian woman, who appears in modern clothes such as jeans and t-shirts, is shown to adapt to contemporary society. In addition to most news depicting Syrian women in shalwar, headscarves, and a baby in their arms, the woman is represented here uncovered. It is an outstanding example for removing the image that is constantly settled in mind.

The representation of Syrian women in Cumhuriyet is formed within the framework of a rights-based understanding. The main point of view of the newspaper is that the victimized woman is to reach justice. This understanding is constantly demonstrated in the news reports about death. It is mentioned that the women who were brutally murdered get justice through the legal struggle. The question, who will take care of the dead bodies, draws attention in

every news report. Another great point is that there is a news story about transexual women, and it is defined as a hate crime. It shows the deprivation of the right to life of Syrian women as a violation of fundamental rights and freedom, not specific to various identities.

In the news reports about victimization, the issue of sexual abuse after the help provided to the woman is constantly discussed. In addition, the only way to fight for life is to turn to marriage, which reveals insufficient protection and attention. In a desperate situation, the woman turns to marriage and sometimes draws a line in the sand. However, despite this, the profile of women who do not leave their children, who are devoted to their families and cling to life, is drawn. Reminding that she is a victim of war, the news shows how strong Syrian women are.

In the representation of the criminal profile, the women are mainly shown as the murderer. While there is no news report of them as a thief or a fraudster, women are primarily described as responsible for domestic murders. However, the news report does not use a tone that blames the woman. Even though words are emphasized how serious the incident is, an exaggerated disparaging meaning is not attributed to the woman. In addition, the names of the victim and the perpetrator are written without hiding.

In the mother profile, women's victimization in the war and the problems they experience in the country are frequently mentioned. Although there is very little news in this field, it is enough to see how the mother's identity has a meaning in the newspaper. Even in a news report that she forgot her child in the hospital, the sad state of the mother is reflected in the image. The life of the woman is written, taking into account the war victimization.

The category in which the Syrian women are represented as individuals in the newspaper is hero-success. Women are represented with their artistic identities before they are described as Syrians. They are shown as women who stand on their own feet, struggle to survive in the country they migrated to without help, and achieve success. With this strong woman profile that does not give up on her ideals, both the solidarity between women and the perception of togetherness towards Syrians are given.

Women's fundamental rights and freedom have been violated; the fact that they are not adequately protected and exposed to sexual abuse is also important in the newspaper. In the sexual objectification section, information is given that the women living in the camps are trapped in prostitution and are marketed and sold like a commodity. The drama that the woman experienced here, her struggle to survive, and her heroism are reflected in words. The newspaper, which communicates directly with women, meets with them and remembers the events from their narration. It shows that the woman is vulnerable because of the country's politics.

The other issue among the findings is the difference between Sözcü and Cumhuriyet. Although there are anti-government tendencies in both newspapers, the representation of Syrian women contains contradictions in terms of language and meaning. On the one hand, Sözcü presents Syrian women as a harmful group that poses a threat to society. On the other hand, Cumhuriyet provides an individual rights-themed approach, emphasizing that Syrian women are not sufficiently protected and cannot live pretty. In the context of otherness, women are shown as a social issue, within the ‘us and others’ distinction, by Sözcü. It describes ‘us’ as who is good and ‘them’ as who disrupt the order. Cumhuriyet represents

Syrian women individually and expresses their problems, and it does not approach women in a hostile manner. On the contrary, it glorifies the woman and shows that they are not a group but individual beings and are they are left unprotected by living away from basic rights. If the necessary conditions are met, women can reflect their own strength and stay in a fair position within the system.

Newspapers also have different perspectives in the field of ‘othering.’ Marking the presence of women in the media with various marginalization’s, focusing on certain stereotypes without seeing their personal and collective capacities causes them to disappear in the social order (Nash,2009). As Gaunlett (2008) says, media is central to modern life while gender is the way for describing identities, which is also an important point for refugee women. In the feminization of migration, concepts such as refugees are becoming more widespread throughout the media. In other words, rather than the male-based migration approach, women's experiences are also made public. This situation reinforces the gender equality-based policy on media’s attitude towards immigration. However, it is not enough to cover news about refugee women despite Fairclough's saying that media should have a balancing role without discrimination. It is important to remember that there are various power relations in the media. The attitude of the media that supports the policies of the government and those who do not differentiate from the use of language, the choice of visuals, and the priority given to the news. Some of the newspapers are known for their closeness to the government. Yeni Şafak and Sabah, respectively, represented Syrian women with more ‘naïve’ sentences. Especially Yeni Şafak is in the lead with its news reports that support social cohesion. There

are deficiencies in the presentation of women as individuals in the reports that emphasize the embrace of the two communities.

Moreover, it claims that a Syrian woman is remembered as an embraced, loved, and compassionate person in society. Just by looking at this newspaper, there is a perception that Syrian refugee women can easily access basic needs, benefit from health services, and engage in artistic activities. Without referring to their refugee status, it draws the image that they have a place in the order and are now a part of the host society. It is stated that with the victimization of the woman, the criminal was caught and punished. When evaluated within the framework of the concept of otherness, it draws attention that the perception of "them" is reflected finely. This shows that they belong to the category of an internalized alienation in which they were accepted before. The news that we are trying to ensure that Syrian women do not have problems in our country, dealing with their issues, is proof of this situation. It would be appropriate to name this as 'accepted othering.'

The otherness in Sabah is almost the same as it is in Yeni Şafak. In other words, although it is accepted, it differs slightly. While depicting women, it is stated that they are Syrians, but there is no reference to their refugee identity. There is a perception that they are now settled. However, by committing crimes against other women of different races, it is claimed that they are the dangerous ones, although not for Turkish society.

The othering in Hürriyet stems from an event-oriented approach rather than seeing individuals as entirely human beings. The fact that the events are given in a natural pattern makes us forget that the woman is Syrian or a refugee. The event is presented first in the headlines, and then it is connected to the Syrian woman. Here, it is necessary to talk about dual

marginalization because the presence of women is ignored, and the incident itself is brought to the fore.

In Sözcü, there is a mass otherness rather than an individualistic one. Based on sociological developments, it focuses on the damage that Syrian women cause to the Turkish people. Although the victimhood of war is mentioned, the problems experienced by the woman are not given. They are represented as criminals who deceive Turkish men, and they are also shown as mothers who inflict violence on their children. In the distinction between them and us, Syrian women have been brought to the position of the other who harms the social order. Their identity is almost forgotten, and they are reflected as a toxic group living in the country.

Cumhuriyet has a different attitude from all other newspapers and focuses on representing Syrian women from a feminist framework. It shows that the woman is an individual and can stand on her own feet. In word order, the newspaper highlighted women's professional titles before their Syrian identity. In addition, it was written in various news reports that women were victims of war, and it was reminded that women changed their country because of forced migration. The language that supports hatred and otherness was not used.

On the contrary, a rights-based understanding and a feminist perspective are combined. In the news reports that the woman is in the position of a victim, no expression is used to show that she is helpless. The woman is reflected in the news reports as an individual who has not been protected by the system she had to enter and has not been sufficiently adapted. Even in the criminal profile, the factors that push the crime to occur are mentioned, not the murderousness or brutality of the criminal. The perception of otherness in the newspaper's attitude towards

Syrian women is relatively low. It exhibits a perspective based on women's equality without emphasizing that they are from different nationalities.

4.1. Remarking Analysis

Mattoscio and McDonald (2018) say that refugees are foreigners and threaten the homogeneous group, which then are confronted with stereotypes in front of the press. That causes them to remain silent (Mattoscio& MacDonald, 2018, Mendes & Silva, 2009). Through this perspective, women encounter a dual representation of marginalization, both according to their femininity and to their immigration status (Nash, 2006). This study reveals women's verbal and visual distinctions within dual marginalization based on the categories of death, victim, guilty, mother, hero-success, sexual objectification, and client. These all have different perspectives on Syrian women's representation and changes throughout the newspapers.

As Hall (2003) reveals, *"Texts do not express meaning or reflect reality. They produce a representation of the real, which the viewer is positioned to take as a mirror reflection of the real world. This is the productivity of the text (159)"*. Therefore, meaning is produced or supported through discourse. The general judgment in previous studies is that refugee women are represented as sexual objects, threats, and victims. All these studies are deficient. For instance, in most of the news reported them as victims, it was found that the facts were ignored, and the perpetrators were not recognized. In this study, a reality that did not exist before was not studied. The focus has been on the underlying facts that exist and are constructed by others and those tried to be hidden by words. It covers the years between 2015-2018 and uses the critical discourse analysis method in order to reach the result of

different representation identities of the Syrian women. The common point for every newspaper is that death news is more numerous than all others. Rather than dominant and stereotyping otherness, Syrian women are represented as dead bodies rather than their existence. This situation, unfortunately, symbolizes that the Syrian women's reality has been forgotten in society as well. Moreover depersonalization term comes to fore as a physiological aspect of the study. Women are seen (mostly through their fertility and death rates) as the figures who are not the part of the society and even life. They are represented as an unreal character who destroys the ‘smooth life’ of the host society (Malkki,1996).

As can be understood from the data, the use of a multi-language inter-institutional rather than a dominant cognitive language is prevalent in the media.

"*Dominant representations have the power to change understanding and knowledge about immigrant women, which can determine how they understand themselves and even affect their behavior and the behavior of others towards them. Framing subjects in the media can shape discourse, which can be repeated when it becomes the dominant discourse and representation of a certain group of people, creating areas of truth and knowledge around the subject (Hennebry, Williams Celis-Parra, & Daley, 2017; 5-6)".*

However, the common feature of these multiple dominant languages is their defense against discrimination. The study concludes that the representation of women does not proceed in a stable order but that the written media proceeds within its view. Newspapers also show that discourse is a structural fiction and try to cover the truth with words. With a one-sided point of view, the formation of a correct point of view is prevented.

When we look at the recent historical background of Syrians in Turkey, the situation is becoming even more confusing. There is no definitive solution yet for the Syrian refugees, who have been on the country's agenda since 2011. Society recognizes Syrians, which it calls foreigners, as the first target for crimes committed. The perception that no crime was committed before they came is widespread in society unintentionally. This makes the most fundamental distinction between them and us. The idea of us living in peace and those who cause trouble are embedded in society as the dominant perspective. Under adverse conditions such as unemployment and theft, the public unconditionally blames them. Along with this, discrimination based on gender affects the women’s lives in a community where they are 'strangers' even more negatively. The fact that the media does not take a balancing attitude will also support the opinion of the host society. The marginalized women in whispers will turn into an abstract and fictional reality with the media language and visuals. This is reflected uniformly, regardless of any differences in the lifestyle. This, in turn, supports the references such as victims, criminals, and sexual objects affixed to the woman. Thus, the Syrian woman or, in general terms, the refugee women are dressed in a uniform of otherness.

An unexpected result of the research is that the photographs provide more support to the otherness concerning them and us. The image of women in the photos aimed to reflect that they are different from us. The image of women who do not resemble us is reflected in the photograph, with the woman's clothing, posture, and location. The ‘other woman’ is depicted at the crime scene, with her children in her arms or helpless. In addition, the absence of any images in the news completely ignores the woman and eliminates her presence. In this case, it becomes easier to define us, the group from which the dominant discourse emerges.

It is another critical issue that the male profile comes first to mind when talking about Syrians. Studies on this subject include direct representation of Syrians. The work done for women is insufficient. The focus was on the overall Syrian profile, and the female representation was not concluded.

In addition, vital issues such as the women's experience during the war and their difficulties during migration are not covered in any newspapers. There is insufficient information about how women overcome the language problem, what kind of problems they experience when they come to Turkey, and their opportunities. They are framed for a limited time in accordance with the determined conditions. Reports or studies conducted by non-governmental organizations are not sufficient to show what has happened and the media's attitude.

Although they are different media channels, each newspaper has the same attitude about these issues. The story of the women is conveyed on a specific line. Here, the words are chosen rather than focusing on who the woman is or what she is going through, prefer to express what is happening quickly. The woman is de-identified, and this opens up a different dimension in othering: Nonexistence. Representation, which is also very important for the social cohesion process, remains insufficient.

5. Chapter 5: Conclusion

As it was explained in the previous chapters of the study, "besides the problems of physical and psychosocial adjustment common to both sexes, women face an additional set of constraints evolving from cultural and normative differences in sexuality, fertility, and family life, which are viewed in countries as primarily feminine domains (Remennick, 1999; 441)".

The multiple otherings of women arise in writing, speech, or visual discourse, or even actions. In other words, discourse is multidimensional; therefore, several factors affect its analysis. The author's spatial link interaction, text, and reader are minimal in critical discourse analysis of written texts. In this respect, shared values, namely language structure and socio-cultural characteristics, are essential. The interdisciplinary nature of written news analysis includes linguistics, discourse analysis, psychological and sociological analysis (Dijk, 2013).

The language changes, but the writing remains the same, so what is written years later remains the same, so the language and the writing should change simultaneously (Saussure,1998). The lives of Syrian women in Turkish conditions have changed over time. The language has changed according to the political background of the print media as well as the cultural dominance. Without a fixed definition, women are exposed to otherness. The fact that there was no change in the written language in this study, which covers the transition period to social adaptation, shows that women have the same coded status in society. There was no change in the phrases defined as the signifier in the stereotyped female characteristics. Signified, which means that the meaning remains constant, continues to show the woman in a particular type. The portrayal of Syrian women as dead bodies, in particular, may cause

marginalization to turn into oblivion. The absence of a feminist perspective in the newspapers in general limits the understanding of Syrian women by society.

From a constructivist perspective, Hall (1997) talks about the meanings attributed to colors. Each word is used to express an object, person, or situation. This also applies to images. However, it is crucial to see the ideological point of view by studying the underlying meaning of the word a little more. This study clearly shows how Syrian women are/are not represented in Turkey. Sometimes the representation of women, who cannot get rid of the male-dominated language structure, takes on the judgments of stay (sand, irresponsible mother). This situation further fed the concept of others who could not be us.

With semiotics in language research, it is easier to find these sociological codes in the text. That is, the meaning is reached with the dominant language adopted by the society is resolving. Thus, in my research, I focused on the tone and structure of the dominant language, which is full of journalists' opinions and views of the newspaper agencies. From the literature review, I find that the dominant language is a reaction to a particular group, person, or event. While the reasons are based on social motivations, they can also depend on political factors. Accordingly, the media's attitude about representation changes throughout the political background. This will happen as the media can change the perspective of society and the dominant discourse. This situation should be discussed with another comprehensive study.

My thesis compares the discourses of five newspapers with different political backgrounds. Three newspapers Sabah, Hürriyet, and Yeni Şafak, are closer to the current Turkish government. Yeni Şafak also has an Islamic attitude. Sözcü and Cumhuriyet are anti-government newspapers. Their differences in the use of language make the representation of

Syrian women in the print media remarkably diverse and prevent them from being in a shared perspective (even in the identity).

The general approach in Yeni Şafak is ‘softer’ than the others. There is an attitude that glorifies Syrian women by choosing the words that welcome them. As it is the pro-government newspaper that supports policies on Syrians, this affects its representative behavior. The newspaper has adopted women as part of the social cohesion process. However, the most critical deficiency is the problem of persuasion that will be created by continuous affirmation.

Sabah focuses on the victimization of women. The desperation of women is featured throughout the newspaper. The difficult conditions they suffer from are shown as a natural consequence of being a woman rather than being in a patriarchal order (Doganay&Kenes, 2016). The preference of this attitude towards women in the context of otherness, even though it does not contain a direct hate speech or discriminatory language, allows them to be devalued. The most common prejudice against refugees is to view them as a threat, which is the general attitude that Hürriyet has.

Similarly, Sözcü has an accusing tone that blames the Syrian women. The perception for Syrians in Turkey is that they can acquire citizenship and the right to vote. In addition, the presence of Syrians in the country is cited as a reason in situations that disturb public peace. This situation spreads the message for (Syrian) refugee women that they act like a virus that spoils the nation's health (Akinerdem, 2017). Women are shown as prominent threatening figures with their uncontrolled fertility and irregular family structure. According to these different attitudes, it is concluded that there is a significant deficiency in the representation of

Syrian women. Newspapers make a selection of news suitable for their readers' profiles. Other characteristics of the woman are also thrown into the background by stereotypes, and the woman’s role in life is completely ignored.

There was no major obstacle or resource problem in the study. The only problem was in accessing the news reports from the news websites. This is a technical problem. The absence of chronological order in some news sites or news appearance other than the searched word affected the data collection process.

I expected the representation of women by stereotypes throughout my work by comparing the different political stanced newpapers. However, encountering a general representation problem is another unexpected finding of the study. Although there is an expectation that there will be more news reports referring to women's experiences during the war, unfortunately, no such conclusions have been reached.

The research on the representation of women was carried out in different newspapers between 2011 and 2018, which opened a door for future studies. This work, which shows the verbal and visual communication of the press and refugee women, offers a further study opportunity for the public, the media, and the refugees. A study of how the people and the public opinion adopt the press's attitude towards women will help fill the gaps. Moreover it will be a great contribution for discussing the representation of Turkish and Syrian women in the Turkish media.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A.

The following figure is taken from Dijk's own article on what is critical discourse analysis (2015) and presents that the method is the way to research social-power inequalities within the social and political context. CDA focuses on the discourse (text, speech, etc.) to understand the adapted social inequality.

Figure 22.1 Schema of the discursive reproduction of power.

Appendix B. List of the News

In the following pages you can find all news about Syrian Women.

Sabah

1. Death

    a. 11.03.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/gaziantep/2015/03/11/suriyeli-kadin-balkondan-dustu
    b. 09.04.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/guney/2015/04/09/suriyeli-kadin-koca-dayagiyla-oldu
    c. 15.04.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/mardin/2015/04/15/suriyeli-kadin-bogazi-kesilerek-olduruldu
    d. 17.05.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/ankara-baskent/2016/05/17/suriyeli-kadin-kazada-oldu
    e. 02.06.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/antalya/2015/06/02/antalyada-suriyeli-kadin-cinayeti
    f. 01.11.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2015/11/01/suriyeli-kadin-kalp-krizinden-oldu
    g. 10.02.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/02/10/suriyeli-kadin-cadirda-intihar-etti
    h. 08.03.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2016/03/08/suriyeli-kadini-bicaklayip-altin-disini-sokup-aldilar
    i. 17.04.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2016/04/17/suriyeli-kadin-cenazesi-diye-gomuldu
    j. 27.05.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2016/05/27/suriyeli-kadin-kopruden-firat-nehrine-atladi
    k. 24.06.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/ankara-baskent/2016/06/24/suriyeli-kadini-kocasi-oldurdu
    l. 15.08.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2016/08/15/suriyeli-kiz-kardesler-sulama-kanalinda-boguldu
    m. 14.09.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/egeli/2016/09/14/suriyeli-kadin-yanginda-oldu
    n. 21.01.2017 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2017/01/21/cesedi-bulunan-suriyeli-kadin-tore-cinayetine-kurban-gitmis
    o. 13.02.2017 https://www.sabah.com.tr/egeli/2017/02/13/suriyeli-anne-ve-bebegi-fareler-kemirdi
    p. 12.07.2017 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2017/07/12/sakaryada-oldurulen-suriyeli-kadinin-esinden-aciklama
    q. 19.07.2017 https://www.sabah.com.tr/aktuel/2017/07/19/suriyeli-anneyi-ve-bebegini-olduren-caniye-sok
    r. 04.09.2017 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2017/09/04/7-cocuk-annesi-hamile-kadin-uvey-oglu-tarafindan-dovulerek-olduruldu
    s. 05.09.2017 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2017/09/05/suriyeli-kadini-uvey-oglu-oldurdu

t. 12.10.2017 https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2017/10/12/suriyeli-anne-ve-bebeginin-oldurulmesi-iddianamesi-kabul-edildi
u. 01.12.2017 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2017/12/01/oldurulen-suriyeli-kadin-hakkindaki-yoruma-hapis-istemi
v. 10.05.2018 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2018/05/10/suriyeli-anne-kiz-cinayetinin-altindan-yasak-ask-cikti
w. 26.07.2018 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2018/07/26/camasir-asan-suriyeli-kadin-canindan-oldu
x. 04.08.2018 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2018/08/04/suriyeli-kadin-cinayet-kurbani

2. Victim
   a. 23.03.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/konya/2015/03/23/ozel-haber-suriyeli-kadin-bulunmazsa-isid-kocasini-infaz-edecek
   b. 27.04.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/guney/2015/04/27/suriyeli-kadinin-fuhsa-suruklenmesine-dava
   c. 19.08.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/guney/2016/08/19/suriyeli-kadinlarin-cantasini-alip-kacti
   d. 06.10.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2016/10/06/suriyeli-kadina-cinsel-istismarda-bulunan-sanigi-175-yil-hapis
   e. 11.07.2017 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2017/07/11/sakaryadaki-katliamda-yeni-gelisme-olume-boyle-goturmusler
   f. 29.09.2017 https://www.sabah.com.tr/guney/2017/09/29/suriyeli-kadina-akil-almaz-iskence
   g. 25.07.2018 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2018/07/25/suriyeli-kadinin-cantasini-alan-kapkaccilar-guvenlik-kamerasinda

3. Guilty
   a. 06.04.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/kutahya/2015/04/06/ziynet-esyalarini-alarak-kacan-suriyeli-kadin-yakalandi
   b. 22.04.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/istanbul/2015/04/22/otobuste-dusen-cuzdani-calan-suriyeli-kadin-kamerada
   c. 21.05.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2015/05/21/copten-yiyen-suriyeli-kadin-asparagas-cikti
   d. 06.12.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2015/12/06/50-suriyeli-kadin-gozaltina-alindi
   e. 04.01.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2016/01/04/suriyeli-kadin-5-aylik-hamile-kumasini-doverek-oldurdu
   f. 25.02.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/egeli/2016/02/25/suriyeli-kadinla-evlenme-hevesi-pahaliya-patladi
   g. 14.11.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2016/11/14/suriyeli-kadin-pazarda-cuzdan-caldi
   h. 06.02.2018 https://www.sabah.com.tr/karadenizdoguanadolu/2018/02/06/9-cep-telefonunu-calan-suriyeli-kadin-yakalandi

i. 29.10.2018 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2018/10/29/taksimde-filistinli-kadinin-bilezigini-calan-suriyeli-yakalandi

4. Mother
   a. 18.06.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/hatay/2015/06/18/mazgalda-bulunan-bebegin-annesi-suriyeli-cikti
   b. 18.10.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/marmara/2015/10/18/suriyeli-anne-6-cocukla-birlikte-yasama-tutundu
   c. 13.08.2017 https://www.sabah.com.tr/akdeniz/2017/08/13/suriyeli-anneden-ogluna-ikinci-hayat

5. Hero-Success
   a. 09.03.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/guney/2015/03/09/suriyeli-kadinlarin-gunu-tarlada-geciyor
   b. 05.05.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2016/05/05/suriyeli-kadinin-cigligi-hirsizligi-onledi-1462452636
   c. 30.12.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/akdeniz/2016/10/30/suriyeli-kadindan-ornek-davranis
   d. 08.03.2017 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2017/03/08/suriyeli-kadinlardan-8-mart-sergisi
   e. 25.10.2017 https://www.sabah.com.tr/marmara/2017/10/25/turkiyenin-ilk-sam-mutfagi-izmitte-acildisuriyeli-multeci-kadinlar-kendi-yemeklerini-satarak-kazanacak
   f. 30.08.2018 https://www.sabah.com.tr/akdeniz/2018/08/30/suriyeli-kadindan-ornek-davranis

6. Sexual Objectification
   a. 11.03.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2015/03/11/suriyeli-kadina-fuhus-tuzagi-1426080665
   b. 23.05.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2015/05/23/suriyeli-kiz-kardeslere-fuhus-yaptirirken-yakalandi
   c. 27.04.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/guney/2015/04/27/suriyeli-kadinin-fuhsa-suruklenmesine-dava
   d. 13.05.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/guney/2015/03/13/suriyeli-kadina-fuhus-tuzagi
   e. 25.09.2018 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2018/09/25/kahvehanede-suriyeli-kadinlara-fuhus-yaptirildigi-iddiasi
7. Client
   a. 25.12.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/marmara/2016/12/25/suriyeli-anneler-turkce-ogreniyor
   b. 13.01.2017 https://www.sabah.com.tr/guney/2017/01/13/suriyeli-kadinlar-meslek-ogreniyor
   c. 20.09.2017 https://www.sabah.com.tr/egeli/2017/09/20/suriyeli-anne-ve-cocuklara-egitim
8. Other
   a. 08.03.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/sanliurfa/2015/03/08/ayni-evde-yasayan-9-suriyeli-kadin-ulkelerine-donebilmek-icin-dua-ediyor
   b. 09.03.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/sanliurfa/2015/03/09/suriyeli-kadin-rim-ezzar-turk-kardeslerimizin-sevgisi-bizi-hayata-bagladi

c. 25.03.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/guney/2015/03/25/suriyeli-kadin-yedigi-tavuktan-zehirlendi
d. 2.11.2015 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2015/11/02/arapca-ezgiler-suriyeli-kadini-gozyaslarina-bogdu
e. 29.03.2016 https://www.sabah.com.tr/egeli/2016/03/29/suriyeli-kadinin-talihi-izmirde-dondu
f. 24.01.2018 https://www.sabah.com.tr/webtv/turkiye/suriyeli-kadindan-turkiye-ve-erdogana-tesekkur
g. 09.03.2018 https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2018/03/09/suriyeli-kadin-turk-askerini-gorunce-sevincten-agladi
h. 09.04.2018 https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2018/04/09/son-dakika-istanbulda-sinir-krizi-geciren-suriyeli-kadin-polise-zor-anlar-yasatti
i. 30.07.2018 https://www.sabah.com.tr/magazin/2018/07/30/oden-suriyeli-gocmen-kadinlarla-bir-araya-geldi

Sözcü

9. Death
   a. 22 ocak 2015 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2015/gunun-icinden/suriyeli-anne-ve-bebegi-yanginda-oldu-719824/
   b. 30 ocak 2015 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2015/gunun-icinden/siniri-gecmeye-calisan-kadin-olduruldu-727469/
   c. 17 nisan 2015 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2015/gunun-icinden/suriyeli-kadin-tecavuze-direnince-oldurulmus-806601/
   d. 20 ocak 2016 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/batmanda-suriyeli-bir-kadin-bicaklanarak-olduruldu-1050554/
   e. 9 şubat 2016 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/sobadan-sizan-gazdan-suriyeli-kadin-oldu-esi-komada-1081943/
   f. 10 şubat 2016 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/suriyeli-kadin-cadirda-intihar-etti-1084859/
   g. 13 şubat 2016 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/ereglide-suriyeli-anne-ve-6-cocugu-sobadan-zehirlendi-1089242/
   h. 21 mart 2016 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/suriyeli-kadin-trenin-onune-atlayarak-intihar-etti-1146414/
   i. 25 mart 2016 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/otomobilin-carptigi-suriyeli-kadin-oldu-kizi-yaralandi-1153887/
   j. 18 mayıs 2016 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/suriyeli-anne-ogul-kuma-cinayetine-kurban-gitmis-1235194/
   k. 27 mayıs 2016 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/suriyeli-kadin-intihar-icin-firat-nehrine-atladi-1249459/
   l. 22 haziran 2016 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/son-dakika-haberi/ankarada-4-cocuk-annesi-suriyeli-kadin-kocasi-tarafindan-olduruldu-1286609/
   m. 15 ağustos 2016 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/son-dakika-haberi/suriyeli-kiz-kardesler-sulama-kanalinda-boguldu-1353226/

n. 26 eylül 2016 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/son-dakika-haberi/islahiyede-suriyeli-kadin-evde-olu-bulundu-1412280/
o. 14 aralık 2016 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/gundem/son-dakika-haberi/gaziantepte-suriyeli-kadin-evinde-olu-bulundu-1564666/
p. 21 ocak 2017 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2017/gundem/son-dakika-haberi/cesedi-bulunan-suriyeli-kadin-tore-cinayetine-kurban-gitmis-1636009/
q. 17 şubat 2017 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2017/gundem/son-dakika-haberi/suriyeli-kadin-evinde-olu-bulundu-1685424/
r. 20 mart 2017 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2017/gundem/son-dakika-haberi/yardimsever-suriyeli-kadin-cinayetine-5-gozalti-1745291/
s. 17 mayıs 2017 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2017/gundem/son-dakika-haberi/bunalima-giren-suriyeli-kadin-bilegini-kesip-intihara-kalkisti-1855212/
t. 17 haziran 2017 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2017/gundem/otogarda-suriyeli-kadinin-feci-olumu-1900006/
u. 7 temmuz 2017 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2017/gundem/suriyeli-hamile-kadina-tecavuz-edip-cocugu-ile-birlikte-oldurduler-1923023/
v. 9 temmuz 2017 https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2017/gundem/suriyeli-kadin-evinin-onunde-vuruldu-1925477/
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    b. 23.02.2016 **Denizli'de katalogla Suriyeli kadın satıldığı iddiası**
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    d. **05.07.2016 Adana'da Suriyeli kadın oratadan kayboldu**
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    e. **27.02.2018 Yardım skandalı... Suriyeli kadınlar 'insani yardım karşılığı cinsel ilişkiye zorlandı'**
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