

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

**A CRITICAL EPISTEMOLOGICAL APPROACH TOWARD ACADEMIC
RESEARCH ABOUT NEWS REPORTING OF SYRIAN REFUGEES IN
TURKEY**

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Istanbul-2024

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Prof. Mine Demirtaş

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Tuğba Gülal

ABSTRACT

A CRITICAL EPISTEMOLOGICAL APPROACH TOWARD ACADEMIC RESEARCH ABOUT NEWS REPORTING OF SYRIAN REFUGEES IN TURKEY

The scope of this dissertation is to problematize and to conceptualize the relation between news, Syrian refugees and how Syrian refugees are understood and demonstrated through academic research about news reporting. For this, the mentioned relation between news and social reality through academic research investigated is aimed to be revealed. To follow the questions about why and what kind of relation there is between news and social reality; academic research made between 2011-2019 in Turkey about Syrian refugees in news reporting have been chosen according to key word scanning system. Accordingly, 47 academic research have become relevant for the scope of the dissertation. After the relevant academic research investigated is shown by graphics and quantitative and qualitative data; they are tested. Relevantly, 47 academic researches are tested and investigated by three main perspectives and methods. These are as follows: i) Marx's dialectical and historical materialist method, ii) Three-legged schema as an epistemic model that is inspired by Sayer's epistemological perspective about social sciences and iii) Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis. As a result, it has been observed that there are some epistemological problems to reveal the relation between news and social reality through the most of the research investigated. The main inadequacies and outlines in the research investigated are as follows: i) the lack of historical background about the relevant social reality such as Syrian refugees and the war and secondly; ii) the lack of news analysis as a production process. Consequently, epistemological perspective to the communication demands much more than non-historical and non-dialectical approach for building the relation between news and social reality. It requires more holistic approach contrary to research that are only grounded on frame and discourse analyses that see the language as unique expression to reveal the relation between Syrian refugees and news through main stream media. In other words, any substantive approach for news requires epistemological perspective that consists of holistic and historical angles toward the problem and production process of news and communication.

Key words: Refugee, Syria, News, Philosophy, Epistemology, Communication, Social Reality.

ÖZET

TÜRKİYE’DE SURİYELİ MÜLTECİLERLE İLGİLİ HABER ALANINDA YAPILMIŞ AKADEMİK ÇALIŞMALARA YÖNELİK ELEŞTİREL EPISTEMOLOJİK BİR YAKLAŞIM

Bu doktora teziyle; haber, Suriyeli mülteciler ve Suriyeli mültecilerin haber alanındaki akademik çalışmalarda algılanışı ve ortaya konuluşu arasındaki ilişki sorunsallaştırılarak kavramsallaştırılmaktadır. Tezin amacı ise; haber-toplumsal gerçeklik olarak Suriye mülteciler ve akademik çalışmalarda ele alınışı arasındaki bağlantının ortaya konulmasıdır. Söz konusu ilişkiyi ortaya çıkarmaya yönelik neden ve nasıl sorularını takip edebilmek için; 2011-2019 yılları arasında Türkiye’de Suriyeli mültecilerle ilgili haber alanında yapılmış akademik çalışmalar anahtar kelime taraması ile seçilmiştir. Bu bağlamda Türkiye’deki 47 çalışma öne çıkmaktadır. Çalışmalar, grafiklerle, ve çalışmanın yayın tarihleri, içerik öğeleri ve anahtar kavramları nicel ve nitel verilerle ortaya konulduktan sonra; bu çalışmalar farklı yöntemlerle test edilmektedir. 47 akademik çalışma 3 aşamalı yöntemsel düzlemde incelenmektedir. i) Marx’ın tarihsel diyalektik materyalist yöntemi ii) Sayer’in sosyal bilimlerdeki epistemolojik perspektifinden esinlenilerek önerilen 3 ayaklı şema epistemik modeli, iii) Van Dijk’ın eleştirel söylem çözümlemesi. Buna dayanarak, incelenen araştırmaların çoğunun bahsedilen bağlantıyı ve toplumsal gerçekliği epistemolojik olarak yeterli bir biçimde ortaya koymadıkları gözlemlenmiştir. Çalışmalardaki temel bulgular şunlardır: i) Suriyeli mülteciler ve savaş gibi ilgili toplumsal gerçekliği görünür kılmak için tarihsel bağını ve bağlantıların eksikliği. İkinci olarak da ii) haberi bir üretim süreci olarak çözümlemeye yönelik eksiklikler. İletişime epistemolojik yaklaşım, haber toplumsal gerçeklik ilişkisini ortaya koymada tarihsel ve diyalektik olmayan bir bakıştan fazlasını gerektirmektedir. Sorunun kaynağını dil olarak ele alarak yalnızca çerçeveleme ve söylem analizi aracılığı ile ana-akımda mülteciler ve haber ilişkisi ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlayan çalışmalar sorun barındırmaktadır, bu nedenle iletişime daha bütüncül bir yaklaşıma ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Sonuç olarak da bu; ilgili soruna ilişkin tarihsel bütüncül bir bakış ile habere ve iletişime yönelik üretim süreçlerini içeren epistemolojik yöntemi gerekli kılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mülteci, Suriye, Haber, Felsefe, Epistemoloji, İletişim, Toplumsal Gerçeklik.

To My Beloved Mum...



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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the relation between news, Syrian refugees and academic research made about Syrian refugees in the field of news reporting in Turkey. The question about how Syrian refugees are represented through the news has become relevant in social research that are especially made after 2014. On the other hand, the question about how academy understands and conceptualizes Syrian refugees and their social realities is not commonly asked. Secondly, the question directed to the reason and why academy conceptualizes and represents Syrian refugees such way in public domain remains silence. The mentioned questions are in the frame of philosophy of communication. Also, this dissertation critically engages with these how and why questions.

After 1980, countries have started to come across a different phase in the context of social, economic, political and cultural terms. Especially, “information” and “modernization” have become key concepts in order to promote the free movement of capital through the globalized world. However, what actually has been moving around the world is still a key issue due to the fact that countries’ meeting each other does not only imply an economic flow but also a cultural and social meeting.

The facts lying behind what has been lived in the Middle East today are taken into consideration with different perspectives and groundings through academic studies. Yeşilyurt (2013:106) emphasizes, the geography is called as “Middle East”, “West Asia”, “Arabic World”, “Arabic States System”, “Arabic Land”, “Fertile Crescent”, “Levent” (meaning “bold”), and it is defined as a regional system by different criteria. The period 1990s led the Middle East to be reviewed again, and the United States’ foreign policy has been discussed since then. There have been different views and opinions about the process of Middle East with regard to the relations between the United States and the Middle East, and one of these views is presented by Harvey (2015:15), pointing out the local and foreign capital flow to Middle East. The event, which occurred in Tunisia in 2010 and continued in Tahrir square and in the surroundings on 17 December 2011 was titled as “Arabic Spring”. It spread fastly to some countries such as Tunisia, Libya, Syria, Bahrain, Algeria, Jordan and Yemen and other districts, and then, civil rebellions, conflicts and protests have appeared in all over the Arabic world. In this study, Syria as a Middle-East country and its relations with Turkey will become significant owing to the fact that “the significant and traumatic human escape from Syria to peripheral countries has started to be lived as a result of turning of anti-regime protests started on 15 March 2011 in Syria into the serious conflicts and then into the civil war” (Erdoğan, 2015: 1). Furthermore, the situations of refugees and what they are going through today have still been questioned, and in this context, Turkey’s position has come to the forefront. People who escaped from war and conflicts have brought the hope of finding a job and living in new places where they sheltered, but they have been dragged along a dilemma between living and dying. According to the statistics, the number of Syrian people in Turkey has reached 1 million 650 thousand since 20 December 2014, and 210-220 thousands of them have been living in camps (Erdoğan, 2015: 16). Even though the problem encountered in the context of Syria, Turkey and the Middle East has brought the questions of refugee, worker, identity, discourse, religion and ethnic notions, the issue of how we observed and construed the conflicts in the Middle East is prominent here. Especially, seeking for what this “new order” points out and which dynamics have been lying under it has become a meaningful effort in the last period. In this context, the tendency to focus on the Middle East has increased after 1990s with the process called “The Gulf Crisis”, and many journalists, researchers, writers and academicians have published studies about the area. Still, the interest for this geography is continuing with regard to the results of the economic, political and social process. Partly, the Middle East matter has been regarded as a “regime”, “safety” and “democracy” problem; moreover, it has been taken as a “freedom” matter. These questions

are out of the scope of dissertation. Nevertheless, the main aim of the dissertation is to reveal the relation between social reality, news, ideology and refugees in academic studies in Turkey and to demonstrate how it is put forwarded through the relevant research. Relevantlty, main questions regarding to the dissertations are as follows:

1. What are the academic research methods and perspectives applied in the news studies made about Syrian refugees in Turkey, and what are epistemological inadequacies of the relevant research in terms of relation between news, representation of social reality and refugee?

The questions mentioned above have utmost importance to find out the new outlines, knowledge and meanings for the dissertation. *Thus, the hypotheses of the study are as follows:*

1) the general approach in academic studies made in the field of news is considered problematic at some aspects in terms of revealing the relation between news, Syrian refugees and social reality because they do not adequately reveal this relation and sources of the relation. 2) The main problem through the relevant academic studies investigated is about the lack of inclusive epistemological understanding to communication. By the idea of inclusive epistemological understanding; it is implied that genuine links about the origin of the problem and the relation and therefore; here “inclusive” means real validity and source of the knowledge about the problem. 3) The main reason and source of relevant problematic relation between news, Syrian refugees, their representation cannot only be revealed by the news language itself; but macro relations behind the language itself. Therefore, the relevant aspects, links, method need to reveal historical aspects and production of news process about the problem. This requires an approach that applies news and its macro relations to social reality and Syrian refugees investigated and macro-relations imply economic and political context and historical aspects of the relevant news about Syrian refugees.

In order to follow the hypotheses and the aim mentioned above, the question is followed. The methods which will be followed in the study are majorly constituted by quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis. Quantitative analysis is important to demonstrate the

numbers of studies according to years, the fields key words about definitions about Refugees and to strengthen qualitative data. Some quantitative data including statistics and numbers will be prominent through the research, besides *stratified random sampling* is method applied to choose academic studies in the scope of neutral selection process. Especially analytical philosophy method and descriptive method will be guiding to reveal the relation between social problem, news, academy and communicational philosophy aspect of the motivation. Three -legged schema is a type of analytical philosophy approach to the news. The relation between news, academy and Syrian refugees will be determined by means of sampling and analytical method. For this, Marx's and Sayer's accounts on social reality and social sciences will be helpful as it opens a wide sense for philosophy of social science and relevant questions through the research. The method applied in the research will be explained through the part titled the method and the significance of the research but shortly the basic content of these parts need to be introduced. Under the light of Marx's thoughts on political economy, historical and material production relations, the academic research investigated is tried to be explained. Drawn on Sayer's argument and to apply hypothesis; a schema proposal is articulated to the chosen studies according to stratified random method. This schema will be named as three-legged schema. (schema of knowledge-schema of research object and schema of ideology) The discourse in the academic research chosen will be also followed to reveal research questions mentioned and to determine the relation between practice and theory.

In order to follow the questions and the hypotheses; the dissertation is divided into three chapters. In the first chapter; main epistemological accounts -idealism and materialism are introduced in the context of their historical progress. Here, materialism as prominent philosophical theory matters because epistemologically, the research is inspired by historical and dialectical approach directed to relevant academic studies about how Syrian refugees are understood. The question about German materialism within historical aspects and idealism is linked to critical economy-political approaches and dominant approach to communication that become relevant in chapter 3. Then in the second chapter; the notions and of "refugee", "immigrant", "asylum seeker", "guest" "temporary protection" in the context of Turkey and the historical progress of the terms and Syria are revealed. This covers the period from 1950s until Transnational Turn and Syrian civil war. The second chapter is also conceptual and historical part and discussion of the dissertation. And in the third chapter; the academic research published between 2011-2019 are investigated and deepened. Syrian Civil war started in 2011 and since then, the world and its dynamics have changed sharply, therefore its

starting year has been chosen for collecting relevant datas in this research. The research is limited within years between 2011-2019 because those years are important in terms of outbreak date of Syrian Civil War and the quantity of studies made about news reporting of Syrian refugees have decreased since then. Since 2019 and 2020, the dynamics of the studies made about Syrian refugees have mainly transformed into social media news reading and writing due to Covid-19 outbreak. And also in third chapter; relevant academic studies made between the years of 2011-2019 are explored and shown by quantitative and qualitative data, graphics. By this chapter, epistemological problems and the insufficient aspects about research are emphasized and the recommendations in terms of philosophy of communication for relevant academic research are presented. The academic research investigated are constituted of academic dissertations and papers about Syrian refugees in the field of news that are published between 2011-2019. Accordingly, Marx's historical and dialectical materialism is main epistemological inspiration and 47 relevant research are analyzed according to three-legged schema inspired by Sayer's approach to social sciences. The Research chosen by means of stratified random sampling method are explored by means of three-legged schema and they are elaborately analyzed according to this schema. Due to the fact Van Dijk (1988, 1991) has firstly systematically applied the critical discourse analysis to news, his critical discourse analysis method is applied to the relevant academic research chosen and the relation between news, social reality and academy is made visible. In the end; it is justified that through most of the academic research investigated; there is an insufficient epistemological connection about revealing the relation between news, Syrian refugees and social reality. As a conclusion three-legged schema is supportive to apply academic studies about news reporting and relevant news to reveal the problematic aspects in the studies. Furthermore, the way of reaching to the knowledge of reality revealed by these research is criticized in terms of question of reflecting social reality and news relation.

CHAPTER 1

1.EPISTEMOLOGICAL APPROACH:SHORT HISTORY OF MATERIALISM

Throughout the existence of human being, the questions have been raised within the context of the relations of nature, human being, physical world leading to progress of philosophy. Moreover, for the obligatory appearance of the practices of humans and the ideas, thoughts and mind have become important dynamics for philosophers to interpret the world. In the history of philosophy, there are many different approaches for the problem of object and subject and the relation between physical world and abstract world, external and internal world. In the scope of the study, two main philosophical thoughts, materialism and idealism become relevant to reveal the relation between social reality, ideology and news. However, as the research motivation is based on historical materialism, compared to idealism, materialism is significant for this part. Therefore, in this part, idealism will take part only within basic definitions and materialism will be main ground for the main motivation of the research.

1. Main Progress of Idealism and the Notion of *Idea*

Throughout the history especially starting from Ancient Greece, philosophers have been trying to comprehend the source of knowledge and the reason why we have this knowledge. Accordingly, the question about what the source of knowledge has raised the question of mind and how it operates actually. Systematically, philosophers in Ancient Greece have primarily asked the question of universe and knowledge and they have formed the idea of knowledge, and its relation with universe. Especially there have been many prominent philosophers living and asking major philosophy questions during B.C. sixth century in Ancient Greece, among of whom are Thales, Parmenides, Heraclitus who are regarded as one other most remarkable philosophers in the history regarding to the shaping the idea of substance, nature and movement. As stated in Heraclitus' famous saying, "no man ever steps in the same river

twice,” and this kind of questioning led to the idea being and change which has a transformative effect on philosophical thought history. Although it is related the question of ontology owing to distinctive statement of “being”, it is the question directed to the Notion of change and movement in nature has inevitably brought the connection of philosophy with natural sciences. The mathematical, arithmetical, physical analysis and study of the nature has also constituted the first form and question about human being. Furthermore, all movements, changes and activities proceeded by the nature has always had a great role in philosophy to put forward the dynamics and main problems of the question of knowledge. During the fourth and fifth century of B.C. of Ancient Greece, this question of knowledge gained a new dimension within its connect with philosophy, logic, moral and politics. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle have been prominent pioneers questioning the origin of knowledge and its inseparable bound with human being. The fact that the direct relation of knowledge is attached to the human mind has significantly led human being to be main actors in philosophical research. Thanks to these three philosophers, the role of mind and thought within its relation to knowledge has been revealed as one of prominent questions of the history of philosophy. This questioning has also brought the notion of reality and knowledge and human being in the context of the relations in society. The question of reality has been illuminating comprehension leading to methodical aspect to the universe, phenomenon and human kind which points out the main components of how to reach the reality. The notion of “idea” has been also stemmed from the reality matter which manifests things, their appearance and thought regarding to mind working that is very aligned with the facts and events. The basic questions regarding to reality can be summarized as follows:

- What is reality within the terms of relation between thought, mind, events and facts?
- How do I perceive or comprehend the knowledge of mind owing to distinctive characteristic feature of reality?
- Why do phenomena seem to me this way and how do they become observable?

The questions are not directly relevant to this research, nevertheless they matter to understand the notion of epistemological foundation. The questions in terms of reality and thought have been primarily and firstly about the structural form of the universe and its reflective power

stemming from its physical reality and components. Whether there is an absolute reality or not has also raised the issue of possible dimension of universe and its reflective dynamic saving the implicit reality to be reached. The concept of “idea” was framed firstly within the frame of these questions, yet it has been always discussed throughout philosophy history seeking the question of reality. Besides, in order to make a “truth” definition; the notion of reality has a special significance in the philosophy, yet firstly at the following section; the notion of “idea” and its historical progress is tried to be discussed to form the political philosophy theories systematically.

The notion of *idea*, *idea* in Greek language points out also a dimensional space to be reached where the notion of time and space is not concrete. “Gestalt”(Form), “Erscheinung”(Image), “Aussehen” (Appearance) and “Urbild”(Prototyp) are German terms for the notion that point out the problem of Form and the world. (Schäfer, 2007,p.761) Accordingly the notions of (non) physical, form, real are so prominent to understand his ideas of theory which is actually related to how to reach the knowledge of real and is the question of the material and physical world. The knowledge is not attached to the material world but actually it is attached to the human mind as an independent category that state the dual relation of body and mind. Plato's Theory of Forms is an epistemological response to the nature of reality within the terms of forms.

The question directed to the knowledge of reality is connected to field of epistemology to put forward the dynamics underlying of the reality. From this point, it seems that there is no actual knowledge and the possibility for reality. If the world which is called by Plato ‘Realm of the Forms’- ideal object found is located- is a non physical area, the idea of truth seems to be tough to reach. In order to comprehend and to make a systematical frame owing to philosophical discussions of idealism, firstly the notion of *idea* will be tried to put forward within the context of first discussions in philosophy history. It is known that first discussions and problematizing owing to the notion and idealism was made by Plato in his *Theory of Ideas*. “He is the father of idealism in philosophy, in politics, in literature. And many of the latest conceptions of modern thinkers and statesmen, such as the unity of knowledge, the reign of law, and the equality of the sexes, have been anticipated in a dream by him” (from intr. Republic Plato, 2002,p. 7).

Plato has questioned the relation between reality, things and physical world within the terms of philosophy stating a world view which is related to non-physical essences of the things. Furthermore the theory of ideas are very bound to the theory of forms being the question of

forms within the context of reality and true. Therefore, the dual discussions regarding to the notions physical and non-physical world also rise the questions of visible and non visible, absolute and changeable. This kind of questioning of reality accords with Plato's question about a second world in which reality operates as an absolute, accordingly, the space and place where reality is sought through is not in physical context. Secondly, the physical world is not regarded the source of a real and absolute knowledge and that is the reason why Plato points out a dimension where there is no an exact change.

Idealism discussion does not end here, Platon is the key Ancient philosopher who has inspired idealism and modern philosophy. Since Plato, idealism has developed within different questions and discussions about morality, art, truth, knowledge and reality. Kant is an influential German philosopher of enlightenment period who has progressed idealism. Kant's idealism is an epistemological characterization that seeks the relation between mind and universal moral categories which he calls as "categorical imperatives." Categorical imperative shortly implies Kant's moral structure that seeks to define a moral system that is universally adoptable and followable by all people in all places. For this, Kant seeks an epistemological system that can give appropriate explanation actions by means reasons that might be grounded on universal principles and unconditional morality. And also, this aims to give sense to mind's innate aspects and their relation to our experiences. This relation can be found through his conceptualization between a priori and a posteriori categories about the nature of knowledge. Though a priori categories refer to phenomenological aspects of reasoning, a posteriori is more about nominal and empirical world that surround us and shape our knowledge. For Kant, world knowledge is the knowledge about our perception and mental activity toward the external things and seeing "things in themselves" and for this view, human knowledge is finite. As this view is not central focus of the research, it will not be detailed.

2. History of Materialism and Its Philosophical Appearance

Since the progress of history, the question of what kind of relation human has with the physical world and nature has attracted to people. The question of being and consciousness have been directly related to the question of spirit and the nature within the terms of which one comes first. This inseparable relation between substance and mind has inevitably brought out the relation of the history which is related to how the earth has been constituted. The matter whether the earth has been created or not is very bound the idea of God which has been also questioned within the frame of *being*. The question of being has always been thought

by philosophers owing to the notion of human being, nature and God since Ancient ages, accordingly the being and movement of material interactions and mental operations have a direct relations to be explained, therefore the question of what materialism is attach us to the question of matter and mental situations. Materialism reveals the idea of matter and material relations as not being as a result of any kind of mental interaction, consciousness, thinking but rather continuous and natural reason of any activities and relations including mental conceptualizations. Material interaction of the life is main determinant to comprehend other dynamics regarding to what is happening around and mind. It is known that the historical progress of materialism goes back to 800-200 BC and it is also known that materialism has been developed in different geographies with different discussions.

Materialism developed, possibly independently, in several geographically separated regions of Eurasia during what Karl Jaspers termed the Axial Age (c. 800–200 BC). In ancient Indian philosophy, materialism developed around 600 BC with the works of Ajita Kesakambali, Payasi, Kanada, and the proponents of the Cārvāka school of philosophy. Kanada became one of the early proponents of atomism. The Nyaya–Vaisesika school (c. 600 BC – 100 BC) developed one of the earliest forms of atomism, though their proofs of God and their positing that consciousness was not material precludes labelling them as materialists. Buddhist atomism and the Jaina school continued the atomic tradition. (<https://sciencetheory.net/materialism/>, 20.04.2020)

The question of knowledge of substance has attracted the philosophers especially in the Ancient periods because the question of nature was very connected to idea of movement and how substance was shaped. Heraclitus (c. 535- c. 475 BCE) was one of the first prominent names who firstly gave an answer what the movement means in the nature actually. Stemming from the idea of *logos*, he tried to answer the questions of Cosmo. The change and dynamic movement were the main notions for Heraclitus to give a meaning for Cosmo inevitably requiring the transformation. "Ever-newer waters flow on those who step into the same rivers," is the one of famous quotations by Heraclitus regarding to the explanation of movement in the nature and law of movement. This law of movement had a strong link with Cosmo and logos, accordingly the universe was always in the dynamic change and movement and furthermore, the everything which exists is only material and the universe is nothing but a material fact.

Besides, the movement principle is connected to the idea of continuous change and transformation in the nature. He thought that natural situations had an only material source and the nature is to be analyzed aligned with its dynamic and movement. The dynamics

regarding to the nature was significant for the philosopher to give a systematic and logical explanation for the question about what the movement in the nature and space was and how it was actually realizing.

At the first beginning of philosophy history, the nature's physical being seemed to have a meaning to sign out the dynamics and notions not only within the terms of phenomenon but also religion, sense and thought. Frederick Albert Lange summarizes the materialism in antiquity with the beginning sentences below, which are stated in the first section of his book related to the early atomists:

Materialism is as old as philosophy, but not older. The physical conception of nature which dominates the earliest periods of the history of thought remains ever entangled in the contradictions of Dualism and the fantasies of personification. The first attempts to escape from these contradictions, to conceive the world as a unity, and to rise above the vulgar errors of the senses, lead directly into the sphere of philosophy, and amongst these first attempts Materialism has its place. (Lange, 2000,p.3)

According to the explanation above, materialism became a first attempt to comprehend the world as a unity having a harmony, though the first attempt in the history of philosophy focused on the dualist and contradictive character of physical conception of nature. Therefore, this attempt to understand the material pointed out the knowledge of essence of them in the world leading to atomist explanation of the things. The contact made with the nature was very distinctive for these philosophers to comprehend the question of “how” and to give a systematic response for the resource of the knowledge and motion. The question of how all the things’ being and appear is one of the motivation to understand the motion and change in the universe:

...But here arose a contradiction between appearance and being, in face of which philosophy could not be maintained. The one-sided maintenance the one axiom injured another: “Nothing is without cause.” How, then, from such unchanging existence could the phenomenal arise? To this was added the absurd denial of motion, which, of course, led to innumerable logomachies, and so furthered the development of Dialectic. (Lange, 2000, p.19-20)

The questions forwarded the notion of appearance have been always aligned with the comprehending what is actually happening in the universe. Furthermore, whether there is a

change or not which could be thought as an unchanging existence and contradictory and dualistic approach regarding to the universe has not been enough to explain to comprehend the change and motion in the nature. The dialectic has progressed from the questions and criticisms against to unchanging being of the universe and furthermore dialectic has made a very vivid explanation owing to the sustainable harmony and unity of the universe. Although the development of Dialectic was firstly clearly observed in Heraclitus' ideas and thoughts, philosophers and thinkers after him have also contributed to the progress of dialectic and then empiricist world view. The attempt to understand the changing universe was also linked to understand the motion in the nature and universe which pointed out the being of the universe and its essence. The theory of atomism is stemmed from the question within the terms of what is happening in the universe:

Empedokles and Anaxagoras drop this absurdity, inasmuch as they refer all becoming and perishing to combination and separation. Only first by means of Atomism was this thought fully represented, and made the corner-stone of a strictly mechanical theory of the universe; and it was further necessary to bring into connection the axiom of the necessity of everything that happens. (Lange, 2000, p. 20)

It has been observed that throughout the progress of materialistic view, atomism was primarily significance to interpret the universe and phenomenon. *Ancient Greek atomists like Leucippus, Democritus, and Epicurus prefigure later materialists.* Thanks to them, modern natural science has found the way of progress throughout the history. Lange states this progress as follows:

So much the more must we admire the tact with which Bacon, ordinarily no great hero in this historical learning, chose exactly Demokritos out of all the philosophers of antiquity, and awarded him the premium for true investigation, whilst he considers Aristotle, the philosophical idol of the Middle Ages, only as the originator of an injurious appearance of knowledge, falsely so called, and of an empty philosophy of words. (Lange 2000, p. 14)

Democritus is a prominent figure and he makes the connection of philosophy with natural sciences by combining the dynamics of natural sciences:

Bacon may have been unfair to Aristotle, because he was lacking in that historical sense which, even amidst gross errors, recognizes the inevitable transition to a

deeper comprehension of the truth. In Demokritos he found a kindred spirit, and judged him, across the chasm of two thousand years, much as a man of his own age. In fact shortly after Bacon, and in the very shape which Epikurus had given it, Atomism became the foundation of modern natural science. (Lange, 2000,p. 14-15)

By means of progress of atomism, modern natural science has gained more distinctive character to interpret the universe and moreover this progress was mainly based on the contributions of Democritus and Epicurus. These early atomists openly put forward the idea that all things in the universe were matter and these matters were constituted of nothing but atoms that were actually attempt to give a physical meaning what is happening around. "Nothing happens by chance, but everything through a cause and of necessity" (stated in Lange, 2000: 20). This explanation of necessity was very connected to the idea of teleological explanation of existence in the universe:

This proposition, already, according to a doubtful tradition, held by Leucippus, must be regarded as a decided negation of all teleology, for the "cause" is nothing but the mathematical-mechanical law followed by the atoms in their motion through an unconditional necessity. Hence Aristotle complains repeatedly that Demokritos, leaving aside teleological causes, had explained everything by a necessity of nature (Lange, 2000,p.20).

The Latin poem *De Rerum Natura* by Lucretius (99 BC – c. 55 BC) reflects the mechanistic philosophy and the perspective of Democritus and Epicurus. Thanks to his contribution, materialism was clearly appeared with its terms regarding to nature, universe, mind and spirit furthermore he has progressed the notion of body.

MOTHER n of Aeneas's sons, joy of men and gods, Venus Introduthe
 life-giver, who beneath the gliding stars of heaven 1':~atioll
 fillest with life the sea that carries the ships and the land to Venus,
 that bears the crops; for thanks to thee every tribe of ~:atiye
 living things is conceived, and comes forth to look upon power of
 the light of the sun. Thou, goddess, thou dost turn to Nature.
 flight the winds and the clouds of heaven, thou at thy
 coming; for thee earth, the quaint artificer, puts forth
 her sweet-scented flowers; for thee the levels of ocean
 smile, and the sky, its anger past, gleams with spreading light. (Lucretius. *De Rerum Natura*.
 William Ellery Leonard. E. P. Dutton. Book I, 1916.)

The poem written by Lucretius regarding to prominent atomists is prominent to point out a systematic explanation for how the nature is shaped and what happens in the nature:

In philosophical atomism, which is as old as Greek philosophy, attention was focused not on the detailed explanation of all kinds of concrete phenomena but on some basic general aspects of these phenomena and on the general lines according to which a rational explanation of these aspects was possible. These basic aspects were the existence in nature of a manifold of different forms and of continuous change. (Melsen, A. G.M. van. "Atomism". *Encyclopedia Britannica*.)

Based on the dialectical motion of the nature and thanks to the contribution of atomism, the nature was started to be taken into consideration as not an unchangeable, stable category with only contradictive dynamics but changing and having harmony and unity by means of motions through necessity of nature. Accordingly, the nature was regarded within the terms of necessity and cause, which is indefinite and absolute not within the terms of chance attempt to explain the relative and fluctuating characters of things. A materialist, within this terms, observe the external nature and existence having always a dynamical change and transformation. "As, then, the Materialist, looking into external nature, follows out the forms of things from the materials of which they are composed, and with them lays the foundations of his philosophy." (Lange, 2000,p. 37) In other words, all existent things around as a factual and changing category have constituents and they could be only analyzed by means of dialectical disintegrating. This external nature is only to be comprehended by deeply analyzing of the forms of things with seeking through the materials composing the forms and thanks to this kind of analyzing and the perspective owing to the notions of external nature constituted of forms; a philosophical material of the things could be determined. Yet, internal relations aspect of the external world has been also interpreted within different terms and context arising the question of how this relation is to be explained:

Obviously not by a mere convention, which at once sets a man down as a Sensationalist in regard to the internal, and as a Materialist in regard to the external world. Although this standpoint is the commonest in our inconsequent practice, it is anything but a philosophical one. (Lange, 2000,p.37)

The relation between external and internal one is nothing but the relation between existence and thought; the matter and mind as a philosophical question:

Much rather will the consequent Materialist deny that sensation exists independently of matter, and will accordingly, even in the facts of consciousness, find only effects of ordinary material changes, and regard these in the same light as the other material facts of the external world: the Sensationalist will, on the other hand, be obliged to deny that we know anything whatever of matter, or of the things of the external world in general, since we have only our own perception of the things and cannot know how this stands related to things in themselves. (Lange, 2000,p.38)

Accordingly, the two philosophical aspect applied to interpret the external and internal world within the terms of material facts and things have become prominent to comprehend the things and things in themselves that has been always discussed and questioned throughout all history of philosophy. Furthermore, it has been the question regarding to which one-external or internal one- the main determinant in the history to comprehend the question of relation between being and thinking. Based on this idea, nothing is stemmed from out of motion but motion and transformation. Therefore, the main notions of first materialistic world view could be framed within the following key terms: *nature, motion, transformation, change and harmony*. One by one these terms will not be discussed in the text but briefly, materialism in the Ancient age implies a real observation of the nature regarding to the notions of motion and transformation resulted in change by means of an absolute harmony and unity. In other words, it is the first origins of what materialism points out.

Materialism, as a philosophy got its origin in Ancient age, and then progressed in different geographies such as China, India and Arabic lands by means of philosophers' contributions and interpretations of the universe. Especially, the question about the existence of God has continued to be sought through with different geographies to comprehend and interpret the universe, one of those geographies was Arab geography in which materialistic philosophy was progressed. Although Axial Age between (800-200 BC.) has a big importance regarding to shaping of main origins of materialistic world view, Common Era after 27 AD. has also significant for materialism to progress within different aspects. Another period, which is very prominent within the terms of materialism and history of philosophy has been the modern age since then 16th century. This period has been so significance regarding to the fact that classical materialism as a way of knowledge has coherently and systematically gained its significance thanks to contributions of many guiding philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes, René Descartes, Pierre Gassendi, Jean Meslier, Julien Offray de La Mettrie, Baron d'Holbach, Denis Diderot, John Walking Stewart. Rosenthal explains Descartes's classical materialistic views through the sentences below:

While Descartes regarded mechanical principles as sufficient for a complete explanation of the behavior of inanimate objects and nonhuman animals, he also urged that such principles did not provide a way of explaining all of the behavior of human beings. For while much of the behavior of human bodies is on a par with that of stones and animals, reflex behavior and being subject to gravity, for example, much human behavior, Descartes urged, is not. His primary example of such behavior was speech, seen as expressive of human reasoning ability.

Descartes believed that in order to explain speech behavior, it is necessary to regard it as caused by states of something other than a body whose behavior is subject to mechanical laws. (Rosenthal, 1971,p. 5)

Descartes, with his explanations in terms of natural science and its relation of human behavior, is a prominent figure to comprehend one of the first classical thoughts of materialism and this signifies the relation between mind, body and mental states of human being. Rosenthal summarizes Descartes's three prominent arguments as below. Descartes is the philosopher who firstly makes a systematical explanation about the existence of soul and body and Rosenthal interprets the view as follows:

While all human behavior on a par with that of stones or dogs could then be explained by the application of mechanical laws to the human body, other human behavior would be explained as caused by states of the soul such as thoughts or acts of will. (Rosenthal, 197,p. 5-6)

Accordingly; thought, will as category of soul exists in human being and these categories have impact on human behaviors.

The argument most often studied is based on his claim that while one can doubt the existence of any material object, including one's own body, one cannot doubt the existence of one's own soul....For while the first is a general argument that people have souls, the second can establish at best only that one's own soul exists, not that anyone else's does. Moreover the second argument depends on the direct awareness of our own states of mind, doubting in particular. (Rosenthal, 1971,p.5-6)

The another significant questioning regarding to the body and its relations with mind and thought system has appeared through Hobbes' book of *Leviathan*. Through the book, Hobbes frames the nature of human being and his/ her relations with the universe and other dynamics in terms of mind and matter and material relations of existence:

The cause of sense, is the external body, or object, which presseth the organ proper to each sense, either immediately, as in the taste and touch; or immediately, as in seeing, hearing, and smelling; which pressure, by the mediation of the nerves, and other strings and membranes of body, continued inwards to the brain and hearth, causeth there a resistance, or counter-pressure, or endeavor of the hearth to deliver itself, which endeavor, because outward, seemeth to be some matter without. (Hobbes, 2008,p.21)

By means of these sentences, it can be observed how body is actually operating to produce the *sense*, which is very strictly connected with the material conditions and objects. The attachment regarding to brain functions and heart is directed to matter of the outward that has

a continuous reproduction of body and mind relations. Accordingly, this operation which Hobbes stated above is the *causal relationship, reaction, reference, attachment and concentration* between body, mental states of being with the matter of outward:

And this *seeming*, or *fancy*, is that which men call sense; and consisteth, as to the eye, in a *light*, or *colour* figured; to the ear, in a sound; to the nostril, in an *odour*; to the tongue and palate, in a *savour*; and to the rest of the body, in *heat, cold, hardness, softness*, and such other qualities as we discern by *feeling*. All which qualities, called *sensible*, are in the object, that causeth them, but so many several motions of the matter, by which it presseth our organs diversely. Neither in us that are pressed, are they any thing else, but diverse motions; for motion produceth nothing but motion. (Hobbes, (1771), ref. Rosenthal 1971:44)

The notion of sense was clearly summarized by Hobbes in terms of its function and its connection with body and mental situations, furthermore, it could be deduced that the notion of sense within its relation of body is stemmed from the physical operation of body which is attached to the matter. Accordingly, the body is appeared as a matter of existence which has a function for internal and external stuffs. The motion directed by objects has an effect in internal parts of man. Hobbes summarizes the relation between matter and mind, consciousness and existence as a philosophical question of materialism by means of sentences and the dialectical analysis below:

When a body is once in motion, it moveth, unless something else hinder it, eternally; and whatsoever hindreth it, cannot in an instant, but in time, and by degrees, quite extinguish it; and as we see in the water, though the wind cease, the waves give not over Rolling for a long time after: so also it happeneth in that motion, which is made in the internal parts of a man, then, when he sees, dreams, &c. For after the object is removed, or the eye shut, we still retain an image of the thing seen, though more obscure than when we see it. (Hobbes; ref. Rosenthal, 1971,p.45)

French materialist Julien Offray de La Mettrie is another significant philosopher considering man as a process by means of material conditions around him or her. In his book *Man A Machine*, he discusses this internal and external presence of man:

Man is a machine- such a complex machine that it's initially impossible to get a clear idea of it or (therefore) to define it. That is why all the research that the greatest philosophers have conducted *a priori*- trying to use the wings of the mind, so to speak- have led nowhere. Our only way to discover the true nature of man is *a posteriori*., i.e. on the basis of empirical evidence, trying to isolate soul, as it were disentangling it from the body's organs. (La Mettrie, 2010-2015,p. 3)

According to La Mettrie, all kind of mental situations are determined by body, which is the main determinant of human and this is the reason why man actually has a motion like a

machine. As in Hobbes' thoughts, the question of human being has attracted to La Mettrie within the terms of material conditions of being, therefore he regarded the true nature of man as *a posteriori* category based on empirical dynamic of existence. On the condition that the body as matter and *a posteriori* category is analyzed by exempting the mental states of being, it could be clarified that how human being actually operates within daily activities and routines. French materialism thought has had an impact on the progress of materialistic thought and the Enlightenment, accordingly the problem and question of human being has been significant for thinkers especially in Germany, France and England in 18th century.

2.1. Modern Philosophy of German: *The Contribution of German Materialism*

At the first beginning of 19th century and the ending of 18th century, the history of philosophy has witnessed a significant progress especially in terms of German philosophy tradition. Many philosophical doctrines were progressed by different philosophers and Leibniz, Schelling, Fichte, Hegel, Feuerbach, Marx, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Goethe, Jaspers are among these remarkable ones. They have been one the significant representatives of idealist, sensationalist, rationalist, experimental, transcendent idealist, dialectic or dialectic materialist thought system. These philosophical doctrines were so systematically progressed that they had a big impact on the progress of history of philosophy since then. Especially, the discussions between materialism and idealism have always continued through the history of philosophy within the context of epistemology. Thanks to these discussions of *Classical German Philosophy* within the context of Classical German Materialism and Idealism, many epistemological and metaphysical questions of matter, mental states, reality, truth and consciousness have become much clearer not only in terms of theoretical aspect of problems of the world but also practical questions of philosophy.

The early questions of modern materialistic view have been showed to be related to human nature and human beings based on body and mental states of being. If 19th is observed in detail, it could be also observed that there was a different progress through materialism. Thanks to contributions of Ludwig Feuerbach, Ludwig Büchner, Jacob Moleschott and Karl Vogt, the materialism has been progressed by means of different discussions and explanations

regarding to progress of humanity and religion. Both late modern philosophy of German materialism and German idealism factually contributed the development of progress of history of science until today. Besides, late modern German philosophy has a peculiar significance through this research to frame and this is not only theoretical progress of the research but also interpreting the given data.

Stemming from Feuerbach's materialism applied primarily for religion, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels have reviewed and discussed materialism within unique terms and they systematically put forward the notion of historical materialism as a genuine method and the basis for scientific socialism as a world view and a political philosophy. German materialism has been progressed thanks to many echoes and ideas of political philosophy. Though materialism in France and England has also been important to shape modern philosophy, the late modern German philosophy has gained a distinctive character within the two following aspects:

- It has put forward the first systematic analysis of natural sciences and history to understand the phenomena and realities within terms of coherence and unity and inseparable character to comprehend the progresses in the universe having a dialectical relation in terms of philosophical aspect and questions.
- Thanks to late modern philosophy regarding to German materialism; social sciences have gained its unique and related character stemming from natural sciences. Furthermore, today it has impact on many various fields of science such as history, sociology, anthropology, economy, communication and etc.

The question of early materialism was mainly about the human being regarding to body and mental states and its operation by means of brain, nerve system and many thinkers have focused on dualistic explanation of materialism, especially in 18th century. According to this philosophical thought, the consciousness and mental states were determined and reproduced by the operation of body system. Yet, German materialism made a progress that many explanations were not only directed to the human being, but also social explanations and the related dynamics of human being. The problem regarding to what has been happening external world historically, sociologically and etc. within the relations of human beings has

become prominent and more visible thanks to the contribution of German materialism to development of modern history after 19th century.

2.1.1. The Contribution of German Materialism To The Philosophy: The Progress of Materialism In The Frame Of Feuerbach, Bauer, Hess, Marx, Engels

The 19th century was prominent to contribute and to gain a new dimension for materialism as a whole especially thanks to German materialism and furthermore, the notions regarding to economic, political and social aspect of human being in private and societies in general. Also, the discussions based on the dualistic character of materialism transformed into its relation with many dynamics and this progress of 19th century of materialism was mainly linked to historical progress of world. The political and historical progress that Europe experienced in 19th century was very effective for the progress of German materialism mainly by Feuerbach, Marx and Engels. Due to the fact that these three guiding philosophers observed the history and societies and they had interpreted the dynamics with facts and they were also able to interpret the function of human being and actual relation of her/him with religion and history. The events of Industrial Revolution, French Revolution, Revolutions of 1848 were prominent for these philosophers to comprehend the external world and its historical processes within the terms of their relation with human. Besides, this progress of materialism has reshaped the science of economics and social sciences.

2.1.1.1. Feuerbach and His Contribution To Progress of Classical German Materialism: *The Essence of Christianity*

The middle of 19th century witnessed the significant materialist thinkers of the era and one of whom was Ludwig Feuerbach. German philosopher Feuerbach (1804-1872) who is one of the significant contributors of materialism has been known with his thoughts and ideas within the context of human and religion. By seeking through the nature of human, Feuerbach has also discussed the nature of religion within the terms of the nature of knowledge. These discussions were so valuable that they would have inspired many materialists, one of those most prominent names was Karl Marx. According to Feuerbach, the religion as a category of knowledge implicitly had a illusionist and imaginative character, which is the idea that would

later have an impact on Marx's thoughts about religion and societies. The question about how religion operates in terms of the relation with humans is questioned by Feuerbach in detail especially owing to the contradiction of spiritualism and materialism, revealing that why religion is so effective on humans' thoughts, emotions, experiences and what kind of religion there is between religion, God and human being in actual. Kamenka (1970: 39) emphasizes that "for Feuerbach's view of religion generally, we should take the *Essence of Christianity* together with those of his later works that also takes account of polytheism- *the Essence of Religion* (1845), the *Lectures on the Essence of Religion* (1851) and *The Theogony* (1857)."

According to Feuerbach, the essential nature of man had a direct relation and inseparable link with the essence of Christianity in the direction of being of God, as a limitless essence of human being. Therefore, firstly the source of knowledge was underlying the comprehension of nature and essence of human being for Feuerbach:

Every limitation of the reason, or in general of the nature of man, rests on a delusion, an error. It is true that the human being, as an individual, can and must- herein consists his distinction from the brute- feel and recognize himself to be limited; but he can become conscious of his limits, his finiteness, only because the perfection, the infinitude of his species, is perceived by him, whether as an object of feeling, of conscience, or of the thinking consciousness (Feuerbach, 1881, p. 7).

This attempt to comprehend the nature and essence of man due to the feature of knowledge in terms of internal and external world has provided Feuerbach's thoughts with a special place that include the explanations of finiteness and limitless of human being that signs the essence of being and his/her relation with outward. Although first explanations made by Feuerbach through his book *The Essence of Christianity* seemed to be spiritual and sensational comprehension of human being, it was nothing but only a real emphasis on the essence of human being and dialectical relation of this essence with external ones. Lange emphasizes that 1848 Revolution had a big impact on Feuerbach's life and through this term, Feuerbach put forwarded his first ideas by *The Essence of Christianity* (Feuerbach 1950:5). Feuerbach has really comprehended the way about how the origin of true knowledge was gained and furthermore; thanks to Hegelian method of dialectic, he made a clear explanation of human being and religion within the terms of the reality of knowledge, which had been always signing the questions of epistemology throughout history of philosophy. This thought becomes so vivid by means of the following statement: "Rather, every being is in and by itself infinite-has its God, its highest conceivable being, in itself. Every limit of a being is cognizable only by another being out of and above him" (Feuerbach 1881: 7). Apart

from his strong and dialectical explanation regarding to the relation between man, God and religion; Feuerbach had also made a strong and a first systematic analysis of internal and external world by making a bridge between materialistic and spiritual world view stemmed from phenomena:

The measure of the nature is also the measure of the understanding. If the nature is limited, so also is the feeling, so also is the understanding. But to a limited being its limited understanding is not felt to be a limitation; on the contrary, it is perfectly happy and contented with this understanding; it regards it, praises and values it, as a glorious, divine power; and the limited understanding, on its part, values the limited nature whose understanding it is. Each is exactly adapted to the other; how should they be at issue with each other? A being's understanding is its sphere of vision. As far as thou sees, so far extends thy nature; and conversely (Feuerbach, 1881,p. 8).

The dialectical analysis of matter and mental states of being above is a vivid explanation regarding to man's relation with nature as an empirical category. This analysis has clearly showed the relation between matter and mental states stating that there has an inseparable relation between them in which the matter is main determinant. The mentioned statement by Feuerbach above; "If the nature is limited, so also is the feeling, so also is the understanding", is the concrete explanation of it. Feuerbach continues the sentence with these words:

The eye of the brute reaches no farther than its needs, and its nature no farther than its needs. And so far as thy nature reaches, so far reaches thy unlimited self-consciousness, so far art thou God. The discrepancy between the understanding and the nature, between the power of conception and the power of production in the human consciousness, on the one hand, is merely individual significance and has not a universal application; and, on the other hand, it is only apparent (Feuerbach, 1881,p.8).

Feuerbach seems to comprehend the Hobbes' thoughts regarding to material situation of human being and mental states, yet Feuerbach progressed this further, considering the significance of religion, God stemmed from the nature of man. This dialectical analysis of being, stemming from the matter condition of human, nature to the mental states of being and God was the prominent example and dialectical materialistic analysis of man and God. Religion was the main dynamic for Feuerbach that helps to explain how the culture and the nature of man were actually working. Kamenka (1970: 35) explains it as follows: "Religion became for Feuerbach the fundamental phenomenon in the history of human culture; to understand it was to understand man." Therefore, the religion within its all imaginative and fantasy aspect was his main critical engagement due to the fact that this imaginative aspect could be fulfilled in reality. Feuerbach, discusses the relation between man, reason and God and he states his thought about the religion clearly through the passage of the *Essence of Christianity* as following:

Religion is the dream of human mind. But even in dreams we do not find ourselves in emptiness or in heaven, but on earth, in the realm of reality; we only see real things in the entrancing splendor of imagination and caprice, instead of in the simple daylight of reality and necessity. Hence I do nothing more to religion-and to speculative philosophy and theology also-than to open its eyes, or rather to turn its gaze from the internal towards the external, i.e., I change the object as it is in the imagination into the object as it is in reality (Feuerbach 1881; Preface: xiii).

The passage above has been prominent to be an actual criticism about the relation between spiritual-mental states and matter, in other words, stemming from the idea of God, Feuerbach criticized the problematic appearance of relation between the object as it is in the imagination and the object as it is in reality. Kamenka summarizes Feuerbach's position on religion as follows: "religion is a dream, fantasy-picture which expressed man's situation and at the same time provides a fantasy-gratification of man's wish to overcome this situation. Religion is therefore primarily practical rather than theoretical, it is an "art of life" (Kamenka, 1970: 39). This practice of religion has been realized by human being for Feuerbach and this is a continuing process of imagination which has mutual character. Feuerbach states this mutualistic and dialectical character between human being and religion with following sentences clearly through his book *Das Wesen des Christentums*, which is German origin of Essence of Christianity¹:

Der Mensch-dies ist das Geheimnis der Religion –vergegenständlicht* sein Wesen und macht dann wieder sich zum Gegenstand dieses vergegenständlichten, in ein Subjekt, eine Person verwandelten Wesens; er denkt sich, ist sich Gegenstand, aber als Gegenstand eines Gegenstands, eines anderen Wesens (Feuerbach, 2005,p. 124).²

According to this relation determined above, man always reproduces his or her existence of being by means of this dialectical relation between religion as a category of subject and object. Thanks to the mysterious character of religion and this dialectical relation between religion and man, man continuously reproduces his or her being which turns the religion into practical act of each days. This transformation of religion from its mysterious character, according to Feuerbach, is linked human mind seeking to see his or her reflection on another else or something. Therefore, Feuerbach criticizes this character of the religion reproduced by human mind and turning to the act, because according to Feuerbach, the only way of real

¹ The German origin of the next is called as *Das Wesen des Christentums*; and it was first published in 1841.

² In this part, there are some German origins of relevant texts through the research and this interpretation and the following interpretations about German texts have been made in humble way by the writer of this research, Tuğba Güla.

understanding and consciousness is firstly determined by material existence of being and the nature. The religion's being of reflective feature lies behind act of man:

Die Religion ist die Reflexion, die Spiegelung des menschlichen Wesens in sich selbst. Was ist, hat notwendig einen Gefallen, eine Freude an sich selbst, liebt sich und liebt sich mit Recht; tadelst Du, dass es sich liebt, so machts Du ihm einen Vorwurf darüber, dass es ist. Sein heißt sich behaupten, sich bejahen, sich lieben; wer des Lebens überdrüssig, nimmt das Lebens (Feuerbach, 2005,p.171).

The religion gains its reputation from the reflection which is attached to moral questions and feelings having a reference in practical life. Feuerbach regards the man's addictive feeling as a main reason of the religion and he states "Das Abhängigkeitsgefühl des Menschen ist der Grund der Religion;..." (Feuerbach, 2005,p. 229). For this German text, it can be interpreted that the addictive feeling, as an internal and mental category is very significant to comprehend the main reason of the religion as a reflective dynamic. Human has this addictive feeling according to his or her nature and therefore, s/he is somehow near to be attached to something else, things, people and etc. The reason why the religion is reproduced each day is mainly based on this naturalistic feature of man feeling, in other words mental states of being, which is the reason why it is so imaginative for Feuerbach.

The contribution of Feuerbach to the history of philosophy has been mainly related to his deep interpretation of the contradictions regarding to the notions conscience, idea, concrete, abstract, mind and matter that were discussed by Hegel before and furthermore, Feuerbach exceeded this idealism somehow with materialistic perspective. Therefore he attempted to comprehend what the religion actually was through life of human being and why it was so effective and Feuerbach showed us the significance of human mind, feeling and act. Barth states about Feuerbach's question about the human being and whether the view is linked to what actually human being wants to be (Barth, 1976,p. 23). The significance about what human being means to be for Feuerbach signifies the question about man's relation with religion therefore, man needed to determine a theoretical explanation regarding to theology and sensational materialism. Kamenka explains this Feuerbach's Transformation of Philosophy within the sentences below:

...like religion, German idealism stood for the primacy of the spirit. It saw reality either as spirit or in spiritual –mental terms; it consciously or unconsciously made matter a projection of mind and patterned the movement of nature after the movement of thought. Feuerbach, rightly, saw this as the culmination of a *particular* tradition in philosophy and not as a fundamental truth of philosophy which all philosophers must accept (1970: 83).

The nature as an external category was the motivation for Feuerbach to comprehend man's sense and thanks to the importance of senses, Feuerbach interpreted the significance of religion in human being's life. This interpretation was also prominent in the history of philosophy regarding to the new progress in materialistic epistemology. Kosing emphasizes that Feuerbach has criticized the religion in terms of its mysterious and phantasy feature and therefore, man reproduces his or her essence by means of this phantasy and mysterious feature of the religion (1976:311). Accordingly, this interpretation was very related to the things of nature and the Essence of man within the context of religion that is strong combination of Hegelian idealistic view and materialistic aspect. Thanks to this criticism, philosophy has gained a new era in terms of anthropological materialistic aspect for religion, in other terms it was the first materialistic ideology analysis.

Von Otto Finger states Feuerbach's attempt for systematical analysis of religion within these sentences: "In diesem Feuerbachschen Hauptwerk entfalten diese Prinzipien (jetzt als historisch- philosophische Methode "bezeichnet) jene methodologische Produktivität- und zwar auf dem nun-mehr voll durchgebildeten weltanschaulichen Boden des anthropologischen Materialismus-..."(1976:359) and furthermore Finger states that it was a real attempt made by Feuerbach to put forward the relation between man, alienation and consciousness and religion and he continues his sentence by these words-" durch welche erstmalig der Aufweiss der gnoseologischen Wurzeln der Religion als eines verkehrten und entfremdeten menschlichen Bewußtseins gelang" (Finger, 1976,p. 359). The appearance of human in the religion is nothing actually but objectivizing his or her essence through God, on the other side human's essence is the main reason of the existence of religion. This determines that Feuerbach's attempt regarding to the questions of reality has been first attempt against to classical German philosophy by criticizing Hegelian idea and formulating a systematic secular idea within the terms of realization of philosophy (Thies, 1976,p. 446). Rohrmoser considers the contribution and significance of Feuerbach through the history of philosophy in terms of his contribution the discussion of nature and history that have always been one of the main motivations and issues in the philosophy. (Rohrmoser, 1976, p.483) This contribution was the contribution for dialectical progress of the philosophy. By means of this progress of philosophy; the notions of reality and truth would be taken into consideration by means of a systematic and scientific method. By means of *Theses on Feuerbach* (1845) Marx firstly puts forward systematically his idea and criticisms against Feuerbach and his system owing to how to perceive the universe.

2.1.1.2. The Contribution of Bauer to German Materialism

Bauer's contribution to the progress of materialism especially regarding to Marx's and Engels' ideas is so prominent that his ideas were elaborately discussed by them in their two books *The Holy Family* and *The German Ideology*. As a student of Hegel, Bauer was regarded as Young Hegelians and then, he would be also criticized by Marx and Engels within the terms of his idealist aspect regarding to the religion. Although Young Hegelians have very prominent examples of dialectical analysis through their research and very contributed to Marx' research especially, they were densely criticized by Marx and Engels. Especially those years between 1830- 1850 were significant to observe thoughts based on Hegelian aspect and notions. Feuerbach's and Bauer's ideas were mainly concentrated on religious thoughts and Christianity and the criticisms were concentrated on the notion of "Geist" and mental states of being to comprehend how kind of actual relation there were between actions, man and religion. Bauer

is such an inspiring thinker that he proposes an interesting angle for the explanation to the religion and he thinks that the idea of religion is not actually related to mystic aspect but also it is related to universalistic aspect that opens a rational and critical base. Therefore he mainly criticizes Christianity and some relevant interpretations regarding to its having mythic point of views. And this criticism can be found through Bauer's criticism towards Strauss' account on Christian unity of God and generic perfection of human race.

Accordingly, Bauer's first concentrations were intensified problematic interpretations about Christianity and he was suspicious about the origins about Christianity within the terms of God and human being. Thanks to his theology education and strong theoretical aspect, he had already strengthened his theoretical views owing to origins of religions in the context of philosophy which means that he has had a progress to make a bridge between theology and philosophy in the history.

He contended instead that it expresses the idea that individuals are each capable of rational freedom, transforming themselves and irrational objective conditions to promote progress and the general good. As Bauer's critique of Christianity intensified, he described religion as passivity and self-loss, impeding freedom in personal, social, and political life. (ed by. Mark, B. *Encyclopedia of Political Theory* Mark 2010,p. 610)

Actually, what Bauer sought for was nothing but rationalizing idea for the belief within the context of social and political life of human being that was very important step in the history

regarding to comprehend the belief within the terms of rational fact. Furthermore, he followed the idea of rational freedom of human and criticized the restrictions and limitations of religion. Therefore, he thought about the comprehension of absolute being of God.

Bauer criticized the idea of God as a transcendent absolute being and retained a notion of universal interests that could direct republican citizens in the construction of a new political and social order, suffused with justice and reason. Particular interests had to be subjected to criticism to test their compatibility with universal emancipation. (ed by. Mark, B. *Encyclopedia of Political Theory* 2010 ,p. 610)

When considered the history and time, what Bauer tried to make was significant owing to critical aspect against the religion and idea of God and he regarded the religion as not a mythical but a fictional character and therefore he put the man individual to perceive the universe in terms of critical aspect. Compared to his time, he was very prominent to perceive the universe critically and he considered that Christianity did not stem from Jewish but Stoicism. As Feuerbach, Bauer had also impact on Marx's ideas to progress regarding to thesis of world views and aspects and therefore, Marx and Engels wrote *The Holy Family* (1945) and *The German Ideology* (1946) to criticize Bauer's ideas. They explained their separation from Bauer's thoughts through these two studies.

2.1.1.3. Marx and Engels in Terms of Progress of Materialism

The contribution of two significant philosophers Marx and Engels is not only about theoretical understanding what is happening around us as a philosophical question but also revealing how and why those problems exist in practice. Therefore, before beginning to understand two philosophers' contribution to many fields theoretically, firstly it is significant to comprehend what they had mainly experienced practically to progress their theoretical thoughts. These thoughts were not only linked to theoretical discussions of the period when they had been living but also practical and theoretical direction of the future. The reason why Engels comes to the mind when Marx is spelled out or Marx comes to the mind when Engels is spelled out is somehow related to their lifelong relation contributing the history of philosophy.

Marx who was a revolutionist, historian, economist, philosopher, politician, journalist and sociologist was born on 5 May, 1818 in Trier. When those times' social conditions are considered, it can be revealed that Europe has experienced many progresses regarding to

economy, culture and politics and therefore, 19th century social conditions were so crucial to comprehend the how those times have contributed to Marx's progress of thought. Marx as a member of middle class family was a well educated person since his childhood and his family has had a crucial impact on his progress. He had a middle class background from grandfather, his father and mother and his relatives of him were wealthy. All through those times, even during his high school times, Marx saw some contradictions in the world. Furthermore, he approached the prominent ideas of his period critically and during his education life in Trier, Bonn and Berlin; he always tried to interact with other people and to progress his philosophical questions and thoughts by discussing. Having prominent economic, political and social changes and transformations those times when Marx lived were significant in terms of Marx's contribution for social theory. All contradictions, aspects and dilemmas he observed have constructed his dialectic way of thinking thanks to his discussions with Young Hegelians in Berlin. This group gathered actually around the ideas of Bauer and Feuerbach and they critically approached to Hegel's metaphysical thoughts and they tried dialectic method to comprehend social structure regarding to religion, politics. Marx sought the way of critical grounding of idealistic world view owing to shaping the relation between the matter and the mental states. Therefore, he tried to answer the questions of Greek philosophy by deeply and discussed from historical aspect. By putting the theoretical and philosophical progress of history, he sought the answers for the questions related to past, those times and the future and especially he was deeply knowing the historical aspect of the progress and stemming from the past; he tried to show the way going to the future; the only one way which could be regarded as ideal world view as but in his terms it was a "world to win" (Marx, 1848: 34). The questions regarding to a "ideal" world and those times' world for him were deeply related to the questions of philosophy and history to follow the update discussion of those times therefore he started from the beginning of the history of philosophy by analyzing deeply the questions of matter and being in Greek philosophy. In order to comprehend theoretical progress of Marx, first systematic and theoretic writings of him is significant to analyze his theoretical progress empirically in which there were many questions of matter and mental states. The first sentence of the first part of Marx's dissertation that was published in 1902 starts with following sentences:

Greek philosophy seems to have met with something with which a good tragedy is not supposed to meet, namely, a dull ending. The objective history of philosophy in Greece seems to come to an end with Aristotle, Greek philosophy's Alexander of Macedon, and even the manly-strong Stoics did not succeed in what the Spartans did accomplish in their temples,

the chaining of Athena to Heracles so that she could not flee (Marx, 2012,p. 17).

Marx attempted to write systematically his thoughts about Ancient Greek philosophy owing to the philosophical systems, variants, differentiations and dynamics in terms of nature. The process of nature, movement, which include internal and external components, were significant for Marx and therefore, he deeply analyzed the roots of philosophy by comprehending the notion of matter and nature. After he focused on Hegelian discussions, he tried to focus on Hegel philosophy in terms of religion, right and nature. Seeking his answers through philosophy Marx firstly illuminated the metaphysical problems including the issue of religion and he deeply comprehended the idealistic world view. Thanks to discussions he made with Bauer, Stirner and Feuerbach, he sought some philosophical answers for his questions in his mind, yet as a Young Hegelian; Feuerbach and Bauer had broken Hegel's dialectical method. Marx's meeting with Engels was significant moment which then would contribute and have effect over all of production history. In his book of *Thesis On Feuerbach*, (1845) he clearly questioned the problems of Feuerbach and clarified the problems of philosophical idealism through which he gave phenomenological answer by constructing method to lead the transformation of mode of production. The method which Marx explained through this research was not only method for theoretical assumptions but the way of answering practical world and production relations. He combined phenomenologically the questions of nature philosophy and then understood what idealism showed and after all; inspiring from Hegel he adapted his method of dialectic to historical and economic relations of the world thanks to the contribution of Engels. This attempt was the first attempt to combine a method of nature philosophy with a method of social and practical philosophy. Especially through this research, he discussed the notion of materialism in terms of practical activity and he clarified the differentiations in relation of thinking and existence of human being owing to idealistic and materialistic world view. He criticized existing materialistic world view, including Feuerbach within the terms of neglecting the practical human activity as a question of reality, which is also main question of knowledge, of phenomenology:

The chief defect of all hitherto existing materialism – that of Feuerbach included – is that the thing, reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the *object or of contemplation*, but not as *sensuous human activity, practice*, not subjectively. Hence, in contradistinction to materialism, the *active* side was developed abstractly by idealism – which, of course, does not know real, sensuous activity as such. (Marx, 2002,p.1) *Theses on Feuerbach*: Marxist Internet Archive)
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/theses/theses.htm>

Marx, stemmed from the writings above, had already given the signal of a method question and problem through social theory in which he sought the answer for the main questions through philosophy discussions. The problem in existing materialism was related the comprehensions and connections regarding to reality and practice. However, Marx has criticized existing materialism in terms of only focusing on object and question of reality as a passive and abstract question and instead he has put forward the active but not passive human being and his or her practical action. "Feuerbach wants sensuous objects, really distinct from the thought objects, but he does not conceive human activity itself as objective activity"(Marx, 2002,p.1). Marx criticizes Feuerbach's way of thinking in terms of his interpretation of materialistic world and Marx continues this idea as follows: "Hence, in *The Essence of Christianity*, he regards the theoretical attitude as the only genuinely human attitude, while practice is conceived and fixed only in its dirty-judicial manifestation" (Marx, 2002,p.1). The criticism was against Feuerbach's interpretation of life and man and here Marx did it within the limitations of theory as a response. "Hence he does not grasp the significance of "revolutionary", of "practical-critical", activity" (Marx *ibid*, p. 1) He regarded philosophy as a practical action, therefore he regarded the religion as a social and practical activity and its production. Shortly, it can be assumed that idealistic way of thinking and existing Young Hegelian discussions have contributed Marx to progress his questions and discussions.

CHAPTER 2

2. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF BEING “REFUGEE” AND SYRIA

2.1. The Notion of “Refugee” In A Conflicted World

The notions of “refugee”, “asylum seeker”, “migrant” have been discussed for a long time in the context of international politics and agreement. Nevertheless; their legal status have been always vague though they had to migrate their lands, geographies. On the other hand; any definition made is challenging and unclear if these humans’ conditions are taken into consideration. Although freedom of movement has been an issue stated in EU, UN reports, the question about how to make a distinction according to people’s geography, birth, nationality as a database is a profound matter to determine. This is especially in the beginning of 2000s due to new historical process, conflicted environment and war. Actually matter starts when the reality of seeking asylum or immigration has started and discussions about the related to notions and conceptualizations are framed around this. Yet is it necessarily significant to explain what the notion at the core “refugee” is literally signed. For this question about what majorly countries have regarded in the current context has been raised from UN Geneva Convention, 1951 in which the term “refugee” has literally and legally stated. According to the Geneva Convention 28 July 1951 Article 1 A/2, which entered into force in 1954, the term “refugee” shall apply to any person who:

2) As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not have before 1 January 1951” in article 1, section A, shall be understood to mean either...

Accordingly, UNHCR (The UN Refugee Agency) states the term of refugee as “someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war and violence.” From this context there is an unintentional situation for people to act and move related to their ethnic,

tribal and religious violence dynamics leading them fleeing from their countries 1954 Convention Related to the Status of Stateless Persons and 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness are other conventions and declarations involving provisions which can be related to Refugees (UNHCR Human Rights Information Leaflet no.20 Human Rights and Refugees) In 1967 Convention, the term of refugee has been defined as a person who is “outside their own country and has a well founded fear of persecution due to his/her race, religion, nationality, member of a particular social group or political group, and is unable or unwilling to return” Also, the definitions of “refugee” in some digital dictionaries as below:

- one that flees; *especially*: a person who flees to a foreign country or power to escape danger or persecution (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, “refugee”)
- A person which has been forced to leave their country in order to escape war, persecution, or natural disaster. (*Oxford dictionaries*, “refugee”)
- a person who has escaped from their own country for political, religious, or economic reasons or because of a war (*Cambridge Dictionary*, “refugee”)
- Refugees are people who have been forced to leave their homes or their country, either because there is a war there or because of their political or religious beliefs. (*Collins Dictionary*, Definition of “refugee”)
- One who flees, especially to another country, seeking refuge from war, political oppression, religious persecution, or a natural disaster (*the Free Dictionary*, “refugee”).
- Who is a refugee? ‘Refugee’ is used commonly to refer to people who are forced to leave their homes for many reasons, including conflict and violence. Sometimes it is used... (*Refugee Council of Australia*, refugee).
- The concept of refugee is at once a legal, political, cultural and sociological category. As a consequence, the attribution or label refugee carries with it not only common-sense cultural connotations and legal specificity, but also a great deal of analytical baggage. (Marx 1990; Zetter 1988; 1991). Refugees are also heterogenous populations found across the world which have been singled out from ordinary migrants as potential subject for study for all disciplines (*The Social Science Encyclopedia*, refugee).

Through all definitions above, it can be clearly put forwarded that the difficulty of the issue is not only in terms of human being but also his or her unwilling experiences according to economic, political, cultural and sociological specificities binding

different theoretical aspects and conceptualizations too. According to this, if the definition of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is recalled, the problematic aspect of the issue and the relevant notion can be more clearly revealed as following:

Refugees are persons who are outside their country of origin for reasons of feared persecution, conflict, generalized violence, or other circumstances that have seriously disturbed public order and, as a result, require international protection. The refugee definition can be found in the 1951 Convention and regional refugee instruments, as well as UNHCR's Statute.

--United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Regarding the Convention, the unwilling and unintentional situation related to involuntary conditions that determine whom "refugee" status has unarbitrary raises the question of what kind of dynamics cause these people to become refugee or seek asylum and what can be done to overcome this unintentional and unwilling situation to occur. Yet, the another question is on the stage. The following statement is relevant: "Unable or unwilling to return" and this makes a distinct relation about what kind of condition is also provided with the refugees getting to become "unwilling to return". These are another questions of political sciences and sociology which are still in debate with the comparisons of field researchers and states' policies. The notion of migration" itself as a political, philosophical debate is has been difficult to dissolve in a world reproduced, and a full of chaos and conflicts. The suffering, injuring and having bad conditions have become very prominent as stated in the Convention to get a person the status of "refugee" stemmed from the decision of courts, yet framework of UK states that "the courts have been wary of giving specific guidance on the level of ill-treatment required before that ill-treatment can be described as 'being persecuted'. The reason for this apparent vagueness is simply that the most judges realise that rigid guidance is

inappropriate.” Due to the fact that all these notions, such as persecution, unwilling or unable are naturally sociology bound terms it is not to easy to make a direct and true categorization whom to make “the status.” Especially forceable matters such as this vary owing to different aspects and furthermore what determines the factual position of the situation is still indefinite. Oxford dictionary and the discussion goes back 1985 originated from the first refugee and report and courts had difficulty to define as

“being persecuted. (see free movement. org) Guy Goodwin-Gill (1996) says in *The Refugee in International Law*, 2nd ed Oxford :

There being no limits to the perverse side of human imagination, little purpose is served by attempting to list all known measures of persecution. Assessments must be made from case to case by talking account, on the one hand, of the notion of individual integrity and human dignity and, on the other, of the manner and degree to which they stand to be injured (69).

In all conditions, the issue of refugee is controversial when it is compared to be at The notion of “migrant” owing to a voluntary action in spite of the fact that these term is also very controversial when it is taken into consideration within the neo-liberal process. However, although the fact that origin of the dynamics leading the appearance of the notion “refugee” in the context of the research will be discussed in further part, it is crucial the notion of itself to constitute how actually the notion itself was stemmed from. Especially the period of wars has been very prominent for people owing to economic, political and cultural repressions and forces in their own cultural geography to seek asylum in different geographies. These periods of history have clearly witnessed the dense human removal³ to exceed borders, still the question has an appealing question for academic field, yet as long as the reality of war exists, the obligatory removal of humans is appeared to continue.

2.1.1. The Refugee, (Regular) (Im) Migrant, (Temporary) Asylum Seeker?: Between the Borders of *Guest* and *Refugee*

³ This explanation is applied for people who are refugees and are in a imperative condition to seek place, accommodation and asylum. Accordingly, the term “refugee” will be applied in this context regarding to main focus point of the research.

The consequences of the war, the consequences of Second World War deeply affected the societies' living experiences in a world where the borders and line have to be necessarily determined. However, the consequences of the wars have not only affected the period it occurred but also it has spread to long periods and generations throughout the borders.⁴ In order to comprehend this has been much easier than explaining this, yet in the further part the historical progress of the wars in the context of Middle East will be tried to be made clear. As mentioned before, the nature of war inevitably causes the people to seek new places to sustain that leads to discussion and notion of "refugee", on the other hand, "migrant" as a notion is not to be directly affiliated with a force, unwilling situation making people remove their lands. The notion itself varies in terms sociological framework in which there is no formal legal definition of an international migrant which is stated as "most experts agree that an international migrant is someone who changes his or her country of usual residence, irrespective of the reason for migration or legal status. Generally, a distinction is made between short-term or temporary..." in United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. International Organization for Migration defines the the term of migrant "as any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is." The notion of migrant points out the conceptualization attached to a movement whether there is a force or not but majorly based on a kind of voluntarily action to move in such case as "more favorable climate, freedom from persecution, marriage and the continuation of marital ties., and the desire for more adequate housing, a factor particularly important with respect to central city to suburb movements." (Kuper, A.; Kuper, J. 2007,p. 539) In this context , the migration as a sociological fact has gained its meaning owing to relation between people and amount as a necessity. The notion itself is divided into many terms such as internet, regular and etc. and the making comparison between analysis and data are very problematic again when the economic, political background and cultural codes of people are taken into consideration . Anderson & Blinder (2012) refer that there is no consensus related to definition of the term however, foreign birth, foreign citizenship, their movement into a new country to stay temporarily or long term are the dynamics to define someone as migrant. This is very related to more eligible condition to

⁴ The Events of Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki always preserve its actuality in terms of understanding the nature of war, yet it should not be forgotten that it is one of prominent examples that brings war into question.

move emphasis such as “a group of international migrants that do not fit the standard model of immigration very well are asylum seekers and refugees.” (Bodvarsson, Örn.B.; Berg, H.V. d 2009, p. 276) Majority of these people mainly move across the borders with their own choices for some limited amount of time and then return to their native countries, (ibid, pp. 283-284) yet the discussions start to become problematic when the some people are regarded and comprehended as migrant as in the example of people removing from Syria owing to fact that the notion of asylum seeking is also related to concept with “refugees waiting to be granted permission to reside permanently in a country other than their country of citizenship.”(ibid: 78) If Turkey is deeply analyzed; controversial macro political and legal structure of the situation are easily appeared within Syrian refugees’ situation that is still debated by political actors regarding to political agenda.

2.1.1.1. Turkey and Syrian Refugees

The matter of Syrian refugee has been discussed with different notions and conceptualizations regarding to Turkey, for this political, sociological and economical aspects of being Refugee become relevant. Owing to the fact that there has been so many concept variations such as “refugee”, “asylum seeker”, “ (regular) migrant”, “guest”, the determining the relation between policy and theory turns into problematic aspect when this is considered in the context of Turkey. Even, although the notion of “migrate” has not never been a new experience for Turkey, the discussion has been sometimes conceptualized under the name titled “Syrian migration crisis.”

Grounded in Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of human rights 1948, which recognizes the right of persons to seek asylum from persecution in other countries, the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, adopted in 1951, is the centerpiece of international refugee protection today.

According to international legal framework above, it has been seen that the matter of seeking place to live on the condition of a danger or wars and etc. is regarded in the context of seeking asylum and refugee protection. Turkey, having a strategic position, has especially become a shelter for refugee flows since its establishment in 1923 based on its historical context but within the frame of neoliberal process of the history. Accordingly, the flow has started to increase especially after 1980s from Middle East, Africa and Asia. Hinnebusch and Tur (2013) explains this situation as below:

One of the most visible reflections of Turkey-Syrian reproachment was observed in the economic integration. While Turkey considered Syria as a gateway to the Middle Eastern markets, Syrian regime approached Turkey as an opportunity to be integrated into global economy and overcome American sanctions (Hinnebusch& Tur 2013,p. 159-160).

The way of seeking new markets for free movement of goods among countries has raised regarding to trade relations after Free Trade Agreement between two countries that was naturally corresponded with the official discourse pointing out common and mutual sharedness and values. Yet, in spite of the mediator role of Turkey between countries and Syria, refugees and their status matter has always preserved its actuality as soon as the people was started to be regarded as “guest”. Especially by the starting of Arab Spring in 2010, people has sought the shelter which has resulted in new restructuring of the way of how people have been living. In the beginning of dense flow in 2011, within the “open door policy”, Turkey welcomed the Syrian refugees although status of them were indefinite. “ At the beginning of the conflict, they were considered as “guests” rather than legal refugees. However, the term “guest” has no place in international refugee law”(Aras and Mencütek 2016, p.100-101). The notion of quest seemed to restructure the context and affiliation of these people and how they are regarded, then seeking new way of definition has appeared within the notion of “temporary” . “The former Migration and Asylum Bureau (General Directorate of Migration Management –GDMM) under the Ministry of Interior devised a “temporary protection regime (TP)” (Aras and Mencütek; 2016, p. 101) and then this policy shift was declared in November 2011 and at a UNHCR conference in Geneva. (ibid: 101) This may somehow be interpreted a progress for Turkey regarding to the notion and status of Syrian refugees, besides it may be directly considered that their status defined within the temporality has still its connotative meaning as “guest.” Then it is still controversial when the status defined is taken into consideration within the context of Geneva Convention. When EU migration policy is reviewed, the demands have been summarized as follows: (Gökalp-Aras, 2013)

1. To support the EU’s external border control
2. To adopt the main principles of the EU’s visa policy³
3. To sign the EU-Turkey Readmission Agreement

4. To abolish the geographical limitation for the Geneva Convention (1951)

Accession negotiations started in 2005 regarding to asylum policy has mainly shown the problematic side of Turkey and EU relations owing to governance of migration and asylum due

to legal limitations of Turkey's being as a candidate country of EU and the externalization process. Turkey became a party of UN Geneva Convention regarding to refugees status in 1951 but it maintained a 'geographical limitation' to the Convention only to persons who have become refugees as a result of events occurring in Europe."⁵ When we looked at after 1950 process in Turkey, especially until 1980s, regarding to refugee status, it has been easily seen refugee status is only applicable for European citizens due to the fact that 1967 New York protocol's geographical and temporal limitations remove has not been taken into consideration. Yet, 1990s and 2000s has been prominent for Turkey and refugee status. "The first such development was the adoption of the so-called 1944 Regulation. It is significant in the sense that it was the first national legislation concerning asylum claims in Turkey." (Genç and Öner; 2016, p. 131) It was prominent as UNHCR was main responsible for status of refugees and asylum seekers and their resettlement before. However, the definition of the refugee status of non-European citizens was still not exact due to the fact that there has been two steps for non European citizens to be regarded as "refugee." They would be given temporal protection until they are defined by UNHCR. Kirişçi (2003) defines three major legal sources of Turkish; first one is the Law on Settlement adopted in 1934, second is the 1951 convention and third one is the regulation introduced in November 1994. (Kirişçi, 2003, p.98-99) The most prominent one is that Turkey has been insisting on 1951 geographical limitations for refugees' status.

The situation of Syrian people, who was accepted with humanitarian reasons in the beginning due to the fact that civil war was regarded not to last long has become ambiguous in accordance with lasting of civil war. Syrian people who have come since April 2011 to Turkey was firstly defined as *guests*. Temporary protection regime was regulated by means of the Law of Foreigners and International Protection in 4 April, 2013 and it was accepted that Syrian people were under *temporary protection status* according to Temporary Protection Regulation in 22 October 2014 prepared based on Article 91 of the Law. (Tarlan, 2016, p. 11)

⁵ Declaration made by Turkey, see Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, <http://www.unhcr.org/refugees/protocol.html>.

The statement above means that people who are non European citizens firstly apply for getting refugee status or conditional refugee status and they cannot directly get status of refugee from the State but they only can get “temporary protection status.” “Accordingly, there is no asylum seeker notion in the law system of Turkey.” (Tarlan, 2016,p. 55) This has raised the discussions of EU and Turkey negotiations, and the notion CEM tool, open door policy and integration issue within the notion of nationalism and transnationalism regarding to people ones seeking asylum. On the other hand, registration process and its implementation has always been problematic to make these people live easy in spite of all definitions and frame in long lasting discussion which they are attributed. Some of them have found work as a seasonal agriculture worker, yet their unrecorded and indefinite status have been still preserving the update situation. Especially after open door policy, many Syrian people increasingly sought the asylum by coming to Turkey mainly based its geographical situation with the hope of finding way of living, on the other side these open door policy has not resulted actually for these people who have been carrying the hope for living. “The case of Syrian refugees is particularly critical, with the UNHCR estimating in April 2013 that three million are internally displaced, and two million Syrian refugees had fled to Turkey, Jordan, and Lebanon”(Hanafi, 2014, p. 451). Some of people died while trying to cross the borders in Aegean sea. Actually, even the notion of “guest” has been far away its connotative meaning based on the examples and discourses called “temporary permanent” and etc. The dilemma itself within the economic, political aspect and language itself has always preserves for these people being between accepted as guest in the country which they have sought asylum or in their homeland as foreign then. Accordingly, the observation of an urge or pressure made asylum seekers to leave Turkey and go to another European countries. Genç and Ömer (2016:140) emphasizes main reasons of this as refugees’ losing their hope to return Syria in a short period, secondly the conditions in Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt have been deteriorating and thirdly, Turkey’s ‘expectation of temporariness’ based regulations becloud their settlement in the country. On the other side Sweden and Germany have become significant country for refugees regarding to opportunities and economic conditions. “Whereas the discussion about the economic consequences of hosting refugees is somewhat inconclusive, policymakers and pundits tend to agree on the security challenges” (Bethke, Felix. S. Bethke 2016, p.67). Their being guest or foreign has been still in debate pointing out that they were all not directly accepted as refugee or shown asylum which has been also affiliated to possible consequences of security and terrorism from the statement. “But, even if consumption at

home might be foiled by insecurity and danger, there is some empirical evidence that refugees living in encampments under very poor conditions just across the border often return home despite ongoing repressions and substantial risks of being affected by civil strife (cited in Czaika, 2009, p. 69; Rogge, 1994). Before discussing how the matter itself has been taken into consideration and discussed after 2011, the period of Syrian refugee mass flows has started, the root and background of Middle East will be tried to be explained regarding to economic, historical and politic aspects in order to put forward the fact of Syrian refugee.

2.2. The Middle East As A(n) Economic, Social, Historical And Cultural Region In The Context Of Before And After Neoliberal Process

The process after 80s has appeared as a breaking point all around the world. Not only Middle East as general, but also other parts of the world have experienced what 1980s brought. Actually, it is so significant to understand the economic, social and political relations of world in order to comprehend what Middle East has been still living today. On the other side; economic and historical aspects going through 1980s have not been restricted only 1980s conditions, neither Arab world in itself nor other States' relations with the region that goes back further relations. Hokayem (2013) states this as Arab world's five most critical fault lines with Syria preparing the today's conditions especially after 1980s:

The first is the breakdown of the social contract between government and society, which led to the various Arab revolts. The second is the intensifying struggle over regional dominance between Iran and several Arab states, most notably Saudi Arabia. The third is the growing Sunni-Shia divide, notably in Iraq and Lebanon, the repercussions of which are increasingly felt inside neighbouring Syria. The fourth is the rise of political Islamism and its implications for the identity of Arab states and for secular and non-Muslim groups. The final one is the balance between ethnic groups within multi-ethnic Levantine societies, whereby minorities, once marginalised by the Arab majority, seek to assert their identity. (Hokayem, 2013, p. 10)

In accordance with globalization process all around the world mostly appeared as a result of economic relations of countries in spite of the fact that history of the region has been parallel with the progress of humanity which has a complex structure including ethnical, socio-cultural elements bringing debate which is “more than anywhere else, the depth and potency of these fault lines threatens Syria's social cohesion and viability as a unified state”

(Hokayem, 2013,p.10). Moreover, Smith (2008) states the region has been shaped by the interplay of six key elements. These are historical, cultural and contemporary factors-Islam, the Ottoman Empire, European colonialism, the foundation of the state of Israel, oil and the role of the USA. (Smith, *ibid*, p.8)⁶ In coherent with the historical transformation, the change and transformation in the way and means of economic relation and capital flow has also meant the transformation of cultural and political transformation of societies. “The changes appeared in this process aimed at establishing information infrastructure that is needed by globalized capital” (Bulut, 2009,p.11). This need has also brought social and cultural transformations. Accordingly, countries historically provide a hegemony over other geographies which they call as “developed” or “less developed”. As a result, each of a modern state pertains to a physical area to which is definitely addressed and they do not only claim the right over land and physical resources depending on them upon but also over people living on that land. (Yücel, 2011,p. 194) Harvey (2015: 15) stated that “what the US undoubtedly tried to enforce to Iraq with all his power was a state apparatus whose main duty was to develop conditions of local and foreign capital to provide a profitable capital accumulation” (Harvey, 2015,p. 15). However, what has been lived in Middle East and the effects around the world do not seem to be exactly explained by understanding the specific time or period as the history is not a disconnected and independent notion. For example, during the process before 80s, the world had been experiencing this new order which could be regarded with economic, social and cultural perspectives and notions. Furthermore, the basic question can be here is to put forward the main accelerations and reasons to comprehend the 1980s neoliberal process. The noncoincidence of history also may clarify the conditions and processes of countries and societies.

2.2.1. Middle East As a Region Before 80s -Neoliberal Process-

The historical period of Middle East can be comprehended by taking historical conditions and structures into consideration. Pre 1980s process, especially starting of 1900s was so significant in new period of the world. After First War (1914-1918), a new era called Cold War also was based on new positions and strategies of countries. According to Peköz (2015),

⁶ These are all factors and key elements which really affect and determine the way how Middle East is regarded and what she points out for today’s world, on the other hand all these elements will not be taken into consideration separately throughout the study owing to the fact that all these elements somehow are dependent elements and dynamics of determining the neoliberal process going through Syrian civil war.

the basic structure of 1900s was related to “Kalpgâh” (Eurasia theory) which was put forward by Mackinder and he thinks that it has been still operating between Eurasia and Middle East countries such as Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan and even Bay Area. Therefore, in this context, Middle East has appeared as a geopolitical line having a dialectic relation among other global powers. Hinnebusch (2013) also similarly explains Middle East as a result of nineteenth century expansion of capitalism in the region including military, technology and market. Accordingly, an international socialization process has also started by means of this capitalist peripheral movements. Furthermore, there are also explanations regarding mostly cultural and management system of Middle East for these changes and revelational period:

The transformation of the Middle East did not originate, as in Europe, with the rise of new social classes or the growth of new forms of production. These came later, as the fruits of change. The metamorphosis of the Middle East began with the efforts of sultans, whether in Constantinople, Cairo, or Rabat, to maintain themselves, their ideas, and their empires intact by copying Western instruments to defence. “Westernization” made its mark even to the extent of supplying Middle Eastern States with governing institutions such as constitutions and parliaments (Halpern, 1963,p.8).

The emphasize above shows that historical process of societies and their meeting have also become prominent to understand political transformations of Middle East as a geography having governing institutions. When compared to Western and Western notion, Middle East can be observed to live an embedding and articulation process to West owing to its political and cultural systems. However, due to the fact that historical processes lived in West has not been exactly same as Middle East, this embedding management was become significant in cultural transformations too. On the other hand, this political and cultural transformation has also naturally and historically constructed a hegemony of West and Western notion over East. Over time, with political hegemony of West, East has been overviewed and a new field called “Orientalism” and has been opened to new research areas in order to observe the reflections of these two regions’ views and practices. Discussions and especially social life practices have timely shown that there has been a kind of dualism created by social conditions and reflections of them in studies. Sunar (2012: 32) explains this “as a *big division* building West as unique in front of other societies in the frame of distinctions such as contemporary/primitive or traditional/modern fictionalized as a basic principle of “we” of a side and another part’s “other” (Sunar, 2012,p. 32). Accordingly, a kind of difference and

distinction is accepted which is to be comprehended regarding to the world and processes experienced in this frame, these differentiations in comprehending the notions, events and identities have brought forward “dualism” in each step of social conditions. Ideologies may have become associated with dialectic and relational factors inner part of them. Enlightenment period has brought Western notion and inspiration attracted by East societies, the French revolution period has mainly rised new perspectives and ideological streams which can be commonly experienced among countries. By the rising nationalist and conservative ideologies around the world, there has been also transformations signing the nation-state perception and the construction of it. Middle East governments looked for new ways to handle their ruling and building this new political order and ideology, actually it mainly means to spread their economic line through geography zones. These spreads also pointed the new cooperation of countries around the world and unavoidably history would go through the First World War. Nearly thirty years later, after establishment of Soviet in 1917 October Revolution, a new period called Cold War started and lasted between 1947-1991 among the US, West Block countries and Soviet Union. During this period, Middle East became very prominent in the context of its strategic and historical position and gained more significance in terms of two revolution processes which world experienced. Haluk Gerger states that:

Middle East had a strategic significance in choking attack of both revolution process. (1917 and 1948) Middle East was also a target in terms of inspecting the process of “national revolutions” where it is involved in Asia and Africa, whereas it could be also an attack zone for Soviet Union in terms of its geostrategic position. Middle East would take its place with petrol in restructuring of Europe and would become the connection link of Soviet Union’s siege spring spreading from Europe to Asia (Gerger, 2012,p.33).

Accordingly, between these two revolution processes, Middle East was so significant in the context of geopolitical position it has. Furthermore, in historical process, which the world lived two revolutions and conflicts, Middle East could be also regarded having a position both for being retained control and for controlling over. Middle East having a strategical position would be definitely significant for political, social and ideological power. This transformation of power especially over Middle

East has also its characteristics in one of the 1945 dated reports of USA Foreign Ministry stating Saudi Arabia is “ a marvellous strategic ruling resource”. (“Office of the Historian”, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v08/d20>) Therefore, this dual relation has also created a kind of economical and political cooperation during the conflicted period. Second World War pointed this cooperation as a result economic transformation around the world. Peköz states this situation as below:

A country's keeping out of capitalist system in Middle East where the lung of petrol is seriously effects international political balances. Iran is a concrete example for this. A radical nationalist government in Iran nationalised a petrol industry managed by England in 1951. The answer for it would become an economic embargo, however embargo was not being able to overthrow the government. In 1953, England and the US supported Shah against Musaddik having relative nationalist characteristics and he came into power by means of an actual military coup. (Peköz, 2015,p.67).

The statement above can be regarded as the ideological categories and policies of Middle East countries have been mainly characterized by economic relations and choices directing the national and international capital. Nationalism and coups, as a result of the spreading of economic lines and of ideology, are observed to have a dual relation between countries called as “developed” and “less developed.” Second world war has also strengthened the ideology and economic relations of countries. Especially, 50s and 60s is so significant terms to understand the characteristics of Arabic nationalism and how it progressed. Hanieh states this progress in his study as below:

All the financial regulations, explain the logic of “powerful state” represented by Arabic nationalist governments providing necessary conditions for contracts regulated by means of state in 1950s and 60s, financial mechanisms and national capital accumulation through trade opportunities. The military power had an unrivaled duty as a state institution directing this transformation with its inner adaptation and organizational discipline in the structure (Hanieh, 2015,p. 2).

The characteristic relation of economy and ideology of Middle East appeared in 1950s and 60s has been also related to organization of state apparatus here. The institutions called above had a big responsibility to determine this transformation and to make Arabic nationalism stable due to the fact that it had a direct relation with strengthening of economy. Syria as a country reaching its independence in 1948 also had more nationalist tendencies after that year:

Syria has become a country increasing the domination sensitivity of this late-coming independence. The heavy defeat in 1948 Palestine War strengthened Palestine and accordingly Arabic characteristics of the country and dependence on unity among Arabic people. On the other hand, it damaged the stability of regime and institutional balances and the heaviness of army in policy have started to be negatively affected by consecutive military coups (Gerger, 2012, p.163).

What Gerger points out above also shows the roots of nationalism in Arabic history which is related to late-coming independence and new structure of the management. Authoritarianism, nationalist ideologies and religious effect in managements have been always dominant in Middle East governmental systems throughout the history. Soviet Union and the US, the countries knowing this spreading nationalism also aware of the new structure of the world after World War II. Demonstrations for independence in Middle East continuously progressed during 1950s. Against these challenges, the US explained Eisenhower Doctrine on 5th January, 1957. It guaranteed that the “USA military powers were ready to assist for protecting political independencies of nations in region and regional integrity.” (Eisenhower:1957) The doctrine including economic regulation also puts forward to the Soviet as a threat and demonstrations. By means of Eisenhower Doctrine, the US declared that it considers “the preservation of the independence and integrity of the Middle Eastern nations vital to American security” (Spanier, 1973,p. 90) and the US was ready to use armed force against any attempt to overthrow the pro-Western governments in the Middle East by pro-Soviet regimes (Spanier, 1973, p. 91) These statements also signed the construction of political hegemony of the US over Middle East:

Israel, because it presents a special case, is left out of all consideration of a regional alliance or security organization. No other state in Middle East will enter into an alliance with it. Turkey might be inclined to do so, for they are the two strongest states in the

immediate vicinity, but would not wish to break its ties with the Arab world, which would be the inevitable result. Israel has looked to the United States for a treaty which would guarantee its security and integrity, but does not get it because the United States will not thus jeopardize its position in the Arab states or give formal recognition to the armistice lines as permanent legal boundaries (Campbell, 1958, p. 217).

Campbell (1958) does not only explain a political hegemony over Middle East in 1950s but also he mostly signs the “economy” to understand what has been living and experienced in Middle East. While the US has promised the independence and integrity of the Middle East, it has also pointed out his support for possible conflict in region due to the fact that there were also movements at 1960s. Hanieh refers this as follows:

The middle of 1960s showed that populist organizations and underground movements demanding dependency on Arabic nationalism and left ideologies were shaking all west sided regimes in the region. This part of history which is significant but ignored mostly is composed of strikes, labor movements and radical struggles taking place in Gulf region where threatening stability of corrupted and decryped monarchies were. For example in Bahrain, where first political party was established in 1954 in Gulf, militant labor movements continued among 1960s (Hanieh, 2105, p. 49).

These movements of history are also related to significance of geographical position of Middle East. Lasting movements, strikes and conflicts in Middle East have always been attracted by political hegemonies and dominants in the region. “According to 1967 predictions, crude oil reserves around the world was determined as 56.750.000.000 tone and 60% of it was in Middle East” (Karasapan, 1971, p.12).1967 Arab-Israel wars were also significant in terms of understanding the process:

When 1967 Arab-Israel Wars were resulted in defeat of Arabs, religion in society was started to be shown as rescuer among society again. There were nonscientific analyses stating “We forgot Allah, the Prophet, religion and belief. We turned our back on Islamism. Therefore, all hell broke loose; the world is falling apart. These auger no good. We have to go into religion, belief wholeheartedly as fast as possible” (Demir, 2007,p. 37).

Religion and totalitarianism characteristics of Middle East region has become dominant among the history, especially in conflicted periods which has been produced and speeded by means of discourse. This religious discourse rapidly gained popularity among people due to the fact that political, cultural and social structure of society had been always ready for this. Furthermore, increasing petrol prices also strengthened the Saudi Ruling and made them come closer to the US and England. This kind of alliance would inevitably strengthen the current position of ruling class among other hegemonies. Due to this kind of economic alliance would also direct to political and military alliance, this strengthening would be also completed and related to political and ideological hegemony. However, as Middle East is different in terms of its historical process, there has been also an authoritarianism matter throughout the history. Geddes (1999) and Linz (1975) takes autocratic regimes into consideration owing to three dimensions. These are; pluralism, ideology and mobilization. Accordingly, Middle East can be thought to have appeared in 1960s and 70s in terms of these three dimensions which plural ideology was started to be internalized and moreover it leded monarchy to be settled among people against nationalists and left organizations.

However, the region's policy does not exactly seem to be related to an ideological fact but also about the political and economic cooperation of Arab leaders in region also requires a cooperation with West. In spite of the fact that definitions mostly sign a dualism "West" and "East", it should not be forgotten what and by whom these definitions are made. This dualism is tried to be ignored or sometimes to be accepted when a cooperation is needed by Arab leaders with West. Lewis explains this situation as follows:

There were statesmen and even governments in the Arab world who believed in a policy of cooperation or association with the West. They could, however, pursue such a policy only by disregarding, misleading, or suppressing popular feeling- and did so at peril of their lives. Until very recently, on the other hand, the acceptance of Russian favors carried no such risks to personal safety or political popularity, and even now is far less suspect than any leaning towards the Soviets and the West could be seen in many things- ... (Lewis, 1964,p.133).

What Bernard Lewis points about above signifies the logic of the States especially in 50s-60s period in region of Middle East. Although there has been a nationalist view and patriotism, there has been also a cooperation of Arab leaders. Economic factor and cooperation has been

always effective among Arab leaders for sustainability and preserving their power and ruling. They had such a control that they easily have managed the perspective and ideology of people however people have had a historical and cultural background in their history. “The Arabs saw the preponderance and further assertion of the West into the ME as a greater danger than any “alleged” Soviet threat that was intangible” (Talu, 2014,p. 234). These kind of anti-Western perspective could be discussed in a way of resistance and embedding problem of Arab people in terms of their cultural background and feeling. West, as an imaginary level for Arabs, has been primarily a conflicted area among them, therefore they also created a kind of resistance in understanding the cultural codes even at those times. This situation also determines the ideological differentiations and differences between Arab leaders and the people regarding to West policies and ideas. Moreover Lewis (1964) states this as a kind of identity and civilization matter except matter of states and nations shaping the “we” and “other” among people. This issue is significant in shaping perspective of East for West in terms of political, sociological, cultural Dynamics. In the context of Arab world, these linguistic codes are also connected to identity perspectives, views, however the region has multi dynamics and factors. Rami G. Khouri explains this as follows:

Three major centers of power, identity, and influence dominate the Arab world today, which I refer to in shorthand as “the mosque, the mall, and the monarch.” The mosque is the religious or tribal identity of people, the mall is the commercial marketplace and everything that goes with it, such as the private sector, civil society and NGOs, and foreign donors, and the monarch is the ruling political power. This contemporary balance of power in fact is also a historical one, reflecting legacies from Byzantine, Islamic, and medieval times (Khouri, 2010,p. 3)

Accordingly, identity has been always a power for Arab world in their daily lives due to the fact that a geography such as Middle East has had a historical and cultural heritage which include various nations, religions and cultures. In order to understand the Middle East, the region “as a whole should be analyzed at five different levels: the individual citizen; society; the state; the region, including intraregional dynamics between such parties as the Arabs, Israelis, Iranians, and Turks; and the world” (Khouri, 2010,p.3).

Even though 1980s brought more conflicted process around the world, the region has increasingly started to be a market since then. Between 1975 and 1992, the US contributed over \$18 billion in economic assistance, in addition to a much higher contribution in military

aid.*** Except people whom Khouri stated above, Kurds have appeared to be very effective and powerful in the region regarding to economic and political conditions and transformations. The region has always had potential to change dramatically in terms of its dynamics. Cold War also nourished the fear of Communism among European governments. James Leonard (1995:1) states that “perceptions of threat and insecurity in Europe for more than forty years were dominated by the Super-Powers rivalry and the Western fear of Soviet Communism”. After the dismemberment of Soviet Union, a newly organized world system was tried to be constructed. Middle East as a region which is very rich regarding to resources has been tried to be hegemonically controlled by means of economy, culture and policy. Wallerstein determines this order and world economy as follows:

It was a kind of world system the world has not really known before and which is the distinctive feature of the modern world system. It is an economic, but not a political entity, unlike empires, cities and nation –states. In fact, it precisely encompasses within its bounds (it is hard to talk of boundaries) empires, city-states and the emerging ‘nation-states’. It is a “world” system, not because it encompasses the entire world, but because it is larger than any juridically defined political unit. And it is a “*world economy*” because the basic linkage between the parts of the system is economic, although this was reinforced to some extent by cultural links and eventually...by political arrangements and even confederal structures. (Wallerstein, 1974, p.15).

This definition of Wallerstein points out the progressing and spreading of Capitalism especially while getting closer to neoliberal phase which is also significant in comprehending what has been lived in Middle East. Owing to having resources which are necessary for globalized world and people, Middle East region has become more prominent to be focused economically. Water and oil reserves have not only become reserves, but mostly they have been way of understanding and guaranteeing a “better” and “rich” future for societies.

2.2.2. Middle East: Towards the End of Cold War and In a Globalized World

All historical processes have shown that changes and transformations of countries never stop as long as conflicts maintain. 1970s, as a period which sharp transformations and changes started to be lived caused especially by economic changes also brought the question about how the democracy is to be provided for all people. Owing to the fact that democratic

transition is inevitably bound to conflicted periods in history, there are also historical views about the issue of what has been lived in Middle East last three decades until 1970s:

Nonetheless, the demise of the Soviet Union did not bring an end to military power as a potent force in the international system. It remains a crucial factor in the relations among states, particularly as regards nuclear power and the emerging development of conventional weaponry capable of awesome mass destruction. Simultaneously, with the existence of largely unregulated international financial markets and as production has become increasingly globalized, economic consideration began to take on a more important role in the policies of governments. With these developments, the lifting of Cold War pressures on irrepressible forces shaping societal change brought a release of ethnic hatreds and nationalist aspirations, further complicating the governance of national and international affairs (Roberson, 1998, p. 1).

What Roberson signifies above is related to a new economy order of world especially stating the changing situation and ways of capital's spreading. Marr (1998: 94) states "the new economic environment presumes an increasingly interdependent world, inextricably tied together by trade, investment, multinational industries and international markets..." This interdependency has also brought the idea of a common values of economy, culture, habits, attitudes; moreover this aspect indicates possibility of the world where the capital is still accumulating. By spreading and looking for new ways, vehicles and directions, the gathering capital around the world rapidly transformed in 1980s. The process called as "globalization" is defined by Barry Rubin as following:

Globalization refers to the spread throughout the globe of ideas, customs, institutions, and attitudes originated in one part of the world. At present these are usually Western in origin. Thus, it is easy to see globalization as largely equivalent to Westernization. Regions like North and South America, Europe and Africa, and even Asia to a lesser extent are more open to Westernization and globalization, in part because they have considerable Western components already. Nationalism comes dramatically into play when certain aspects of Westernization are seen as challenges to a nation's ethos (Rubin 2003, "Globalization And The Middle East:Part One" Yale University Online).

Rubin (2003) has put forward the idea of globalization is closely linked with the notion of "modernization" and "cultural synthesis", however this might also include the idea of a hybrid

regional and cultural systems in global level. This also points out what McLuhan (1994:93) has signed as “new world of the global village”. Changing economy would inevitably require the change and transformation of technology, culture, infrastructures and communication vehicles which might be also connected to the Middle East and North Africa today. Tony Barnett explains this situation as follows:

The result is often a complex mixture of diverse identities, languages and cultures bundled within territorial boundaries representing hegemony of one dominant group or an uneasy hegemony of several groups. In varying degrees, all nation states are always uneasy balances of ethnic and class identities and interests. The precise degree of unease, and the issues which may serve to produce a legitimization crisis-religion, tribe, class, language- will depend on the specific history of a state as well as its economic viability. In most of the states of Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and Africa, state legitimacy depends explicitly and to a considerable degree on the politics of “development”, which term often forms a part of political discourse (Barnett, 1999, p. 33).

What Barnett put forwards is significant in understanding cultural construction of Middle East not as “Third World” but a “states of state” and role of culture in politics. Discussions made in terms of economic, cultural and political aspect regarding to Middle East, World and Globalization should be reanalyzed according to transformations and experiences lived in Middle East today. As Rubin (2003) showed, there had been the continued fierce resistance to a trend which has been accepted as somewhere else. These resistance practices are mostly related to cultural codes and areas of value regarding to identity and religion. Mostly, practices which is called as “developed” and “less developed” are not well met or referenced by a person from Middle East that is also a gap and boundaries between Western and Eastern societies’ progressing processes in terms of economy, culture and policy-making. However, these categories and divisions called as “rational”, “irrational”, “modern” and “unmodern” always carry their historical background between “Western” and “Middle Eastern” perspectives. Wallerstein determines this is a kind reconstruction of modern one in time and space level of historical capitalism:

This basic image of a worldwide cultural struggle has had a hidden premises, namely one about temporality. ‘Modernity’ was assumed to be temporally new, whereas ‘tradition’ was temporally old and prior to modernity; indeed, in some strong versions of the imagery, tradition was ahistorical and therefore virtually eternal. This premises was historically false and therefore fundamentally misleading. The multiple cultures, the multiple ‘traditions’ that have flourished within the time space boundaries of historical capitalism, have been no more primordial than the multiple institutional frameworks.

They are largely the creation of the modern world, part of its ideological scaffolding (Wallerstein, 1996, p.75 76).

Wallerstein seems to remind the phases and process of capitalism which is also an area of ideological conflicts, accordingly; creations of “third world”, “developed” and “less developed” have carried an imaginary background. Wallerstein (1974) explains that “modern world” has a division of labor leading two basic regions in the world as *core* and *periphery*. Furthermore, Wallerstein’s idea could be also taken into consideration and discussed while understanding Middle East region including states spreading from nation states to transnational ones today. The discourse recreating these dual codes and categories have also appeared to maintain the ideological dilemmas among people and their real life experiences which is also linked to dualism between Christianity and Islam. Tomlinson (2007) states that “clearly there is something with its sources in the Western culture experience that has been peculiarly successful in distributing itself globally throughout the discursive apparatuses of moral-political-juridical practice” (160). Discursive characteristics of policy, economy and culture naturally reproduces of relations between countries, however socio-political aspects of this has often been ignored in discussions.

“Globalization can be viewed as a process, as a condition, or as a specific kind of political project” (Harvey, 2000, p. 54) and furthermore, “during the Cold War, world was effectively partitioned between two rival military and ideological blocs, led respectively by the United States and the Soviet Union” (Callinicos, 2007, p. 71). Middle East was affected by these two powers’ struggle at that period due to the fact that the region appeared to have significant resources such as oil and war which provide governments’ and societies’ future in terms of monetary and hegemony. Accordingly, Cold War process has opened the way of United States and its economic power with Soviet Union’s losing old power. The US, a country which gained more power in terms of economy and policy would definitely mean a hegemonic power for Middle East region too. “American hegemony may not be necessary to sustain globalization but a hegemonic state that rejects a rule-based international order can be a threat to globalization” (Ikenberry, 2007, p. 58). Economically hegemonic state could easily create the political and cultural hegemony over other nations by means of discourse and providing the interdependency furthermore; economic, political and cultural aspects of states are inseparable. Hegemony is also a consent created by discourse of more powerful ones over less powerful ones who have to be tied to although this hegemony also constitutes an

authoritarianism in itself in dialectical historical process of states. Bellin (2004: 140-141) states that the robustness of authoritarianism and democracy problem of Middle East in last thirty years is based on weak civil society, the commanding heights of the economy, people's being poor, countries' being geographically remote from the epicenter of democratization and the culture, specifically Islam. As discussed above, beside culture and economy, the weak civil society and the distance of countries are also so effective in providing of a sustainable democracy. Bellin also added:

While the number of countries designated free by Freedom House has doubled in the Americas and in the Asia –Pacific region, increased tenfold in Africa, and risen exponentially in Central and East Europe over the past thirty years, there has been no overall improvement in the Middle East and North Africa. (Bellin 2004,p 139).

Relevantly, there has been a democracy and authoritarianism issues which have been valid during past thirty years that will be also discussed further headlines in terms of historical background. Gause determines this authoritarian structure and historical process of Middle East as follows:

Rather than seeing the new Middle East cold war as a top-down phenomenon driven by two states animated by sectarian rivalry, it is more accurate to view it as a bottom-up dynamic. The weakness or breakdown of state authority creates domestic political vacuums into which outsiders are drawn. These outsiders generally do not have to force themselves into these domestic political arenas. They are invited in by local political factions vying for power against their local rivals. The object of the cold war rivalry for Iran, Saudi Arabia, and other regional powers is not to defeat their regional rivals militarily on the battlefield. It is to promote the fortunes of their own clients in these weak state domestic struggles and thus build up regional influence (Bellin, 2004,p.8).

In order to comprehend Middle East, the historical process should be reviewed in terms of internal and external factors leading the conflicts and authoritarian regimes due to the fact that it is not independent from regional powers and their influence on the region. However the fact that Middle East regional powers firstly have an economic impact, power and influence on their clients might appear to be ignored in studies. This relation is also a dual and bilateral owing to powers' dialectic influence on both state and region which has to be deeply analyzed. Therefore, the hegemony constructed in the region is not only seemed to be determined by definite top powers but it has been also determined and maintained by regional powers during Middle East Cold War. "During the Arab cold war of the 1950s and 1960s, very few of the Arab states could be considered strong in terms of state-society relations. Loyalty to the state was challenged by sub-national and supra-national identities, most notably by Arab nationalism" (Gause, 2014,p. 8). Nationalism, as an ideology was effective in Middle East

Region especially in terms of state-society relations of Cold War process. Nationalism and Islamist ideology have never lost their influence on society in which people are economically weak and accordingly, state loses its influence on people. However the reason why nationalism and Islamist ideology have never lost their effect is mainly due to historical Arab regimes' authoritarian and cultural perspective. "Lebanon was an exception to the process of state-building that absorbed its Arab neighbors in the 1970s and 1980s, and its political history has been marked by foreign intervention" (Gause, 2014ip. 9). In 1980s, progressing market had definitely impact on Middle East region, as a capitalized zone. The core countries determined mutual relation with peripheral countries including Middle East countries. And the era of 80s drew the line economically and politically:

Interest in the state and its role in the society and the economy started to grow among Arab intellectuals in the 1980s. The state had emerged in the Arab World at a time when Arab intellectuals were not really paying attention to its development – they were mostly preoccupied either with the 'Islamic *umma*' or either 'Arab nationalism', but not with the territorial bureaucratic state as such. With a few partial exceptions (notably Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Oman, Yemen and Turkey), the state – as a concept and as an institution has been a recent introduction in the Middle East (Ayubi, 2006,p.4).

The practices of Nationalist and Islamist ideology have turned into more authoritarian manner and practices of regional Powers over society in which people were economically and socially very weak. At the same time these ideologies have been power for Arab ruling class in order to cause the society to accept what they want and internalize, moreover this has been the way of covering what they have been practicing and implementing. "The state" as a notion and institution have been organized systematically and become a structure in the region especially after 1980s in the region, therefore Arab intellectuals tried to comprehend and discuss this transnational process in the region which has led to spread of capital among countries. The fact that nation-state, the practice and idea especially appeared in French Revolution has been tried to be backed down among Arab leaders in order to adopt more capitalized organization through their power over society. On the other hand, this liberal structure of the state in the region has always confronted the new political and cultural aspects of 1980s owing to Western and American perspectives. Nevertheless Arab leaders have tried to combine their regional, cultural codes with foreign codes with the aim of providing more capital lines and ways for their regional and international power. Accordingly, this religion based ideology has emerged as a binary effect on Arab society that has had an impact on people and relation among powers. During 1980s, spreading of capital around the world has also had an huge

impact. For example, the religion in Middle East as an ideological and cultural aspect during 80s might be a challenge for Western powers to have a relation with Arab world, on the other hand; it could be also an easiness and convenience in order to make the society mind for buying the Western origin products. During this time, the densest process of religions' meeting also meant the new way of looking for capital flow which also has carried the cultural codes, behaviors, styles of the hegemonic one. Moreover, there has been always a method to maintain the capital flow and economy sustainability around having carried and a relation with cultural and political codes of countries. Gramsci states this as follows:

Undoubtedly the fact of hegemony presupposes that account be taken of the interests and the tendencies of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised, and that a certain compromise equilibrium should be formed- in other words, that the leading group should make sacrifices of an economic-corporate kind. But there is also no doubt that such sacrifices and such a compromise cannot touch the essential; for though hegemony is ethical-political, it must be economic, must necessarily be based on the decisive function exercised by the leading group in the decisive nucleus of economic activity (Gramsci, 1999,p.373).

In here “Mekke Cola” could be an example what also Gramsci puts forward above in terms of founding out how hegemony has been operated in the context of Middle East region and Arab culture. As Ritzer stated (2010: 93) “while the taste of “Mecca Cola” may not differ very much from “Coca-Cola”, its advertising campaigns and its devotion to earmarking some of its profits for the Palestinian cause are quiet unique and reflect the culture indigenous to the areas (e.g. the Muslim Middle East)...” However as Ritzer puts forward this situation has also signed paradox when the political and historical relation of America, Palestine and Israel has been focused. Although, there has always been economic concerns in the region, the factor of religion has been so vital and this should not to be missed out. This multiple characteristics of the history concerns the internal and external relations of the states which include local and political institutions. However, this meeting of cultures by means of capital flow and accumulations 1980s has a direct and fast impact on societies' cultural codes and behaviors owing to experiences lived in Middle East and Western world. While shaping their elite, this kind of cross cultural meeting has also created the shaping and transforming the values of Western world similar as in the example of revolutions of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Turkey, “shortly after the declaration of the republic in Turkey in 1923 Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his fellows began to “modernize” the state and society by adopting a secular and nationalist ideology and transformed all of the institutions and ideologies..”(İleri, 2013,p. 143) that also meant the transformation of Islamist idea to a more modern perspective and European view

owing to daily practices, life forms, codes and the discourse. A society, which has been fed up with wars, conflicts and poverty generally and majorly have experienced more radical changes in their daily life practices. Therefore, the emergence of economic transformations and radical leaders in Islam world have been very parallel and the late of twentieth century was significant due to the fact that “the emergence of religious leaders (fundamentalist) who enjoy high intellectual, political, and organizational capabilities, this made them charismatic characters” (Abdul and Alsharif, 2013,p.101). Accordingly, this new economic environment has directed Arab leaders with their changing power over society by the effect of Islam that also created the radical and fundamental organizations motivated by economic and ideological reasons. In spite of all cultural obstacles in transition and internalizing of a modern life practices, Arab societies have experienced an identity issue. What Arab society has experienced through neoliberal process has been also a cultural process as Derrida (1992: 129) points out by the sentence that “all identities can possibly exist with their “difference” (with an “a”). There is no culture or cultural identity which does not have its “other” or the “self”. Accordingly neoliberal process in Middle East has also appeared as a meeting of economic, cultural and political practices of the society with Western world lines and perspectives that an inevitable transformation has brought. Therefore, the limitations and definitions about what the *modern* is have also included the problems and questions to be answered. Regarding to differences, and otherness of all cultures, there has been no unique and pure culture to be discussed for Derrida (1992) focused above, furthermore what actually Middle East society has met is not actually the pure modern one which has been pointed out.

2.3. Through 1990s from Gulf War to Arab Spring: *The Transnational Turn*

1990s has become prominent as the transnational turn of history in economic, political, cultural and sociological level. It was also period of flow of people, information and identities carried by people. İçduygu and Goker (2014:18) referred the process as below:

Beginning with the 1990s, the transnational turn in anthropology, social sciences and migration studies has provided a new analytical tool to make visible the increasing intensity and scope of circular “flows” of people (ref. from Çağlar, 2001). By now, transnationalism is considered a useful lens to understand the changing dynamics of the world. (ref. from Lewitt & Jaworsky, 2007;).

Transnationalism, as a process of the changing dynamics of the world has been discussed according to economic, cultural and political aspects. Changing dynamics of economy especially after 80s stated has passed to more stable process in 90s' transnational environment of the world:

Since 1990s, there has been an intensification of more global-stress producing tendencies and tensions, both in the US and throughout the arenas of conflict elsewhere, and much too much violence and loss of life, poverty, and liberty, largely because the initial policy choices were so unproblematically taken as “the only available” options (Davison, 2005,p. 21).

Changing economy would bring the new rules of changing world order called also transnational process of economy, culture and policy though “transition process is always full of uncertainties and the road to a functioning democracy is a long and arduous one” (Özbudun, 2014, p. 29). The issue whether this transition in the region is a democratic path about constructing the bridge and putting forward the relation between practices and theory and the discourse of “democracy”. This dense economic and political transformations also came into a turning point and then outcomes of the transformation became visible. “On 17th January of 1991, the US started to bomb and attack to Iraq. In the following of bombing which lasted weeks and the following occupation, more than one hundred thousand Iraqi people were killed and nearly same number people were injured” (Gerger, 2012,p. 418). The war as an endless historical process was also followed by Second Gulf War in 2003. In spite of its realness, Gulf War has been also vital and significant in terms of its being first war lively shown on Tv screen. Baudrillard explains the situation as follows:

It was not the first time that images of war had appeared on TV screens, but it was the first time they were relayed “live” from the battlefield. It was not the first occasion on which the military censored what could be reported, but it did involve a new level of military control of reportages and images...As a result, what we saw was for the most part a “clean” war, with lots of pictures of weaponry, including the amazing footage from the nose-cameras of smart bombs, and relatively few images of human casualties, none from the Allied forces (Baudrillard, 1995, p. 3).

Accordingly the war reality became far beyond the representation and image of it on media, which has pointed that the situation was the reproduction of war reality. Media has been defined as an *Ideological State Apparatuses* by Althusser and has been functioned and

motivated by ideology. (1971) During the period of 1980s- 90s, transnational cooperation in media increased and started to be settled and moreover the conditions were also ready to show the war by means of media and broadcasting systems. The spreading capital was also related to the raising of technology and transportation that was also turning point of capital spreading and accumulation process stated by Chomsky with the following words: “Neoliberal ideology has provided the intellectual rationale for policies that have opened up the ownership of broadcasting stations and cable and satellite systems to private transnational investors’ (Chomsky, 1988, p.14). Therefore, the capital was in its turning point in terms of economic, political and cultural level carrying the new models of vehicles, infrastructure and lines throughout the world. Gulf War was a critical example of understanding the function and relation between state, ideology and media as a capital organization that Chomsky and Herman (1988) enlighten how media, communicative power and ideological texts are relevant to social structure.

2.4. SYRIA As A Space Of Struggles Stemmed From History, Geography And Culture

Syria, as a region has always had a historical significance stemmed from the geographical and historical space at which it is situated. “The land that geographic Syria occupies has been populated since antiquity. Damascus, the capital, and Aleppo, the large northern commercial center, are contenders for the title of “oldest continuously inhabited city in the world,” says Devlin (1983:5). As a neighbor of Mediterranean Sea, mostly settled in middle of Eastern part has border with Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan and Turkey that has caused Syria to be defined regarding to all geographical coasts of Mediterranean region. “Syria’s only natural border is its 167-kilometer Mediterranean coastline. The other frontiers are largely artificial, and were drawn up by the major European powers following the defeat of the Turks in 1918” (Seccombe, 1987,p. 13) And the general rule is: the smaller a country, the more important its

borders. For Syria, on the other hand, there were always other borders competing in importance with the Syro-Lebanese frontier: the borders with Turkey, Iraq, and Jordan” (Wild, 2004, p.147). “Syria’s land area measures 185, 170 square km roughly the size of North Dakota” (Commins, 1996,p. 3) The oldest settlers of Syria have been known as hunter-gatherer people created the Natufian culture, “it is one of the oldest inhabited regions in the world with archaeological finds dating the first human habitation at c. 700,000 years ago.” (Mark, *Ancient History Encyclopedia* Internet website, 2015) The Dederiy “The discovery of the archives of Ebla (Tell Mardikh), about 55 kilometers southwest of Halab/Aleppo and located in the fertile plain of North Syria, supplied for the first time a great many texts from Syria itself” (Klengel, 1992, p. 22). “Current archeological research shows that Syria’s history stretches back 4, 500 years during which the country has witnessed the rise and fall of many kingdoms, empires, and dynasties as well as numerous invasions” (Commins, 1996, p.1) which means that it has a strategic position mostly based on its geography and historicity. From this point of view, Syria was a definition of geographical identity of a region hosting one of the oldest inhabited history known. “Archaeologists have demonstrated that Syria was the center of one of the most ancient civilizations on earth. Around the city of Ebla in northern Syria (discovered and excavated in 1975), a great Semitic empire spread from the Red Sea north to Turkey and east to Mesopotamia from 2500 to 2400 B.C.E.” (Ed Denise, Y.C.; 2015: 7). “The tales they tell are woven into a continuous historical narrative that extends over three thousands years-from the Early Bronze Age kingdom of Ebla where excavations have produced written records dating to the 24th century BC and indicate a line of kings going back at least to the 27th,…” (Bryce, 2014, p.1) “...it appears in the Old Testament and was in the eight century BC a dependency of the Assyrians. Alexander the Great conquered the area in 333 BC, and it remained Greek until 64 BC when Pompey proclaimed Syria a Roman province with Antioch to the North (now in Turkey) as its capital (Hopwood; 1988:5) “The name “Syria” is used exclusively for the modern state of Syria, and the French Mandate which preceded it. The use of the name “Greater Syria” to describe a much larger area...” (McHugo, 2015,p.34) Accordingly, “Greater Syria” is a notion defining the much broader imagined area. “In terms of today’s states, the Syria of old comprised Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and Jordan, plus the Gaza Strip and Alexandretta. This larger land, known since 1920 as Greater Syria, is what they dream of reclaiming” (Pipes, 1990, p.3). Either being in the middle, as a crossing point of countries which also bind another countries, has been directly affected by many geographical conditions that lead to the region to have fertility

and varieties that is very prominent to understand what has been still living. “The land was fertile, the cities were rich and cultured. From Palestine in the South to the Taurus Mountains in the North, the eastern Mediterranean met the land along a well-watered coastal plain” (Provence, 2005, p.5). This is the fertile with agriculture, oil and coal that signifies the importance of natural and historical process determining the vital position of Syria around the world. Yet, this is not all about the history, furthermore it has been observed that throughout the progress, Syria has been recorded to have a political progress. “There was a social and political development in Syria during that time, leading to the formation of the earliest states with changes in the political rule towards monarchy and a political dominance of some central places...” (Klengel, 1992,p.30). All these records, going back to 2500 B.C. have shown that Syria has always been a dynamic region owing to the political, economic and sociological factors. Through historical process with many battles, Syria has been shaped by different socio-cultural identities which have been dominantly Arab-Muslim. On the other side, this dominant character of the region is not enough to explain there has been still so many ethnical and religious diversities living in the region. “Following the Battle of Marj Dabik in August 1516, Syria came under Ottoman rule that was to last for four hundred years. During this period, Syria was divided into the three provinces of Aleppo, Damascus and Tripoli” (Seccombe, 1987,p.16). In the beginning of 16th century, Arab countries were mostly controlled by Ottoman Empire but Syria always preserved its exceptionality. “Both Judaism and Christianity were born in the southern extremity of the country. Islam, born in adjoining Arabia to the South, came to Syria after the Arab conquest in the seventh century” (Tibawi, 1969,p.20). Yet, Syria and Lebanon had always appeared as an autonomous zone in spite of the fact that decreasing control of Ottoman on the region. Ortaylı (1894) defines this as follows:

The event of disintegration of Syria-Lebanon with Empire in 19th century starts due to economic change not to the observation based on administrative platform. Because, industrial countries of west Europe in 19th century started to become much more densely interested with eastern Mediterranean region than 17th-18th century. This interest was mostly based on meeting of food supply of Western metropolises and charging the industry urgently demanding plenty of new raw material types and steamboat transportation's making cheap good ease. (Ortaylı, 1984, p.89)

Region is mostly appeared as a growing fertile area due to the fact that richness and fertility. Food, energy, raw material have always been main sources of the region creating the

inevitable and endless geographical and historical condition of the region. Compared to 17th and 18th century, economic relations of the region raised and as a consequence it has brought many more different issues beyond itself. Accordingly, economic power of Arab provinces started to be reinterpreted. “A long period, Middle East continued to make exportation with other countries. By the twentieth century, the Middle East was exporting a variety of raw materials, led by cotton, while importing finished manufactured goods, especially cotton textiles” (Fawaz; 2014, p.10). Administration was controlled over two regions and “inland Syria was divided over two large provinces; the North was administrated from Aleppo and the central and southern areas from Damascus” (Douwes, 2000, p.7). Especially after French occupation to Egypt in 1798, the control over Middle East region always accompanied with economic relations, besides cultural and sociological transformations of the region was also taken into consideration. There has been many migrations and political and sociological focus directed to different parts of the region. Britain apart from dominancy of French and Russia in 19th century appeared as having influence on Syria and Palestine. “Total church number founded until 1897 in Syria and Palestine was 16, the number of hospitals including dispensaries was 26 and the number of schools was 142 and the number of students studying at these schools was 8933” (Buzpinar, 2003, p.116). Not only economic factors shaped the significance of the region throughout the history, but also cultural and sociological influence and significance of the region has always preserved the significance of the region with other countries’ relations. Renz (1988) mentions about this as Damascus is not only a historical place having 19th century Islam religious places but also having a significance for Christian society (pp.17), which means that it is peculiar of being a boulevard for both religions but also for Judaism. Except Jerusalem, the area has always had an importance for Jewish society and “...other regions, such as Syria, Iraq, and Egypt, were holy for Jewish residents and visitors who, like their Muslim counterparts, perceived holiness in the light of Scripture and exegesis” (Meri, J.W 2004,p.19) that means Syria and the region has appeared as a space and place of holiness having associative meaning and image for societies. This attraction has been reproduced by sociological and cultural maintenance of the region, where has been a multicultural aspects that has always had many effects for peoples’ everyday lives within the concept of “Syria,” and especially after Egyptian occupation, this aspect turned into an international crisis:

The first intensive encounter Syria had with the modern Europe occurred with the Egyptian occupation and the international crisis this created. The European powers were

intensely engaged in this crisis, referring to the whole region persistently as Syria. It is likely that the Egyptians, because of their continuous contacts with Europe over this crisis, adopted the usage of the term “Syria.” But the use of the term increased after the withdrawal of the Egyptians, and acquired its own ideological meaning for some Syrians as well as for the Ottoman government. Especially after the intercommunal clashes in Lebanon during the 1840s and the war in 1860 the concept of Syria stood for a new secular society, bridging the abyss of religious strife and leading eventually to a modern secular notion. (Philipp, 2004,p.25).

According to this, many clashes and conflicts in the region has naturally caused the transformative process of the zone which then pointed out the issue of cultural diversities and socio-economic background of the region. Rising from and combining both authentic and modern aspects, “Syria”, has not only become a name of a region but also a name, continuously progressing region raised from the wars, crisis and clashes that directly has contributed the historical progress of area. 1830s were also important for Syrian cities and town which were mainly established by Egyptian order. Until 1839-1841 Ottoman-Egypt war, which is also called as “orientalischen Krise”, administration in Syria under the control of Egypt was divided into four regions: Aleppo (Halab), Tripoli (Tarablus), Damascus (Dimasq) and Sidon (Saida) (Sinno, 1982,p.1). Tibawi (1969) explains states that “it is therefore appropriate at this juncture in the narrative to sum up the Egyptian achievements in Syria and set them against the shortcomings. Perhaps the greatest achievements was the successful establishment of law and order throughout the country” (Tibawi, 1969, p.83). The security and this new order was impressive and mostly Egyptian tradition was combining the all region regarding to the discourse. “Security in the towns and villages and on the highways had never been better” (Tibawi, 1969, p.83). This was signing a new restoration process for Syria and the society. “The era of reform and modernization, which had begun during the Egyptian occupation, was continued by Sultan Mahmoud II and his successors in an effort to modernize the Empire. The Tanzimat (modernization) era saw determined efforts to restructure the administration,” (Seccomb, 1987, p.17) which historically caused the replacement of the class and new cultural, sociological and economic aspect of the region, at the same time the meeting with Western practices. When it was the middle of 19th , the cultural and socio-economic character of the region started to turn into a different aspect regarding to American missionaries and Ottoman restoration in Tanzimat. “These forces influenced the region of Syria by bringing about economic transformations that in turn led to changes in the social structure, particularly in the status of Arab Christians and especially in Beirut. As a result, a new sort of awareness arose among the latter-Syrian identity” (Zachs,

2004, p.27-28). Therefore, 19th century has a peculiar a particular importance in the history of region and the people. McHugo (2015) explains this as follows:

New and unfamiliar ideas like “constitution”, “democracy”, “liberalism” and “secularism” spread slowly among the educated elite of Greater Syria in the second half of the nineteenth century. These notions came directly from Europe, carried by Syrians returning from their studies as well as by Western intellectuals such as teachers coming to work in missionary and other schools. The ideas also arrived indirectly via Ottoman reformers who hoped to modernize the empire. In 1856, these reformers succeeded-in theory if not always in practice-...(McHugo, 2015,p.45)

Now, Arabs, as a society appeared to be redefined within the conceptualizations of both Muslim and Christian society, contrast to first centuries’ Islamic tradition progress which led to rethink about the cultural identity and diversity the notion is affiliated. The group mostly has been affected by bourgeoisie culture which they met, naturally the combination of modernization and Ottoman culture have been inevitable as a result of trade relations with the region. Moreover this relation was in the level of local aspect. Ottoman control over the region had not such a direct influence on Syrian provinces in the early of nineteenth century, although “four hundred years of Ottoman rule (1516-1918) have left a distinctive imprint on the urban centers of Syria. Ottoman concepts of architecture have had a tangible influence on the institutions of Syria’s cities” (Weber, 2004, p.42). On the other side, socio-political representation of Syrian people in Ottoman was not promising in the beginning of nineteenth century. “Syria confessional communities had little place in the diplomatic correspondence with the imperial capital,” (Winter, 2004,p.100) yet they are culturally influenced by Ottoman educational system in nineteenth century. On the other hand, “the real business of provincial politics consisted in Ottoman notables competing among themselves, often violently, for top posts such as the governorship of Damascus” (Winter, 2004,p. 100). “The opening of state schools in Damascus in the 1880s and 1890s made an Ottoman education more accessible to those who could not contemplate sending their children to Istanbul” (Rogan, 2004,p.79) . Besides, Middle East had always been a trade, exporting and importing zone by twentieth century having various raw materials such as cotton. “Most other Syrian industries depended more directly on the use of agricultural raw materials. These included the few silk factories outside Mount Lebanon and other factories for making cigarettes, licorice, shoes and wines and spirits” (Owen, 1981,p.262) “The diversity in exports reflected the rich Ottoman mosaic-raw silk constituted almost one quarter of Greater Syria’s exports, while cotton blanketed the

ports of Egypt and Turkestan” (Fawaz,2014,p.10). During the turn of the twentieth century, the urban centers of Syria became an important source for both Arabism as national ideology and the religious tendency of the Salafiyya. Furthermore, in the beginning of twentieth century the world would experience a world war. European manufacturers’ relation with Middle East had progressed. When the history showed the beginning of 20th century, the world would witness different economic, sociological and cultural processes which led to the First World War and then to the changing of borders and geographies. Economic conditions had started to change much faster than assumed to be. As Owen (1981) emphasizes that “ a general rise in income must not automatically be assumed to have produced a rise in general well-being,...” (pp. 290) Social conditions and transformations have always been issues to make a clear explanation for the notion of well-being. Owen (1981) argues this regarding to influence of the geography and distribution of economic and political power as follows:

In the first instance the main gains from trade must have accrued to those involved in the production of export crops even if there was then some spread effect to other districts by means of the extra consumption of urban produced goods or the wages paid to migrant labour. Second, given the fact that so much of the surplus accrued via tax and rent to such a small class of landowners or land controllers, it is also possible to argue that little of it was reinvested in capital works or agricultural improvement. Third, the great increase in sea-borne trade with Europe involved a fundamental restructuring of many parts of the Middle East economy. (Owen, 1981, p. 290-291).

The economic situation and emancipation of the capital in a limited groups have historically constituted the gathering of the economy and arising of it through one determined class which was not only related to economic aspect but also geographical distribution of the economy and the social relations throughout the zone. “The result was a significant geographical shift in economic power as the towns on the coast increased in size and prosperity much faster than most of those in the interior” (Owen, 1981,p. 291). By 1914, especially the policy called as “Orientpolitik” in the period of Wilhelm II was so prominent owing to the interest of Germany for Syria before World War, in 1889 and furthermore France and England interest in this period before 1914 always preserved its actuality (Sinno, 1982,p.311). What has been called as Middle East today has mainly raised as a result of this War regarding to conceptual framework. “The Ottoman Empire’s decision in 1914 to enter the Great War on the side of the Central Powers had direct consequences for the inhabitants of Syria” (Qattan, 2004,p.163). Especially arising Arab nationalist movement in Syria and Palestine was began to be perceived by British policy-makers as a potential ally against

Turkey in time of war (Khalidi; 1980: III) which was the result of controlling process. This world war has again determined the significance of the zone regarding to processes and relations throughout the war. "In March 1915 Jamal Pasha reportedly ordered the relocation of foodstuffs (including produce), pack animals, transport carriages, and all other means of transportation from the Syrian coast to the interior" (Fawaz, 2014,p.89). By the end of 1918, Syria and some Middle East countries had been regarded as cities of Ottoman Empire, yet after the defeat of Ottoman Empire, this approach started to change. First World War brought forward the last phase of French dominancy over the region. Especially the control over Middle East was mainly determined at San Remo Conference which showed the determination of the geography between Great Britain and France in 1920 April, furthermore French recognized some parts of Middle East region as a semi-autonomous states (Fildişi, 2013,p. 57). This was a redetermining of the geographical control which led to economic, social and cultural consequences. Increasing Arab nationalism was also one of the consequences for example, "Rashid Rida was very much a political activist, committed to their separation, holding the Ottomans responsible for the decadence of the world of Islam. The cause that he did come to champion was that of Arab pre-eminence in the greater Muslim world" (Seale, 2010,p.179). This kind of divergence definitely caused the emergence of national and religious character of geography which especially became apparent after the World War process. According to Dawn, Arab nationalism especially arose as the result of intra-Arab elite conflict as an opposition movement of Syrian notables directed primarily against rival Syrian notables (Dawn, 1991, p.12). Some researchers have seen Arab nationalism was the most prominent motivation among Syria history of independence characterized the struggle. Okur mentions (2009) that the most significant motivation that leads to independence has been awakening of Syrian nationalism that was contributed by Syrian intellectuals by means of Arab history, literature and language and the completed their education in universities administrated by European or Americans since 19th century (Okur, 2009, p.138). This mutual sharedness which held society together for a long time started to change the direction within the notion of national characters owing to the historical transformation after 1920s. Moreover, Arab nationalism in Syria evoked as a consequence of historical processes of the War which had an influence on social character of people. Ottoman Empire's war decision directly affected Syrian people. Qattan (2004) states the situation as follows:

Ottoman participation in the war and the horrific conditions of its military and civilian fronts have cast a long shadow on subsequent regional society. Alongside the postwar peace settlements, but by no means always congruent with them, Syrian collective memory of the war has had an enduring effect on the construction of identity in the region. In Ottoman Syria the war brought social disruption of immense magnitude. For most, the wages of war involved much in addition to absent lovers, husbands, or sons. The reason endured universal conscription and a confluence of factors-including forced exile...(Oattan, 2004, p.163)

Naturally, unending processes of the war has not only affected the relation of the States but also people's lives that many people died, had epidemic illnesses during the war. As a sociological fact, the war has reshaped the geography within the regards of economic, sociological fact that is to be taken into consideration what Syrian people were to experience throughout the history of clashed and conflicts. Syrian cities confronted the poverty and death which has also determined the collective written memory. "Over the course of the twentieth century, a large number of Syrian men and women and their descendants (Syrian, Lebanese, and Palestinian) committed their remembrances of the war to paper," (Qattan, 2004,p.163) which have been always witnesses of the history that can never be forgotten.

2.4.1. Syria In The Civil War

When Assad came to power in Ba'th Party, it was the new transformation period for Syria within the terms of economic policies which he made. Firstly, he gained an image by means of his discourses and it was a new time for liberalization. Thanks to his liberalisation strategy, he won support across sectarian lines in the affluent business community and middle class of Aleppo and Damascus (cited in Hokayem, 2013,p.29). His policy did not directly focus on military service but economic characterization of the society, yet this did not save the deterioration and dependent character of economy during the first decade of 2000. Actually the process that was preparing the Civil War was mostly based on the contradictive side of the notion of progress which has been summarized by Hokayem (2013) as follows:

Steady economic growth, limited economic reforms and the appearance of growing wealth in major cities, complemented by statements of commitment and good intentions by government modernizers, created the sense that Syria was progressing. As with Egypt and Tunisia, little attention was devoted to deepening inequalities, growing corruption, the unmanaged consequences of the flawed liberalization of the economy and the neglect of rural areas. (Hokayem, 2013,p.14)

Internal situation of Syria was deteriorating contrary to promises and therefore, there was not actually presupposed demonstration as ones in Tunisia and Egypt. Yet, growing economic gap fastened the political and social break inner the society. President Bashar al-Assad was at a critic point and he was actually knowing the coming process and he announced this through *The Wall Street Journal* in late January by these words: “If you did not see the need for reform before what happened in Egypt and in Tunisia, it is too late to do any reform” (cited in Hokayem, 2013,p.15). In the beginning, protests started with peaceful demands which were not brutal, on the other side, it was definite that the process would not be easy to be solved as excluded from Assad’s words above. “ Rapidly contained pro-democracy demonstrating the souk of Damascus in February 2011 did not burgeon into a wider movement..” (Hokayem, 1993, p. 15) which signed a phrase of coming rebellion and then “the cruelty and lack of accountability of the security forces in the peripheral southern city of Deraa in dealing with schoolchildren, who had painted anti-regime slogans on walls, inflamed the country’s rural areas a month later” (Hokayem, 2013,p.15). This was the slogan signing the conflict and gap between society and the State especially regarding the regime and regulation in the region.

CHAPTER 3

3. AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF THE ACADEMIC RESEARCH ABOUT NEWS REPORTING OF SYRIAN REFUGEES IN TURKEY

3.1. The Aim

News, knowledge representation, reality and ideology are concepts that have a direct relation with each other. Many research has discussed these concepts, especially in the context of information transmission in the media, and questioned them in the context of news. In this chapter, ⁷the concepts of news, representation, reality and ideology will become visible. In order to reveal the relation between social reality and news in the studies examined within the framework of the subject of the thesis, it will be followed in terms of liberal and critical approaches.

This chapter is the main chapter for epistemological foundation of the academic research demonstrated; therefore, it has a big significance. In this chapter; the academic research demonstrated will not be only applied by relevant methods; but also they will be tested in terms of hypothesis. If the main hypothesis of the dissertation is recalled; it is that there are some epistemological inadequacies and problems about academic research of news reporting regarding to Syrian refugees. These inadequacies and insufficiencies can be considered in two main aspects: First one is about i) the lack of historical background of the relevant news as before and after event second one is about ii) economy-political approach to relevant news. And before enlightening methods and approaches, the main aim of the research is to show the relation between news, Syrian refugees and how academic research about news reporting reveal Syrian refugees and relevant problems. According to this aim; the academic research made about Syrian refugees in news reporting field are chosen.

⁷ In this section, I draw a main line for epistemological aspect of communication and its significant for the scope of dissertation. The epistemological significance means the importance of the knowledge through academic research investigated about how they reconstruct the relation between *news-social reality-representation and ideology*, which will lead to justify the hypothesis and the basic motivation.

3.2. Limitations of the Research

The chosen academic research are the media studies of news reporting that have been published between 2011-2019; as mentioned in introduction part this is because 2011 is the year of Civil War and it is a striking point to observe the data in Turkey. Therefore, the limitation of this research is about these mentioned years and relevant academic research published. And also; this is relevant to time and period when the analysis and investigation of the academic research have been made and written about. Furthermore; through chapter 3; it is already determined that there are academic research about Syrian refugees published in the fields of international relations, politics, sociology. Still, the scope of the dissertation engages with the field of news reporting through media studies as one of the aims of the research is to contribute to the field by revealing the relation between news and social reality. Still, if the years and academic research published between the years 2020-2022 are considered; there are still academic research published about Syrian refugees, though there is a decrease in the rate. Furthermore, during this period, researches based on social media news are still being conducted and update. And therefore, this research is limited with academic researches published between the dates 2011-2019 and they provide sufficient knowledge and data to follow hypothesis. In order to test hypothesis in the frame of academic research investigated; an epistemological aspect has been progressed thanks to Marx's and Sayer's views on social sciences. Sayer can be considered as contemporary researcher and his view matters to see the contemporary discussions and paradigms through Marx's materialist view in terms historical and dialectical aspects and Sayer's approach to social sciences and two inspiring names, they both contribute to the epistemic progress of the research. Marx draws a general and holistic approach and this helps to reveal perspectives through academic researches investigated and Sayer's view helps to reveal how the relevant academic research can be analysed and need to be investigated through the news. Therefore both Marx's and Sayer's epistemological views are contributive for the progress of this research, though Marx's view draws a more holistic approach for general epistemology of this research. For understanding the perspectives of

academic researches investigated Sayer's (1984, 1992, 2000) emphasis on "image of real objects or thought objects" and also, this is helpful for understanding the idea of news and its representative function of social reality. And this point needs to be kept in mind. This epistemological aspect or in other words; what can be called as three-legged schema is also progressed according to discussions based on philosophical discussions about divergences between materialism and idealism shown in the Chapter 1. Nevertheless, it needs to be remembered that this view can be guide to *philosophy of communication* in the news field. Sayer's accounts on philosophy of social sciences help to broaden the view on philosophical approach to nature of communication and "practical knowledge" through the news. He refers that "in monitoring and checking the practical knowledge that we use in work, what is at issue is the success or failure of this transformation-this active 'objectification' of knowledge - rather than a passive 'mirroring' or 'representation' of the world (Sayer, 2000, p.18). For this, in the next section, three-legged schema is discussed more in detail. What makes Sayer's relevant accounts on social sciences and news contributive for the research is that his emphasis on the relation between social reality and building social reality within philosophical methods. Therefore, social sciences and relevant engagements need to evoke a deep and robust epistemological approach to social reality and within this research, it becomes relevant to explain the problems of academic studies in terms of social reality and news. The chosen 47 studies critically entail the problem to negative representation and therefore; for the scope of dissertation; they are chosen. On the other hand; there are also some studies found (almosty 10 studies) that engage with positive or neutral representation. These academic research have been chosen by Google Academic and refereed ones have been chosen for the scope of the research. This is a critical engagement and therefore, it has been chosen in the scope of the paper to test the chosen academic research. Also, it has been chosen as it is considered to contribute to epistemological and analytical approach to communication that is lack in the field of communication.

3.3. The Method and The Significance

Here, in this section, two main questions are followed: What kind of methods are applied in this research? and what does three-legged schema mean and in which sense is it contributive for this research? The methods which are followed in the study are majorly constituted by quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis. Some quantitative data including statistics and numbers will be prominent through the research, besides stratified random

sampling is method applied to put forward the target population of the study. Especially historical and dialectic materialistic approach by Marx and analytical philosophy method, descriptive method will be guiding to reveal the relation between social problem, news, academy and communicational philosophy aspect of the motivation. The relation between news, academy and Syrian refugees will be determined by means of sampling and analytical method. For this, Sayer's accounts on social reality and social sciences are helpful as his view about method toward social sciences opens a wide sense for philosophy of social science and relevant questions through the research. Sayer's method, which I call as three-legged schema is a supportive method for the research and the news reporting studies. Sayer's method is not primary method applied in the context of this research but it supports the hypothesis about epistemological inadequacies through the news reporting studies analyzed. Sayer's method can be called as three-legged schema for the studies that are made in the field of news reporting because; Sayer discusses three main subsets and their significance for social studies researchers. Three-legged schema can be considered as analytical approach to social sciences. Three-legged schema means three analytic subsets for social sciences and in the context of this research, this is about news reporting studies. Three-legged schema about i) the knowledge about how social researcher collects about his or her question, ii) the object of his or her research problem and iii) the ideology that motivates the researcher. The knowledge about the problem is about how the researcher reaches the knowledge and data about the problem. The object of research problem is about the main motivation to which researcher directs his or her question. The ideology of the research is the third subset which is based on main dominant perspective and approach toward the problem in the research. (schema of knowledge-schema of thought object and real object and schema of ideology) The three-legged schema is used as supportive method for the studies analyzed. The content and discourse analysis are applied to academic studies in order to reveal the relation between news, social reality and ideology. This is also essential for grounding and understanding their representations in academic studies in terms of philosophy of social sciences. Three-legged schema is different from Triangulation method applied in social science studies. Triangulation is a mixed method in social science seeking validity and credibility by using different and different multiple analytic and interpreting methods. It is called as "near-talismanic method" to combine qualitative and quantitative research (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 266). There are four different types of triangulation and these are data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulation (Bhandari, 2022).

Triangulation method can be a profound method to reveal some inadequacies and it can be mainly helpful for studies about news reporting which are mainly grounded on idealist or deontological epistemological approach. Nevertheless, in this research, triangulation method is not applied because, the object of the research is not news or representation analysis but the relevant academic studies.

The main method used for 14 academic research chosen is critical discourse analysis (CDA) by van Dijk that has some differences from Fairclough's (1995) functionalist linguistic approach to knowledge and production of social reality. I am making some references from the relevant former statements now: His CDA is also differentiated from Fowler's approach that reveals the aim of critical linguistics is to "display to consciousness the patterns of belief and value" (Fowler, 1991, p.67) and they have ideological significance. Accordingly, van Dijk states that "obviously, the inherently social nature of discourse production shows the social knowledge and attitude schemata that are presupposed by the speaker as a group member" (Van Dijk 1988:110). "Similarly, the speaker enacts the norms and values, the interests, power relations, or ideologies of his or her own group" (van Dijk *ibid*: 110). van Dijk's method applied to news is critically engaged with the idea of power relations through society and how these discourses are reflected by means of news. Critical discourse analysis method by van Dijk is one of the common methods applied to news in social sciences.

Why are Sayer's accounts on social science significant for this research? This method can be considered in terms of analytical philosophical approach aspect to communication. And reason why Sayer's method is contributive is that it helps to enlighten the relation between news and Syrian refugees as social reality. After three-legged schema is applied to the research in general, 14 academic research are chosen according to stratified random sampling method. All 47 research have been numbered and all numbered research have been mixed and randomly chosen. Then, three-legged schema has been applied to these 14 academic researched one by one. This schema formulation is also relevant to demonstrate the relation between social reality, ideology, news and representation. Therefore, by this schema; two main categories of perspectives about social reality becomes visible. First one is about ideology of news demonstrated through the academic research and second one is the ideology and perspective about how research reconstructs the relation between news ideology and Syrian refugees a social reality.

Here, within the context of dissertation, I regard this method as a way of revealing the question about how academy in Turkey demonstrates the social reality, news and ideology

through news produced about Syrian refugees as social reality. Accordingly, van Dijk emphasizes this as follows: “Elite sources are not only considered more newsworthy (as news actors) but also as more reliable as observers and opinion formulators” (van Dijk, 1988, p.87). This view is linked to the discourse of academy because academy signifies elite actors that reproduce news and social reality. This analysis can also signify some other relevant problems such as being refugee or invisible within the relevant context and academy.

After three-legged schema is applied to 14 academic studies chosen randomly, critical discourse analysis is also applied to test them and follow the question and hypothesis. The lack of academic studies in communication field investigating problems through news observed is another motivation of the dissertation. The research investigating the relation between academy, reproduction of social reality and ideology is limited and therefore, it is considered that this dissertation will also contribute to broaden this relation for further research.

3.4. Questions Related to the Connection of News-Representation and Social Reality

In this section, attention will be drawn to the differences in the epistemological approach to the knowledge of the news in question. Differences in the epistemological installation of the knowledge of the news which is the two basic theories mentioned by Yaylagül are essentially a problem related to how communication is approached, the knowledge of communication and this will be investigated at forthcoming sections. These draws attention to the critical and liberal approaches on which the epistemological knowledge of the news that we encounter as critical and mainstream theories. In terms of epistemological motivation of the dissertation, Yaylagül’s relevant account draws attention to the knowledge of the news based on idealism and historical-materialism methods, which are included in the first chapter of the study.

Representation, draws attention to a recurring, re-occurring presentation, formation about any subject, event, thing. In the context of news, on the other hand, this is the re-presented form, form of any event that is presented, of which there is information, the subject has been re-presented. Here, the expression “re” shows a form of the expression “presentation“, which is presented “again” with its equivalent in Turkish. The newly created news - which has ceased to be just new information - is a form that has finally turned into representation.

Stuart Hall (1997) describes representation as a meaning-making process that constructs and conveys meaning, naturally this refers to meaning-building. There is also this construction of meaning in the news, the representation of the news is related to the construction of knowledge of the social reality that is the subject of the news which is related to the problem of representation. It is how the information about the event that is the subject of the news is constructed and how the meaning is constructed in the relevant news. While different media outlets create the news as a form and representation, they do not establish the relation between form and representation in the same way. The different categories that appear in the representation are related to the different meaning and construction of the knowledge of the social reality, which is also the subject of the news. This relation, that is, the differently established relation between form and representation, is mainly due to the different establishment between news and social reality. To give a brief example, “The Syrians have made a scene again! Headlines such as “Tension between Syrians and citizens”, or “Attack on Syrians” with a headline in the form of “Syrians are nervous” contain different categories of representation in terms of the meaning. The difference of these representation categories is more visible with the discursive decisions taken both at the word level and at the sentence level (Dijk: 1988). Considering Dijk’s notion of “opinion formulators,” (van Dijk, 1988,p.87) it can be interpreted that ideology is associated with sexist-racist-discriminatory discursive indicators and categories of representation. However, to reveal this relation, how the relation between social reality- representation and ideology, which is the subject of the news, is constructed needs to be enlightened. This can be about our epistemological approach to the news and, in fact, to social reality. Haluk Gerger, Marx's *On Freedom of the Press* in the presentation section of his work titled (2012), he draws attention to the relation between the image and the self, which points to the news and social reality. This is the construction of the meaning of information in the value-profit relation within the existing system (Marx; *Freedom of the Press* 2012 in the Presentation section:3). The meaning construction in question also shows us how social reality is presented with a representation, and this reminds us that the news is a representation of the truth through Marxist historical and dialectic materialist approach.

In the third part of the research, the relation between thought-reality-social practice within the framework of idealism and materialism is attempted to be revealed. This also stands out in terms of the aim of revealing how the relation between news and social reality is established in related academic studies, which is the motivation of this study. If we look at social reality again from the point of view of social science studies, it is the “facts as things”

that appear in the relation between this considered object and the real object based on Sayer's conceptualization (1984) in the fourth chapter and information about the state of the world. In the news, this is the facts of things, the phenomenon of how representation is established, and the knowledge of its essence. Gould mentions Marx's notion of social reality is linked his social ontology as a metaphysical theory and this is a "critical examination of alternative interpretations, the dialectical method in its fully ramified form aims at establishing the truth" (Gould; 1978, p.6, 24) The question of how reality is represented here is the question of whether the knowledge or subject matters of the studies or essence of things are reached from mere phenomena. Here, the essence of things refers the genuine knowledge of things not as things in themselves but the root of the problem or subject matters. By this way, the essence of things can be linked to the news as truth-aiming process. Truth aiming process in news means that news as a reflection of truth. Similarly, the same question applies in an academic study of news. For Marx, this reality includes the transmission of truth by the most rational form through the press and the problem of how social phenomena is transmitted as reality in the news in academic studies is related to the relation established. This is the basis and question and it is discussed in the 2nd section titled "The Contribution of Idealism to the Progress of Philosophy" and it is relevant to the notion of "idea." The connection established between social reality and news in these academic studies is related to question about whether the reality and essence of the news is determined through language that is a phenomenon. Both in the news and in the academic studies in question, the approach to the reality of the news is the approach to knowledge, which is the essence of the phenomenon. Epistemologically, how is the social reality in the news established?

The discussions of epistemology on reality can be examined in terms of two basic poles:

- i) In terms of reconstructing the social reality that is the subject of the news with a method of idealism.
- ii) In terms of reconstructing the social reality that is the subject of the news with a historical-materialist method.

Two different approaches highlight two different perceptions between news-social reality and ideology. In addition, two different approaches are related to the understanding and establishment of the relation between news-social reality and representation from different places. In the first, i) The social reality that is the subject of the news is shaped through language and even revealed by showing it as if it was a social reality determined by language.

Rather than news being a representation of reality, representation is constructed as the reality of news. Based on this, the relation between the considered object and the real object that aims to reach the real object through the considered object. This is also the phenomenon and essence mentioned and it is about how the relationship between the two is established. Now, we are faced with a significant approach from the phenomenon to the essence. Köker says this; “Both natural sciences and social sciences are related to a “world” that is assumed to be located outside of man. However, even scientific activity on the topic of “nature”, which constitutes the world of objects, is not engaged in observation and experiment without any prior “theory” (Köker, 1998, p.113). Similarly, the news is based on the representation of a social reality that exists even if we have not experienced it, and the theoretical knowledge of this reality has been discussed for many years. One of the main distinctions in the natural sciences and social sciences is that the subject of research is objects (the knowledge of all those substances that we call “things” is meant here) and people. “This is especially true from the point of view of social sciences and, in particular, political science, because the subjects of this scientific activity are not objects, but people. The world formed by man, on the other hand, is based on a “language”, or a “symbol system”, completely different from the world of objects” (Köker, 1998, p.113). This language also seems to point to the i) methodical approach mentioned above. With Köker's definition, language appears as an instrument of social reality. The view recalls Marx's and Engel's (2016) materialist accounts on language as an instrument not as an aim and “language is as old as conscience. Language is raised by the need to communicate with other people and it is a practice.” (Marx&Engels, 2016, p.38). It seems that for both thinkers, the language is an instrument in reproducing social reality and conscience. For Marxist view, language is a practice of social reality and it is directly linked to genuine objects. In other words, language is not an abstract term and language cannot be idealized by detaching it from actual world and human conditions. Therefore, in terms of materialistic analysis, it is not a social reality that is being tried to be reached from language separately, or language-as an approach created by describing the existing situation. The main problem here is the social reality behind the news and how this social reality is conveyed through representation. This view accords with what Köker mentioned in the next lines. “The social and political world is not an “objective reality” that exists outside of a person, but a sphere of activity created and changed by a person himself, which also changes a person himself” (Köker, 1998, p.113). Especially the expressions “objective reality” and “what exists outside of man” (Köker *ibid*, 113) are noteworthy here. Contrary to materialistic language philosophy, structuralism in language focuses on the relation between language/parole and

signified/signifier. According to Saussure's language approach, language is a system (Saussure 1998) and "Saussurian linguistics isolated language from the social material world making it impervious to its demands, contingencies and conflicts, and instead projected language as a self-sufficient system of formal laws it needs to be investigated by abstracting it from social and material world" (Wayne, 2003, p. 159). The statement implies that Saussure's structuralist language philosophy regards language as an independent category from social and historical production relations. Therefore, language is a self-detached and autonomous realm from social material world. Nevertheless, structuralist approach is lack of suggesting profound approach to ideology and this approach is critically engaged by Volosinov. He is critically engaged with abstract objectivity and sign system language as it separates language from ideology and its social interactive role with real life practice. (Volosinov, 2001, p. 126). If we turn to how the researcher establishes the connection between news-social reality and representation, this becomes visible about how he approaches the social reality that is the subject of the news, and how the material of examination of this reality reveals the news.

How social reality is approached epistemologically through related studies is related to how social reality and representation, which is the subject of the news, is constructed epistemologically. The second approach to this is ii) the social reality that is the subject of the news is interpreted and constructed with a historical and dialectical materialist method. The reality that is the subject of the news is historical and social. For example, a news story about refugees or workers is considered as part of production relations that rise on a historical and social basis. Because news, just like the social reality that is the subject of news, is a process, result and product of historical relations and production relations. Both the news and the social reality and the representation are analyzed and revealed with a dialectical relationship in the context of production relations and historicity. Here, language becomes an instrument of truth. Social reality is a ground where the truth becomes visible or not visible here, and it is up to both the messengers and the researcher to reach the knowledge of the truth by digging deep and revealing it. If language is the direct means of conveying the thought of the class or the contradiction that exists, (Marx, Engels: 2016) any research conducted here on the news is similarly aimed at opening the veil of contradictions and conflicts that exist in the news.

According to this, through academic research that are constituted of master and doctoral dissertations and the articles; discourse, content, framing and quantitative analysis are the most applied methods to put forward this relation. Mainly, the news reporting studies published between 2011-2019 focus on Syrian refugees, news, language and the content and

discourse analyses are applied to the relevant studies. Before it, three-legged schema needs to be detailed and then, its application to the studies will be shown by a table.

Nearly all of the research analyzed before have the related conceptual frame of the relation in terms of the research. Although the object of the research has been Syrian refugees, the investigator as a subject of a research have been exempted from the empirical research and besides, the relation between sense-reference and conceptual-empirical have been shaped as below:

The illusion of the appeal to facts in popular discourse involves collapsing statements into their references, thought objects into Image of real objects. It thereby appears to be appeal to the facts themselves, the way the world is, in an unmediated fashion, but it is actually an appeal to a particular way of talking about the world in some conceptual system and therefore may be contested. Consequently, facts as factual statements do not have the authority generally claimed for them (Sayer, 2000,p.47).

Sayer (2000:47) clearly and very illuminatingly put forwards the question about objects and if the statement is interpreted in terms of ii) research object, it is linked to the relation between news and Syrian refugees in academic studies.

Research object is applied to academic research as follows:

(Thought Objects) The News About Syrian Refugees	(Image of real objects) Syrian Refugees in Turkey
(theory) problematic representation of the people through news	(fact) negative representation of Syrian refugees through main dominant press in Turkey

However, what should be made in terms of how to reach the relation between Syrian refugees and problematic news representation is determined below:

(Thought Objects) The News about Syrian Refugees	(Image of real objects) Syrian Refugees in Turkey
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(theory)
 problematic representation of the people through news - (facts as things) news as fact
 or the cause, process of the Civil War and being “Refugee”

empirical
 observational
 factual knowledge

It has been observed that empirical and observational aspect and the feature of fact as things or states of the world through these research made about Syrian Refugees are missing. Besides, the investigator has been observed not to actively participate the process by means of labour and interactive communication and moreover it is observed that s/he does not try to become the object of the research. Accordingly, firstly it can be determined that differences between the model used through the research about the References and the model we need are based on the relation between *thought* objects and *Image of real objects* and how they are related to each other. The model offered by Sayer is grounded within the terms of the confusion of conceptual system, the world, and facts and Sayer refers this as following: “To avoid such dangerous confusions, we therefore need a distinction between thought objects and Image of real objects, in which not only theoretical statements but empirical or observational statements are both included within the realm of thought objects” (Sayer, 2000,p.47). Accordingly, the model needed above helps the confusion of the relation between fact, conceptual and the world through the research. Without considering the news as a fact or Syrian people and the putting forward the related conceptual relations, process, the research about it is insufficient within the terms of constructing the relation aligned with thought objects- Image of real objects and theory-fact which was shown by Sayer as “instead of” model.

3.4.1. An Argument About the News

In the most general sense, news is information transmitted to the public through the press, publications and communication organs. In order to this information to be transmitted, based on a typical communication model, the elements that make up communication, such as the sender, the message and the recipient, must exist. When one of these parameters is not present, it is not possible to talk about news and communication. Undoubtedly, the news

appears as a message here, but when the content of the news is considered, this message contains certain dynamics such as production, distribution, consumption, ideology and reality beyond being just a message. The main different approaches to news are shaped on the mainstream and critical axis. The aspect about how reality stands in the news, how it is conveyed with an ideology, is also problematic about how liberal and idealistic approaches relate news, social reality and ideology.

Van Dijk establishes the news as a field of investigation based on two basic definitions. He explains it in sentences “I have some news for you” or “What's the latest news from your son?” and mentions that the news, which is his own research object, is included in the second statement (1988:3). This is closer to the definition that appears as news transmitted through the media:

1-New information about events, things and people.

2-A television or radio program where news is presented.

3-A news section or news report on the radio, television or newspaper where new information about the latest events is provided (Dijk, 1988, p.5).

Jin (2012), who discusses the news in a different context, emphasizes the role of Marxist journalism and journalist practices in producing and reproducing news in his work “On Jiang Zemin's innovation and Contribution to Marxism News”. In this context, communication is a clear installation site of ideology and is on a professional ground. Jin discusses the concepts of truth, freedom and openness in the media and news as concepts that develop the Marxist understanding of news. Naturally, news is the place where truth, freedom and transparency are produced in their essence. What is happening here is how the information of the social reality that is the subject of the news is carried. The problematic aspect about how this information is carried and transmitted has been interpreted and put forward differently by dominant and critical approaches - by Liberal models or by different approaches such as the Marxist Political Economy and the Frankfurt school. The approaches to news examined in these academic studies also stand out in terms of being shaped in terms of idealistic methods based on liberal theories or historical materialist methods based on critical theory. Therefore, the main problem in the news arises in the part of how the knowledge of the news in question is transmitted, rather than just the function of transmitting new information. The reason for this is how the historical relations of production are problematized, as Marx expresses it as “when we say production, it is always production at a certain stage of social development -the production of social individuals” (Marx, 2011,p.239). Yaylagül mentions that there is no

single theory in communication sciences that can explain the reality of the whole society and emphasizes that the epistemology in question is discussed on a class level for news.

The different interests of different classes are expressed through different theories. Theories and approaches that aim to legitimize and maintain the existing social order in the field of communication are called "mainstream" theories, while studies that critically examine the current system and communication are considered "critical studies". (Yaylagül, 2010,p.27)

Based on Yaylagül's differentiations about communication theories, the following main approaches can be determined:

Table 1 Epistemological Approaches To Communication

BASIC APPROACHES TO COMMUNICATION	
LIBERAL APPROACHES	CRITICAL APPROACHES
Dominant (Mainstream) Theories: (Functionalist approaches, stimulus-response, effect-spectator studies, hypodermic needle theory)	Critical Theories: (Marxist theories, Frankfurt School, Political economy approach)
Post-structuralist methods, methods such as semiotics, deconstruction	The historical-dialectical materialist method

The epistemological pattern of material life and the knowledge about it is again a problem related to how it is related to the practices of material life. The question about what the knowledge of the news is and how to determine it essentially involves the methodical question of reaching the place where the truth is drawn, the worldview beyond it. Is the knowledge of the news an area that is reached by purely linguistic/indicative follow-up, or is the knowledge of the news a field in which the reality-the truth behind the information

presented-not presented-misrepresented by linguistic indicators traced? In order to follow these two questions, it is necessary to be able to answer how the news is produced and presented in relation to ideology in critical and dominant approaches.

3.4.2. Ideology from the Point of View of Epistemology, Founded on the Axis of News-Social Reality and Media Representation

Ideology is probably one of the most discussed concepts in the social sciences. Similarly, approaches to ideology bring different paradigms with them. In this section, it will be tried to briefly follow what ideology is and its in relation with the concepts in question.

In Destutt de Tracy (1796), ideology was more of an intellectual science used to provide everyone with the opportunity to think correctly, it is a scientific and intellectual level for societies. In Marxist literature, on the other hand, this now stands in a place to be explained by false consciousness and illusion. Reality stands in minds with an illusion, that is, it stands upside down, such a reality that stands upside down can only be eliminated by turning it upside down by realizing the fact that material conditions determine thought. It is possible to find the most typical discussion of this in *The German Ideology* (2013) and in Capital's discussion of commodity fetishism.

Ideology is the most basic level that arises in between reality and thought. The question of how social reality is formed through the human mind also requires the ability to follow this problem. Social categories such as acceptance, other, consent, poverty, deprivation, identity are presented to societies on the axis of certain ideologies.(İnceoğlu, Çoban, 2014, p.148) and it is important to observe how the media constructs reality in the context of the dominant ideology. Therefore, how we will think, how we will construct and act in reality is formed in the minds of societies by the media. Marx& Engels (2016:52) state that “the ideas of dominant

class are dominant ideas at each era. In other words, the class which is the material power of society is dominant power of ideas.” The ideology in question is that capitalism “acts by putting the interests of the ruling class above everything” (Shepherd, 2014, p.42) and it is the totality of the dominant ideology and thoughts that it produces again and again through the media. Relevantly, Sancar mentions that “the most significant theoretical heritage of Marx signifies the necessity that the analysis of ideology should be done with the analysis of the rule spontaneously.” (Sancar, 2008, p.27)

Eagleton (1991) through his book *Ideology*, touches upon Post-Marxist process and he reveals a general map of ideology of Post-Althusserian view. In post-modern studies, ideology has now established its place on more fragmented, more different meanings. Many of the studies in the field of social sciences, which have increased after the 80s and 90s, are based on the social struggle of different identity, ethnicity, and gender categories and these studies discuss ideology as a multiple category from the post-modernist place. Undoubtedly, it has also shown itself in the studies carried out in this field of news and ideology has emerged as a methodical approach when dealing with the relation of news. In many academic studies, especially after the 2000s, in the context of the relation between ideology and news, some categories such as illusion, false consciousness and class do not exist. On the other hand, the problem of news is revealed through language and discourse. Accordingly, Marx and Engels mention about how ideology is relevant to false knowledge of social reality and “the governing ideology mystifies the economic relations of society” (Marx&Engels, 2004, p. 653-8). Then it is important to follow the questions about what is the knowledge of the social reality that is the subject to the news and how the researcher epistemologically conceptualizes the knowledge of the ideology through news analyzed in order to reveal the relation between the categories of news-social reality- representation and ideology. Therefore, for this thought, this relation is not a reflection of reality through main stream media. For example, the following example can be relevant here: “Syrians have caused the trouble again.” This can be a heading of a news. To follow this news; the following questions that researcher is engaged with can be significant: What is the truth behind the social reality that is the subject of the news conveyed ideologically? Or is there a false knowledge of the material conditions in question? These follow-up questions can signify historical-dialectical materialist approach mentioned above. Political economy approach to communication is shaped within the framework of a political approach. The epistemological approach in the second category is to make sense of the social reality that is the subject to the news and to construct it with an

idealistic method. As an example of this, the approaches that hold language as a fixed category and treat it as a determinant of the social reality or basic motivation that is the subject of news can be given. To make sense of social practices, to analyze them in an approach that treats subjects as class categories (see. Laclau and Mouffe, 2017) and the ideology-news relation is examined on the axis of idealism, taking its main motivation from the liberal theory on which it leans. This is one of the reasons why Laclau and Mouffe are considered the foundational of Post-Marxism. The relation between subject-discourse and ideology has started to be discussed outside of a category where there is necessarily social and historical class conflict that occurs through production relations. Studies after the 90s, especially in the field of communication and news, have put forward the idealism on which post-modernist methods are based. By this philosophical approach, in which attempts are made to make sense of the news through deconstruction, discourse analysis and semiotic methods, the class conflict itself and the dominant ideology are detached from the historical and social dialectic, and the social reality that is the subject of the news. This has begun to be blurred and mostly it has not been addressed from this point of view. In the context of news-social reality-representation, ideology is discussed in a way that is immanent in the discourse, which is reached through a more fragmented and multiple pure discourse, and its source is established from here, instead of being discussed on a plane to determine the perceptions of the societies with the false consciousness that sovereigns apply to.

3.4.3. Cultural Studies and Critical-Political Economy

In this section, two basic epistemological approaches to mass communication studies, especially within the framework of ideology conceptualization, will be tried to be followed. The first of these is the cultural approaches to communication developed by Stuart Hall, who discusses mass communication and ideology within the framework of a cultural approach. In this context, the relation between ideology and language comes up with studies that are particularly examined on the cultural axis. The second epistemological approach will be examined in the axis called critical political economy. If we return to Hall's main axis, the main problem is the basic questions related to what and how mass communication conveys to societies and the response of the recipient to this communication. The function of this insular language is quite important. Language has an instrumental function that reproduces ideology in mass media through *encoding* and *decoding*. Beyond that, it also stands as the main determiner of the relation between

ideology and language. Hall (1973) reviews cultural; social structures and processes, formal or symbolic structures of the absolute internal links between the main axis that was also suggested (Hall,1973,p.1). He argues that this is a “systematically distorted communication” that takes place during the production process between publishing and buyers belonging to elite groups (Hall *ibid*:2). As a natural consequence, hegemony is associated with this systematic-symbolic linguistic communication. This type of communication is based on two types of basic structures, the second of which is the basic axis of Hall the semiotic approach it is the logic of communication within. If the first, they are social and economic structures. The instrument and structures of this production appear as symbolic instrument formed on the axis of linguistic laws of a certain time. From this point of view, the linguistic plane essentially influences the symbolic one as a determinant and directs communication. Although these symbolic moments, which he calls encoding and coding, are quite autonomous as a whole in the communication process, these moments are the main determinants of the original communication (Hall *ibid*:2). The nature of culture seems to be reproduced through semantics, which reveals an ontological cultural approach to the relations of ideology, power and hegemony in the media. Birmingham School, where media researchers such as Hoggart, Williams and Hall are among them, forms the main axis of British cultural studies after the 70s. Hall's main motivation is television, naturally, even if he does not have a direct connection within the framework of this work, I think that a relatedness can also be established in the news in terms of the approach to language. On the other hand, there are also some objections to the cultural deterministic approach. One of those objections belong to, Pasternak (2005) and he signifies the need for focusing on ideology from a field other than culture that makes it necessary to have a materialist understanding of politics other than idealistic theories. Hall's constructive approach to the media and the news is connected to that he sees ideology as a construction of social life and world perception. Harcup and O'Neill (2017) relate this to Hall's (1973) approach to news values. In particular, he talks about the fact that an ideology based on the worldview of patriciates' understanding of values, which naturalizes it, is built through news, and news values are also part of the ideologically constructed path (Hall *ibid*:1471). This, in fact, stops at the place where culture is systematically reproduced.

In his study, Yaylagül evaluates this epistemological approach within the framework of dominant approaches and examines it in the section “Cultural indicators and

Cultivation Theory” (72-75). This approach aims to cultivate certain values, attitudes and behaviors of television into society through the produced content, and it does this with the cultural indicators that produce it through the media content. With these contents, with symbolic and symbolic messages, it reinforces the existing order towards the authorities, social values and it is suggested that the dominant values and attitudes are planted. Gerbner's research on “Cultural Projects”, presented in the 1960s and published in 1970, is important in that it draws a line to this. It is possible to talk about a television world that dominates the symbolic environment of people, so it is possible to talk about it in a world other than the real world.

Yaylagül (2010:75) criticizes the cultural indicators approach as follows: “television as a powerful instrument of cultural connection, just as religion did in the period before the industrial revolution.” As a natural result, the cultural indicators approach as i) the function of religion among the people with the rulers of the TV carries a dominant role; (ii) that carries the dominant function is transmitted to people through the TV where the claim leans on cultural indicators. Hall's encoding-decoding theory of communication is an example of this approach. The main objection to this approach can be seen within the framework of critical approaches. In particular, the criticism that the media only sow's cultural indicators, language and dominant values and attitudes for societies constitute the most basic motivation for this. Although the cultivation and cultural indicators approach has a structure that questions representation in the media, there are fundamental objections to these approaches due to the fact that it does not address to the historicity and dialectical relations and connections of the structure of the media (Yaylagül, 2010) .

There are many objections to the theory of cultural cultivation aimed at communication and, in particular, news. Depending on this idea, the relation between news ideology is related to the way Fowler talks about it and how social reality is presented within the framework of ideology and representation through linguistic practice (Fowler, 1985,p.64). In this context, language emerges as the reality for the construction of social practicality. This thought draws attention to a very important relation and leads us to the concept of distorted reality presented through this news.

If we think about distorted reality through refugees, which are one of the main motivations of the study, distorted reality; increasing hatred in society can be directly related to discriminatory discourse. When we apply this to the example of refugees; it is associated with presenting a world of meaning to the masses that is not genuine with certain selected formulations. As a concrete example, showing refugees trying to cross the

border in masses as carrying the potential of “criminal” is one of the relations established between news ideology and representation. For this purpose; Çavuş draws attention to the two basic dimensions of hate speech created or reinforced through news. The first of these is; “The allegations spread about state aid to Syrians are made using discriminatory language”, and the second is “Misinformation that spreads allegations that Syrians have committed more crimes by being criminalized, that is, more crimes” (Zehra Yıldız's news, 2019). Based on Yıldız's news, the two dimensions of hate speech mentioned by Çavuş are important in terms of revealing the critical side of the news understanding that shows refugees trying to cross the border by criminalizing, criminalizing them through news. In parallel with this thought; according to the 2017 Hrant Dink report data⁸; Syrian refugees are the groups that are subjected to the most hate speech through the news and the hate speech is reinforced on them. This report reveals the 25 groups that produced the most hate speech about ethnic, national and religious identities in the written press in 2017. Therefore, the relation between news and ideology is the reproduction of a distorted reality produced through the mainstream through Syrian refugees through hate speech. This creates social, sociological and communicative concern, and most of all, the concept of news from the human dimension requires to be viewed with suspicion.

The necessity to look at the news with suspicion is related to the relation between news, ideology and reality. Yurdağül associates this with the concept of media reality in his study, while Tokgöz explains this in parallel with the fact that journalists are doomed to make sense of events while reporting (Tokgöz, 1987,p.55). While journalists produce news, they also produce a number of meanings. The first dimension of this was the distorted reality. It is possible to think of it as manipulation (for this see Talu, quoted by Rigel, 2000,p.179), a presentation of the truth by distorting it backwards. The second dimension of the relation between news ideology and reality can be considered as fictionalized reality. Regarding this, Yurdağül (2011:20) exemplifies the social effects of the emphasis on “terrorism” in the news. The reality experience and judgment of the audience or the news reader about the relevant subject are directed towards the reality presented by the messenger. Therefore, a world of perception and meaning about reality and news is created through the fictionalized reality. When this idea is applied to the example of Syrian Refugees, it is “criminal”, “criminalized”, “disrupting order”, etc.

⁸*Medyada Nefret Söylemi ve Ayrımcı Söylem 2017 Raporu*. İstanbul: HDV Yayınları. March 2018.
Access:https://hrantdink.org/attachments/article/1265/Nefret_Soylemi_rapor_kapakl%C4%B1_web_2.pdf.
March 2018

fictions are essentially aimed at creating meaning in the mind of the news reader. This, in turn, stands out in terms of shaping the nature of hate speech, which is reproduced through refugees in the relation between ideology and social reality. There are studies that show that it is inevitable that this will turn into public discourse. Yıldız (2019) states this as an emphasis on the suspect's Syrian identity when reporting incidents such as theft and rape in the mainstream media. In other words, this situation reinforces the world of meaning towards the "criminal" through the mainstream media and causes hate speech to come to the fore through the news. According to Schiller (1993), this relation between news and ideology in the mainstream approach corresponds to the function and purpose of directing perception.

This relation between news and ideology is important in terms of the established in academic studies. While academic studies that deal with refugees-news-ideology relation as an epistemic problem in the mainstream focus on dimensions such as distorted reality-fictional reality, those who examine this problem, ignore it. This leads to the problematic of how academic studies epistemically establish this relation established between news-ideology and social reality, which is the motivation of the study. The differences between the critical political economy approach and the mainstream media approaches in these academic studies, especially in the case of refugees, are epistemic. In other words, within this context, the notion of epistemic is about reflecting the knowledge of the truth. At this point, the question arises whether the news is a reflection of reality or fiction.

Mainstream approaches and the media claim that the news reflects the truth and is therefore "impartial". For example; if an academic research about news reporting entails the the problem of Syrian refugee and social reality to positive and/or neutral representation through main stream media; this can be linked to the idea of main stream approaches. However, critical political economy treats and evaluates the understanding of news in the mainstream as fiction and treats the media. This is the problem of how the relation between appearance and reality is conveyed by the news. Accordingly, Syrian refugees are presented in the mainstream media as "mechanisms of social problems (Sen, 2017,p.39). In this way, news is the reality that the mainstream media masks and surrounds in line with the dominant interests (Sen, 2017,p.39).The thesis that Syrian refugees presented in the mainstream media are the reality masked by the mainstream media and surrounded by its dominant interests leads us not to the reflection of reality, but to the fiction of reality. In some studies, this is confirmed through the conceptualizations of "loss of reality" and "barbed language". (Yerlikaya 2019) The problem of the fiction of

reality turns into the loss of reality in the mainstream press in the case of refugees. Yerlikaya emphasizes that in the information age, when perceptions precede reality, the creation of fake news and content for determined audiences with the micro targeting method is important from the point of view of manipulation strategy. He states that this situation is due to anti-immigrant populist policies and social media environments that produce false content aimed at immigrants (Yerlikaya 2019). According to Sen, alternative media is the media understanding that does the opposite and reveals the main reality, not perceptions. Based on Sen's discussion just given, this kind of media especially leads us to a refugee reality that is not masked and distorted. She mentions that a real alternative media understanding surpasses this (Sen, 2017).

Political economy is another epistemological approach to communication because it seeks the questions about how to get the knowledge of communication. Marx (1973) is critically engaged with the question of political economy and he criticizes classical economy as it is epistemologically lack of analysing political and social structure embedded. At the next section, political economy approach to communication as an epistemological approach will be revealed.

3.4.3.1. Political Economy Approach to Communication

In studies that deal with mass communication and the information it produces within a political and economic approach on the axis of production distribution and consumption, news is treated as a product of capitalist production relations in the mainstream. In this approach, the ownership structure, which includes elements such as property relations, production and distribution, is considered as determining the structure of the news. The nature of the economic-political approach is also based on this ownership structure, and understanding the nature of this ownership structure makes it necessary to reflect on the problem internationally with a historical and political approach.

For Mosco; “political economy as the intellectual description for a system of production, distribution, and exchange, political economy meant the social custom, practice, and knowledge about how to manage, first, the household, and later, the community.” (Mosco, 2009, p.22). Therefore, the idea already reveals the relation between distribution, production, and consumption. This is also linked to progress of political economy approach to communication and Mosco refers this as follows: “The

political economy approach began by concentrating primarily on the production side of the communication process by examining the growth of the communication industry and its links to the wider political economy” (Mosco, 2002,p.70). One of the influential contributions to political economy to communication has been progressed by Smythe.(1960) Smythe (2012) describes the relation between media and capitalism and he refers that what media institutions sell to advertisers is audience. Irfan Erdoğan evaluates such a critical political-economic approach to mass communication theories under the following headings:

- 1) Those who deal with the political economy of communication at the national level and study the capitalist communication system and its activity;
- 2) Approaches that focus on the international economic order and imperialism in communication (those that study the general communication structure of neo-colonialism or imperialism) (Erdoğan, 2007,p.160).

In these studies, the researcher follows an epistemological understanding that tries to understand the intellectual context of the superstructure in the news by evaluating the news in the context of production relations based on the infrastructure. The epistemological and methodical approach to communication that Erdoğan is talking about is the critical approach itself. Before proceeding to the approach of representation, in which they focus on the criticism of the critical method, it should be how the relation between object and subject, event and person is approached, which allows us to return to Marxism, which is the main theoretical basis of the method.

The relation between knowledge of the world and consciousness emerged only with the reversal of Hegel's idealistic conception of history. In other words; Erdoğan states "the world is not intellectual or spiritual, it is material in its nature and origin" (2007:157). Naturally, the knowledge of things points to a world reality itself that is independent of our consciousness. The relation between the object-subject, event and person in the news stands out in terms of being a problem related to the nature. Similarly, Çiler Dursun, in her article “Haber ve Habercilik/ Gazetecilik Üzerine Düşünmek” (2008), an element pointed out by the critical method in the news, which is the nature of truth and the relation between the news and the messenger. In a way, it explains the dominant view established by this reality by exemplifying the liberal approach to ideology about why it is necessary to be critical. According to Dursun, news is really beyond being a text that takes place somewhere outside of us, based on the assumption that the information it contains is

absolutely objective, unbiased information. The following answer of Dursun constitutes the basic essence of the criticism of critical approaches towards liberal approaches.

The guarantee of the journalist's professional performance is provided by the distance he shows in his approach to the events and people that are the subject of the news. In the meantime, with the generally accepted ethical principles of journalism, the quality of the product that the journalist has and the work he/she has done can be reviewed and questioned. It is believed that the journalist, just like a "mirror", is able to reflect or reflect information about an existing event and phenomenon. This approach to news and journalism is called the liberal approach. It constitutes a set of concepts that includes the starting point of liberal approaches, news values and journalistic professionalism codes (Dursun; 2008,p.69-70).

What Dursun is talking about, and emphasized by Erdoğan, is the epistemology itself between news and news information, in the relation between those who produce news and those who think about them. In the liberal approaches mentioned by Dursun, this epistemology is the assumption that the news is a mirror of the truth in order to maintain the current claim of "objectivity" within the framework of the profit-loss relation of the news.

The critical approach focuses on the fact that the news is a reflection of reality and problematizes it, she states this with the following statements:

These approaches, called critical approaches, look at the fact that the news are texts that reflect the truth as it is, and the messenger is only an intermediary between the event and the public. Critical approaches, especially at the beginning, emphasized that since the media operates in a capitalist society, reflecting certain class interests, "there can also be no objective and impartial journalism" (Dursun, 2008,p.70).

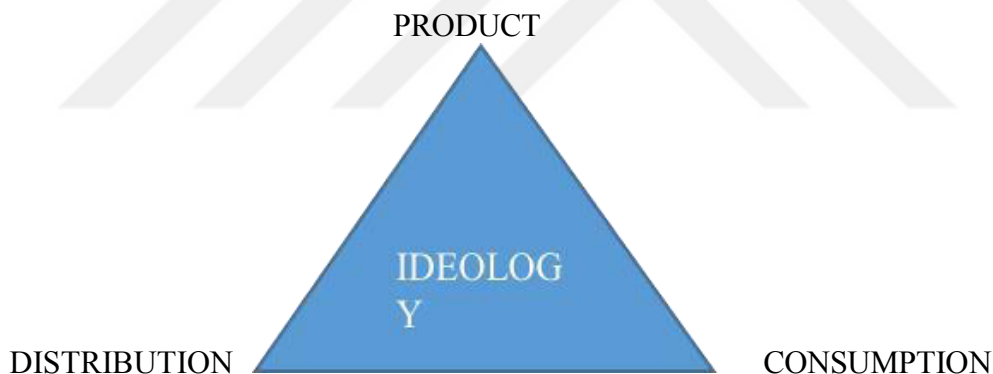
Dursun's example to explain the nature of the critical approach is the dynamics of capitalist communication, which falls into what Erdoğan mentioned above, naturally, critical theories are based on the theoretical basis of criticism of liberalism behind capitalist communication. Therefore, critical approaches are shaped by Dursun based on two main problems: i) evaluating the social production of news in connection with the class interests of media owners ii) dealing with problems related to the nature of the truth. Accordingly, a study that looks critically at the news follows these questions:

1. What is the historical connection between capitalism and the related media?
2. What is the event that is the subject of the news and how is the reality and the truth behind this event produced and transmitted through the news?

Critical approaches aim to reveal the connection between reality, news and the thought produced through news. Inherently, the news seems to contain a number of questions and motivations related to production, consumption and distribution based on these questions. In this context, critical approaches focus more on the nature of this tripartite process. While

news is an area studied in the liberal understanding, except that it is a process and result of capitalist production relations, such an understanding of journalism and its main problems are centered in the focus of critical approaches. Instead of being a real and free space in the triangle of production-distribution and consumption, the pursuit of the question of how the mainstream reflects what is done through a critical political economy approach, which leads us to question about the ethics of news and journalism.⁹İnal mentions that the liberal understanding of the press develops a negative, dogmatic understanding of freedom by excluding the discussion of media interests organized through market relations (İnal, 2010,p.37). As a result of this, İnal draws another conceptual framework for the news approach, which is the methods and way for liberal approaches and critical approaches that addresses the issue of freedom of the press. The ideology line drawn by a capitalist media also makes itself visible through the relation revealed by the production, distribution and consumption relations for İnal.

Figure 1 Production Process of Ideology Through Media



This is, according to Golding and Murdock (1979), the capitalists' control over the production, distribution of thought. Their worldview also establishes hegemony over societies through media control, this is domination, ideological domination. In a similar way, Özer mentions that the ideological practices in the news are shaped depending on the socio-cultural economic structure of the news as the dominant discourse, and that the structural and discursive formation of the news does not coincide with the liberal-pluralist media understanding. “The capacity to act objectively in understanding and conveying

⁹ Since this discussion is not included in the scope of this research, it will not be discussed in detail, but it is important in terms of drawing attention to the problem in the context of news reporting.

social reality” (Golding & Murdock *ibid*,p.94)¹⁰ as mentioned in the liberal-pluralist media understanding that has the claim, it is the fact that the news cannot put an objective narrative, on the contrary, critical methods show that it is structured and transmitted within a social-historical, economic and even ideological narrative. The fact that it is the historical-economic and social narrative that structures public opinion coincides with the fact that critical media understanding positions the relation between news and ideology outside the claim of objectivity and impartiality of the dominant narrative.¹¹ When the discussion of ideology and news is further deepened, it goes to the question about the right to access equal and free communication, which is one of the most fundamental rights of the individuals who make up this society and exists in the modern world. Keane in the study of democracy and media,¹² has problematized the role and function of the media in today's modern liberal pluralistic societies. In particular, it follows how liberal pluralistic democracies, in today's sense, imposes an instrumental role on the media as a continuation of a project that controls the production of political class power for societies. Modern capitalist methods play a major role in reproducing certain ideologies through news. Especially considering the studies examined on the example of refugees, nationalist ideologies, on which racist, discriminatory, antagonizing discourses are based, constitute one of the pillars of this. Within the framework of the capitalist media understanding, nationalism and conservatism are at the forefront of ideologies that need to be reproduced and reproduced and the relevant ideology is presented within the hegemonic structure that needs to be consented on. An important example is the doctoral study of Şerife Çam (2006) titled “Epistemological and Methodological Problems About Ideology Approaches on Media Studies” for the establishment of pure ideology related to epistemology in the media and a study focuses on this center. In particular, through the relevant doctoral

https://www.academia.edu/39272568/%C3%96mer_%C3%96zer_Haberde_Egemen_S%C3%B6ylemin_Yeniden_%C3%96cretimi_T%C3%BCrk_Bas%C4%B1n%C4%B1nda_T%C3%BCrkiyedeki_%C4%B0ranl%C4%B1_Muhalliflerle_%C4%B0lgili_Haberler

¹¹ Objectivity and neutrality are units of expression with two different conceptual areas. In this context, it is possible to make out how the critical media narrative, as opposed to the dominant media narrative, is shaped through opposing readings of the public sphere. For this purpose, working class media and alternative media practices and studies can be followed, especially in the transmission of objective data by working class media, the presentation of data that fall between social reality and news is directly involved, while the discussion remains outside this axis. When the historical nature of the oppressed classes is examined, it is based on the fact that the working class is a party due to the production relations in which it exists.

¹² <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1992.tb01816.x>
<https://docplayer.biz.tr/20667679-Medya-calismalarinda-ideoloji-yaklasimlarina-iliskin-epistemolojik-ve-yontemsel-sorunlar.html> (PINE's work)

research, different approaches about how reality is reshaped through news are investigated. Based on the study, the news is monitored by method and is related to each other. And, in short, by Çam's research; the idea of news is directly related to how the media studies have established an understanding of ideology at the center of their approach to the news.

3.5. An Overview Of Academic Studies In Turkey Regarding To Syrian Refugees In The Field of News (Between the Date of Syrian Civil War 2011 and 2019)

Social conflicts and political transformations that have been gone through revealed the need and impact of communication between societies and the States. In her research, Ateş (2016: 218-219) summarizes this need of communication in the frame epistemological, historical, social and political and technical. Accordingly, needs to seek answer through these fields have revealed the needs of communication. The communication itself is not only restricted with means of communication but also social, political and cultural values of the relevant societies and domains. This signifies the idea that communication itself already includes too many disciplines. The related studies made in the World have not only been restricted to communication field but also they are derived from the field of sociology, politics, psychology, economy politics to comprehend the problems and answers them. Especially after 1950s the studies in the field have been progressed, yet it is known that communication studies in Turkey started thanks to Ahmet Emin Yalman and his research with the topic of press history and titled "The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press" and it was presented in Columbia University in 1914 (Tokgöz 2014; Aziz, 2006). However, after 1950s, journalism Institutes have started to be opened. This historical progress regarding to communication field is tightly connected to economy-political and sociological progresses and transformations experienced by societies. Then, academical research regarding to the changes and transformations reveal parallel line with the changes and transformations lived in the World.

3.5.1 The Academic Dissertations Regarding to Syrian Refugees in Turkey

Within parallel line of the historical aspect, in the following section, in terms of Syrian Civil War and the starting year of it, it will be revealed that how academy approaches the relevant questions in Turkey. The question about how Syrian refugees' being questioned in the academic studies in Turkey is significant in this part. Within this aim, it is also prominent that how Syrian refugees and their problems are stated in communication research and of course as it is not possible to put forward all studies regarding to the problem, it will be tried to critically question main dominant aspect within the research and the problematic aspects of these research will be put forward. In order to understand the problematic aspect of these research, firstly it is important that what kind of research there are regarding to the question. Relevantly, the thesis and the academic papers published since the starting of Syrian Civil War will be followed.

Although wars, economic, political and social situation of Middle East and primarily Syria are not a new issue, Syria and refugee crisis has been prominent in last decade. Throughout the history going back to 2500 BC. , Syria has been always dynamic region but after Civil War, due to sociological, political and cultural changes; the attempts to understand the region have increased. Within this context, there has been a lot of written academic thesis and paper about Syria regarding to field of sociology especially after 2010s of immigration processes. However, before this date, Middle East and Syria has been mainly prominent in the research of Politics and International Relations. When the data is taken into consideration, it is observed that there has been 365 master and doctoral thesis written related to Syria between 2011- 2018. This result has been reached by seeking Syria term as a key through official

internet site of “YÖK¹³.” Nearly 176 of them are in the field of International Politics that means that most part of these thesis are in the scope of this field. The other prominent fields are political sciences, sociology, history, education sciences, psychology, archeology, public relations, linguistics, Turkish language, geograph and etc. Only 20 of them belong to the field of communication studies and most of these thesis is about the representation of framing Syrian refugees in media. In the scope of this research, especially, the study how Syrian refugees are framed in the news has been prominent in order to put forward the communicational aspect of the problem by means of text and discourse analysis.

3.5.2. An Overview and Analysis of Academic Thesis Written About the Syrian Refugees in Turkey Between 2011- 2019

In this section, the dissertations that are made in the field of communication studies are followed and questioned to contribute the studies made about news reporting within different epistemologic aspects. The relevant dissertations have been found as a result of writing *Syria* as a key Word and by means of search engine in the page of YÖK and accordingly it has been determined that there are the dissertations regarding to communication field. These are the dissertations that have been written about Syria in Turkey between the years of 2011-2019. Two main points and criteria to choose these dissertations have been significant firstly these dissertations should have been related to Syrian Refugees in Turkey; secondly they should have been in relation to the field of news. In accordance with this, some key concepts are sought through the dissertations. These key words are *Syrian*, *Syrian Civil Wars*, *refugees*, *asylum seekers*, *immigrants* and their correspondences in Turkish language. There have been 16 dissertations reached and 4 dissertations out of them have not been accessed as they have been restricted. According to results of the research about key concepts, it has been determined that 4 of these dissertations mention the term “*Syrian Asylum Seekers*.” The term of *Syrian Refugees* are stated through 3 dissertations among those searched. One of the relevant dissertations is about *Syrian Child Immigrants* and 1 of them is about *Syrian Turkmen*., 1 of these dissertations include the issue of *Syrian Sunni Opposing Groups* though 1 of them is about *Female Fighters: Kurdish Woman* in Kobane. Although 3 of these dissertations state *Syria Crisis*, one of them state the problem as a *Syrian Civil War*. 2 of these

¹³ “Ulusal tez merkezi. ”YÖK. <https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/>

dissertations take the problem into consideration with the term of *Syria News*. *Syria crisis* is stated in one of the left four dissertations and two of the left ones emphasize the problem as *Syrians* and the one left is also about *Syria*. All dissertations made between the years of 2011-2019 about Syrian Refugees regarding to communication field is somehow related to the field of news. Mainly these studies are connected with framing, representation and discourse in the media about Syrian refugees and the motivations of them are very connected the idea of how they are represented and reconstructed in media.

Table 2 The theses , dissertations and key concepts

Key Concepts	Syrian Asylum Seekers	Syrian Refugees	Syrian Child Immigrants	Syrian Turkmens	Syrian Sunni Opposing Groups	Female Fighters: Kurdish Women in Kobane	Syria Crisis	Syrian Civil War	Syria News	Syrians	Syria
Number	4	3	1	1	1	1	4	1	2	1	1

Table 2 above shows that main key concepts about the issue and by means of which key concepts the dissertations are framed, therefore it has been observed that the problem has been mostly determined by means of the concept of *Syrian Asylum Seekers* and *Syria Crisis* and

them secondly, the term of *Syrian Refugees* comes. Accordingly it is significant to understand how research in their studies attach these terms with the problems itself. Within this aim, in this part two questions below will be sought through:

- 1- How do researchers approach the problem through relevant studies and what is their motivation? By which methods do they investigate the problem?
- 2- What do they conclude in these research regarding to the problem by means of their methods?

These two questions above will be mainly show the main perspective of the research and how they relate the problem in these research, yet it is not enough to understand the main world view embedded in these research due to the fact that philosophical discussions will make the motivation to be resolved in the following parts. The years between 2013-2019 are the years in which dissertations have been published. Firstly, the relation between problem, aim question, method and conclusion will be revealed and quoted from these research.

The first dissertation titled *International media representative of Syrian crisis: A Sample TRT Arabic, Rusya Today, and USA Alhurra* was published by Saleh Ayyad as master thesis in 2013.

Problem: “The media has turned into one of the conflicted apparatus owing to the fact that media had effect on the starting point of Arab Spring and the progress.”

Aim: The effect of countries’ political attitudes on media regarding to international problems.

Questions: The following questions are relevant to the research:

How is the characteristic feature of the relation between diplomatic/ political policies of the countries and media in the context of international relations connected? What kind of relation is there between national interests and international journalism? Is media supporter of national interests of countries in term of international relations- is it ideological/ propaganda apparatus- or is the function of media to make an independent journalism? How is Arab Spring in general and Syrian Crisis in primarily represented in news bulletin of Alyawm of Russia, in Alhura of the Usa and in TRT Arabic of Turkey?

Method: The Content (Quantitative and Qualitative) and Discourse Analysis

Conclusion: As a result of the research, it has been determined that media policy which three channels follow is clearly connected to the political approaches of countries which they are

related to. This is a natural situation and moreover, it shows that national interests of a country are tightly connected to media policy and to primarily international.

In Ayyad's dissertation, it has been observed that there has been no part explaining the notion of nation and political economy structure of the channels to answer the questions above which are exactly related to the relation of national states and media.

Second thesis titled *War journalism; An Example of internal conflict in Syria* was published by Müge Karabağ as master thesis in 2014.

Problem: How the media is shaped in Syrian Civil War and how the notion of news is used as a war propaganda and how partial journalism in war journalism is carried out.

Aim: To put forward that whether objective journalism is possible in embedded journalism.

Questions: Is objectivity possible in embedded journalism?, What kind of situations do journalists come across when they are in a objective position? Is embedded journalism a real major branch in Turkey and what is the current situation of war reporters' educations and security conditions?

Method: Comparative Analysis, Text Analysis and Interviews.

Conclusion: News made related to the region were sometimes imposed a broadcast ban on and embedded journalism was overshadowed as this situation was not aligned with the attitude of interest groups. As a result of interviews made with journalists engaged with Syrian Civil War, it has been observed that embedded journalism is not enough in Turkey compared to World and it has not been appeared yet as a profession.

The study above follows a critical aspect regarding to embedded journalism and aligned with this aspect, the interviews made with journalists include this critical point of view. Yet, the notion of objectivity needed to be explained in more detail regarding to put forwarding the relation between embedded journalism and objectivity.

Third thesis titled *Hate speech in television news: Syrian refugees case study* was written by Evin Doğan in 2015

Problem: Hate Speech is a problem of democracy and human rights and it also reveals in media.

Aim: To contribute the research, studies and analysis made related to hate speech until today and to put forward the position of television journalism scientifically in the construction of hate speech.

Questions: How are hate thematic media texts or generally the hate speech in media and in Tv news fictionalized and shaped?

Method: Discourse and Content Analysis (Quantitative and Qualitative Data)

Conclusion: The issue of hate speech in media cannot be considered independent from political ruling and ideological structure. As observed in news analysis, discourses of political ruling can determine the media discourse and can effect it at least. The suggestion of the thesis is to state the need of regulation of socio-cultural fields such as law, education and primarily political area.

The thesis has a critical analysis base to put forward the how hate speech is reconstructed in media and therefore, theoretical aspect of it has also a significance to comprehend the relation between nation-state and the progress of nationalism. Accordingly, the hate speech which is tightly connected the progress of the progress of nation-state and nationalism has a specific function in media. Though it has been emphasized in the text, (Doğan; 2015,p.111-112) it is not enough to comprehend the relation between political economy structure of media and nationalism and how it has been revealed through media in the context of *Syrian Asylum Seekers*.

The fourth thesis titled *Framing of the Syria news in Turkish newspapers* was written by Fatih Erken in 2015.

Problem: The determination of what the news framings regarding to Syria news are.

Aim: To determine how framing is made in the news in terms of Syria Civil War owing to the presupposition which is the way of how framings in the relevant news' being made is aligned with the way of how people to think.

Question: Which news framings did Turkish press use in the process of Syria Civil War?

Method: The qualitative and quantitative content analysis

Conclusion: The most repeated framing in the newspapers of Zaman, Hürriyet and Sözcü which were analyzed in the thesis has appeared as Responsibility Framing. Moreover; it has been determined that Crisis Responsibility, Risk Responsibility, Political Conflict Framing, Religious Moral Framing, Economic Results Framing, International Reaction Framing, Unsuccessful Foreign Policy Framing, Depotential Framing have taken place partially in these newspapers.

Although the thesis has been seen as a detailed research owing to the framing of Syria Civil War, there is no exact conclusive aspect of the research that means it is only appeared as a descriptive research.

The fifth thesis titled *Representation of Syrian refugees in Gaziantep local press* was written by Mustafa Kovucu in 2016.

Problem: The representation of Syrian Asylum Seekers in Gaziantep Local Press is problematic.

Aim: The aim of this study is to reveal how social perception and positioning of the refugees are created via media by examining the news in the local press (Gaziantep local press) including the representation of Syrian refugees.

Questions: What is the immigration?, How are Syrian asylum seekers regarded in aligned with “legal status”?, Why do Syrian Asylum Seekers prefer Turkey and Gaziantep in Turkey?, How do ideological structure of media effect news production and the appearance of presentation in the production press?

Method: The Critical Discourse Analysis

Conclusion: The representation of Asylum Seekers is divided into as “good” or “bad” as representation and this form asylum seekers’ mass perception in all details. Social perception appear as “exclusionary”, “discriminatory”, “othering” owing to the asylum seekers and therefore; it concludes with the increasing problems of asylum seekers in the region and their not getting used to the region and not being accepted, and their problems not to be solved.

In the research it has been mainly tried to be shown the problematic reconstruction of Syrian Asylum Seekers in Gaziantep Local Press and accordingly, it has been determined that there is a dynamic relation between society, media and the increasing problems of Asylum Seekers. Yet, the problem regarding to the thesis has been still in progress which has taken place in the some former thesis which were related to put forward the relation between nationalism and hate speech in media. Furthermore, it is significant to exactly put forward how nation state has progressed historically to determine the relation between state, media and hate speech of today’s World. Therefore, the methods and concepts are not adequate in the research (Kovucu, 2016,p.64) to show the problematic representation of the Asylum Seekers due to the fact that it is very related to the methods applied in media by the dominant class. Yet, the problem has been revealed by linguistic and discursive analyses.

The sixth thesis titled *Political biases in international news: The case of CNN, Russia Today and TRT World* was written by Sherbol Zhaparaliev in 2016.

Problem: Today the states interfere to news production process, one of which is Syrian issue.

Aim: To determine the reflection of Syrian issue in the Turkish and Russian media.

Question: How do Turkey and Syria consider Syrian issue?

Method: The Content Analysis

Conclusion: The content analysis made and the thesis will guide to the issue regarding to events to reflect on Turkey and Russia press for next research.

The same problem related to some former thesis is also still in progress in the thesis. The thesis is not enough to put forward the notion of media and representation within the context of globalization as emphasized (Zhapparaliev; 2016,p.24-28). Owing to the fact that the notion of globalization points directly out the economic and historical progress of media, it has been so significant to question this dynamic within the context of newspapers determined. However, this dynamic has been ignored and secondly, it has been found problematic to state that the thesis would be efficient in the issue of how events would be represented in Turkey and Russia press (as state by Zhapparaliev; 2016,p.123) due to the fact that academic research should not be supposed to having a direct effect on the transformation and changes of political economy structure and ideologies of media.

The seventh thesis titled *The 'Badass' female fighters: Media representations of Kurdish women in Kobane* was written by Madina Aynur Benakay in 2016.

Problem: The representation of Kurdish warrior women in fashion magazines is problematic due to their becoming product of selling and popular culture in magazines.

Aim: To put forward how Kurdish warrior women are represented in fashion magazines.

Question: How are Kurdish women fought in Kobane represented in Western fashion magazines?

Method: Discourse Analysis

Conclusion: Western media could sell their ideas, thoughts, beliefs, and ideologies about Kurdish female fighters in Kobane to justify their support and their intervention in the city by way of generating myths, looking at in orientalist view, and commodifying women to remark international public opinion.

In the conclusion part of the thesis, it is stated that “media is in the culture industry, so the women are used as a product to turn into a commodity to be sold, ” moreover it is also emphasized that “Western media could sell their ideas, thoughts, beliefs, and ideologies about...” (Benakay; 2016,p.54-55) Accordingly, the notion of “culture industry” and the “media product” should be put forward in detail to comprehend and tell how media work and how these women fighters are represented in this media. The same problem which has been

observed before is still continuing regarding to this thesis. Political economic structure and the theoretical background has not been sufficiently discussed to put forward the current function of these women in magazines.

The eighth thesis titled *The satisfaction levels of Syrian refugees towards the social media of United Nations High Commissioner for refugees (UNHCR) Turkey-Jordan Example* was written by Muath AL. HASHLAMMOON in 2016.

Problem: There are various relations and problem between Syrian asylum seekers and UNHCR media regarding to media usage.

Aim: To analyze satisfaction level of Syrian asylum seekers from the social media of United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) and its efficiency in daily life.

Questions: What is the satisfaction level of Syrian asylum seekers living Turkey and Jordan for aforementioned media?, “Are Syrian Refugees (who live outside of the camps) satisfied with the Social media role (UNHCR) in Turkey and Jordan?”

Method: Survey Analysis

Conclusion: It has been observed that there has been a significant dissatisfaction among Syrian Refugees towards The Social Media of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and it was the same regardless of the location, use of the social media, year of immigration, education level, the area of employment, gender and age.

The thesis could not move beyond except putting forward the descriptive aspect of the problem which means that numbers, quantitative data have not enough to explain the problem itself and offering a realistic and original academic research.

The ninth thesis titled *Syrian women refugees in Turkey: The case study of Kilis* was written by Aslı Aktaş in 2016.

Problem: Women and girl refugees are more vulnerable than men and they face violence and all kinds of abuse at every stage of their journey.

Aim: To seek an answer to what should be done to overcome a victimization of Syrian women refugees and to increase media power to explain the situation to the public. The aim of thesis is to analyze current problems and discuss the adequacy of current opportunities to overcome this victimization.

Questions: What should be done to see the efficiency of media and to increase the power of it to make the public being aware of crisis rightly?

Method: Field research, Interviews

Conclusion: Syrian woman refugees are abused in many issues and they have been facing more difficult situations compared to men. The aids which have been done and measurements taken are too insufficient to overcome the women's suffering. It should enlighten that prejudices about women are to be eliminated.

The conclusion part of the thesis is prominent owing to suggesting policies in the context of Syrian women refugees and the notion of awareness has become a significant dynamic of the thesis. Yet, it is not enough to explain why the language and discourse of media related to the women is so discriminating, eliminative and accusive is. The connections within the context of relation of media, discourse and Syrian women refugees have been weak to put forward the main bases of the problem and to determine a original thesis.

The tenth thesis titled *The experience of Syrian Turkmen society and the Arab media's views on the Turkmens*. was written by Kadriye Ayrik in 2017.

Problem: It has been very few to be known about Turkmen society although they have a very big role in all political, military, artistic, scientific and cultural fields.

Aim: To try to analyze different views on Turkmens through the related news in media and to introduce Turkmen society in Syria from different dimensions.

Questions: Who are the Syrian Turkmens?, Where are they coming from?, How are they located geographically?, What did they go through in Syria?, What is their role in Syrian revolution and what is their current situation?

Method: Media analysis

Conclusion: Turkmens have taken place in various television channels especially as a result of Turkish Republic's making them a current issue. According to Arab media, Russian bombardment has completely erased some Turkmen villages from the map.

The thesis put forwards a critical aspect owing to the policies and social conditions of Turkmens, however, it is unclear that which method has been applied to determine this conclusion. It has been observed that there have been no concrete media analysis to strengthen the issue which signs out that there has been problem about the methods in the text.

The eleventh thesis titled *Perception of asylum seekers in Turkish press* was written by Abdi Erkal in 2017.

Problem: The relation between media in Turkey made news regarding to Syrian asylum seekers have not a direct effect on molding public opinion.

Aim: To determine how Syrian asylum seekers are perceived in Turkish press and how they are reflected to and how this perception is matched up with society's perception.

Questions: What is the reflection of Syrian asylum seeker perception on Turkish society which Turkish press has reflected? What is the press' talent for molding public opinion?

Method: Content and Discourse Analysis, Survey

Conclusion: The presupposition regarding to Hürriyet and Sabah newspapers' being unsuccessful in the issue of molding public opinion about Syrian asylum seekers and the basic reason of why Turkish press has not molded public opinion on Turkish society is related to ownership structure and the sovereignty of ruling in the context of press-ruling relationship in Turkey.

In the last part of the thesis, there has been a criticism owing to the relation of press and ruling in the context of ownership relationship and how it is reflecting on media in the context of Syrian asylum seekers and accordingly, it has been questioned how state policy works about this problem. Although it has been very significant to see the problematic structure of the relation between media, state policy and ruling; it has been not enough to explain and put forward how this relationship exactly work.

The twelveth thesis titled *Representation of Syrian asylum seeker children in the Turkish press* was written by Merve Şentöregil in 2017.

Problem: The civil war in Syria and the following refugee crisis occupy a greater place in Turkish public agenda and children are the most suffered group in this period.

Aim: To put forward how Syrian asylum seekers have been represented in Turkish media.

Question: How Syrian asylum seeking children are represented in the Turkish media press.

Media: Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis, Content Analysis

Conclusion: The representation of Syrian asylum seeker children in Turkish media has been observed to be ethically problematic as in the examples of common child representation in media regarding to discriminating/stigmatizing discourses in judicial news. The language of news is not able to present background information and solution suffering in terms of a problem which Syrian asylum seekers have been experiencing. It has been also found problematic that dramatizing/narrative has been often applied and there was no emphasis on rights of children and the image poverty, which has been mainly encountered in the representation of refugees, has been also prominent in representation of children asylum seekers.

Although the research has been important within the terms of data and representation codes about Syrian asylum seeker children and how they have been represented in media, it has been found as contradictive regarding to conclusion remarks. The research conclude with the idea that the newspapers have had mainly positive perspective about Syrian asylum seeker children, yet they represent these children problematically and within limitations. This conclusion remark bring out the question of how this could be possible .

Moreover, the right based journalism regarding to the child issue and the increasing of awareness has been pointed out as a solution. Secondly, it has been thought that new research about different broadcasting associations and media platforms would be significant. However, the basic contradictions regarding to the problem has not been sufficiently explained throughout the thesis.

The thirteenth thesis titled *The representation of the Syrian immigrant children in mainstream media* was written by Bilgehan İhtiyar in 2017.

Problem: The representation of Syrian asylum seeker children in main stream media of Turkey has been found problematic. Topics, which could bring them back to normal life like education, health and social activities were not represented adequately.

Aim: To put forward how Syrian immigrant children were shown in news after baby Aylan's Picture and to determine what kind of changes this situation has created in news representation of Syrian asylum seeker children

Questions: How are Syrian immigrant children represented in national media? Does main stream media use photos of the asylum seeker children for pointing out the problem of them and finding a solution forh the problem or only for benefitting from them by means of victimizing and dramatization.

Method: Discourse Analysis, Semiotic Analysis

Conclusion: It has been observed that media has not progressed a responsible journalism understanding regarding to Syrian asylum seeker children and it has always repeated itself. Syrian asylum seeker children have been represented in the frame of some stereotypes and only victimization of them was present. Their identity and bodies have been presented and no perspective has been determined in the context of finding solutions for their problems in terms of positive policies.

The thesis include criticism owing to the problems of Syrian asylum seeker children and how they are represented in main stream media in Turkey and moreover a criticism related to rights of children has become prominent. Yet, throughout the progress of thesis, it has been

observed that it has been insufficient to understand the relation of immigration and policies of states. In order to put forward international immigration policies, it is significant to state international political theories regarding to the notion of immigration. Accordingly, neoliberal political theories are significant theoretically to understand how the notion of immigration and asylum seeking have historically developed. Furthermore, it is also important to comprehend how media works as profit that has been one of the main question of the thesis. As a result, though the thesis has been found illuminating regarding to criticisms which have been put forward at conclusion, it has been found inadequate to state theoretical background aligned with questions asked.

The fourteenth thesis titled *Examples of media use in Turkey as a religious effect and propaganda vehicle in the supervision of foreign warranty of the sunny imaginary groups in Syria* was written by Bülent İstanbullu in 2017.

Problem: The organizations use the media as a means of propaganda in determining foreign warrior and they also use Islamist terminology such as jihad, martyrdom, Islamic state as propaganda discourse.

Aim: To analyze the discourse of religious based organizations- active in Syria and having effect on our country- which they use for effecting foreign warriors. It is also aimed to research their motivations and the effect of religion and analyze the rightness or reasons of the discourse and to evaluate the usage of social media tools.

Questions: What is the general structure of opposed groups, their propaganda methods and how are they- especially ISIS which is the biggest organization among them- using media?

Method: Documentary Survey Method

Conclusion: The opposed groups in Syrian Civil War have constituted their propaganda based on hypothesis pointing out that the war has transformed into jihad. They have been spreading this discourse by means of written and visual media tools and by reinforcing ideologues' views and religious texts. The fact that more than thirty thousand foreign warriors participated to this Syrian civil war has shown that this propaganda method and religious narratives have mainly become successful.

The thesis has been prominent regarding to issues and divisions discussed throughout the research. The main issue of the research is related to the relation between Syrian civil war, religion and media, therefore these three dynamics have been main elements to be discussed. However, it has been observed that there has been no factual and historical theoretical

grounding owing to how religion has progressed historically. In order to understand the nature of war and how religious idea has spread among organizations and people in Syrian Civil War, it is so important to make a historical analysis which emphasizes firstly the historical progress of religion and then its connection with wars throughout history.

The fifteenth thesis titled *Viewpoint the Iraqi newspapers about Turkey during the Syrian crisis* was written by Ali Akbar Kashoor in 2015.

Problem: The perception of Turkey and whether the attitude about Turkey has been reflected on Iraq press positively or negatively is significant issue.

Aim: It is aimed to analyze and to evaluate in the study that how generally Turkey's foreign policy in Middle East and especially attitude for has been presented in Iraq press in the context of transformations in Syria. Moreover, it has been also aimed to put forward whether the perception of Turkey in Iraq press has been reflected positively or negatively.

Questions: How has the policy followed by Turkey in Syria crisis-its attitude and role of crisis- been perceived in Iraq *Essabah* and *Ezzaman* newspaper of Iraq press, especially in news and columns?

Methods: This research is a kind of descriptive survey model and the content analysis method has been applied in the research.

Conclusion: Throughout the representations made by some writers, Turkey has been reflected as a ally country with the policy followed in Arab Spring that support the legitimate rights of suppressed Arab people and standing for them and opening the border gates for refugees by respecting human rights. There has been two different opinions in *Essabah* and *Ezzaman* newspapers related to Arab Spring. Though "*Essabah*" newspapers has regarded Arab Spring as a negative fact, *Ezzaman* newspaper has considered Arab Spring owing to the fact that it has been a uprising of suppressed people against to tyranny.

Though the research has not been directly related to the notion of Syrian refugee, it has been prominent within the terms of Syrian crisis. Throughout the research, it has been observed that there has been important data regarding to Syria issue, however the main problem throughout the research, it has been only restricted descriptive aspect. Furthermore, these data have been observed not to be actually interpreted which mean that they have only stayed as data. Yet, the nature of a academic research is underlying the idea of the fact that it should be interpreted critically and historically within the relation of theory and practice and their connection, dynamic each others.

The sixteenth thesis titled *Migration and refugee problem: Investigation of social mobility with frame analysis method* was written by Berfi Yıldırım in 2017.

Problem: The problem in this research is that ideological serving of immigration and refugee in newspapers that the World and Turkish public opinion is very interested.

Aim: To analyze the effects of process in Turkey starting with Arab Spring and causing Syrian Civil War and how they have been reflected on press and to analyze the representation of news published in the first papers of news reporting.

Questions: What is the ownership structure of the newspapers regarding to the contents and photos used in the news of first page? How do newspapers manipulate society and how do they affect the way of society's thinking among the serving of news by means of the language they have used?

Method: The Framing Analysis, The Content Analysis

Conclusion: It has been concluded that violence and conflict contented news presentation have been mainly applied in the newspapers- *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet-Yeni Şafak*- publishing in national period in Turkey. The ownership structure and ideological background of the newspapers effect identities of news and even the dimension of them.

The thesis includes the question about ownership structure of the newspapers and its connection with how kind of framings and contents these newspapers use. Therefore, political economy structure of these three newspapers called in the thesis-*Yeni Şafak*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Hürriyet*- is significant to follow the answer of this question. However, when the thesis is analyzed in detail, it is easy to see there has been not his kind of analyses regarding to the ownership of these three newspapers which means that the research has been weak to answer the most important question (Yıldırım, 2017,p.47) and to offer a concrete conclusion including the connections and Dynamics regarding to the question. Furthermore, in the conclusion part of the research it has been put forward that violence framing has been the one which has been main prominent frame in main page of the analyzed newspapers related to immigration and refugees throughout these years (2011-2016), on the other side, the frame of economic problems has been the least news made in the newspapers. The second problem of the research is related to determine to put forward about why these framing have been applied or not applied. It has been not put forward why though some framings have been chosen to be news, some framings have not been.

Furthermore, the five thesis which had been restricted for access before or not published yet were reached in November, 2019. Two of them were mainly concentrated on the war and

media within the context of Afrin Operation and Syria civil war. Yet three of them were mainly about the representation, representation of Syrian refugees in main stream media, the news language and one of them was about seeking the possibility of an alternative media regarding to Syrian refugees (see Türkkol, 2019). Through these research, the notions of Syrian asylum seekers, Syrians and Syrian refugees were used and content analysis and critical discourse analysis were applied to the news related to problem. It can be stated that there are 15 dissertations total which were directly about Syrian people in Turkey and news in the context of war reached through the process .

3.5.3. The Analysis of the Theses

In the context of the research, the master and doctoral research in the field of communication studies regarding to issue of Syrian Refugees have been regarded as first sample of the research. Aligned with this, the starting year of Syrian Civil War has been chosen and the dissertations published between the years of 2011-2019 have been analyzed. Related index of YOK website, the relevant dissertations have been reached, which have been accessible and authorized and only one of these dissertations is a doctoral thesis. Almostly %90 percentage of the theses and dissertations investigated are critically engaged with the question of Syrian refugees and the news. Nevertheless, very few theses historically focus on the problem and try to build the problem on on materialism and production relations, media industry and ownership and these are Erkal's, Doğan's and Yıldırım's research. Though almostly %90 percentage of the thesis consider main stream's perception and representation of Syrian refugees problematic, almostly %30 of the theses try to build an inclusive epistemological approach to the relation between news, ideology and Syrian refugees. Relevantly, this data indicates that theses are mainly lack of Marxist economy political and historical approach to the relation. Secondly, this data can be also linked to Sayer's alleged thoughts on the relation between social reality and research objects. In other words, Syrian refugees are considered out of historical reality in relation to news through most of the theses investigated. For this, Sayer's emphasis on "science's being not a thing but a social activity and practice" (Sayer 2000: 16) can also be applicable to the main motivation of this research and this is about problematic epistemology in building the relation between social reality, news and ideology through the academic research investigated.

Table 3 The rates of field about theses and dissertations

Department	Number	Percentage
Journalism	5	33%
Media and Communication Systems	4	22%
Radio Tv Cinema	3	20%
Media and Publication	2	13%
Public Relations and Publicity	1	6%
Communication and Social Transformation	1	6%

The dissertations which have been analyzed throughout the research were written mostly between the years of 2013-2017. It has been observed that most of them (6) were written in 2017 and then 2016 (4) follows it. Among the year of 2015, the dissertations were written and in the year of 2014 and 2013 two dissertations were written. These dissertations were reached by seeking the term of “Syria” in YÖK (Council of Higher Education) website between the years of 2011-2019. Besides, it has been observed that most of thesis belong 2017 and furthermore, there were also dissertations written in the field of international relations, history. The reason why the term of Syria has been sought in website has been due to restricted research related to the issue which means that there are only a few dissertations taking Syrian Refugees as actors among research. The dissertations written have been mainly in the field of Journalism and the secondly; they have been Media and Communication Systems field and then Radio, Tv and Cinema and etc. They were mainly about framing and content analysis regarding to how Syrian Crisis and the issue of Syrian immigrants and refugees have been represented in media. The question in terms of representation has always been prominent issue asked throughout the dissertations accordingly, the language used in media has been significant means to answer the questions asked. The framing, the content and discourse analysis have been main methods throughout the dissertations, yet; it has been observed that there has been no actual theoretical grounding of political economy owing to these media associations researched as samples throughout the dissertations. That is the reason, most of

these dissertations have been restricted the problem of language which have been used in the determinant news. The matter of who or what the main actors have been throughout these dissertations are stated in the table below.

Table 4 Main representation terms in theses and dissertations

Main Representation terms in Theses and Dissertations	Number	Percentage
Syrian Asylum Seekers	4	25%
Syrian Refugees	2	13%
Syria Crisis	2	13%
Syria Problem	1	6%
Syrian Civil War	1	6%
Immigration and Refugee Problem	1	6%
Female Fighters-Kurdish Women	1	6%
Syrian Turkmen Society	1	6%
Syrian Child Immigrants	1	6%
Syrian Sunni Opposing Groups	1	6%
Syria News	1	6%

Above, it has been observed that main term which was the subject of the dissertations has been the term of *Syrian Asylum Seekers* and then secondly, *Syrian Refugees* and *Syria Crisis* come. Furthermore, the problem has been framed throughout the dissertations with the terms of *Syria Problem*, *Syrian Civil War*, *Immigration and Refugee Problem*, *Female Fighters/Kurdish Women*, *Syrian Turkmen Society*, *Syrian Child Immigrants*, *Syrian Sunni Opposing Groups*, *Syria News*. It has been determined that there have been 11 different prominent framing categories which were used through titles of dissertations and throughout

them, most of which were *Syrian Asylum Seekers*. The term of *Refugee* has become second framing notion applied three times through the dissertations, yet the last framing notion used was *Immigration and Refugee Problem*. Moreover, it has been determined that the problem has been mainly discussed throughout dissertations within the context of Syria not in the context of Syrian people as suppressed subjects in the dissertations. Methodologically, it has been not actually observed that Refugees have been main and first narrators in this research, furthermore the question of why there has been the term of Refugee is not mainly questioned to determine the grounding of the notion. The content and the framing analysis have been restricted to put forward the problematic language usage in news regarding to Syrian Refugees.

3.5.4. Academic Papers Published in Journals Related to The Issue of Syrian Refugees In The Field of Media Studies Between The Years of 2011-2019

This part is so significant to put forward the main motivating sample of the dissertation. In order to theoretical and philosophical grounding of these academic research, firstly it will be shown that which these research are and what is discussed in these research. In this context, the index of Syrian Refugees/media has been researched in Google Academic. There have been nearly 880 refereed papers that have been founded as a result of researching the indexes of Syrian Refugees and Media and furthermore, it has been observed that the term of Syrian and related research have been included. Therefore, the research has been firstly limited with the determined indexes: “Syrian refugees, media, news reporting, Turkey, newspaper, news” and 342 results have been reached. Furthermore, the term of “article” has also been added while researching and after, there has been 339 result reached. At first sight, it has been observed that these research have been very linked to restructuring of Syrians in the news owing to racism, sexism and how they are represented not only in dominant main stream press but also local press. The notion of representation and construction have been supposed to be prominent throughout the research, accordingly political discourse and speech in

the newspapers regarding to the Syrians have been presupposed the main motivations of these articles. It has been also observed that there have been more articles written about Syrians compared to the dissertations and it has been seen that academic articles have been prominent in years between 2013-2017, which has been the same years which the dissertations have been concentrated and published. The terms of “Syrian Civil War and communication” have been added to restrict the research regarding to the main central points. After, it has been 114 research found in the website that have been reached as a result of indexing the terms of “Syrian refugees, Syria, civil war, media, communication, news reporting, Turkey, newspaper, news, article.” Nearly 90 of them has been articles, the left ones have been reports and books. Besides, the population of the issue is very broad, yet the sample of the research has been limited to the determined terms above regarding to Syrian refugees and related academic articles written in the communication field and news.

Nearly, there has been 114 academical texts found regarding to the terms above and 58 of them have been observed to have a direct connection and premises within the context of Syrian civil war and issues of people seeking asylum after Syrian civil war which means that almost half of these research are mainly related to Syrian civil war and dynamics and problems of it. The left ones have been seemed to also related to war and migration notions, however it is not enough to be aligned with the main motivative historical period of the dissertation.

Table 5 The relation Between The Main Representation Term in Academic Articles, Number and Percentage

Actors/ Main Framing Terms in the Academic articles	Number	Percentage
Syrian Refugee	19	33%
Syrians	19	33%
Syrian Asylum Seeker	10	16%
Syria Civil War	4	7%
Syria	2	3%
Syrian Immigrants	1	2%

Syria Crisis	1	2%
Syria Matter	1	2%
Turkey-Syria Relations	1	2%

The table above shows the main terms applied for framing the problem throughout academic articles both in the headlines and inside of the research. Accordingly, it has been reached that the main term to represent the problem has been “Syrian refugee” and secondly the term of “Syrians” and “Syrian asylum seeker” as following. Yet, it should not be forgotten that these have been the results of the research of 58 academic studies of 114 which have been found as a result of Google Academic internet page search. “Syrian asylum seekers, Syria civil war, Syria, Syrian Immigrants, Syria crisis, Syria matter and Turkey Syria relations” are the other terms to be used in academic articles which are in the communication and media field or somehow related to the field in order to frame the issue and problems of Syrian civil war and the people asylum seeking after the war. It has been also determined that many academic papers written were between the years of 2016-2018.

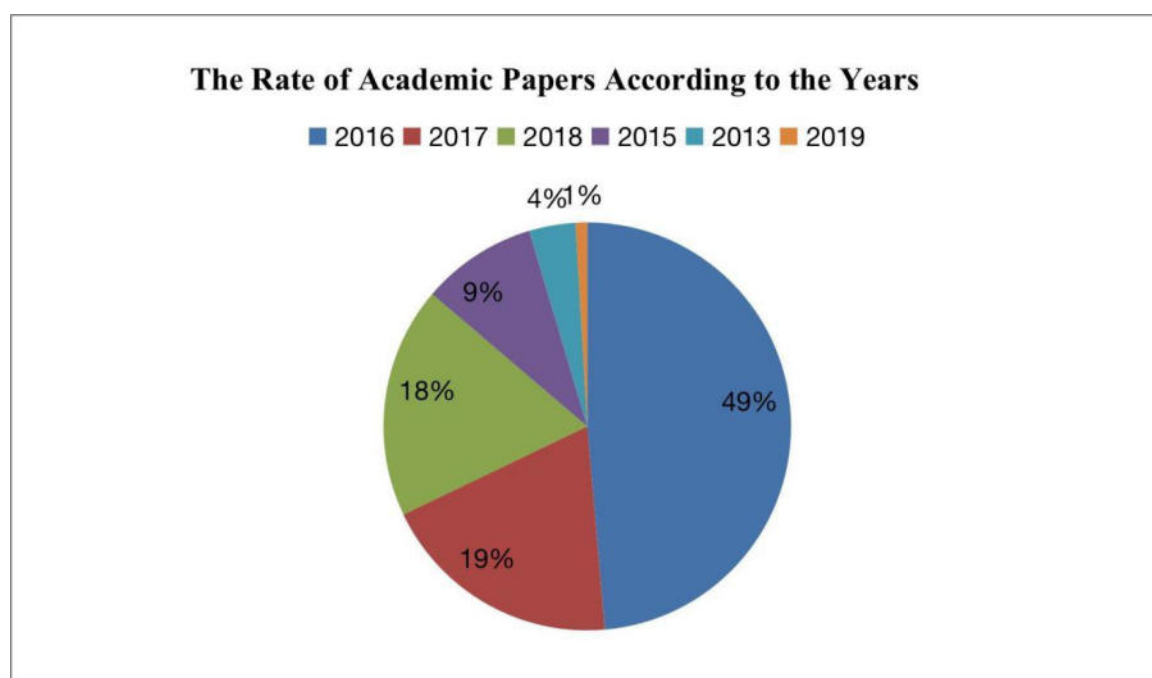


Figure 2: The Rate of Academic Papers According to the Years

It has been observed that many academic papers written (between the years of 2011-2019) which have been aligned with the sample of the research have been mainly in last years. The number of academic papers reached was 53 (2016), 21 (2017), 20 (2018), 10 (2015), 4 (2013), 1 (2019, 2014- 2011). Furthermore, it has been reached that many research were about the framing and representations of the stated people by means of media.

In other words, many academic research have been about how these people are “framed” or “represented” in news reporting that points out that many researchers about the field seek the traces of problematic representation and comprehension of the asylum seeking people. They mainly concentrate on the problems within the context of discursive aspect of how these people are framed and represented in the news. These problematic dynamics have not only been questioned in the field of news and media but also in the public area and throughout social life practices and relations between people. The main methods of these research to reach the answer of the questions have been mainly content analysis, critical discourse analysis and quantitative methods/analysis.

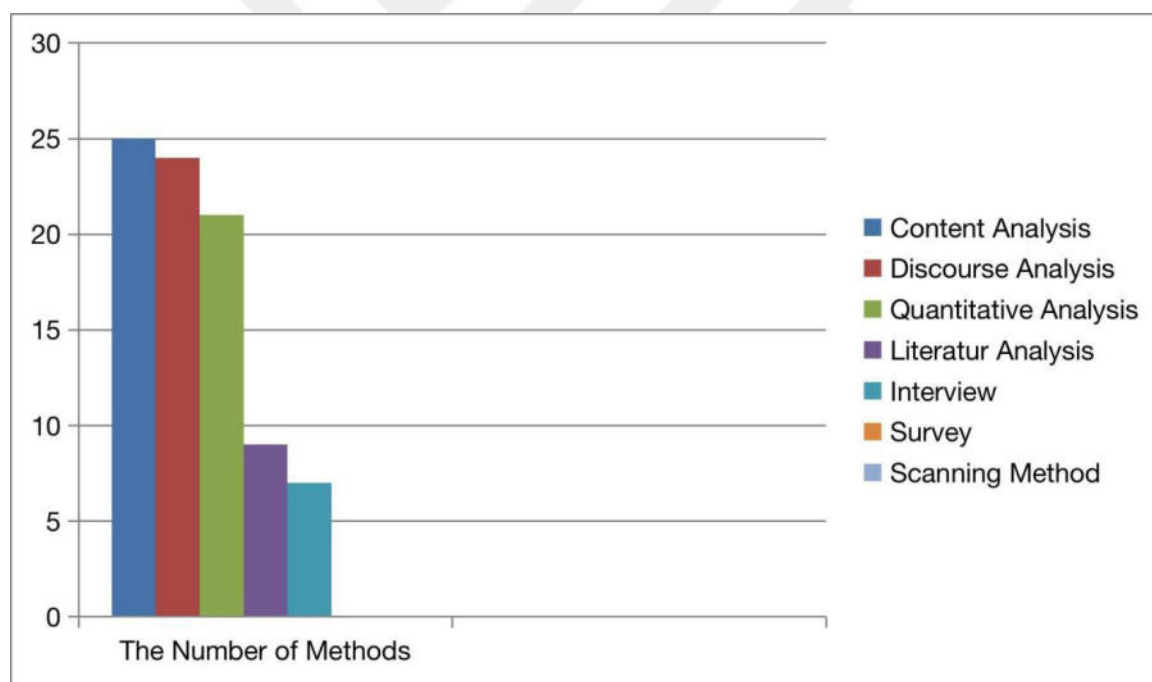


Figure 3: Methods used in academic papers

When the number of methods applied throughout the academic papers is observed, it has been determined that the content and discourse analysis have been the mostly used methods in the field of communication and media studies in order to answer the main question about how the asylum seeking people are represented in the news. It has been reached that almost 90 research of the 114 have been mainly academic papers and the content analysis method has

been applied to 25 of them. The discourse analysis method has been used in 24 of these research and then methods of quantitative analysis, literature analysis, interview, survey and scanning method have been applied through the research.

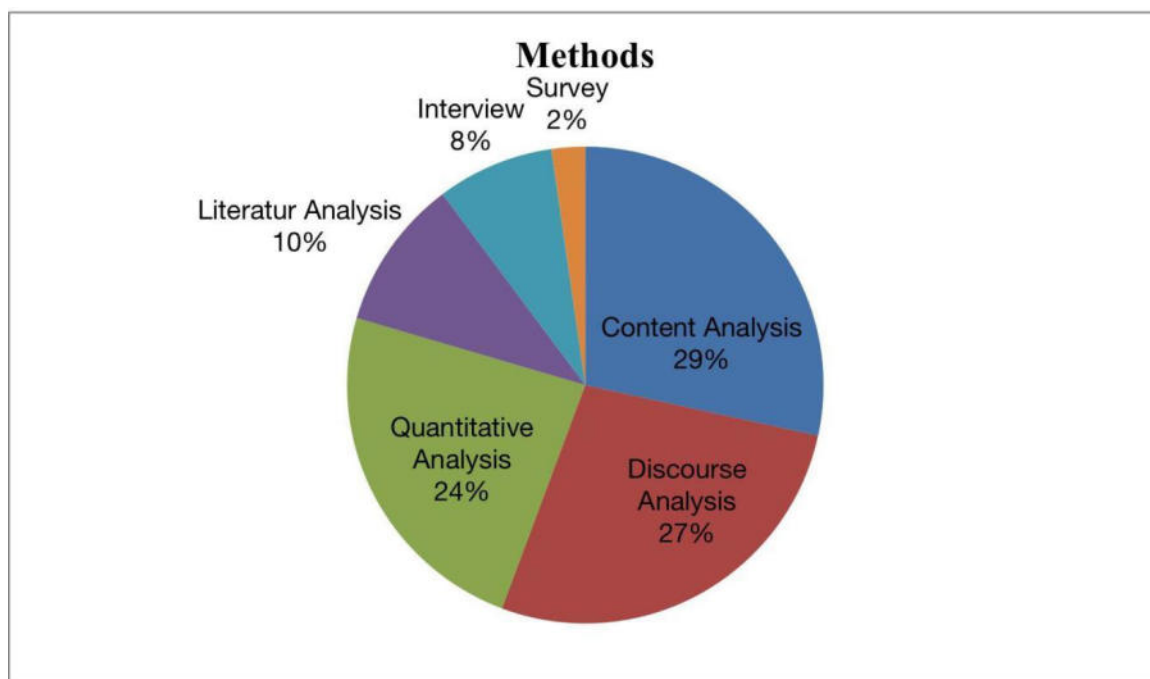


Figure 4: The percentage of methods applied

The content and discourse analysis are the methods applied through the relevant studies. These are prominent methods to determine and to show how Syrian Asylum seekers are perceived and framed in the field of communication and media. The language is main means through these research and this is significant to analyze samples within the terms of content and discourse. Moreover, it has been observed that the main samples in these research have been constituted of mainstream press in Turkey. The question about how these people's being represented in alternative media in Turkey is not the main question through these research and there has been not many academic papers focusing on comparative research in terms of mainstream and alternative media regarding to the issue. It has been also determined that main narratives in these research are not constituted of Syrian refugees' narratives. If it was within parallel line of their own narratives, this might signify the importance of empirical connections and their perception about the media. This can be one of the inadequate aspects of the research. Theoretical framework of the research followed are mainly grounded on communication field and especially they are relevant to political communication. Accordingly,

the most investigated theme through the relevant studies is observed to be the theme of representation. This is relevant to the question about how Syrian asylum seekers are represented and framed in news regarding to the discourse and content. Especially the following issues are problematized through these research: i) The discourse applied through the research and ii) the question about how the people are framed in media and for this, the idea of ideology is significant. This matters to put forward the relation between news, the presentation of people and newspapers. Furthermore, it has been also determined that there has been two separate comprehension about how Syrian refugees are represented and framed in the newspapers., although some researchers have reached the point that Syrian refugees in Turkish newspapers have been represented and framed in terms of “negative” connotations. Some researchers have reached the point that the people have been attached in terms of “positive” or “neutral” connotations in news which mean that newspapers frame Syrian asylum seekers within the context of positive meanings. Two aspects regarding to the research are very distinctive and very contradictive when researchers’ two different comprehension are considered. Especially, the academic articles suggesting that Syrian refugees in Turkey have been “represented” in terms of positive perspective in newspapers of dominant media have also mainly connected the idea of refugees’ representation as being victim and poor within the terms of neutrality and positivity. Furthermore, it has been concluded that the representation of Syrian refugees in terms of “poor” and “helpless” in the newspapers of Turkey has been seen to be related the stereotypes of European newspapers. Moreover, it was reached that almost 44 of the 144 academic research have been about the representation, Syrian refugees and media that could be concluded that a few of the research made are mainly about the media and news field. These number has been reached as a result of indexing “Syrian refugees Syria civil war media communication news reporting Turkey newspaper article.” Nearly 37 of these 44 research are academic articles, left ones are mainly book parts. When considered in terms of framing of Syrian refugees, it has been reached that the issue of Syrian refugees and how they are presented in media has been critically approached in many articles. Besides, the most of the articles have concluded that the people have been represented and framed negatively and they mainly concluded that Syrian refugees have been discursively regarded as “victim”, “passive”, “illegal”, “the subjects making trouble,” “poor,” that means the people are mostly framed within the context of victimized and discriminating discourse. According to researchers, this discourse in the news- which are in dominant press and newspapers in Turkey having the most circulation numbers and which are read mostly- has been reproducing

the problematic situations and experiences about what these people been going through and this results in reshaping the public opinion about Syrian refugees.

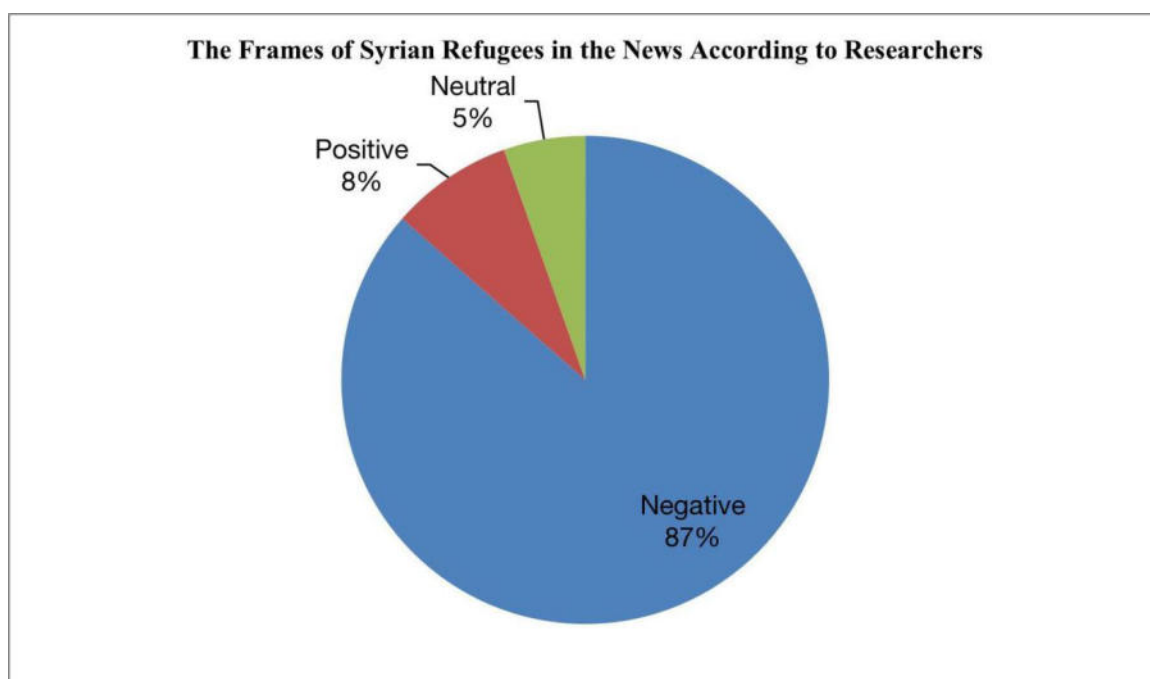


Figure 5: The Frames of Syrian refugees in the news according to researchers

3.5.5. A Short Overview Related to Academic Articles In the Field of News About Syrian Refugees

It has been determined that through 32 academic articles, researchers have put forward the idea that Syrian refugees have been framed negatively and problematically through the news. Through 3 of these research, Syrian refugees have been considered as positively framed in main dominant Turkish written media and 2 of these regard them within the terms of neutral representation.

Though there have been many academic articles owing to problematic and negative framing and representation of Syrian refugees, it has been observed that there has been a few studies regarding to unproblematic and neutral representation of them. Furthermore, the themes within the terms of how they are being mainly represented are mainly related to victimization and problematizing aspect which are connected to the notions of “we”, “they”, “other”, “trouble”, “problem”, “illegal”, “guests”, “economic burden” that reconstruct the victimization by means of newspapers. According to many academic articles, Syrian refugees

have been mainly thematized in the main newspapers within the context of unwanted foreigners, the ones making trouble, others creating the economic burden to the country, the ones who are tend to crime and illegal actions, war deserters and stormy petrels. They have been observed to be in the borders of acceptability and exclusion, accordingly the critical aspect of these researchers have somehow signed out the questions of right-based journalism and human rights that are very bound to discriminative ideology and its reproduction by means of media and news. Especially in the situation of violence and its examples and reflections of news, it has been much more vivid to comprehend contradictive aspect of the issue. Due to the fact that relation between society, newspapers and subjects of the news are prominent to understand how ideology is working, these research have sometimes questioned the issue regarding to ethical perspective which is important how the people are imaged and framed not only in terms of written language but also visual language. It is clear that all these critical research have such a big importance that they put forward the critical aspect regarding to the people and their rights. Yet, it is actually not enough to show the real problem underlying of the situation which could be more related to how the reality is problematized through these academic articles. The answer of the questions below has been observed to be not actually strong to determine the main academic motivation in these research:

- What is the main reason(s) owing to Syrian refugees' problematic and discriminative framing and representation in these newspapers?
- Why and how are these people problematized in this way through the newspapers in actual?

Two questions above sign the main reason within the relation between reality and these people and it is prominent to build a real grounding regarding to these questions. The problem about Syrian refugees and their problematic reflection through newspapers can be also regarded as cause and effect relation between ideology and representation. Is ideology and representation in this context an actual reason or do they also have an effective role regarding to reproducing the problem itself as results, too? In section 3, the analysis about the relation between news, ideology and social reality in epistemological sense will be revealed after the data is demonstrated.

3.6. Analytical-Logical Philosophy Analysis Of The Research And Data

The academic research have been observed to make a direct emphasis or an imply the problematic representation of the people through Turkish main stream media. Inspired by Sayer's perspective, these academic research have been analyzed.

Figure 6: Schema of Research Objects

Through these research it has been determined that they are inadequate regarding to the relation between knowledge and practice about the issue and the method especially stemming from the model above determined as theory and fact which is actually seen as below by Sayer:



Actually through the research analyzed, fact as things or states of world parameters are replaced by negative representation of Syrian people through main stream press in Turkey without putting forward the facts as things or states of the world though their motivations are based critical aspects about determined news. If the models are compared carefully, it can be easily reached that negative representation of Syrian people through main stream/ dominant press in Turkey does not correspondence what Sayer points out by fact which is facts as things or states of the world. Based on the notions of facts as things or states of the world, negative representation of the news is put forward to point out (facts as things)-news as fact or the cause, process of the Civil War and being "Refugee." In other words, through all of these research investigated, there has been no link found related directly to states of the word, war or Refugee and therefore, it can be determined that Syrian refugees in Turkey seem to have been tried to be understood without any empirical, observational or factual knowledge - interviews. Accordingly; though the image of real objects of the research have been the

images of Refugees actually, only the news has been determined to appear as “Image of real objects” of the research and, constructive meanings, suppositions, results regarding to the research which have been structured mostly based on the news to comprehend the real object problem. Yet, the missing point of reaching the ideology and how it actually appears through these research does matter and therefore, a possible model of ideology can come into the stage.

The ideological appearance through the research above by means of relation between sense-reference and conceptual-empirical through analytical and logical philosophy analysis has an important position. If many of academic research made about Syrian refugees in Turkey in the field of news reporting are considered, it can be determined that the issues of representation, discourse, frames presented by newspapers are significant. Especially this is about Syrian refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, Syria crisis, Syria problem and Civil War, ownership structures of newspapers.

SCHEMA 3. Schema of IDEOLOGY

News- Problematic Language Representation (47 research)	Material Intercourse (Historical and Economical Relations)
Rationalism (Metaphysics)	(Idealist World View)
Materialism	Marxism

Figure 7: Schema of Ideology

Above all, based on the offered model above for the reaching ideology appeared through the research within the terms of “sense-reference” and “conceptual-empirical” dualism, it should not be forgotten that the approach and offered all models are based epistemological assumptions. Besides, it has been observed that empirical and observational aspect of these research are missing through the research analyzed in which the problem about method has appeared. By referencing from Sayer, the main missing aspect regarding to the problem can be stated within these terms: “To ask for the cause of something is to ask what ‘makes it happen’, what ‘produces’, ‘generates’, ‘creates’ or ‘determines’ it, or, more weakly, what ‘enables’ or ‘leads to’ it” (Sayer, 1958,p.23) Accordingly, these questions seem to be missing within the terms of the news and the Refugees especially when considered the questions; what makes this news happen , what produces, generates, creates or determines. These questions are based on the causal relation with the reality of which dynamics are operating to be comprehended that are not only within terms of theoretical aspect but also empirical aspect.

Although critical reality approaches the notion of reality within the different conceptualization of relation between (un) observable object and subject; social reality theories regard the society within the terms of its concrete production relations which are observed each day. Accordingly, human being within the terms of a society and critical reality aspect firstly is to be considered in the context of a ontological motivations which are very heterogeneous and unobservable events. These (un) observable things and how human gets and relates the knowledge with society and reality is also linked to how a researcher perceives idea of person in the context of society and reality. This is also inseparable from the categories of rationality and empiricism directed to the notion of “Refugee” and related issues about it. Suppose a researcher sees X (Refugee) and wonders about his or her experiences and thoughts regarding to the question about what the main reason of his or her being refugee is. And this researcher might ask a question about what the refugee’s main problem is and this would mean that as a researcher, s/he is engaged with relevant observations by means of social interactions. This might be one of the ways how a researcher gets the knowledge about the issue of refugee and relevant questions. Probably this way would not be sufficient to reach the relevant knowledge. Besides, if the researcher wonders about the reasons and differences about X’s being refugee from Y’s not being refugee, s/he also needs some historical analyses due to the fact that s/he would like to put forward social reality and the relevant domain. Yet the differences between social reality and representation are prominent to signify the critical and social aspects of reality and the question about how to observe and to relate the society with knowledge. Besides, though some of the research made about the issue explicitly or implicitly claim that they are critical in terms of putting forward Syrian Refugees’ negative representation through Turkey main stream media, subject X (the Refugee) does not actually speak through all these research that signs the validity of problem. Sayer refers Bhaskar’s following statement: “Criticism cannot be reasonably limited to false ideas abstracted from the practical consequences in which they are constitutive, but must extent to critical evaluation of their associated practices and the material structures which they produce and which in turn help to sustain those practices” (Sayer, 1992,p.40, referring to Bhaskar). Furthermore, Sayer gives the example below in this part which can be also considered in terms of Syrian refugee issue discussed through this dissertation:

Likewise an account of South African society would not be **explanatorily adequate** if the constitutive meanings concerning racial superiority and inferiority that inform and are objectified by *apartheid* were not criticized as false, although, of course it would have to be acknowledged (it is true that) they are held. (Sayer, 1992,p. 39-40).

The problematic relation between the sense -reference and conceptual-empirical framework in terms of Syrian refugee problem shown by means of analytical-logical philosophy analysis applied above reveals two main issues below regarding to knowledge.

- Historical and materialistic links and connections need to be revealed in terms of both demonstrating news process and historical background of the issue of news.
- It has been observed that through most of research there has been no interactive method made such as interview through which the main object of the research-Syrian refugees- speak.

Through this part, all academic data which are mainly related the representation, war and the people will be analyzed and then the hypothesis will be tried to test according to three-legged schema, which have been formulated in terms of dialectical and analytical method, determined above. First one of them is about knowledge, second one is about thought and Image of real objects (research objects) and the last one is ideology schema. If three-legged schema is recalled, it is linked to three subsets of social science method that is discussed by Sayer and which is a supportive approach on method and philosophy of communication for this research. The first subset is knowledge about the problem and how the researcher accesses the knowledge about the research problem, for example in terms of news reporting study about Syrian refugees, this knowledge can be accessed by means of content analysis so on. Second subset is about how the researcher considers research object primarily and this becomes relevant in relation between the news (call this thought research object) and Syrian refugees. (call this real research object) Third subset is about ideology and this is linked to main perspective and tendency in the studies analyzed. For example, the research problem can be interpreted within idealism or historical materialism. This third subset is more about how the problem is reflected upon the research analyzed.

Totally, academic research made about Syrian refugees and the war between 2011-2019 in the field of news and communication were analyzed though a few research published in 2020 have been taken into consideration. %48 of total research have been published in 2016 and then 2017 follows it with around %22. The most applied methods in these studies are content analysis (around %30 of total research number), discourse analysis (around. %28 of total number) and quantitative method (around %24 of total number). Analyzed research have been concentrated and have been found as having a direct link in the context of war and the people.

The academic research constituted of 15 dissertations and 32 academic papers have been observed to make a direct emphasis on the problematic representation of the people through Turkish main stream media. Besides 10 research focus on positive or neutral representation. Accordingly, around %82 of total research studied have been analyzed the problem in the context of negative and problematic representation of Syrian refugees and around %10 of total number has considers the problem in terms of positive and neutral representation.

Table 6. Percentage of the highest level of methods and representation use through research focused

Years	Methods	Representation
2016 (48%)	Content Analysis (30%)	Negative and Problematic (82%)
2017 (22%)	Discourse Analysis (28%) Quantitative method (24%)	Positive and Neutral (10%)

At below, all the academic research is framed in terms of neutral, positive and negative representation categories.

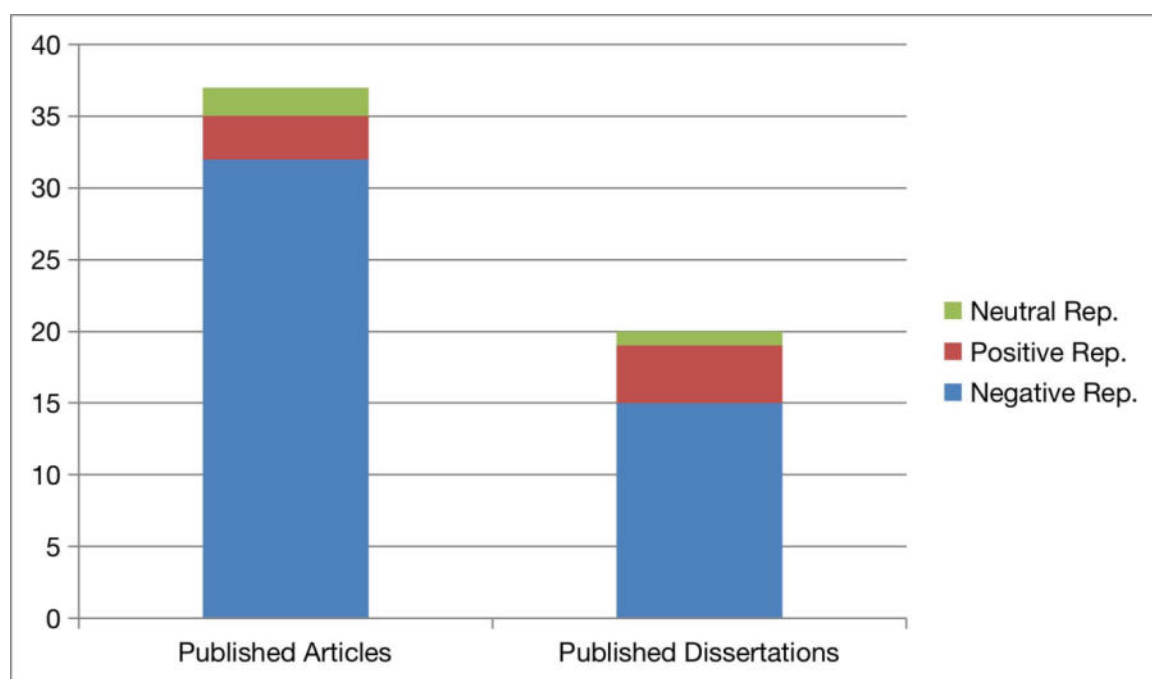


Figure 8: Knowledge and The Representation

According to the research analyzed, there have been three main knowledge conceptualizations stemmed from these studies analyzed. Syrian refugees and the war have been considered within the terms of these three knowledge conceptualizations: Negative, positive and neutral which are attached to the news and the representation, have been main knowledge motivators to comprehend the social dynamic related to the issue, society and practice in other words, Syrian society and Civil war as the objects of the research.

After analysing the academic research, it has been determined that these studies have shown that Syrian refugees are reproduced by means of negative, positive and neutral representation through news, mostly by means of main stream press. Negative, positive and neutral terms are three main conceptualizations that are prominent for news analysis about Syrian refugees made in academic research investigated. These research have mostly emphasized that Syrian refugees have been mainly and discursively regarded as “victim”, “passive”, “illegal”, “the subjects making trouble”, “poor” which also show that the people are mostly framed within the context of victimized and discriminating discourse as Doğanay and Çoban Keneş (2016) mostly discusses the problem within the terms of racist and hatred discourse by framing against refugee. According to the research analyzed, the most used framings and markers through main stream media are “we”, “they”, “other”, “trouble”, “problem”, “illegal”, “guests”, “economic burden” by which the Refugees are shown as a threatening element, in

the context of both safety and moral reason, through a discriminative language. Besides the victimization is also another framing in news determined through these research like threatening framing.

Through the research analyzed, it has been determined that the discourse and the representation are main motivations for some stereotypes, ideologies of the people for/against Refugees. This means that almost 90% of the researches investigated focus on language and representation relation. The three conceptualizations regarding to the representations became significant through these research and these are negative, positive and neutral representations. By means of these three representation conceptualizations of the news; the knowledge about the Refugees has been reached that also shows the knowledge reached has been mostly about Syrian refugees and Syrian civil war as objects of the research. Through the academic research analyzed, the negative representations through news about the Refugees have been shown and the relation between the news and knowledge has been shaped critically. The research investigated are observed to connect the news discourse with the Refugees and their problematic representation and the academic research put forward the problematic and negative discourse about Syrian refugees through news. Only limited number of research build the historical connections epistemologically and these are Yıldırım's, Tas's and Tas's, Doğanay's and Kenes's , Artar's, Aktaş's research

By inspiring Sayer's some conceptualizations mentioned at the preceding part, the academic research will be applied to the second schema, the schema of thought and real object to show the relation of theory and fact through the research. Theory is about more how the knowledge of the research question is gained and image of real objects are about which dynamics become relevant to build the relation between hypothesis and the question.

<i>Thought Objects</i>	<i>Image of real objects</i>
Theory	
empirical observational factual knowledge	fact as things or states of the world

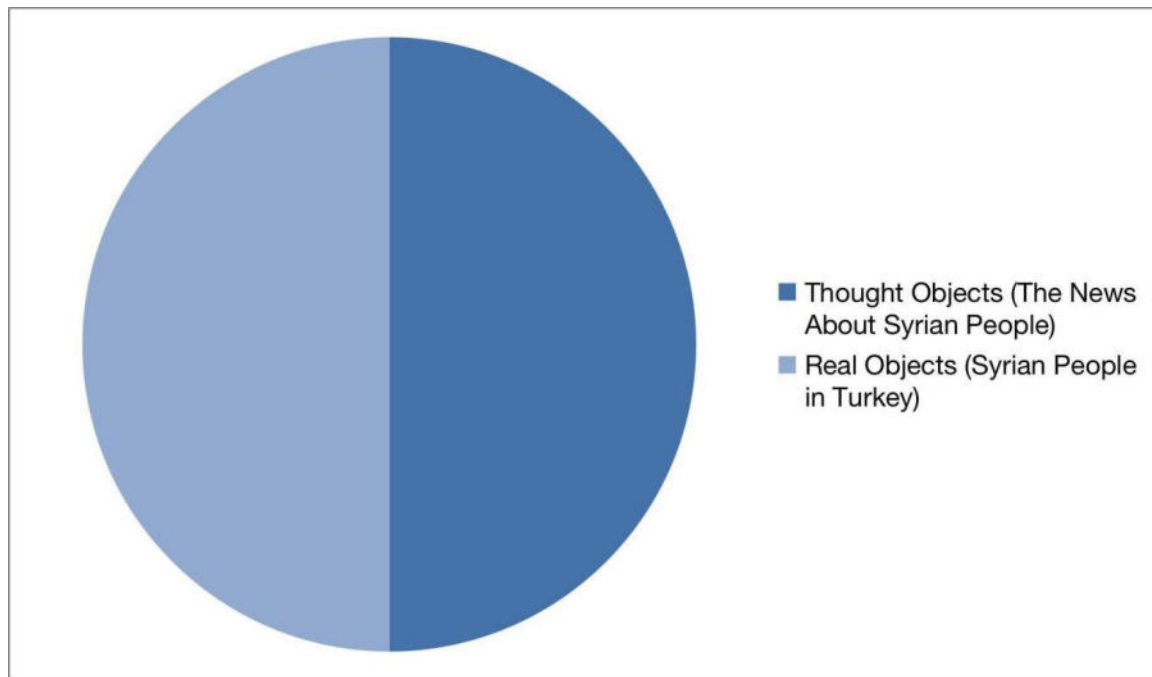


Figure 9: The ideal relational rate about Thought Object and Image of real objects

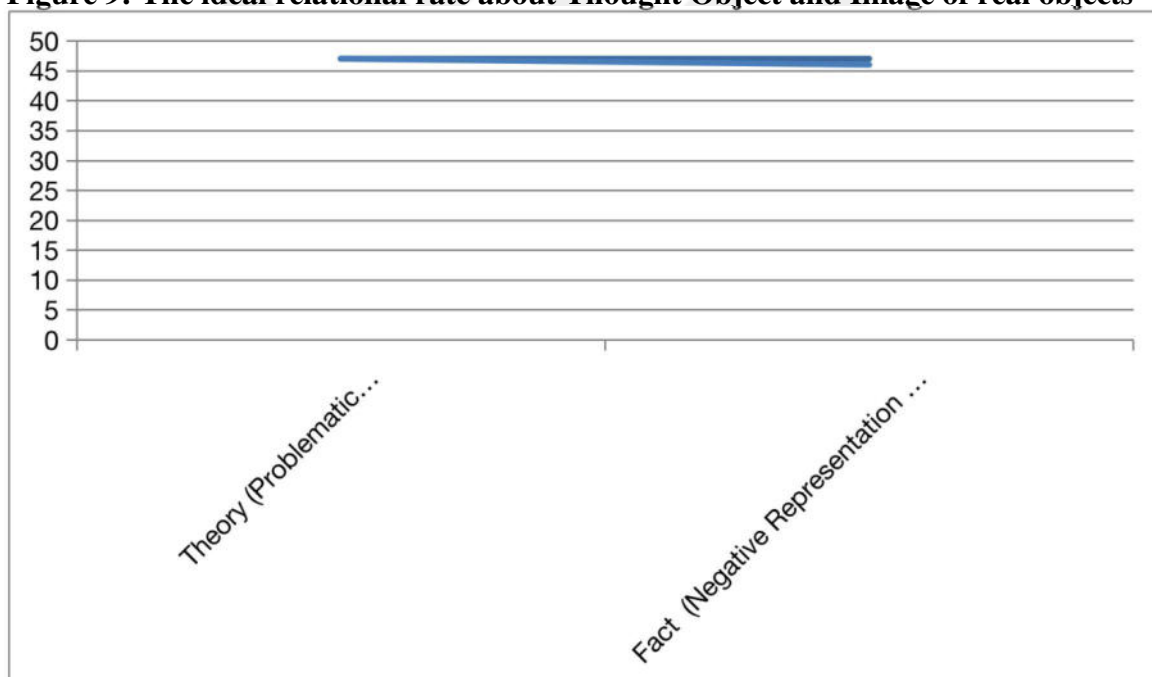


Figure 10: The relation between fact and theory in terms of representation

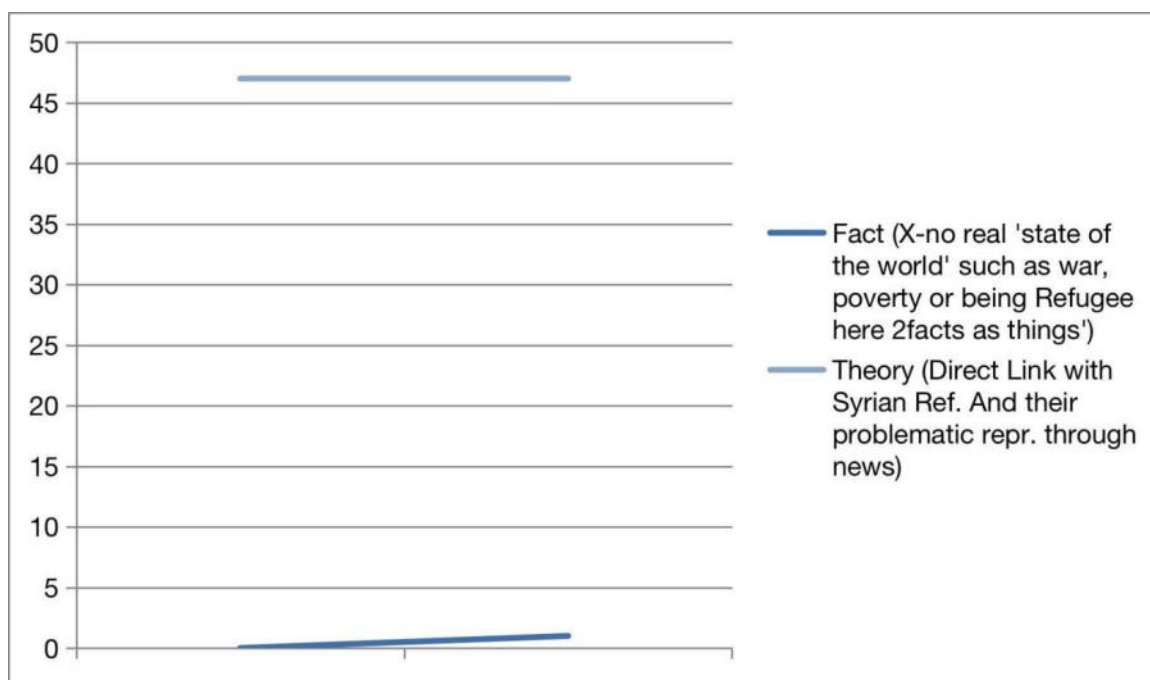


Figure 11: The rate of real and thought object

There are some research in which the Refugees in news have been analyzed critically especially within the context of their representation of being “economic burden” for the society and the State by means of the news, yet the motivations behind their being “economic burden” are not discussed through the research. Some motivators related to the notion of “economic burden” such as war, poverty and the relation with economy in the context of issue have not been clearly discussed by means of connections and related Dynamics.

After analyzing research in terms of knowledge and thought-Image of real objects schemas, the data reached after the analysis is applied to schema of IDEOLOGY.

The academic research analyzed have shown the language structure and discourse through the press, especially main stream and there has not been reached ideology discussion in detail through these research but the representation and discourse and related language and markers through the media have been main motivators in these researched analyzed. On the other hand, there has been not much determined any analysis in detail regarding to how the historicity is restructured by means of news in terms of the relation between reality and representation or economic relations of the news, though there has been some emphasis and critical aspect about “dominant class values and its pressure on main stream media” (Şen, Yıldız, p. 2017) and how the news is the own reality of dominant class which has the main stream media through media it has by means of ideology and the dominant class produces a social reality by impressing their own ideology with the discourse. (Bostan; 2018) Furthermore, through the

Bostan's research, background historical and structural knowledge regarding to be problematic news can be observed from the critical aspect. Yet the analytical relation between objectivity and neutrality of the news and its being ideological has not been formed in detail through this research. The knowledge whether the news is the representation of the own essence of fact or its representation constructed as showing the fact by distorting, covering or arguing against the fact is actually the analytical knowledge of the relation between the issue of objectivity and neutrality and its being ideological. The research investigated has shown the problematic and mostly negative representation of Syrian refugees through main dominant media by means of content and critical discourse analysis with explicit or implicit critical aspect, yet no research has shown in detail analytically the relation between the news, representation and ideology aligned how actually news operates to put forward the analytical relation of the knowledge of news, reality and ideology.

It is significant to test the hypothesis about whether it is aligned with the data obtained above and the analytical-epistemological relation between news, ideology and academic research shown. The hypothesis of the research needs to be called here. The hypothesis of this research is as follows: The general tendency of method and epistemological perspectives about the problem in academic research made in the field of news is considered as inadequate and non-inclusive in terms of the revealing the relation between social reality, ideology, news and representation regarding to the problem and social reality as it is lack of epistemologically demonstrating historical connections for both news process and issue and event of news.

The main stream media by means of its own ideology produces news, and the news is nothing else than social reality formed and reproduced by the media's own in which representation of news operates. All of the research investigated has somehow critical aspect regarding to problematic and negative representation of Syrian refugees though the notion of critical study has not been directly mentioned in most of these research.

Especially through the academic research analyzed, the notion of negative representation was main motivation in these research some of which focuses on how these negative representations and frames-Refugees' being economic burden, threat factor or their being victimized-effect people's judges, opinions towards the Refugees that also reproduces the ideology among society such as racism and discrimination by hate discourse. Ideology operating through society and its reproduction by means of media with a racist and and

discriminatory language and discourse has been also significant and this common discourse in media is effective in coming into existence of the ideological tendencies (see Kovucu, 2016; Taş, 2017 and in Part 2 in the dissertation) These research have been especially promising in order to critically comprehend the problem itself in terms of putting forward the function of the discourse reproduced through main stream media by means of news and how this function actually operates through society in reproducing and spreading the negative attitude, judgements, prejudices towards the Refugees which cannot be only limited to negativity but to ideology containing racism and discrimination towards Refugees. On the other hand, as shown in schema of knowledge, the notions of facts as things or states of world have not been analyzed aligned with its relation with social reality, news and ideology.

Through many of the research analyzed, it can be easily stated that observational and factual knowledge has been guiding through most of the research to put forward negative and problematic representation of Refugees operating in main stream media by news though empirical aspect of the problem is still lack according to schema. When the notion of Image of real objects have been concentrated- Syrian refugees as main and Image of real objects of the research-have been reached and shown by means of mostly main stream media and news by focusing its discourse towards them or attitudes, judgements reproduced by the people against them. Accordingly there is a cycle through most of the research by showing the relation between news and the discourse, the Refugees and the Society.

Thought objects are news through the analytical structure and Image of real objects of the problem questioned-which is directly attached the facts as things or states of world- are Syrian refugees. In spite of this analytical relation inspired *Method in Social Science* (1992) book by Sayer from which analytical epistemological motivation of this dissertation has been mainly formed aligned with philosophy of social science discussed in third part, it has been observed that this analytical relation through the academic research analyzed has not been directly formed in line with the analytical schema offered by Sayer but inspired by it. The news itself and representation connected to it seems to substitute the Image of real objects as shown in the schema above, though Syrian refugees are Image of real objects according to the problem and question itself. In spite of the fact tha news language, discourse, representation is so prominent that they have directly relation with ideology, the relation consisting these dynamics is somehow problematic to put forward the analytical relation as the analytical relation of “facts as things” and “or states of the world” regarding to Image of real objects-

Syrian refugees- have not been put forward inadequately and analytically but the representation and news language replaced the Image of real objects.

If we think again the hypothesis, it can be easily observed that thought objects and Image of real objects have been replaced by Syrian refugees and the news though it should have been controversially as the Syrian refugees are the Image of real objects to put forward the problem about fact as things or states of world. Accordingly, the problem about negative representation of Syrian refugees in main stream media and its producing some attitudes, ideological tendencies consisting racism and discrimination as a social realities should have been formed controversially through a analytical-epistemological schema. This is shown above within the terms of historicity of news consisting war, poverty and being Refuge as facts as thing and states of world. Besides, though some of the research have mentioned the economic production relation of main stream media with news and news production, it has not been analytically and epistemologically shown by which way or how the main stream media reaches this knowledge about Syrian refugees and what kind of relation actually and directly there is between this kind of economic production and representation and ideology. Is the representation main motivator to produce the racist and discriminatory discourse and ideologies through the people against the Refugees or is there any other motivator behind them to produce this kind of relation between reality and representation by structuring news as in main stream media with a lack of historical and economic political aspect? All these questions are directed to epistemology itself as they are engaged with validity of knowledge. All these research analyzed demonstrate very crucial problem regarding the Refugees and the relation between social reality, news, representation and ideology and, there is an inseparable relation between them which social theories should always keep it on the agenda. It is the question actually what social science actually does or what it tries to do. As Schatzki (1988) mentioned; “one principled and systematic way of proceeding in social theory and the philosophy of social science is to investigate the consequences that follow for issues in these fields from the nature of the objects that the social disciplines study” (pp. 239). In other words, the nature of the objects that social sciences study is somehow related to the philosophy of social science stemming from the questions and consequences of issues which are to be analyzed to construct a social theory.

The method at first sight brings the question of how or by which to reach the knowledge which is to be discussed and to be questioned and therefore, all ways regarding to reaching the

knowledge is directly related to method. Furthermore, the question towards the method applied especially in social science is also related to the question of epistemology which has been discussed in the part before in this research in terms of materialism and idealism. Due to the fact that main criticism and question through this research has been directed to how to analyze and to put forward the problem, it can be determined that the research is about the the analyzing scientific knowledge in the related academical studies. Furthermore, this part will be about actually how the scientific knowledge is applied through the research to put forward the problem. The notion of “knowledge” to understand the significance of method in academic way of thinking and furthermore, the four conceptualizations from Sayer (1992) and his problematizing regarding to misconceptions about knowledge will be mainly relevant. It is especially important to open a door for the motivation of the research. These are as follows and this grounded on the idea;

1. that knowledge is gained purely through contemplation or observation of the world;
2. that what we know can be reduced to what we can say;
3. that knowledge can be safely regarded as a *thing* or *product*, which can be evaluated independently of any consideration of its production and use in social activity;
4. that science can simply be *assumed* to be the highest form of knowledge and that other types are dispensable or displaceable by science. (Sayer 2000,p. 13)

If we consider the inseparable relation between the society and social sciences, the emphasis made by Sayer below are so significant that without any kind of dialectical relation towards to the nature of knowledge, it is almost not possible to understand the world. All questions attempted to comprehend the society, culture , language, politics are multi dynamics of the world and without these dimensions, the individual is difficult to be comprehended with all his/ her problems. Although the society is a continuous process, the science related to it is also inseparable continuous practical activity that is not passive through which there can be constructivist- structuralist action as emphasized by Bourdieu.(1980) If Sayer’s four conceptualizations above are considered in detail, it will be much more vivid to comprehend how actually method in science is significant and Sayer states this as follows: “one of the most extraordinary features of the literature on the methodology and philosophy of science is the extent to which it ignores practice and the way in which knowledge is involved in what scientists and lay people do.” (Sayer, 2000,p.13) This possible and major contradiction between the way in which knowledge is involved in what scientists and lay people do is maybe the biggest problematic issue when especially the possible contradiction between the

reality and the conceptualization of scientist is considered. The extraction of the science from its social activity side turns it into something passive which is something but not moving, a being, yet the science with its all dynamics seems to be something very continuous definitely consisted of social interaction. Though two main dynamics, observation and conceptualization are significant for the scientist, it would be only passive and independent supposition if it were independent from practical aspect of life and direct attachment and communication to the people. Besides, the thought regarding to difficulty of understanding people's problems and reality seems to preserve its actuality in which empiricism is approached with suspicion and then inevitable gap between scientist and lay people appear. Yet maybe the problem is not related to how to reach the knowledge but how to relate it with the society and natural science when we attach the real situations to theoretical aspect. "Science is not a thing but a social activity," says Sayer. (2000: 16) Here, three main components in terms of knowledge seems to appear for me which are related to the types of context of knowledge, reaching the knowledge and relating to knowledge. The first assumption about the reaching knowledge which especially point out the discussions owing to empiricism and rationalism and they are about the methods. Second assumption which is about the types of context is mainly parallel with what Sayer determines within these words: "Knowledge is developed and used in two main types of context-work (or 'labor') and communicative interaction." (Sayer, 2000,p.20) Accordingly, the scientist work something that is not dependent from human labor, which is a category peculiar to human being. Furthermore, due to the fact that knowledge is primarily related to social activity, it requires inevitably the social interaction which Sayer put forwards with these words stating the relation based on the language and its function:

...language cannot exist for an isolated individual who has never been socialized, for language is a both medium and product of social interaction. Propositional knowledge is constructed and expressed in terms of the concepts available in a language and we seek *intersubjective* confirmation of the propositions through communicative interaction. In scientific communities this kind of checking is highly formalized in order to strive for rigor of thought (Sayer, 2000,p.20).

Accordingly, the knowledge is a multi-category including labor and social interaction and without these two main dynamics, it is unlikely to operate:

This gives us only a very provisional, crude outline, for the two are in fact interdependent. The development of human labor from merely animal behavior requires the simultaneous development of a high level of communicative interaction through which people can acquire and develop the 'instrumental' knowledge which they use in labor (Sayer *ibid*,p. 21).

Especially the emphasis on social interaction seems to be mostly related to the notion of how to reach the daily knowledge owing to the society. Yet, the third phase of the knowledge which is relating the knowledge to the society and to practice is one of the most components of the knowledge, besides after this phase of the knowledge in terms of the way how a social scientist relate the knowledge, the ideological aspect of a research- or of the researcher in his or her research/ can be reached. Relating the knowledge into society and practice seems to call philosophical discussions about materialism and idealism both of which are about the how to practice the life and at the final phase to relate the knowledge. There are three phases of the knowledge in a social science research, and by following them dialectically; the ideology of the research can be revealed. It can be reached by means of types of context of knowledge, reaching the knowledge and then relating the knowledge that constitutes the model from knowledge to ideology. These are three steps of knowledge to reach the ideology through an ideology-based social research. This will be shown in the following section.

The relation between knowledge, social practice and ideology is an inseparable relation in terms of social science research especially for the field of news if the news production is considered. Besides, ideology is not restricted to news but very related to everyday aspect, practice and furthermore, academicians and research as an investigator can have some motivations appeared through their research intentionally or (un) intentionally. Therefore, what “ideology” is applied in this context, it is compatible with our (social researchers’) motivations, evaluations and values about specific social, political or moral issues. The ideology appeared through the research is not an independent notion from how to relate the knowledge with the practice and society. In this part, a model constituted of phases of knowledge to reach the ideology appeared in the research will be followed.

There are three phases of knowledge of the related research. By following these three phases in the research, the corresponding ideology embedded in the research can be revealed. Accordingly, the first phase is about the types of content of knowledge which is about whether its being or restricted with context-work or communicative interaction type. Second phase is about the reaching knowledge. It is about how researcher gets the knowledge about the problem. And it can be conceptual way and/ or empirical way of knowledge. Third phase is the relating the knowledge-which is the most crucial phase. This is about how the

researcher relates the knowledge with specific political and social problem and issue. For example, if a social researcher uses historical and epistemic tools to investigate a gender or ethnicity issue, it signifies s/he regards the problem not only as a conceptual but mostly as an epistemological problem. Accordingly, there should be connections and epistemic links to reveal the problem itself as there is a vagueness which operates through the problem. Third phase cannot be restricted with how a researcher gets the knowledge about the problem, as it is mainly about standards and criteria applied to the problem. Secondly, it is about the way by which those standards and criteria are applied. Three phases of knowledge to reveal the ideology embedded in the corresponding research have an inseparable relation with each other. And, they are overlapping. Drawn on these three phases of knowledge, it is assumed that there are distinction between context-work (labor) and communicative-interaction; empiricism and rationalism; materialism and idealism. Though there can be analogies between some terms, still the distinction between rationalism and empiricism is not clear. It is an open discussion.

It is an example aspect of knowledge in academical study in the field of society to reach the ideology inside which provides how everyday knowledge relates into the society and practice in actual and this could be a suggestion for the researchers interested in epistemological aspect of the research which are mainly ignored. Sayer emphasizes this within these words: “One of the most extraordinary features of the literature on the methodology and philosophy of science is the extent to which it ignores practice and the way in which knowledge is involved in what scientists and lay people *do*.” (Sayer, 2000,p.13) Accordingly, the model above can be a method to comprehend the notion of practice within the terms “the way in which knowledge is involved in what scientist *do*,” and besides it is dependent on “labor” and social interaction both of which demand actively participation process but not passively observation of external world and problem.

Human labor, unlike the behavior of animals, is conscious; the worker has some conception of the goal, the end product of the labor.¹⁴ Even when there the labor has become thoroughly habitual , this goal can be recovered. We cannot only monitor the progress of our material works, we can record and reflect upon our monitoring, discuss them with others and generate new methods, goals or projects to work on. (Sayer, 2000,p.18)

Though monitoring the progress of the material work is not adequate to produce a method or a way for social science, the recording and reflecting upon our monitoring is the way going to a method to suggest which requires an active participation process.

¹⁴ Sayer (ibid) refers this view as following “These comments on work, though less so those on communicative interaction, are derived from the work of Marx. See, for example, *Early Writings* (London 1975); and also A. Schmidt, *The Concept of Nature in Marx* (London 1971).”

The process of ‘knowing’ in this context derives a certain kind of check thorough feedback from the results of the work- not just through observing the world passively as if it were external to us, in order to see if our knowledge ‘mirrors’ it successfully- but from the results of material *activity* as one of the nature’s forces, operating within nature... In monitoring and checking the practical knowledge that we use in work, what is at issue is the success or failure of this transformation-this active ‘objectification’ of knowledge -rather than a passive ‘mirroring’ or ‘representation’ of the world (Sayer, 2000,p.18).

Accordingly, the issues about the society and social practice, knowledge is not a separable category from the society itself which means an active objectification of knowledge not a passive ‘mirroring’ and ‘representation.’ There is an undeniable relation between knowledge and practice which signifies the significance role of “everyday practice” and “practical knowledge.” By means of the knowledge way model above, except reaching the ideology of research, researcher’s participation situation to his or her research and types of knowledge such as “explanatory” , “descriptive”, “evaluative” , “critical” and “emancipatory.” (Sayer 2000:43) By explaining a social phenomena, researcher considers the society as a object of a society in which everyday practice operates and s/he relates practical knowledge into the society, everyday practice and especially when considered the academic studies above, it is determined that most of the researchers’ knowledge through the research are mostly “explanatory”, “descriptive” and “evaluative.” Furthermore, what actually is reached through the method above is the complete relation of phenomena below based on Sayer’s (2000: 23) series of dualisms or dichotomies:

people-nature

individual- society

subjective-objective

thought-action

mental-material

mind-body

knowledge-practice

beliefs-facts

expressive function of language - referential/propositional function of language

These dualisms mentioned above are the core centers of social sciences and how they are related through a research reveals the epistemological knowledge about how researcher makes her or his research and how s/he the problem conceptualizes what is investigated. By applying *The model from knowledge to ideology* to social science-especially news field through this

research- these can be reached: types of knowledge, the relation between dualisms and dichotomies mentioned above and lastly the ideology through the research. Ideology of a research in a social science can be mainly considered in the frame of two main philosophical theories of materialism and idealism and in which there are two main epistemological doctrines: empiricism and idealism as metaphysical perspective. In order to make the ideology model in a social research, the some notions which are very interdependent with the distinctions become relevant. Also, it reveals the symmetrical interdependency between the sense and reference and the conceptual and empirical view emphasized by Sayer (2000).

Two main ideological discussions-postmodernism and Marxism are main ideological motivations of the social research. Accordingly, the model above has been dialectically constituted to comprehend and to make theoretical aspect meaningful through the news research and this also matters for some dynamics about post modernism through news research. Besides, there are many post modernist methods such as deconstruction, post-structuralist and semiotic analysis, yet it should be kept in mind that the methods are not only components to determine the ideology in the research but this is also about how a researcher relates the everyday practices into practical knowledge. This relation becomes prominent to demonstrate the ideological organization and perspectives in the research investigated.

3.7. Academic Studies According To Stratified Random Sampling And Three-Legged Schema

Through this part, academically published studies will be shown in more micro level by means of quantitative method from which **stratified random sampling** has been chosen to justify the motivation of hypothesis as hypothesis is mostly about the academic studies which are about Syrian refugees in the field of news and published between 2011-2019 in Turkey. Stratified random sampling is a method which is based on neutral selection system therefore it is considered to be functional. Due to the fact that the notions of Syrian refugee, Syrian asylum seeker and Syrians are main social motivators and the issue of the research; the stratified random sampling has been chosen to justify the hypothesis. As the target population of the research is related academic studies in the field of news about Syrian refugees, the problem of research reliability can appear to put forward the consistent results with related target population by means of any other sampling method. Furthermore, systematic sampling might be chosen for the research, yet the problem of research reliability might be still there as

related academic dissertations have been analyzed chronically and systematically chosen numbers might produce problem as the chosen studies might be densely populated in a definite year (s). In order to avoid these problems, arbitrary numbers have been written to an empty paper and then micro qualitative analysis has been started which is called as *stratified random sampling* (Neumann; 2013) including equal probability within the terms of sub-key concepts such as Syrian refugees, asylum seekers, emigrants, Syrians. The techniques of probability sampling include simple random, systematic, cluster, and stratified samplings (Neuman, 2003). Within this aspect, for hypothesis motivation to justify, 14 academic studies of the related academic research have been randomly chosen among target population of the study in order one by one three-legged schema to be applied to. At first part, seven dissertations chosen randomly will be analyzed according to the three-legged schema shown before and then they will be evaluated.

3.7.1. The Theses Chosen According To *Stratified Random Sampling* To Be Applied Three-Legged Schema

In this section; 14 academic studies out of total investigated research have been chosen according to stratified random sampling and analyzed in terms of three -legged schema. As mentioned earlier three-legged schema refers to an approach toward social science. Regarding to the research, three-legged schema methodologically helps to strengthen the hypothesis and enlighten some epistemic inadequacies through the relevant researches. For this, in this section, 14 researches which are randomly chosen, are analyzed in terms of three subsets. Three subsets are three-legged schema and respectively. these are about i) how and in which way the researcher access the knowledge about the problem, and ii) the way s/he connects the problem with social reality and iii) the main perspective in the research. The first one i) is called as schema of knowledge; and the second one ii) is called as the schema of research object, third one iii) is the schema of ideology. Please see below the number of relevant academic researches according to three-legged schema as contributive approach to news reporting studies.

SCHEMA OF KNOWLEDGE (The way to access the knowledge about the problem)	SCHEMA OF THOUGHT-REAL OBJECTS (RESEARCH OBJECTS) (The relation between news and Syrian refugees as social reality)	SCHEMA OF IDEOLOGY (The main perspective, dominant tendency through the research)
Discourse analysis= (10) Content analysis= (5) Framing analysis= (2)	Thought research objects= The News Discourse Image of real objects= Syrian refugees	Marxism= Dialectical and historical perspective, economy political approach= (3) Historicalperspective partly=(4) Economy politics partly= (4)
Quantative analyses= (7) Interview= (1) Survey= (1) Multi-modal textual analysis= (1) Semiotics= (1)	facts as things= (4, 1 is partly) states of world = (4)	Idealism= Idealistic world view, perspective, no historical connections or economy politics of the news, or partly= (6)

Figure 12: The Academic Research In The Context of Three -Legged Schema

3.7.2 Applying the Elements of Three-Legged Schema To Academic Research Investigated

At the section above; it is already mentioned that 14 research out of the academic research have been chosen according to stratified random sampling method. 7 studies among them are master thesis and PhD dissertations and other 7 studies are academic paper. And the three-

legged schema and its elements which have been reformulated and inspired by Sayer's view on methodology in social sciences is applied to these research. Then, these studies are analyzed according to critical discourse and content analyses and they are tabulated. Especially, three legged schema and its importance in terms of news, reality, ideology and representation is elaborately discussed in the section 3.1.2 Therefore, in this section; scheme elements that are applied to 14 research need to be revealed and data need to be shown. For this, three-legged schema needs to be recalled. The elements that construct the three-legged schema are i) knowledge schema, ii) research object schema and iii) ideology schema. 7 academic thesis that are chosen based on the relevant method are as follows: ; Doğan (2015) Kovucu, (2016), Aktaş, (2016), Erkal (2017), Şentöregil (2017), İhtiyar (2017), Yıldırım (2017). 7 academic papers published that are chosen according to stratified random sampling method are as follows: Göker ve Keskin (2015), Doğanay ve Keleş (2016), Taş ve Taş (2018), Şen & Yıldız (2017), Feray Artar (2019), Gölcü & Dağlı (2017), Pandır, Efe & Paksoy (2016). For now, the data determined from the research analyzed according to three-legged schema elements need to be revealed. Accordingly, the first element is the Schema of knowledge. Research will be numbered and their dates of publication will not be shown as they are shown here.

Knowledge schema entails the knowledge of the problem focused through the news and how this problem is revealed through the research. Therefore this schematic element demonstrates the research investigated in terms of knowledge and method relation. 14 research have been analyzed according to Knowledge Schema and the following results have been observed. Firstly, theses will be on the stage. Doğan's thesis (I) reaches the knowledge of hate speech through national media and Tv news against Syrian refugees by means of news language analysis and discourse analysis. (II) Kovucu, reaches the knowledge of Syrian asylum seekers' representation through Gaziantep local press by means of news language and discourse analysis. Aktas's research which is third thesis (III) focuses on Syrian woman refugees in Turkey and the role of media about woman refugees and for this, Aktas interviews with 20 woman refugees in Kilis and applies an ethnographic method. Erkal (IV) applies survey method to 150 people and he follows the question about the perception towards asylum seeker in Turkish press and also, he demonstrates the news discourse about asylum seekers. Şentöregil (V) applies methods of news language and discourse analysis to reveal the knowledge about Turkish written press and how they conceptualize Syrian child asylum

seekers. İhtiyar's (VI) research engages the problem about how Syrian child immigrants in main stream are represented and the research reveals the knowledge about how they are produced by being victimized and unjustly treated through the main stream media. İhtiyar applies discourse and semiotic analyses to newspapers that have the highest circulation numbers. The last thesis that is analyzed in this context belongs to Yıldırım. (VII) Yıldırım tries to reveal the knowledge about Syrian refugees and immigration problem by means of framing analysis and quantitative analyses applied to news about Syrian refugees in three newspapers that have the highest circulation numbers.

The first paper in the scope of analyzed academic papers belongs to Göker and Keskin. (I) They apply content, discourse and representation analyses towards news about Syrian refugees in main stream press and reveals the negative representation knowledge. (II) Doğanay and Keleş apply critical discourse and content analyses and quantitative analyses to the news about Syrian refugees to reveal the construction of discriminative discourses towards the refugees. (III) Tas and Tas apply quantitative analyses and multi-modular text analysis to fake news in social media about Syrian refugees in terms of Post-Truth age and by this way, they try to reach the knowledge about Syrian refugees in the relevant context. Şen and Yıldız (IV) apply quantitative and content analyses to reveal the knowledge about Syrian refugees' representation in both main stream and alternative media. Fifth paper belongs to Artar (V) and she applies quantitative, content and critical discourse analyses to demonstrate the knowledge and relevant problem about struggle about class representation through media. Sixth paper belongs to Gölcü and Dağlı (VI) and they apply content and critical discourse analyses to reveal the knowledge about Syrian refugees as "other" through news discourse. Seventh and the last paper in this section is Pandır's, Efe's and Paksoy's research. They aim to reach to knowledge of representation of Syrian asylum seekers representation through Turkish written press by means of content analysis method and quantitative data. Some of the research investigated are not restricted with mentioned methods and data analyses while focusing on the relation between knowledge of the news and method.

The second schema element is Research Object schema and it is important to determine the relation between *thought object and real object*. Secondly, it is important in terms of epistemological aspects to reveal the relation between news and refugee through academic research analyzed. This is relevant to question about whether the research engages X news fact as things and states of the World to reveal the refugees. This relation between thought and real object through Doğan's research (I) is about the news about the refugees in national

media and Syrian refugees and it investigates the hate discourse reconstructed through the news. This is problematic as there is no knowledge about facts of things or state of the World about the schema element of thought and real object. The relation between thought object and real object through Kovucu's (II) research is the relation between the news about refugees in Gaziantep local press and Syrian refugees. This is linked to "The Refugee fact as things" and "states of the World" titles of the relevant schema but these are lack of this research. Kovucu's research reveals the negative discourse of Gaziantep local press, construction of the image and ideological operation and according to the study; this operation of Gaziantep local press reconstructs the society's perception towards the refugees. Thought object and real object is the relation that can be put forward by means of the connection between news and the refugees. The relation between thought and real object through Aktaş's (III) research reveals the relation between impact of media about the perception towards the Syrian women refugees and Syrian women refugees. For this, empirical, ethnographic and quantitative data have been applied to demonstrate the media as a thought object. Also, it has been determined that how main stream media reconstructs the discriminatory language and discourse that is negative and based on social gender roles and how this shapes society's perception. The important point about this research is the relation between thought object and real object because it emphasizes the war reality and the refugees are human beings who flee from the war only in order to survive. This is significant to relate the research problem with the titles facts as things and states of the World and this leads the research to become more inclusive. Fourth thesis is Erkal's thesis (IV) and it constructs the relation between thought and Image of real objects on the relation between society, news and Syrian asylum seekers. For this, Erkal applies survey and empirical methods. The relation between press and ruling is emphasized. The construction of Syrian refugees as reality is grounded on the relation between ruling, ownership and press and the research emphasizes that even though examined press reconstructs positive representation towards refugees with emphasis such as "brotherhood"; society's perception towards asylum seekers is negative. Fifth thesis belongs to Şentöregil. (V) The relation between news about Syrian asylum seeker children and Syrian asylum seeker children is the relation between thought object and real object on the schema. This research is significant and substantive as it demonstrates the issue about how the newspaper that has the highest circulation number covers the real problems and issues about Syrian asylum seeker children. This research demonstrates some facts behind the reality of being Syrian asylum seeker children. And also, this research and its emphasis is linked Taşbaşı's view that how

the themas such as child labors and the problem of labor are distracted from their realities and constructed by a dramatized frame by means of dominant ideology in main stream media. (Taşbaşı, 2018, p.140-141) Şentöregil (2017) focuses on main stream media that covers realities by snatching the refugees from their own realities and by this way, it reconstructs the perception of positive representation. In terms of journalism, this creates an ethical problem for her and therefore; the right-based journalism is urgently what is needed. Şentöregil's research has as a specific position as it approaches the problem and reality of asylum seeker child from the historical perspective in terms of state of the World. Sixth thesis is İhtiyar's thesis (VI) The relation between thought object and real object is the relation between news examined through İhtiyar's thesis and it is about the relation between the news about Syrian child immigrants and Syrian immigrant children. Through this research, the quantitative and discourse analyses methods are applied and the research demonstrates that main stream media in Turkey seeks profit about Syrian immigrant children. Therefore, according to the research (VI); the main stream press that constructs Syrian immigrant children in the frames of victimization and dramatization and then builds sensational representation and frame also presents bodies of immigrant children in terms of presentation of victimization. Thereby, the main stream media does not reveal the actual reasons behind the problem. Şentöregil's research like İhtiyar's research is inclusive as it signifies the relevant facts as things and the states of World. Through the research, the relation between immigrant children and the news reveals as a media research that causality links about the problem. Seventh thesis is Yıldırım's thesis and it builds the relation between thought and Image of real objects in terms of the news about immigration from Syria, Syrian refugees and Civil War. Through the research about main stream media; news framing analyses are applied and the conflict frame, morality, human interest and responsibility are among those frames. The research does not relate the connection between news and the refugees to the facts as things and the states of World and there is no relevant causality about it. This signifies problem about method.

First paper belongs to Keskin and Göker. I) The relation between thought object and real object through the research is the relation between main stream media and news about syrian refugees and Syrian refugees. The research demonstrates that Syrian refugees are framed within the distinction between “we” and “they” and they are framed as “victim”, “economic burden” and these are discourse markers. Also, the study put forwards that the refugees are ideologically represented as “scapegoat.” This research emphasizes the facts as things and the state of the World. The relation between social reality and ideology is linked to the real and thought objects and it is based on ideological structure. Doğanay's and Keleş's II) research

builds the relation between thought object and real object on the relation between Syrian refugees in main stream media and Syrian refugees. They apply content analysis and critical discourse analysis to main stream media by quantitative data. Thereby, the research has a specific place as it signifies the rational grounding of liberalism to construct reality of things. Through third paper, Taş and Taş III) seeks the idea of fake news by means of news made about Syrian refugees and its relation to Syrian refugees and this is linked to idea of thought object and real object. For this, they apply multi-modular text analysis and they demonstrate the idea that discriminatory discourse and microaggression and hate speech is legitimized to society and how they reshape people's perception by means of fake news through main stream media. The research is an inclusive study as it engages the idea of fake news to the refugees and it relates the main grounding of the problem to historical and truth aspects. Fourth paper belongs to Şen and Yıldız. IV) Through their research, they build the relation between thought and real object in the scope of Syrian refugees in main stream and alternative media and Syrian refugees. By this research, there are emphasis on fact as things and states of the World and class relations through media. Artar's paper V) is fifth research analyzed in this section. She puts forward the relation between thought object and real object in terms of relation between the news made about Syrian refugees in national media and Syrian refugees. Here, in the scope of the paper, the notion of cheap labor becomes relevant motivation to reveal how class representation and images about the refugees are shaped and also, the research is significant as it focuses on the source of this contradictory aspect. Artar engages with 17 national newspapers and the relevant news in this research. Accordingly, the reality of the things and knowledge about the state of the World; in other words; the nature of relation between the news and the refugees is attached to the idea of class struggle of media. Besides; Artar relates the problem to the idea of class representation through media. Therefore, for her, main stream media reproduces a class representation as a process of class struggle. Gölcü's and Dağlı's paper articulate the relation between the news made about syrian refugees in main stream media and Syrian refugees. They demonstrate that problematic and discriminatory representation revealed through main stream media seriously influence society's perception and manner towards the refugees. It is not determined that there is a relation between the facts as things and the states of the World analyzed in the research. Seventh paper belongs to Pandır's Efe's and Paksoy's paper and they construct the relation between thought and real object in the scope of news made about Syrian asylum seekers in press and Syrian asylum seekers. The newspapers with the highest circulation numbers at the

relevant period are chosen and the news about Syrian asylum seekers is analyzed. According to the research, there is no problematic representation about Syrian asylum seekers but there is “positive” or “neutral” representation. What actually the idea of “neutral” implies within the scope of the research is that asylum seekers are presented neither positive nor negative. The research comes to this conclusion without any relation to reality of things and states of the World. The research is highly problematic as it presents the discourse markers such as “helpless” or “threat” in terms of positive markers and they are not grounded in terms of causality. Therefore, representation markers about the refugees in main stream media are revealed as legitimized stereotypes without constructing any epistemological connection.

The ideology shema is significant as it reveals the idea that how academic studies conceptualize the relation between news and ideology and to understand the ideology of the research revealed. And this third schema element is called as Ideology schema element. With regards to this, there are two main dimensions and these are as following: i) The relation between news and ideology through main stream media. ii) The distinction between the research regarding this relation as simple fiction of reality or reflection of reality. Therefore, the research under this schema element have been investigated in the scope of two main titles: i) focusing production relations through main stream and ii) the reality of Syrian refugees that are the issue of the news. Through the first thesis, as there is not revealing of the relation between news and ideology in the scope of two titles; the relation between news and ideology is restricted with the idea of discourse. Kovucu’s thesis II) does not relate the relation between ideology and news to first title and there is no causal relation attached to ideology that is based on discursive aspect. Aktaş’s thesis III) is third research and it entails the relation between news and ideology with the war reality and the refugee. Still, it is not adequate in focusing the first title that is about production relations of news. Fourth thesis is Erkal’s thesis and this research does not sufficiently give place for two titles. Even though the research has some emphasizes on the relation between press and ruling ownership; there is no real causal relations revealed in terms of constructing the relation between news and ideology. This research does not make any emphasis on the thesis that news has a fictive feature through main stream media. Şentöregil’s V) thesis engages with the two titles as it focuses on the relation between news and ideology in terms of the question about whether main stream

media and news reflects the reality. This makes the research inclusive. İhtiyar's thesis VI) has a specific place as it reveals the reality of Syrian immigrant children in terms of the relation between news and ideology. The research is significant as it reveals both emphasizes on the states of World and links of causality. Yıldırım's thesis VII) is one of the contradictory theses. This is because the thesis does not argue two titles and it does not relate the relation between news , ideology and refugee to the production relations of media. And also, the source of problem seems to be limited with the language without deepening it into the idea of ideology. Therefore, in terms of epistemological level; the thesis has some inadequacies.

Until now in this section, it is determined that only two research (Şentöregil, İhtiyar) discuss two main questions: Does the news reflect the real? Or is it only fiction of the real? This discussion about ideology through academic research investigated continue.

Keskin and Göker I) emphasize the two titles in terms of relation between news and ideology. The research demonstrates that main stream media “ideologically” reproduces the social reality of being refugee and it signifies the construction of reality of news and ideology. In this section, second paper belongs to Doğanay and Keleş II) and they approach epistemologically to the causality relations and links between news and ideology. The research is significant in terms of revealing rational construction behind main-stream media and how they cover the reality of the refugee. The research has emphasis on two titles. Third paper belongs to Taş and Taş III) and it is an inclusive research as it puts the “problem of truth” and historicity into the center of their research in the frame of news-ideology. The research has an emphasis on two titles. (mostly on the second one) As Şen's and Yıldız's IV) research relate the news and ideology to production relations and historicity of problem; two titles are visible. As their research signifies the representation of refugee reality in main stream media is presented fictionally in the context of production relations by means of dominant class values; the research presents a different epistemological aspects compared to other research. They consider alternative media has an opposite operation of ideology. According to them, alternative media is a space where “the fact is not covered by” and refugees are not regarded as “the source of the problems.” Fifth paper V) belongs to Artar and she argues two titles in terms of relation between news and ideology. Artar discusses that the relation between news-refugees and ideology is a reflection of class struggles through media. For this, she brings the idea that ideology in main-stream media is a thought process of class struggle. She emphasizes some presentations elements used in main-stream media such as “needy” and “cheap laborer” and they are produced by main-stream news as a part of

this fiction. Artar's research is the most inclusive approach as she critically engages and reveals causality relations of production and historical links and connections about the problem. Sixth paper belongs to Gölcü and Dağlı VI) and the paper is not adequate to reveal the relation between news and ideology in terms of two titles. The reason for this; they discuss the reality of Syrian refugees through news only in terms of language aspects of news without contextualizing it in terms of inner links and connections of causality and historicity. In terms of relation between news and ideology; Pandır, Efe and Aksoy VII) follows a different epistemological path compared to Artar's research and they reason the problem in terms of a different aspect. For them; representation categories such as cheap labor are positive and this approach recalls Marx's interpretation for Hegel's dialectic method: "With him it is standing on its head." (Marx 1976, p.103) and if it is applied to the research mentioned; the reality seems to be standing on its head. This research does not construct any causal link and connection for the problem about news and ideology and therefore; it is dogmatic and problematic. Most of the academic research argue the relation between news and main stream media in terms of the fictional character of the media. On the other hand Şen's and Yıldız's and Artar's research are differentiated from other research shown because those research regards the relation between news and ideology as a natural conclusion of class character and production relations of main-stream media. They lead this epistemological relation and aspects to become visible.

3.8. Applying Critical Discourse Analysis To The Research Chosen According To Stratified Random Sampling

In this part, the relation between reality, representation and method in this 14 studies chosen according to *stratified random sampling* will be shown by applying discourse analysis method within the terms of some markers-micro and macro analysis of the researchers.

Evin Doğan, 2015, Doct. Thesis	Reality	Medium	Method
<i>Hate speech in television news: Syrian refugees case study</i>	"Television news indirectly contribute and reproduce hate speech especially in headlines, repeated	TV News	Critical Discourse Analysis

	expressions or comments and statements.”		
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When Doğan’s study analyzed, it can be determined that knowledge has been reached by means of TV news and the Image of real objects of the research is Syrian refugees and the thought object of the study is TV News. By applying critical discourses to TV News, she “aims to discover how hate speech is presented on television which is accepted as one of the most widespread and accessible means of communication.” She reaches the conclusion that

Though media is defined as means of social power and illumination by being defined as fourth power according to liberal theory, it can be determined that it has a structure having a pragmatism relation with political/economic ruling and having a direct or indirect effect on society as an ideological power when critical approach considered. Accordingly media is positioned as a tool carrying dominant ideological structure and political discourses to society and providing legitimization among society. (Doğan; 2015,p.142)

In the relevant research above micro terms can appear as follows: liberal theory, structure, having pragmatic relation with political/ economic ruling, ideological power, critical approach, tool, dominant ideological structure, providing, legitimization.

If micro discourse markers above analyzed carefully, it is reached that world view and ideology itself is against dominant ideology and the relation between reality, representation of people through news and ideology of the research has been reconstructed from a critical point of view of domination. Besides, if the structure of sentences considered in macro terms, the real subject of reconstruction of this “reality”- “information which is in the level of claim is transferred to audiences in the form of reality” (Doğan, 2015,p.222) – is tried to be followed and shown: it can be determined that it has a structure having a pragmatism relation with political/economic ruling. According to this, the relation between news, related social reality and ideology has been related to liberal world view of the media produced by dominant political/economic ruling though this historical and dialectical relation has not been stated in detail through thesis.

Mustafa Kovucu, 2016, Master Thesis	Reality	Medium	Method
Representation of Syrian refugees in	“The ideological role of the	Gaziantep local press	Critical Discourse Analysis

Gaziantep local press	Mass Media becomes evident especially through the expressions during the process of producing news and the notion about these subjects being represented is conveyed through various mass medium by playing a significant role on the receiver's perception and evaluation of subjects."		
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Kovucu's study is mostly about how refugees are represented in the context of negative and positive manner and how they are framed in Gaziantep local press. "The aim of this study is to reveal how the social perception and positioning of the refugees are created via media by examining the news in the local press including the representation of Syrian refugees." The premise of the research is this : "Mass Media has an important effect in the perception of refugees as such in the reflection and presentation of all subjects."

In Media, "the other, produced by means of hate speeches create "foreign", "enemy" perception for "local" one. Feeling of hatred towards "foreign" or "enemy" one created by means of hate speeches bring "hate crime" together. As a matter of the fact that mass even intends the right of life of "other"-assumed as threatening factor towards this "us". One of the most concrete signs for this is "lynching" phenomena. In terms of this phenomena, all actions produced against this "other" one gains its power from a legitimized structure covered with discourses formed in media (Kovucu, 2016,p. 137).

According to Kovucu, in this context, media is defined as “representer of dominant ideologies of states” and he has tried to uncover the media’s “ideological structure” especially in terms of this “we” marker in the context of “nationalism.”

During micro analysis of Kovucu’s research, “the other”, “hate speeches”, “foreign”, “enemy”, “hatred” towards foreign, hate crime, us, lynching, “legitimized structure” are among some discourse markers. Kovucu uses dichotomy to show the results of his research and especially by stating this “we” and “the other” one. According to him, all those hatred feelings, lynching phenomena is consciously produced by media analyzed and there is *causal active relation* between media and actions towards this other by the local one. The reason why media makes this is behind the notion of “nationalism” and ideological structure of media. The discourse marker- “legitimization and legitimized” has been stated in both studies.

Aslı Aktaş, 2016 Master Thesis	Reality	Medium	Method
<i>Syrian women refugees in Turkey: The case study of Kilis</i>	“The Victimization of Syrian women refugees”	Written local press (especially in Kilis)	Interviews, Ethnographic Method, Media Report Analysis (Descriptive), Content and Discourse Analysis

Aktaş’s study is prominent in terms of focusing Syrian women refugees’ problems in daily life and media representation. Especially by taking the notion of war into the center and the notion of “being refugee” she seems to try to present a perspective from the point of view of the refugees as their “voice” by making some ethnographic studies and interviews. The communicational part of the thesis is especially formed in Part 5 titled “Media Effect in Refugee Perception of Turkey.” Aktaş states that “ a group in Turkey always been ignored among society, has exposed to prejudices or gone through various discriminations. Media, by means of discourse and representation reflects this perception of marginalization to the society.”According to Aktaş, by “victimization” and “negative representation”

of the refugees, the perception of society has been reproduced by media.

Although media has national and universal principles, it does not always keep these principles by the language used and it determines the limits of topics by preparing contents aligned with dominant perspective. It is also valid for Syrian refugees. Media has also constructed media representations producing exclusivist and judgmental perceptions. These media representations have affected attitudes and behaviors Turkey society towards the refugees (Aktaş, 2015,p. 59).

Within the micro terms chosen at above, Aktaş has tried to show media contents and language used effect the perceptions of the society towards the refugees. “Dominant perspective”, “media representations”, “exclusivist” and “judgmental perceptions” are among some discourse markers chosen by Aktaş. Following them, “negative representations” are stated to be the reason of “negative prejudice towards Syrian people”

Abdi Erkal, 2017, Master Thesis	Reality	Medium	Method
<i>Perception of Asylum Seekers in Turkish press</i>	“Turkish press reflects Syrian refugee perception”	Turkish Press	Content Analysis and Discourse Analysis, Survey

(Aktas, 2015,p. 60).

In macro terms, reason behind these prejudices towards “Syrian women” or “refugee women” are mostly shown by revealing the actual actors behind it. She states that “Syrian women are being exposed to violation about many issues” (Aktas 2015: 67). The language used in media has been determined to “create discrimination based on social gender” (Aktas 2015:68).

According to Erkal’s study, Turkish press has a perception towards Syrian asylum seekers and this perception-especially in terms of *Hürriyet* and *Sabah* newspapers analyzed-has been assumed “**not to be negative.**” He states his premise within these words: “Through the news, asylum seekers **are now shown as negative in the context of negative sense** but negative thoughts of Turkish people towards asylum seekers are stated in the news” (Erkal, 2017,p. 7).

Aligned with the common evaluation of those two newspapers, positive aspect about these newspapers is that they both give importance to the news about asylum seekers and by presenting these news, they prefer a style not showing Syrian asylum seekers as a target...When migration policy of Turkey is taken into consideration, the laws have been determined to construct owing to not economic base but social and political base...It has been

resulted that migration news in Turkish press has been mostly political base (Erkal, 2017,p. 170-171).

As a result of Erkal's research he mostly states that both newspapers do not present asylum seekers to the society within negative perception" (2017:171). Among some discourse markers chosen at micro level, "not to be negative", "negative sense", "positive aspect", "Syrian asylum seekers", "target", "economic base", "social and political base", "migration" can be shown.

If decisions made at macro level analyzed, the laws, press have been main active actors which do not construct any negative aspect but positive perspective about asylum seekers,

Merve Şentöregil, 2017, Master Thesis.	Reality	Medium	Method
<i>Representation of Syrian asylum seeker children in the Turkish press</i>	Asylum seeker children do or do not take place in media during enforced migration or after migration.	Turkish news reporting	Content Analysis

and economy is regarded as out of the related matter of question. "Perceptions of survey participants about Syrian asylum seekers are not as positive as perception presented by *Hürriyet* and *Sabah* newspapers to their readers" (Erkal, 2017,p. 172). Accordingly, related press present a positive perspective and perception about Syrian asylum seekers to their readers and through macro term, these press have a function of positive actors according to Erkal.

Şentöregil's research has a significance regarding to focusing on representations of child asylum seekers. For Şentöregil, "representations of asylum seeker children in media in a right way and media's focus on difficulties gone through by those children has an importance in terms of contributing aimed solution" (2017:4).

When general distribution is analyzed, texts which have a direct exclusivist/marginalized discourse against child asylum seekers are constituted of 3.1% of total. The most dominant theme in those news and articles analyzed is children under difficult conditions and it is 36% of total. In other terms, Syrian children mostly take a representative field over the victimizations gone through by them. According to quantitative and qualitative analysis made, Syrian children take place in news and articles with negative presentations such as beggar child, working child, dead/ injured child, poor/victim/needy child (Şentöregil; 2017:93).

At micro level, some discourse markers stated through the research are: “exclusivist/marginalized”, “discourse”, “child asylum seekers”, “Syrian children”, “victimization”, “negative representations”, “beggar child”, “working child,” “dead/injured child”, “poor/victim/needy child.”

This situation, which is not peculiar to asylum seeker children, is a sign of media attributing news value to children when they only become actor or a victim of a negative event. This

Bilgehan İhtiyar, 2017, Master Thesis.	Reality	Medium	Method
<i>The representation of the Syrian immigrant children in mainstream media</i>	“Children’s privacy was published and their intimacy was ignored.”	In mainstream media	Discourse Analysis and Semiotic Analysis

representative model, which recalls asylum seeker children only over negative event has resulted in reproduction of “victim/sufferer” cliché determined often in representations of children and the refugee (Şentöregil, 2017,p.93).

If macro level analyzed; it can be determined that Syrian children, asylum seeker children have been put into the center in the context of news and how they have been represented and why they have been represented within the terms of negative markers have been tried to be put shown. In the conclusion the relevant media has been regarded as the main active actor for creating these negative representations and the “improvement of a publishing which is child- based” or “new research made over alternative media or new media and etc.” has been offered for further(Şentöregil, 2017,p.96).

Through the research shown above, İhtiyar has mostly focused on three newspapers having different structures in terms of ideological aspect- *Cumhuriyet- Sabah and Hürriyet-* and he tries to show how Aylan baby-who has become the symbol of dram that Syrian asylum seekers have gone through-has been represented by these newspapers.

Furthermore it has been also tried to be revealed how kind of change Aylan event has created in representations of Syrian asylum seeker children through news (İhtiyar; 2017: 4). Nearly 622 news made during three months have been analyzed and it has been determined that Syrian asylum seeker children have been mostly used as a part of dramatic structure in news aimed at attracting to reader and profit- based. İhtiyar has approached this kind of reporting idea owing to not questioning the source of problems but via presenting photos of children in the way of exposing and victimization in order to increase the readers' interest for news and to provide them with emotional exploitation. (2017:139).

As a conclusion, it has been determined that media has not developed a responsible publishing idea in terms of considering Syrian asylum seeker children and it has continuously repeated itself. Syrian asylum seeker children have been restrained in definite forms and their victimization has been only revealed. Even though they are not subject of the news, the pictures leading to exposition of their identities and bodies have been given place in season and out of season. The media has not provided a broad perspective leading to a positive policy in the context of the problems those children have experiences and aligned with bringing them in society even after Aylan baby's dead body washed ashore (İhtiyar, 2017,p.139).

When micro analysis is made, there are some discourse markers used by İhtiyar through his research and these are “Syrian asylum seeker children”, “ideological aspect”, “attracting to reader”, “profit-based”, “exposing”, “victimization”, “emotional exploitation.” By these markers, İhtiyar has depicted the situation about the children and how they are considered through the related media.

In terms of macro context, the related media itself has been revealed as an active actor creating this negative situation which can be determined through these ideas and sentences: “...determined that media has not developed a responsible publishing idea in terms of considering Syrian asylum seeker children”, “Syrian asylum seeker children have been restrained in definite forms and their victimization has been only revealed..” . “Even though they are not subject of the news, the pictures leading to exposition of their identities and bodies have been given place in season and out of season”, “the media has not provided a broad perspective leading to a positive policy in the context of the problems those children have experiences and aligned with bringing them in society.” Media has been considered in terms of an active agent reconstructing this ideological conflict only by making profit-based reporting and journalism but not making news about

education, health, child labour and help except 16 news out of 622 news analyzed (2017: 138)

Through her research, Yıldırım follows the premise of “by what kind of news, the issues of migration and refugee take place in media and how they are presented and represented” and she has revealed this by frames through analyzing related newspaper. By gathering related news published on first pages of the newspapers, Yıldırım analyzes the related news published in the years between 2011-2016. Other method applied in the research is content analysis:

When framings analyzed, three newspapers have made the news from the first page by “conflict frame” and the representation forms of subject and objects and the presentations have been positioned as ‘violence’, ‘conflict’, ‘the one exposed to violence’, ‘the one using violence’, and generally ‘local community’ and ‘the refugees’ It has been also observed that via the new idea of news called as popular media, the language and narrative used by newspapers for news presentation violate individual right and liberty in terms of the issue and sensational language has been used in the representation of news and all those have not been aligned with publishing policy of the newspapers (Yıldırım, 2017,p.103-104).

Yıldırım has taken the news made about refugees and how they have been framed through

Berfi Yıldırım, Master Thesis, 2017.	Reality	Medium	Method
<i>Migration and refugee problem: Investigation of social mobility with frame analysis method</i>	“Media effects public by means of the language and narrative techniques applied and constructs a perception about how people to think.”	National newspapers published day after day- <i>Cumhuriyet-Hürriyet-Yeni Şafak</i>	Framing analysis and content analysis methods

these news into consideration. She has also added that according to framing analysis made, it has been determined three newspapers have mostly given the news place on the main page in terms of “conflict frame.” Except the frame of conflict, other following frames are “humanitarian interest,” “morality” and “responsibility” though the “frame of economic

problems” is the less used frame for the news. (Yıldırım, 2017,p.107) “The ownership structure of the newspapers, ideological positioning effect identities of the news and even the dimension” (Yıldırım, 2017:105).

In terms of micro level; “to violate”, “individual right”, “liberty”, “sensational language,” “humanitarian interest”, “morality”, responsibility, the frame of economic problems”, “ownership structure of the newspapers”, “ideological positioning” can be shown as discourse markers.

When the research considered through macro terms, it can be determined that framing of newspapers about related news has been taken into centre of the research. Some notions such as ownership structure and ideological positioning have been stated as main active actors and it has been explained in the context of its effect-result and “reason-consequence” link in terms of communication theories:

In order to realize frame construction, effect group is needed. Among the effect group, politicians, media owners, elite persons, interest groups can be shown. Before presenting a news about those effect groups, media makes a framing and shares this with receiver which is called as “constructing frame” (Yıldırım, 2017,p.54).

Yıldırım (2017:53-54) focuses on some communicational theories pointing out reason-consequence link by framing strategy of the media and how and why this is related with dominant groups though through the concrete news about refugees about analyzed, it has not been clearly explained.

Goksel Goker, Savas Keskin, Academic Paper, 2015.	Reality	Medium	Method
“News Media and Refugees: Representation of Syrian Refugees in Turkish Press”	“The news media reproduces social reality through ideological case definition, discourse and representation.”	Representation of Syrian refugees in Turkish press	Content and van Dijk’s critical discourse analysis.

Göker and Keskin focus on representation forms about Syrian refugees in “mainstream media.” The premises related to this is “the content that is subjected to news and which is

positioned and framed according to dominant view. This study focuses on representation in Turkish press of Syrian refugees that establishes relationship which includes tension, with community due to their situation and it is built their social position with “otherness” experience” (Goker, Keskin, 2015,p. 229). Aligned with this, by chosen newspapers they try “to understand fictional reality that is embodied in language-represented relationship.” By revealing dominant discourse and representation forms, especially how Syrian refugees are represented in Turkish news reporting has been determined. Accordingly, Syrian refugees’ being perceived in terms of “problem” in country which they have sought asylum, is closely related to media practices:

Especially, publishing and news idea of mainstream media and its discourse structures used in construction process of the news regarding to the refugees are turned into a dominant discourse and then representation practices commonly perceived by the society. Accordingly, media spreads the dominant reading and perception forms and continuously reproduces and construct them. Therefore, the issue of transformation of discursive structures and representation forms in media into social reality is one of the issue mainly observed (Göker, Keskin,2015,p.254).

Göker and Keskin apply some discourse markers during their research and these are some examples for markers in micro level: “dominant view”, “otherness”, “fictional reality”, “language-represented relationship”, “mainstream media”, “discourse structures”, “construction process of the news”, “dominant discourse”, “dominant reading and perception forms,” “social reality.” The emphasis of “problem” is one of those markers stated in the research in the context of basic context of the news analyzed by content and critical discourse analysis. Another emphasis determined with news analysis has been “victim one.”

Victimization can be in other saying reevaluated as a mechanism of “producing victim” stated by van Dijk. It has to be stated that victimization is a reciprocally operating process. While refugees are presented as victims of war and displacement; Turkey is reevaluated as “victim” of refugee stream that is mostly affected by. Antagonism of “we” and “other” is consolidated by means of comparisons mentioned and effect and consequences which are in the same categories. In this sense, it can be determined that populist discourse and representation practice such as “if they are victim, then we are victim, too,” is produced. As a conclusion, it has been also observed that opinions stated about the news have also negative directions like news (Görer Keskin, 201,p. 255).

Through macro analysis, how the dualism “we” and “other” has being actually progressed through Turkish news reporting has been revealed. Media has been regarded as an active agent turning “fictive reality” into “social reality” and in macro terms, it is actually what mainstream media makes and how it operates. And the way how it makes this has been clearly and theoretical explained through the research by putting Durkheim’s and Schnapper’s theory of “scape goat” (stated by Göker and Keskin) and its relation with poverty, deprivation and

economy. Analysis made by Göker and Keskin concretely and in macro terms approves this theoretical aspect stated through the research (231-232, 255).

Ülkü Doğanay, Hatice Çoban Kenes, Academic Paper, 2016.	Reality	Medium	Method
“Syrian “Refugees” In Printed Press: Construction of Rational and Emotional Justifications of Discriminatory Discourses”	Mainstream media has a role in dissemination and justification of discriminatory discourses against Syrian refugees in Turkey.	Three mainstream newspapers- <i>Zaman</i> , <i>Posta and Hürriyet</i>	van Dijk’s critical discourse analysis

Doğanay and Keneş explain the supposition of the study within these words: “The fundamental supposition of the study is that the mainstream media operated within similar frameworks during the reproduction of discriminatory discourses against asylum seekers.” The premise of the study has been mostly related to construction of rational and emotional reasons of discriminatory discourses of media towards Syrian refugees. Aligned with this, images, contents, issues and topics and how those people are “problematized” through related news and columns have been analyzed by Doğanay and Kenes. According to analysis made in the scope of the research, it has been determined that “there has been four main discursive domains directed to construction of rationalization of emotions which is the crossing point of rational and emotional reasons of discrimination towards presence of Syrian “refugees” in Turkey” (2016:177).

First of all, in the news and columns which frame the presence of Syrian refugees as a threat, not only the “threat” perception has been used as a means for criticism towards government’s foreign policy but also asylum seekers have been attached to problem of

economic burden and security issue. Secondly, even in the context of discourse explicitly or implicitly approving open door policy of governments about the refugees, the presence of Syrians in Turkey has been “objectified” by means of emphasis on wasted money, amount of aid which has been made, the number of the refugees without considering right violations and/or humanitarian aspect. Thirdly, it has been determined that there is “sentimentalizing” discourse domain directed the presence of the refugees in Turkey and the situations they go through and reactions of public opinions towards “excessive visibility” of refugees in cities (2016:177-178).

In terms of micro level, some discourse markers stated in research are here: “construction of rational and emotional reasons”, discriminatory discourses”, “Syrian refugees”, “threat”,

Oğuzhan Tas, Tugba Tas, Academic Paper,	Reality	Medium	Method
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“asylum seekers”, “problem of economic burden”, “security issue,” “Syrians”, “objectified”, “right violations”, “humanitarian aspect”, “sentimentalizing”, “discourse domain”, “excessive visibility.” By Doğanay and Kenes, it has been also mentioned in the conclusion part that through some “excessive” examples in both local press and mainstream press, racist discourse has been reproduced by stigmatizing asylum seekers as “war fugitive” and “terrorist” and pointing them as a target by means of negative labels such as “coward”, “dirty person”, “betrayers”, “thief”, “freeloader” “illiterate.” Regarding to macro analysis of the research, the structure of the research is mostly based on the notion of reasoning and rationalization of this sentimentalizing process and how actually it has operated through the news about Syrian

refugees analyzed both in terms of theoretical and practical aspect. By determining those frames and construction strategies mentioned in micro terms at above, actually how racist discourse has been reproduced has been revealed. In this sense and in the context of epistemological approach, the research seems to become closer to philosophy of communication with the questions of how and by explaining rational and emotional reasons of discrimination towards presence of Syrian “refugees” in Turkey yet there is the lack of explaining this rationality in terms of “why” question. The relation between premise and consequence has been founded on communicational and philosophical aspects by means of discourse analysis and some analytical way of thought.

2018.			
“Fake News in Social Media and Syrian Refugee Crisis in the Post-Truth Era”	“Right populist movements turn false news into a political tactic to address the feelings and beliefs of citizens.”	Fake news in social media	Multimodal textual analysis

Oğuzhan Tas and Tugba Tas follow the problem in terms of social-media reporting, user-generated contents, and post-truth politics. Aligned with this, they put fake news about Syrian “in which discriminatory and hateful speeches propagate and legitimize so easily.” By following fake news about Syrian refugees through social media, they have revealed what kind of relation there is between the fake news, post-politics and reporting. They state that “common thinking ways about Syrian refugees are being shaped through a political dominancy struggle in which lie grows by defeating the reality” (Tas, Tas; 2018,p. 203).

Some discourse markers at micro level used through the research are as follows: “Post-truth politics”, “discriminatory and hateful speeches”, “propagate”. “legitimize”, “fake news,” “Syrian refugees”, “political dominancy struggle”, “populism”, “factual reality”, “rationality”, “real and unreal one”, “ideological tendency.” Through the chosen markers, the relation between communication, politics and even philosophy can be determined which is very crucial relation in the context of the fake news about Syrian refugees.

At macro term, the researchers have focused on actually what “fake news” means and how it is constructed through media. Besides, by giving concrete “news” examples, the researchers have revealed the notion of fake produced by means of those news analyzed. Dialectical formation of the research is mainly related the epistemological question towards the news about Syrian refugees and the function of the fake news. They consider dealing with the fake news as a crucial components of political struggle over social reality instead of seeing the issunly regarding the media users’ critical awareness.

By their research, Şen and Yıldız follows the premise that “mainstream will ignore the economic and political realities behind of Syrian refugees tragedy.” Especially by emphasizing that they are positioned in the context of “otherness” in the society, they try to aim revealing how Syrian refugees are represented in the mainstream media and alternative news media (2017:27). “Media has been regarded as one of the mechanisms which fictionalizes “otherness” regarding to the refugees. Mainstream media directed to situation depictions, discourse and representations aligned with dominant perspective and interests presents the refugees as social problem mechanisms” (Şen, Yıldız: 2017:39). Not only alternative media, but also by considering alternative media, they have tried to reveal how both type of media represent the reality of Syrian refugees. “On the other side alternative

Fulya Şen, Sezer Yıldız, Academic paper, 2017.	Reality	Medium	Method
“Refugees as an OTHER: Media Representations of Syrian Refugees in Mainstream and Alternative Media”	“Mainstream media is under pressure of the values of ruling class.”	Turkish newspapers (mainstream and alternative news media)	Content analysis method

media is significant in terms of considering reality in the context of real problems that has been masked and surrounded aligned with dominant interests by mainstream media” (2017: 39).

By Hürriyet and Habertürk newspapers, the issue has been observed to be presented in terms of policies of political ruling and situation definitions instead of considering it within different dimensions. Bianer and Sendika.org have contextualized the subject in the context of human rights and focused on the link of causality in background of humanitarian matters experienced by the refugees...The results in the scope of research have put forwarded the representation differentiations between mainstream and alternative media again. Media representations not only reflecting dominant interests but also unjust sufferings caused by conflict of interest is a part of conflict and struggle existing in each area of life (Sen, Yıldız, 2017,p.39).

In the context of micro analysis of the research, some prominent markers are as follows: “mainstream,” “economic and political realities,” “Syrian refugees tragedy,” “otherness,” “dominant perspective and interests,” “social problem mechanisms”, “reality,” “masked,” “surrounded”, “dominant interests,” “policies of political ruling”, “subjecting the context of human rights,” “the link of causality,” “humanitarian matters,” “representation”, “unjust sufferings”, “ conflict of interest,” “struggle.” By only considering these markers, one can easily have an idea about the macro scope and progress of the study by which, Sen and Yıldız have made a comparative news analysis about the refugees and their representations. Especially differentiations between two news media have been revealed within the terms of causes behind them by following news content analysis. In terms of macro structure of the research, it is significant to be found that the importance of notion of “causality link” and of emphasizing media as a conflict and struggle area.

Feray Artar, Academic Paper, 2019.	Reality	Medium	Method
“The Struggle of Class Representation in Media: Are Syrian Refugees ‘In Need of Aid’ Or ‘Cheap Labour’	“The representations, one related to consumption and the other to the production phase, propose different sources of inequality and class relations.”	17 national newspapers, 5 broadcasting groups	Content and Discourse Analysis by searching overt and covert meanings, Revealing messages carried by symbols through the texts Frequency analysis Qualitative interpretations

Artar, from beginning of the summary of the research, has emphasized the significance of class differentiations through representations of Syrian refugees in media. The basic motivation of the research is stated by her within these words:

When it is accepted that the media creates general valid stereotypes with sufficient number of repetitions and the struggle for representation is a struggle to determine what is “normal”, it should be considered that class representation differences struggle by proposing different stereotypes and norms on class divisions and relationships” (Artar, 2019,p.27).

By using different methods, Artar seeks those different representations “proposing different sources of inequality and class relations.” “This content analysis examines the representation of Syrian refugees in 17 national newspapers known for their affiliation to different political views, revealing the class differences between the “in need of aid” and “cheap labor” representations in the media” (2019:27).

The representation of Syrian refugees as "those in need of aid", refers to the representations of refugees as widows and orphans who need and are provided with material benefits, oppressed people with whom we are supposed to share what we have, those who benefit from the helping hand of Turkish people and the generosity of the Turkish government. On the other hand, representation as “cheap labor” includes representations of refugees as those who work under exploitative conditions and create a competitive environment by working for cheaper wages than that of the local labor force, putting the capital owners at more advantageous positions in different ways (Artar, 2019,p.56).

Within the micro analysis made determined from some markers at above, the discourse markers are these: “general valid stereotypes”, “struggle for representation”, “normal”, “different stereotypes and norms,” “class divisions and relationships”, “inequality and class relations”, “Syrian refugees”, “different political views”, “class differences”, “in need of aid”, “cheap labor”, “representations”, the representations of refugees as widows and orphans”, “material benefits”, “exploitative conditions”, “competitive environment”, “local labor force”, capital owners.” Micro analysis is significant to give an idea about the research in macro terms and aligned with this study, it can be determined that the relation between class representations and why and how they are differentiated from each other in terms of causality principle of inequality and class relations and how the causality is presented to the society through media analyzed. (17 national papers having different political views.) When macro analysis of the research is considered, Artar’s research is different in the context of epistemological motivation due to the fact that it has been the first research mentioning that these representations are directly related to “class divisions and relationships” in which class conflict and struggle actually operates.

When it is accepted that media representations are effective in the formation of collective meanings, it will be accepted that different forms of class representation will be effective in forming the collective meaning of “social class”. In need of aid and cheap labor, the representations are effective and decisive in terms of our understanding of class (Artar, 2019,p.5)

Abdulkadir Gölcü, Ayşenur Dağlı, Academic paper, 2017.	Reality	Medium	Method
“Searching for the “Others” in the News Discourse: Syrian Refugees Example”	“The representation of the Syrian refugees as the “others” in the news reports and discourses is directly related to the Syrian refugee thought formed in the social consciousness.	Hürriyet, Milliyet and Sabah newspapers on new media. (2011-2017)	Critical discourse analysis

By their research, Gölcü and Dağlı try to point out the motivation owing to the fact that “separating ideas and attitudes in the processes of representation through media can transform into concrete behaviors in social life.” (2017:11-12) In order “to reveal the social inequality and the discrimination in the news reports through the examples of Syrian refugees,” they analyze news reports published in *Hürriyet, Milliyet and Sabah* between 2011-2017 related to Syrian refugees. In the context of “discriminatory-othersness” discourses spread about Syrian refugees through news, it has been determined as follows:

By first news examples about Syrian refugees, they have been positioned as “guests.” Although this positioning seems not to include a “otherness” attitude or behavior, the position of Syrian refugees in the narrative center of “not among us” has resulted in creation of discriminatory aspect through the text. Another topic about Syrian refugees in the context of “otherness” is “being a person who is afraid of” or “causing trouble” narratives...Newspapers have not hesitated to attach those people with the notion of “crime” by using stereotype narratives such as “excessive visibility”- “Syrian-thief”, “Syrian-human trafficker”, “Syrian-fugitive”, “Syrian other.” (especially by using the word of “illegal”).... By some discourses of news, Syrian refugees have been represented by being attached to some issues such as “in city life, “causing vision pollution”, “being second companion” and etc. (leading to “we” and “they” contradiction) Another topic through which Syrian refugees are represented by positioning them as “other” in news discourses has been turned into a narrative over negative effects on economy and labor force caused by them (the source of cheap labor force problems) (Gölcü and Dağlı, 2017,p.34-35).

Some prominent micro markers determined in the research are these: “representation”, “social inequality”, “discrimination”, “Syrian refugees”, “discriminatory-otherness,” “guests”, “not among us”, “discriminatory aspect”, “causing trouble”, “crime”, “stereotype narratives”, “excessive visibility”, “Syrian-thief”, “Syrian- human trafficker”, “Syrian-fugitive”, “Syrian other”, “causing vision pollution”, “being second companion”, “economy and labor force”, “cheap labor force.” Gölcü and Dağlı’s analysis have put forwarded many micro markers related to “otherness” and “discriminatory” issues focused in the scope of this research, furthermore, by applying critical discourse analysis to the news reports analyzed, it has been also determined that “Syrian refugees have not given an equal right and spaces in terms of using news source. By choosing the sources among police officers or Turkish Republic citizens, Syrian refugees have been kept out of related news” (2017: 35). In macro terms of the research, making expressions regarding to ethnical origin or nation prominent

Müzeyyen Pandır, İbrahim Efe, Alaaddin F. Paksoy, Academic paper, 2016.	Medium	Reality	Method
“A Content Analysis on the Representation of Syrian Asylum Seekers in the Turkish Press”	Five national newspapers 2014 (<i>Hürriyet, Sabah, Posta, Sozcu and Zaman</i>) news reports and columns	Syrian asylum seekers in the Turkish press have representation stereotypes.	Content Analysis and Visual Analysis (Coding System)

through news discourses have been found very problematic and including discriminatory language and definition, stereotypes should not be taken place by the news (Gölcü and Dağlı, 2017,p. 35)

According to Pandır, Efe and Paksoy; based on the research via content and visual analysis regarding to news and columns about Syrian asylum seekers; “the coverage of Syrian asylum seekers has usually a positive or neutral content” (2016:2).

The results also point out that that the ambivalence in the representations of asylum seekers. The representations of Syrian asylum seekers portray these individuals mostly as “poor” people in need of help as well as threats for social security. These frequently repeated representations and ambivalence show that the representation of Syrian asylum seekers in Turkish newspapers reproduces the stereotypical representation of asylum seekers as defined in international studies (Pandır, Efe, Paksoy, 2016,p.2).

They actually attach these “positive” and “neutral” notions to news content by which Syrian refugees are represented:

When a general overview about contents is made by considering all newspapers analyzed, the positive and neutral news content about Syrian asylum seekers can be mentioned about. Yet, we have already stated about the dualism which this content has already included in itself. Though representation of asylum seeker in Turkish press has been mostly affected by international representation of asylum seeker and produces typical asylum seeker profile, the positive attitude of political ruling towards asylum seekers at background has an effect on the number of positive and neutral news made about them. It cannot be only explained by political view of newspapers having a close affiliation with political ruling but also by the power of agenda setting of ruling (Pandır, Efe and Paksoy, 2016,p.22).

Some micro markers in the research are these: “Syrian asylum seekers”, “positive or neutral content”, “poor”, “people in need of help”, “threats for social security”, “stereotypical”, “international representation”, positive attitude of political ruling”, “political view”, “power of agenda setting of ruling”. Aligned with micro markers determined, it can be revealed that Pandır, Efe and Paksoy follow the news representations of asylum seekers within different aspect compared to other 13 research analyzed until now as sample. In macro terms, the notion of “positive” and “neutral content” about the refugees have been firstly stated in a research within the context of relation news, representation and reality.

The analysis needs to be shortly summarized. Almostly all of the researches (14) analyzed apply critical discourse analysis to news analysis, except this; content and framing analysis are used. Ethnographic method such as making interviews is the least applied method in the

studies. And main aim of the researches is to show representation of Syrian refugees in main stream media, a few of the researchers also focuses on alternative media practices for comparison. (such as Şen, Yıldız and Artar) Main datas of the studies is that there are various stereotypes and negative representations through the news analyzed such as “Syrian-thief”, “Syrian- human trafficker”, “threats for social security” and so on. Methodologically, all researches seems to ask the following question: How are Syrian refugees are represented through the news? Nevertheless, the researches apply different methods and findings of the researches of different. In macro sense, most of the researches (13 out of 14) find that Syrian refugees are represented very negatively through main stream media and negative framings are reproduced within very different forms and ways. This has two main implications. First implication is that finding is important to reveal negative representation of Syrian refugees through main stream media and secondly, the representations about Syrian refugees reproduce public opinion towards those people by manifesting ideological zone. Nevertheless, the studies about news reporting about Syrian refugees should go beyond this. As there are lack of interconnections between news and its function in reproducing the social reality by means of manifesting ideology in most of the studies, there are still some epistemological problems that need to be revealed.

For future researches, epistemologically it is recommended that the news and the study about news reporting should take two main dimensions about the content of the news into consideration. First one is dialectic and historical interconnections about the news and second one is economy political structure of the news in relation to reproducing ideology. For method, it can be suggested that future researches can more focus on both alternative and main stream media news examples. This matters in order to enlighten the importance of building importance between economy politics of news, ideology and social reality which is the topic of news. To check and observe this difference between alternative and main stream media practices in parallel to the researches analyzed, 7 different news of Syrian refugees about the same topic through alternative and main stream media have been analyzed according to critical discourse analysis. And it has been found that the historical aspect and economy politics of news is significant in alternative media to access and reflect the knowledge about Syrian refugees. Nevertheless, this analysis about the news does not take place at this study because main motivation of the study is to observe relevant academic studies. In conclusion, the other findings about the relevant research and the observation take place.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation entails to some critical engagement to communication field. And this is relevant to relation between news, Syrian refugees and the relevant academic studies made in Turkey. The question regarding to this problem is about how academic research made in the field of news reporting engages with this problematic relation between news and their representation through news. Therefore, for the dissertation; it is aimed to explore this problematic relation and its the grounds and main connections. For this aim, the academic research are analyzed. These results need to be shared. Before this, it needs to be stated that the investigation about discourse and epistemology of academy in Turkey is a new motivation as mostly the research made is linked to motivation of news discourse. In the scope of this research; discourse of the academy and epistemology used to reveal the idea of ideology become relevant.

In order to engage with the research as an epistemological questions; two main views of philosophy become relevant and these views are materialism and idealism. Still, historical and dialectical materialism to communication is main inspiration to progress epistemological approach to the news research. Accordingly, two views have been historically considered to reveal the question about method used to reveal the idea of (social) reality and ideology. As two views progress and complete each other with different attachments and connections; it constructs the background of the main motivation of the dissertation. And also, this is related to literature of the research. Then, conceptual and relevant historical discussion about refugees as social reality comes to the stage and it is followed by academic research. The reason why refugees are regarded as social reality is because they are social actors in relevant public domain.

If most of the academic research is considered, the connection between news and ideology can recall Hall's semiotic approaches and conceptualization to communication. The

main reason for this is that Hall applies encoding and decoding strategies for the analysis of language determine the impact and components of communication. As mentioned before, Yaylagül discusses this in terms of “Cultural Cultivation Theory” and he reveals its relation to television and other mediums and culture and that the theory focuses on how culture is reproduced by means of the language. The representators of this theory, who can be considered in the scope of Birmingham School, consider that culture-ideology and language has an inseparable relation. This is their main hypothesis and they mostly analyze the language not instrumental but main determinant for communication and the language is regarded as epistemological dimension to reveal macro ones. This is relevant to “thought objects” and Image of real objects analyzed in the chapter 3 of the dissertation. Although “Image of real objects” signify the impact of the language through social research for Sayer; in the scope of this dissertation; it reveals as the reality of Syrian refugees. Therefore, it implies the state of things, people in their actual world. Within this scope, the investigated academic research signifies the problem of negative representation. Owing to this, main question is about how the relevant academic research entail the problem of representation through the news and where the relevant knowledge comes from. Here, there is a critical engagement with those research. One of the main problems about the research examined is that they entail the language as the main determinant of ideologies through news because it is regarded as “Image of real objects.” This needs to be replaced by “thought object” as the language itself is not the main determinant of the representation problem. This problem determined through the research investigated leads the reflection and position of Syrian refugees to change as their historical states of beings, causes of problems are not sufficiently revealed. Here, it can be observed that the problematic nature of the approach that evokes the language itself as main determinant to reveal historical and social paradigms of Refugees and the issue of Refugees. Regarding to this, in the following, there are representative indicators.

It has been already determined that the academic research entail negative representation and 10 academic research entails either positive or neutral representation. Accordingly, main problem is that almostly 90% of academic research investigated in total discuss representation problem in terms of independent category of language. This problem can be called as epistemological problem as it signifies the nature of knowledge about the issue of Refugees that are reached and revealed in the academic studies. This problem is relevant to Hall’s emphasis on language and on how it reshapes the culture itself and this is called as *cultural determination* by Yaylagül. Another aspect is social reality, news and ideology of news and

ideology revealed through academic research. This problematic connection is caused by lack of historical perspective for both news process and Syrian refugees. Shortly, two main problems about the relevant research are as follows: i) Epistemological problem that engages news in the context cultural and language determinacy, ii) The lack of historical perspective to reveal the relation between social reality-the ideology of news. The mentioned two problems are related to each other and they led the research to be problematic to reveal the real problem.

The research considering the language as the source of problem about refugees through main stream problem does not completely reflect historical and epistemological links to the problem. Also, this is analytically problematic as the real foundation of the problem is not actually constructed by means of analysis of relevant Dynamics. The problems of representation through the news needs to be conceptualized more analytical and epistemological way within the terms of object relation of the problem. By this way; the relation between news and the refugees and how academy in Turkey demonstrates this relation becomes clear.

Thought research object and real research object signify the position of Syrian refugees in terms of news and social reality revealed through the academic research examined. Nevertheless, it is observed that the actual links and connections regarding to *state of the world* are not mainly built through the researches investigated; and accordingly headline “facts as things” are relevant to problematic epistemology about the reality of news, war and representation. In many research investigated, it is determined there is an epistemological insufficiency in reflecting news about Syrian refugees in terms of historical and dialectic method. And this problem can be called as epistemological inadequacy in terms of news and Refugees and research. Furthermore, neoliberal process has a specific position to reveal Syrian civil war, therefore second chapter mostly engages with historical progress of Syrian civil war.

It has been determined that most of the examined research entails language as a fixed and stable category. Accordingly, this kind of approach also revokes the idea that language is the main determinant of ideology of news and social reality regarding to Syrian refugees. This problem reveals by means of Knowledge Schema and Thought Object and Real Object Schema and Ideology Schema.

It is revealed that the relation between news and ideology through the mentioned research above is determined by frame analysis method. This method is commonly used method to

assess the relation between news and ideology. Nevertheless, the main problem is not about i) the usage of this method but ii) about the way how it used and there is a big difference between them. The first emphasis does not actually cause this problematic aspect but second one emphasizes the problem itself. There are two reasons for this problem and I also object this second problematic aspect used through the research examined. The first reason is that there is not real political economy analysis regarding to the idea of news. This also signifies epistemological problem about the construction of problem about reality of refugees and ideology. Second reason is that there is no sufficient historical analysis regarding to social movement that is about topic of news analyzed. This reason becomes relevant by “Material Intercourse (Historical and Economic Relations X)” titled section. Both first reason and second reason of the problem are linked to the assumption that language determines the relation between news and ideology and, the relevant social reality is constructed by means of the news itself. (Please see Thought Objects and Image of real objects)

The schema of ideology is also significant as it reveals the ideology demonstrated through research. This is linked to the question about how researchers conceptualized the Notion of news. The following questions can come on the stage again: Is the news in main stream media reflection of reality? Or is the news fiction of reality in main stream media? Two questions are linked to the possible replies. First assumption is about the idea that news reflects the reality through main stream media. Second assumption is that the news is nothing but the fiction of reality through main stream media. Two assumptions or premises engages with different conceptualization about ideology. First assumption is relevant to most of academic research investigated. The most of the academic research analyzed reveals the ideology of news within reflection of reality by means of language and they do not deepen the fiction character of news through media. Fiction character of news signifies much robust understanding about the news. Therefore, it engages with much deeper and genuine space for the idea of news. This requires to reveal epistemological links behind the idea of news. For example as Taş’s and Taş’s research demonstrates the “problem of truth” and its relevancy to news through main stream media, it gives more epistemological space to the idea of news. This makes epistemological understanding to the news apparent. Nevertheless, many research are lack of revealing this links and connections of the news that cannot be restricted with the idea of reflection of reality.

Plainly, all those data have shown that there are primary insufficiencies through these research analyzed. These insufficiencies are relevant to epistemological connection built. Secondly, these insufficiencies are linked to epistemological aspect revealed in the studies.

Here, hypotheses of the research need to be recalled: 1) the general epistemological tendency in academic studies made in the field of news is considered problematic in terms of revealing the relation between news, Syrian refugees and social reality because they do not adequately reveal this relation and sources of the relation. 2) The main problem through the relevant academic studies investigated is about the lack of inclusive epistemological understanding to communication. By the idea of inclusive epistemological understanding; it is implied that genuine links about methods used about the origin of the problem and the relation and therefore; here “inclusive” means real validity and source of the knowledge about the problem. Also, this implies the depth of knowledge and its relation to the problem itself. 3) The main reason and source of relevant problematic relation between news, Syrian refugees, their representation cannot only be revealed by the news language itself; but macro relations behind the language itself. The following three hypotheses are tested and justified according to three-method schema application to the academic studies.

These problems can be fixed by strengthening an inclusive epistemological relation regarding to problem in the news studies. To present an inclusive epistemological relation about news, social reality and Syrian refugees; the relevant academic research should engage with both historical fact of the social reality analyzed such as Syrian civil war and economic production relations of media analyzed.

Still, it should not be forgotten that three-legged schema that can be also called as three-legged schema analysis- is different from triangulation method in terms of content. Three-legged schema is used as contributive approach for academic researches analyzed. It has been observed that the themas of conflict, crime, escapers are dominant through news analyzed, but there is only one news putting emphasizing solidarity and labour narratives by means of refugees’ and relevant parties’ narratives. Nevertheless, the news analyzed is not shown on the research because the news is analyzed to check the academic researches analyzed. These choices in news are mainly compatible with the process of normalization and/or strengthening dominant ideology.

By means of critical discourse analysis applied to chosen studies, it has been determined that there are three main researches which epistemically connect profound links between Syrian refugees social reality and the news and Sayer’s approach can be contributive to datas found. And these researches are Tas & Tas’s research, Artar’s research and Doganay & Kenes’s research because the mentioned researches apply historical interconnections and economy political aspects of the news in terms of reproducing the main dominant ideology

about the refugees. Furthermore, those academic researches enlighten the epistemological operations of the news by means of discussions about news as truth-seeking process, rationality of new process, reproductions of perception, news as reflection of class struggle and so on. Compared to studies analyzed and investigated, the mentioned discussions leave us with significant epistemological and historical approach to the idea of news in terms of reproducing ideology and Syrian refugees. Nevertheless, same topics and contents about Syrian refugees are analyzed by very different way and perceptions by some academics. For example, compared to the three mentioned researches, the research made by Pandır &Efe&Paksoy discuss same content about Syrian refugees and the poverty within very limited angle. And they mention relevant representation about Syrian refugees “neutral” and “positive” in a way that international media also reflect. They state about main stream media in Turkey and the Refugees as following: “The representations of Syrian asylum seekers portray these individuals mostly as “poor” people in need of help as well as threats for social security. These frequently repeated representations and ambivalence show that the representation of Syrian asylum seekers in Turkish newspapers reproduces the stereotypical representation of asylum seekers as defined in international studies.” (Pandır, Efe, Paksoy, 2015,p.2) The relevant statement can be interpreted that the relevant news about poverty and Syrian refugees reproduce neutral and positive representation, nevertheless, the research is does not completely reflect justification about why those kinds of researches are “neutral” or “positive.” These kinds of inadequacies about analysis methods of news can mislead to readers’s perspectives about the macro themes such as poverty, migration. Secondly, as the knowledge of the news presents a limited background about economy politics of news and, it creates a problematic aspect for building an inclusive relation between news, ideology and representation.

First significant conclusion about the research analyzed emphasizes the epistemological inadequacies about the researches and these are about building profound relation between news, ideology and representation. This inadequacy can be called epistemological problem caused by lack of genuine interconnections about news, ideology and representation. Second important aspect and conclusion about the research is about the question what makes a news analsis sufficient. This question matters to understand the concept of news for further academic researches. Both critical discourse analysis and three-legged schema shown that the academic researches are mainly lack of perceiving news as truth-aiming process as part of “states of world” and “facts as things.” A strong epistemological approach would consider news as truth-aiming process within social reality, ideology and representation. Therefore,

the news cannot be considered as merely a form or discourse but more than this. A strong news can be a reflection of the truth-aiming process including economy politics and historical connections building the Refugees as social reality and ideology.

The idea of news can be supported by different parts. This can be supported by the interviews made to reveal Syrian refugees' perceptions about the news and about how they react the relevant news in terms of their social reality and problem. This way can contribute and open a broader sense for the relation between news, refugees and historical background of being "refugee." Also, different participatory groups to the news can open a broader sense regarding to the problem demonstrated through news. This is also significant in terms of contribution of dissertation to philosophy of communication and public opinion.

In the scope of the dissertation, there are also some questions left unanswered. Also, there are some topics that are not elaborated in detail but still they may be interesting for ongoing and further research in the field. These questions are as follows: How do the refugees perceive the news made about them? Based on their observation, through which kind of frames and narrations are they represented through news? Do those narrations and frames fit their social reality? For them, does the news reflect their realities such as war, poverty and etc.? Following these questions can be a good path to reveal their social realities and the frames, stereotypes that are reflected through the news. This can be also relevant to possible research about methods used through alternative media to lead invisible to become visible. Still this an open question whether refugees' own media can be also interesting to focus. This can be investigated with cooperation of non-governmental organizations.

Nevertheless, it has been observed that a few of the research investigated make emphasis on this epistemological relation between social realities of refugees and the news representing them. Only a few of the research make interviews with Syrian refugees to reveal this relation; therefore more comparative aspect is required about the field. This comparative aspect is about the refugees' representation through main stream media and alternative media and about how refugees perceive their representation through news. For a more inclusive interaction through the society; their voices also need to be heard in order not to reproduce the tension and hate speech. For this, their reactions about the news representing them need to be monitored. By this way, cognitive approaches to the news can be also progressed by researchers and this can be related to any disadvantaged groups or underrepresented groups in main-stream media. This question can be relevant here: What actually produces racist motives and what is the position of media through reproduction of these motives and hate speech?

These two questions, if they are followed, can also broaden some cognitive approaches to communication as the problem between social reality, news and the academy can be linked to many subsets.

The representation of disadvantaged groups, invisibles is linked to idea that their actual voices need to be heard. For this, interviews made with them through media can be relevant to see the problems with different aspects. Also, any alternative media practice that they build for their own representation can be meaningful to reveal the problems, relevant issues from their own perspective as first person. It is also important to see first person experience from first person narration and this is one of the inadequacies observed in media research in Turkey. This can signify the question for the methods used through a genuine alternative media practice. A comparative research between alternative media practiced by invisibles and dominant media can be a good example and motivation for further relevant research in the field of news.

The issue about how the refugees perceive their representations through both main stream and alternative media is interesting to be considered for researchers as this issue deepens the notion of media literacy. The notion of media literacy needs to be critically engaged with the idea of covered, fiction, dramatic and sensational discourse used for the refugees through media because the relevant ideology and discourse used through main stream media is objectionable. Second reason for this is that it is not a genuine journalism that includes the facts and value of truth knowledge of news. This kind of journalism entails facts that are uncovered, nonfiction, nondramatic about the problem and researchers can draw a line for this from the relation between refugees' realities and about how they perceive the news representing them through forthcoming research.

Another recommendation for future research can be about the relation between the news and the idea of public justification. This theme is also so interesting that it can reveal the policies and principles and about how they are justified through media. This link needs to be strengthened by combining two fields into one pot. Therefore, the question about how researchers rationalize the idea of news needs to be paid attention for more inclusive policies and genuine journalism. This also matters for society's prejudices for invisibles and some disadvantaged groups as media has a huge influence on reshaping people's prejudices. By means of genuine journalism practices; hate speech, racist and discriminative discourses and some prejudices towards some groups can be decreased as this can open a different reasoning among society. For example, a society member named X who has discriminative thoughts

about some relevant groups of people because of their ethnicity, race, religion or gender can reconstruct his or her ideas by means of media practices giving place to invisibles' voices through the news. In other words, a media practice that gives place to invisibles' actual voices for the relevant issue or problem through the news can reconstruct a person's prejudices as his or her reasoning towards invisibles is likely to change. This relation can be also a good idea in terms of philosophical approach to communication.

This dissertation can be helpful to open a path for epistemological aspects applied to the news. It can be determined that linguistic and discursive aspects and methods are mostly applied to the news to reveal social reality. There are some prominent methods applied to the news research. One of the prominent methods used in common is critical discourse analysis. (CDA) Fowler (1991, 1994) mostly grounds the idea of communication and news in terms of critical linguistic aspects. For this view, the language is a form of social reality. And for Van Dijk (1988), this critical engagement with news seems to be linked to cognitive linguistic aspects.

News is reconstructed by language and therefore, news is a space of discourse. Both methods also draw an epistemological line about the idea of news. One of the recommendations of the dissertation for news reporting is three-legged schema and through the dissertation; the analytical approach can be determined. In the long term, it is a proposal for the idea of news to reveal some lack parts of CDA. This schema can be applied to the news to reveal analytical framework between thought and real object relation and the knowledge of the news about the social reality represented. In the long term; it is a proposed epistemological method for the news. It is hoped that the three-legged schema proposed as a perspective for news will be progressed by further questions, criticisms and this can be linked to philosophical aspects to communication field. This dissertation's other outline is to evoke this philosophical approach to communication. This kind of epistemological discourse in the field can be broadened by new discussions and research. The research is concluded with a new perspective and epistemological schema that includes historical and holistic approach for communication which can be suggested to news research.

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